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THE HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS,
OR
PROTESTANT NON-CONFORMISTS,
FROM THE
DEATH OF KING CHARLES II.
TO THE ACT OF TOLERATION IN THE REIGN OF KING
WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY, IN THE YEAR 1688.
CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF
THEIR PRINCIPLES; THEIR ATTEMPTS FOR A FURTHER REFORMATION
IN THE CHURCH; THEIR SUFFERINGS; AND THE LIVES
AND CHARACTERS OF THEIR PRINCIPAL DIVINES.
IN FIVE VOLUMES.

BY DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

A NEW EDITION,
REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,
BY JOSHUA TOULMIN, D. D.
TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,
SOME MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE AUTHOR.
VOL. V.
WITH AN INDEX TO THE FIVE VOLUMES.

This know also, that in the last Days perilous Times shall come.

2 Tim. iii. 1.

*They shall put you out of the Synagogues: yea, the Time cometh, that
whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God Service*

John xvi. 2.

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EDITOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS edition of Mr. NEAL'S "History of the Puritans," after many interruptions, being at length completed, and the last volume being now presented to the Public, the Editor embraces this occasion to make his acknowledgments to the Gentlemen who have assisted and encouraged his design. He feels his obligations to those who by their names and subscriptions have patronized it; and he is much indebted to some who, by the communication of books and manuscripts, have aided the execution of it—Situating, as he is, at a great distance from the metropolis, and the libraries there open to the studious, he sees not how he could have enjoyed the means of examining Mr. Neal's authorities, in any extensive degree, and of ascertaining the accuracy of the statements by an inspection of the writers of the last century, had not his GRACE the DUKE of GRAFTON most handsomely offered, and most readily supplied, a great number of books necessary to that purpose, from his large and valuable libraries.

Some books of great authority were obligingly handed to him by Henry Waymouth, Esq. of Exeter. His thanks are also due to the Rev. Josiah Thomson, of Clapham, and to Edmund Calamy, Esq. To the former, for the free use of his *manuscript collections*, relative to the History of the *Dissenting Churches*; and to the latter, for the opportunity of perusing a *manuscript* of his worthy and learned ancestor, Dr. Edmund Calamy, intitled, "An Historical Account of my own Life, with some reflections on the times I have lived in." He has been likewise much indebted to a respectable member of the society of *Quakers*, Mr. Morris Birkbeck, of Wanborough, Surry, for his judicious remarks on Mr. Neal, and for furnishing him with Gough's valuable History of that people.

While the Editor makes his sincere and grateful acknowledgments to these Gentlemen, and to all who have favored his undertaking with their approbation and assistance; he begs leave to solicit their further encouragement and aid; and any communications from others, that can contribute to the accuracy or completion of the work which he has before announced, and which he still has in contemplation, namely, "An History of the *Protestant Dissenters*, and of the Progress of **FREE ENQUIRY** and **RELIGIOUS LIBERTY** from the **REVOLUTION** to the present **Times**." He cannot ascertain to what extent this work will reach; but he will aim to comprise the historical, literary, and biographical information, it will include, in as short a compass as possible; and he proposes, lest life and health should not be enjoyed to finish it, to bring it forward from the press in such detached parts as will correspond to the periods into which, he apprehends, it will naturally divide itself, so that each part may form a complete historical survey of the subjects it treats of, down to the time at which it closes.

Mr. Neal's History being voluminous, though as an original work and a book of authority it will retain its value, the Editor, with pleasure, informs his Readers, that his worthy and much-esteemed friend the Rev. Joseph Cornish, of Colyton, Devon, is preparing for the press, a new, corrected, and much-improved edition of his "Brief and Impartial History of the **PURITANS**," in 12mo, which will be peculiarly adapted for the use of youth, and of those who have not leisure to go through Mr. Neal's larger work, and to assist the recollection of those who are acquainted with it.

TAUNTON, *August 11, 1796.*

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

From the King's Declaration of Indulgence to the Popish 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 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 dyke, 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 Bonne, which opened a passage for the Germans into Flanders, and struck such a surprize 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 peoples 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 Pinner's-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 afterwards 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 Salter's-hall, and set up a lecture on the

same day and hour. The two independents remained at Pinner's-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 Fawsly in Northamptonshire, in the house of his mothers' 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 afterwards 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. Eachard, 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 their dissenters. He died of the stone in Dr. Tillotson's house in Chancery-lane, Nov. 19, 1672, in the 59th 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 afterwards preacher of Lincoln's-inn; he was a member of the assembly of divines, and afterwards one of the *tryers* 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,

* Athen. Oxon. p. 505.

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 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 *tryers* 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 out-reached. †

When the king met his parliament Feb. 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,

† This work was printed in two volumes folio, consisting of upwards of 600 sheets: and there was also an edition in twelve volumes 4to. "One just remark," says Mr. Granger, "has been made on its utility, that is a very sufficient exercise for the virtue of patience, which it was chiefly intended to inculcate and improve." Granger's Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 313. 8vo. note. *Ed.*

* Calamy. vol. ii. p. 7. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. 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. ii. p. 368. *Ed.*

‡ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 29. Palmer, vol. i. p. 86.

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 Snaftesbury 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 particular clause in the act of uniformity; and therefore, upon the whole, they came to this resolution Feb. 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 Feb. 19, to recal 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 rigor of the law.* The commons, perceiving his majesty was not inclined to desist from his declaration, stopt 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 favor. 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 surprized the whole house, and gave a turn to those very men, who for ten years together had been loading the non-conformists with one penal law after another : but things were now at a crisis ; pope-

* Eachard, p. 889. Burnet, vol. ii. 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 favor. 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 non-conformists) 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. ii. p. 374.

ry and slavery were at the door; the triple alliance broken; the protestant powers ravaging one another; the Exchequer shut up; the heir apparent 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 in to 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 surprizing 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 afterwards at the head of the country party.

The non-conformists 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

* Eachard, p. 891.

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 75.

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, 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 neighboring justices of 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 church-wardens 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 session, to agree upon particulars; for according to bishop Burnet, it went no farther than a second reading. Mr. Eachard says, it was dropt 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

* Eachard, p. 889.

† Detect, p. 490.

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 endeavored 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 favor 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 then (says the alderman,) we [dissenters] will try if the parliament will not distinguish us from *popish recusants*, by some marks of their favor; 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 Berkly* 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 afterwards 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 a money-bill of one million two hundred thousand pounds; 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 church-wardens, 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 the elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration*

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 75, 6.

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. Eachard observes well, that this act was principally, if not solely, levelled at the Roman catholics, as appears from the title; and this is further 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 excise-man, a custom-house 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 *non-conformists* in this reign, it may not be improper to put them altogether, 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 parlia-

* Vol. ii. p. 80.

ment; one of which was no less than *banishment*; and another a *mulct* on every one for not coming to church.

These were in force,

1st. *An act for well governing and regulating corporations*, 13 Car. II. ch. 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. ch. 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 school-masters and tutors are prohibited from teaching youth without license from the archbishop or bishop, under pain of three months imprisonment.

3d. *An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles*. 16 Car. II. ch. 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 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 non-conformists from inhabiting in corporations*, 17 Car. II. ch. 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 forty pounds, in case they should preach in any conventicle.

5th. *Another act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles*, 22 Car. II. ch. 5. Whereby any persons who teach

in such conventicles, are subject to a penalty of twenty pounds for the first, and forty pounds for every subsequent offence; and any person who permits such a conventicle to be held in their house, is liable to a fine of twenty pounds; 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 non-conformist 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 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 stopt 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 school-masters 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 non-conformist 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 afterwards preached to a separate congregation as the times would permit, and died in the year 1673. §

Mr. James Janeway, M. A. was born in Hertfordshire, and student of Christ church, Oxford. He was afterwards tutor in the house of Mr. Stringer at Windsor; but not being satisfied with conformity, he opened a separate meeting

* Baxter, part iii. p. 110.

† Page 109.

† Baxter, part iii. p. 140.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 25. Palmer, vol. i. p. 127.

in 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 labors broke his constitution, so that he died of a consumption March 16 1673-4, in the 38th 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 non-conformists; 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 *pulpiters* were encouraged to open as loud as possible: one in his sermon before the house of commons told them, that the non-conformists ought not to be tolerated, but to be *cured by vengeance*. He urged them to set fire to the faggot, 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. ‡ Endeavors 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 twenty pounds, and the place forty pounds, which was paid by the hearers.

The like ravages were made in most parts of England; Mr. Joseph Swainfield, of Salisbury, was seized preaching

|| Calamy, vol. ii. p. 838. and Palmer, vol. p. 634.

* State Tracts, vol. iii. p. 42. Baxter, part iii. p. 153.

‡ Ibid, part iii. p. 155.

§ Conf. Plea, part iv. p. 75.

in his own house, and bound over to the assizes, and imprisoned in the county gaol almost a year. Twenty-five persons, men and women, were indicted for a riot, that is, for a *conventicle*, and 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 twelve pounds, and for non-payment of it threatened with a gaol. 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 thirteen pounds for fifty shillings; six hogsheads valued at forty shillings for nine shillings; and pewter, featherbeds, &c. for twenty shillings; 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 noisomeass of the place: A physician being sent for, advised his removal; and a bond of five hundred pounds 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 two or three hundred thousand pounds for his expences.

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 Jan. 7, 1674, they addressed his majesty to banish all papists, who were not house-keepers 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 ad-

dress 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 clamors 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, 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 Salmatius and others, with great spirit, and in a pure and elegant Latin stile. He was afterwards 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 near London, in the 67th year of his age.‡

* Gazette, No. 883.

† Ibid. No. 962, 965.

‡ It is but a piece of justice to the memory and virtues of some of the most distinguished characters of the *conformists* and *non-conformists* of this period, to record here their pious exertions for the reli-

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 enquiries, 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 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

gious instruction of the Welch. 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 Welch bibles, which were all that could be procured in Wales or London; 240 new testaments, and 500 Whole Duty of Man, in Welch. In the preceding year 812 poor children had, by the charity of others, been put to school in 51 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 1850. It appears as if this undertaking gave birth to an edition of the bible and liturgy in the Welch tongue, in which, Mr. Gouge had a principal concern, and to which Dr. Tillotson gave 50l. The impression extended to 8000 copies. Life of Mr. James Owen, p. 10, 11, 12, and Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, p. 50. *Ed.*

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 endeavor 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 but a tender conscience. The very name of an *informer* became as odious as their behavior 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 one hundred pounds. Alderman Forth bound over an informer to his good behavior, 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 non-conformists, 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 non-conformists 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

† Baxter, part iii. p. 157, 58.

* Compl. History, p. 328.

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 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 endeavor 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 ensnaring 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 dropt; but the debates of the lords

* Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 167. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 130-34.

† 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

upon the intended oath being made public, were ordered to be burnt. Two proclamations were re-published 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 *non-conformists*; 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 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 stead-

house, and eleven or twelve days afterwards: 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. ii. p. 133, and Dr. Calamy’s Historical Account of his own Life, MS. p. 63. Ed.

* Burnet, p. 91.

iness 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 birth-rights, 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 or 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 news-papers, &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 fifty pounds 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 one hundred pounds for the person who conveyed it to the press.

* Detect, p. 500.

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 licenser 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 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, Jan. 2, 1744-5. but by the intercession of some powerful friends he was reprimed, 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 candor, 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 Quixot*, he called aloud to the civil magistrate to come in to his aid.

* 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 stile, 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

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 Tories 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 non-conformists*, 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 Non-conformists, 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

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 December, 1704. Æt. 88. Queen Mary, we are told, made this anagram on his name:—

“ Roger L'Estrange,
“ Lying Strange Roger.”

British Biography, vol. vi. p. 317. Granger's History of England, vol. iv. p. 70. *Ed.*

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 252. Rapin.

† 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.*

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 endeavor 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 a 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 honor the king; to love the brotherhood, to bridle their tongues, to be meek and lowly, and do their own work with quietness.”*

* On the 15th of January, 1675-6, died Dorothy the wife of Richard Cromwell, in the 49th year of her age; who, it is thought, never saw her husband after he retired into France. She was the daughter of Richard Mayor, Esq. of Hursly in Hampshire, where she was married on the 1st of May 1649. The character 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.* 2d ed. vol. iv. p. 538.

Though the persecution continued very fierce, the non-conformists 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 Non-conformist 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 Non-conformists, 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 non-conformists, 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 Non-conformists*) 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 ac-

* Conform. Plea, part iii. p. 8, 9, 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.*

quaintance with some under-servants, or lodgers in a *non-conformist 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 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 musqueteers 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 ale-houses, 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 endeavor 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. Davis issued a warrant to distrain on Mr. Baxter for 50l. 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 non-conformists; “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 neighbors——” 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 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 dioceses, 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 afterwards 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

* State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 54, 55. Vol. iii. p. 42, &c.

† Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 420.

king's restoration, when he appeared with the presbyterians, but was prevailed with to accept a bishopric 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 diocese, and a good old Puritan, who never concerned himself with the politics of the court. He died at Norwich Jan. 16, 1676, *ætatis* seventy-six.

[On May the 22d, 1676, died, aged 73, 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 difficulty, and got to London with his family, Sept. 22, 1643. Here he was sometime minister of Fehchurch, till his stipend was taken away for not practising the baptism of infants. He was then chosen preacher to the honorable 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 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 expence.—*History of England*, vol. iii. p. 241.

He was, after this, chosen minister in the town of his nativity, and had also the parsonage of Rosse 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 *tryer* 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 that 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 honor, 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," said they, "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 the clergy 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 practice 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 a 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 afterwards 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 afterwards 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. i. p. 278—293. Palmer’s Non-conformist Memorial, vol. ii. 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 de-

* Nelson’s Life of bishop Bull, p. 251.

† Notwithstanding this alarm, on a calculation that was made, in the preceding year, the *Non-conformists* of all sorts, and *Papists* in-

clared, 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*.*

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 honor, 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 Nov. 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 non-conformists, a man of persecuting principles, and a tool of the prerogative, who made a

cluded, 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 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.*

jest of religion, any farther than it was a political engine of state.† He was succeeded by Dr. Sancroft, 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, till it came to his turn to be a sufferer.‡ Many of the bishops

† “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. ii. 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. iii. p. 425. 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 Eachard, who extols his *learning* and *piety*, as well as his munificent benefactions, which we have specified, vol. iii. p. 451, 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 afterwards 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. iii. p. 230. British Biogr. vol. v. p. 25, 26, note; and Burnet, vol. i. 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. iii. p. 376. *Ed.*

† 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 men-

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. Tho. Manton, ejected from Covent-garden; he was born in Somersetshire 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 his death. The doctor appeals from Mr. Neal to Mr. Eachard, who commends bishop Henehan'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 the "Gentleman's Calling," supposed to be written by the author of the "Whole Duty of Man." Granger, vol. iii. p. 233. Bishop Compton's character will appear in the succeeding part of this history. *Ed.*

* Baxter, part iii. p. 471, 472.

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, and being seized with a kind of lethargy, he died October 18, 1677, in the 57th 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; afterwards preacher at Tiverton in Devon-

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 42; and Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. 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 misstated, he must be destitute of all candor 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 190 sermons on the 119th 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. iii. p. 304, note. *Ed.*

shire, 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 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!*

* 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.*

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 39. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 142.

CHAP. II.

From the Popish Plot to the Death of King CHARLES the Second, 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 expence 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 non-conformists 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 sec-

* Eachard, p. 934.

ond 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.

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 because of the *popish successor*, who was willing to run all risks for the introducing his religion. The murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* at this juncture,

* 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 anagrammatized 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. Grainger's Hist. of England, vol. iii. 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 pulpits 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 croud 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 afterwards 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. 67-8. *Ed.*

a zealous and active protestant justice of peace, increased men's suspicions of a plot, and the depositions upon oath of the abovementioned 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 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 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 danger of popery, and there-

* This person of whom we have already spoken, formerly called "Oliver's Fidler," was now the admired "Buffoon of High-church." He called the shows, mentioned in our last note, "Hobby-horsing professions." Calamy's MSS, p. 67. *Ed.*

fore passed a bill, *to disable all persons of that religion from sitting in either house of parliament*, which is still in force, being accepted 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 though the king's life might not be immediately struck at, yet there was such strong evidence to prove the reality

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 211.

† This point was carried in favor 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 an 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 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 afterwards filled the most eminent posts in the city of London.

Tong's *Life of Shower*, p. 17, 18. *Ed.*

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 afterwards.

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 afterwards minister of Milk-street, London, till the act of uniformity took place. He was an humble and 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 trea-

* This corresponds with his declarations to Sir John Reresby; 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 Edmund-bury Godfrey." *Memoirs*, p. 67, 72.

Dr. Grey refers to Eachard 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. ii. 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. ii. p. 137-157. *Ed.*

† Page 498—214.

‡ Cal. cont. p. 30.

tises ; 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 infected houses, being void of all fear of death. He continued in health during the whole of that dreadful calamity, and was afterwards useful, as the times would permit, to a numerous congregation, being generally respected by men of all persuasions ; but his excessive labors 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 sons 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.§

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 32. Palmer's *Noneconf. Mem.* vol. i. p. 125.

† 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. iii. 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. v. p. 182—186. *Ed.*

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 61. Palmer, vol. i. p. 189.

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 favored 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. Eachard 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 prejudice of his right of succession*. And further to ingratiate himself with the people, and make a shew 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 gaol by the assistance of one Mrs. Cellier, a midwife, a lewd woman who car-

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 272. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 711.

ried 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 non-conformists 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 three pounds 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 up with ribbands, 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 whipt 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 Can 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 for into custody on the same account; and Mr. Richard Thompson, a clergyman, was impeached for decrying the popish plot in his sermon, Jan. 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 labors, 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 afterwards entered on a commen-

* State Tracts, vol. ii. 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 900l. 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

tary upon the whole bible, but proceeded no further 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 afterwards 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 tryers of ministers. He was in high esteem with Oliver Cromwell, and attended him on his death-bed.† In the common register of the university

drawing up his Synopsis, it was his custom to rise at three 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 59th and 60th chapters of Isaiah by Mr. Jackson of Monisey. 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. Wm. 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. Veil; on Philippians 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. iii. p. 311, and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 36. *Ed.*

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 14. Palmer's Nonconf. Mem. vol. i. p. 132.

† On which occasion he was overheard by Dr. Tillotson to express

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 Feb. 23, 1679-80, in the eightieth year of his age. 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 Oct. 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 twelve-month, 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

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 500l. 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. i. p. 185. Granger, vol. iii. p. 303. *Ed.*

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 61. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 183.

‡ If we may credit Sir John Resesby, 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 privy, though not above four persons knew any thing of the matter. The duke of Monmouth, 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, 8. *Ed.*

§ Eachard, 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

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 would 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 rigor 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, Jan. 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 ABHORRERS. 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 subjects, 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 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

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. ii. p. 276.

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 *association* branded with the names of *damnable, cursed, execrable, traiterous, seditious*, and a *bond of rebellion*, which they *detest* and *abhor* from their very souls; in most of which the non-conformists 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 ABHORRERS 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 an 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*

* Memoirs, p. 125.

principle under the names of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*, 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, and 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 *Laudean* 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 over-awing 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 villainous enterprize.

The non-conformists 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 non-conformists in the latter part of this reign.

When the parliament met Oct. 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 *abhorrrers* betrayers of the liberties of the nation. Among other grievances they complained, that the edge of

* Burnet, Collect. Debates, p. 463.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 714. Eachard, p. 995.

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 dispensations obtained from Rome, submitted to those tests, and held their offices themselves; or those put in their places were so favorable 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 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 favorite 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 non-conformists, appointed a committee, Nov. 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

* 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 afterwards 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. Mem. p. 104, 5. Ed. † Welwood's Memoirs, p. 127.

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 further 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 over-ruled, 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 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 favor 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 humor 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

* Eachard p. 999.

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 a-foot 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 non-conformists 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 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 an 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 *non-conformists* were sawn to pieces between the king, the bishops, and the parliament ; when one party was willing to give them relief, the other always stood in the

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 300.

† Ibid.

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 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 burthensome 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 endeavoring 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 non-conformists. The clergy in general, (says Rapin‡) were attached to the court; men of doubtful religion were promoted, and there was reason to charge them

* Burnet 301.

† Page 361.

‡ Page 711.

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 non-conformists, and to raise the cry of the populace against them. Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, who had written an *Irenicum* in favor 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. 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 non-conformists have died in common gaols, (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 endeavored 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

* Page 53, 54.

† Collyer, p. 900.

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 favor. 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 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 humors 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 afterwards 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 behavior. 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 emi-

* Mr. Neal, it seems, has fallen into a mistake, by supposing that the French *presbyterians* favored 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 re-ordained; 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 complaints, 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.*

† Vol. i. p. 276.

ment 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 stile 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 52.

[On December 26th, 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. p. 449 of this volume.) 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, afterwards, obtain an hearing. He was a man of great moderation, a lover of peace, an advocate for catholic communion and union of saints, and of blameless conversation.— He saw some things to approve, and some things to dis-

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 56. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. 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. iii. p. 308. *Ed.*

like 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 labors 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 master-piece 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. ii. p. 333. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. 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 one;* and apprehending that the male-contents were encouraged by the neighborhood of the city of London, he summoned them to meet at Oxford; the same representatives being re-chosen 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 endeavors in the two last parliaments, to search into the depth of the popish plot, to preserve the protestant religion, to promote an union among his majesty's protestant subjects, to repeal the 35th of *Elizabeth*, and the

* Eachard, p. 1002. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 720.

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 ribbons 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 sessions, 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 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 favor 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 would pass 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.

They 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 non-conformists;* the libel was to be sent by penny-post letters to the lords who had protested in favor 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

* Burnet, p. 303, 4.

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 intitled *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 tygers—Thrust 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 his political and moral vices, as intended to debauch the nation, to promote the popish religion and arbitrary government, &c. Thus were the non-conformists 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

* Burnet, p. 306.

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 these men, who are laboring 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 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

* It was observed, Dr. Calamy says, that “this declaration was known by M. Barillon, the French ambassador, and by the duchess 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.

† Burnet, vol. ii. 308-9.

treason, and to pray his majesty to put in execution the statute of 35 Eliz. against the non-conformists. The grand juries, the justices at their session, 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 drunk, 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 endeavors of unreasonable men have made it necessary to assert the ancient loyalty of the English nation.—It is at present the great honor of this your university, not only to be stedfast 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 indict upon us. And that they have not proceeded to sequestration and plunder, as heretofore, next to the over-ruling 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 honor 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 after 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 non-conformists, 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 the *non-conformists* 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 papists 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 College, 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 non-conformists, informers of the vilest of the people were countenanced to a shameful degree, insomuch that the gaols 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 Dec. “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

* Page 306.

† P. 315.

use their utmost endeavor 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 Hickeys-hall, January, 13, ordered, “that whereas the constables and church-wardens, &c. of every parish and precinct within the said county, had been enjoined last sessions to make a return the first day 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 further 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 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. Eachard) 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 *non-conformists*, 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 favor, by shewing them, that while they were plundering and destroying their protestant dissenting neighbors, 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 Non-conformists*, 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 behavior. 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 an account of 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 every where 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 themselves such a loose against *protestant non-conformists*, 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 usual-

* Rapin, p. 725. Burnet, p. 309.

l. met with haughty and abusive language, and the utmost rigor 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 this fury were declaimed against as *betrayers of the church*, and secret favorers of the dissenters; but the truth is, (says the bishop) *the number of the 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 twenty pounds; 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 forty pounds, and for non-payment 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 twenty pounds, and five pounds more as being constable that year, and exacted five shillings 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 bishop's 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 many had been plundered

* Sewel, p. 574, 581.

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 Black-friars, and the ejected minister of St. Sepulchre's, was taken out of this world: he was born at Bow near Stratford, 1605, bred at Eaton 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 dishonor, 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 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

* Tillotson's Works, vol. i. 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 150l. per annum; out of which he constantly expended 100l. 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 generously pursued. His funeral sermon was preached by Doctor, afterwards Archbishop Tillotson. Palmer. *Ed.*

funeral sermon, says, that, all things considered, there has not since the primitive times of christianity been many 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.†

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 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 belouged, 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 afterwards arrested at the suit of Mr. Papillon and Dubois, and detained prisoner in Skinner's-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.

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 8.

† The learned and excellent Dr. William Lloyd, then bishop of St. Asaph, who endeavored 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 Oswestree, on the 27th of September, of the year 1681. The bishop was attended by the learned Mr. Henry Dodwell; Mr. Owen's supporters were. Mr. Philip Henry, Mr. Jonathan Roberts of Slainvair, in Denbigshire, 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 candor; 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.*

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 prerogative as a delay of justice ; and because they had laid taxes on their wharves 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 further 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 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 entrusted 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

* Burnet, p. 354—357. Rapin, p. 727.

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 403. Gazette, No. 1835.

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 fifth 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 of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-street, for refusing the engagement, and imprisoned for Mr. Love's plot; he was afterwards 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 84.‡

Mr. Samuel Clarke, the ejected minister of St. Bene't Fink, was an indefatigable student, as appears by his *Martyrology*, his *Lives of eminent Divines*, and other historical works; he was a good scholar, and had been an use-

* Page 359. † Calamy, vol. ii. p. 13. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. 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. iii. p. 317, 18. Ed.

ful preacher in Cheshire and Warwickshire, before he came to London; he was one of the commissioners at the Savoy, and presented the presbyterian minister's 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, *ætatis* eighty.* *

While the liberties of England lay bleeding, the fury of the court raged higher than ever against the *non-conformists*, 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 195l. They took him out of his bed, to which he had been confined for some time, and were carrying him to gaol; 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

* 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 part 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 Leicester in Warwickshire, where his preaching was very useful, and the town became exemplary for sobriety, which had borne the character of drunken Leicester. 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 *Noneon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 88, &c. Granger's *History*, vol. iii. 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 iii. p. 191.

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 Surry assizes 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 harrassed every where in the *spiritual courts*, warrants were signed for *distresses* in the village of Hackney alone, to the sum of fourteen hundred pounds; one of which was five hundred. 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 ought I can find, (says he) the *fox was the finder*. Dr. Welwood adds,†

* 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 unfavorable sentiments concerning the English Non-conformists. But when Mr. Shower and his companions had stated their case, and the terms required of them, Turretin and

† Memoirs, p. 132.

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 in these times no sufficient protection, 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;*

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.*

† *Barnet*, vol. ii. p. 368-73.

‡ P. 382.

§ Dr. Grey censures Mr. Neal's account of the *Rye-house 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 Eachard, Kennet, &c. and prin-

* *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 161.

and Algernon Sidney was executed for having a *sedition 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. Eachard observes, that some have called this the *fanatic, the protestant, the whigish, 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. ‡ However, the court had their ends in striking terror into the whole party.

especially bishop Sprat's "History of the Rye-house 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 Eachard, 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 Eachard'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. ii. p. 371—376. The same judicious writer has also investigated the evidence concerning the *Rye-house plot*, p. 355—370. *Ed.*

† 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

Great industry was used by the court to bring the body of non-conformists 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. Castaires, 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

belief to swallow down such *gross untruths* as these, which the smallest dabbler in the history of those times can easily confute." The reader who is not a dabbler in the history of 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 displeas'd 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 dam’d by church and government,
 “Alas! where must his ghost be sent?
 “Of heav’n it cannot but despair,
 “If holy Pope he 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. Note. *Ed.*

* Dr. Grey refers to “copies of informations,” in the appendix to Sprat’s account for a deposition signed by Mr. Carstaires, 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 was the nature and extent of it? Mr. Neal immediately informs us in his report of the amount of Castaires’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 very fully vindicated his innocense, and was perfectly discharged. Pierce’s Vindication of the Dissenters, part i. p. 258. Mr. Mead carried with him into Holland the son, (the eleventh of thirteen children) whom he plac’d under an excellent master, who afterwards rose to the first eminence as a scholar and a physician. Granger’s History, vol. iii. p. 332. *Ed.*

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, afterwards bishop of Rochester, performed it 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 non-conformists. 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 *villians*, in multitudes of congratulatory and tery addresses from all parts of the kingdom, but were severely 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 expence 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

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 428—430. † P. 402. ‡ Sewel, p. 585.

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 gaols 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 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

* 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, during the remainder of the king’s reign. Gough’s *History of the Quakers*, vol. iii. p. 8, 9. *Ed.*

† 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. Further 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

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.

Dr. Benjamin Calamy, rector of St. Lawrence Jewry, in one of his printed sermons, intitled *a Scrupulous Con- 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. Whithy, præcentor 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 clamor, 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 Non-conformists 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.

science, invited the *non-conformists* 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 school-master, and a learned man,* printed a *Plea for the Non-conformists*, 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 Nov. 30, 1683. Mr. Delaune wrote to Dr. Calamy to endeavor his enlargement: "My confinement (says he) is for accepting your invitation; I look upon you obliged in honor 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 endeavor to convince a stran-

* 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 Kilerash, 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. Bampfield, 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. Bampfield, 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 Non-conformists*," 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.*

ger 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 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 honor 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 convicted by an indictment at law; for *that on Nov. 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 Non-conformists.* For which offence he was fined one hundred marks, and to be kept prisoner till he paid it; to find security for his good behavior 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 gaol,

* 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 behavior 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. 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 so much used as Mr. Perkin's works, especially his "Cases of Consciencs," which were full of marks and scores. He died when a little turned of forty years of age. The treatment which his neighbor and particular friend alderman Cornish received, greatly affected him, and is thought to have hastened his end. Dr. Calamy's own Life, MSS. and Biographia Britannica, vol. iii. 2d ed. *Ed.*

through the length and closeness of the confinement, and other inconveniencies 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; he had been educated in Wadham-college, Oxford, and was minister of Sherborne in Dorsetshire.† After the

* 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 70l." 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 dishonor on the non-conformists 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 non-conformity, 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 30,000l. per annum; but in king William's reign they advanced to near 100,000l. Waldron's copy of Neal, *penes me. Ed.*

† Mr. Bampffield was descended from an ancient and honorable family in Devonshire. The first living he held was more valuable than that of Sherborne, being about 100l. per annum; and having an annuity of 80l. 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 labor, 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 Pinner's-hall, of which principles he was a zealous assertor. 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 *Non-con. Mem.* vol. i. p. 468-72. Crosby's *History of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. 363-68. Vol. ii. p. 355-61. *Ed.*

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 gaol, though he was a person of unshaken loyalty to the king, and against the parliament war; but this availed nothing to his being a non-conformist. He afterwards retired to London, where, being again apprehended, he was shut up in Newgate, and there died Feb. 16, 1633-4. 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. Delaune 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 gaol, in a nasty, stinking hole, to the great hazard of his life. Mr. French, of Town-Maulin, was confined six months in Maidstone common gaol, in a hard winter, without fire or candle, or any private apartment.

Mr. Salkeld, the ejected minister of Worlington in Suffolk, was fined one hundred pounds, and committed to the common gaol of St. Edmundsbury,‡ for saying, *popery was coming into the nation apace, and no care taken to pre-*

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 260. † Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 259—277.

‡ It aggravated the iniquity as well as severity of this sentence, that many hundreds of Mr. 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

vent 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 dioceses—great numbers of the common people, taken at private meetings, were convicted as rioters, and fined ten pounds 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 non-conformists, as if the danger of religion arose from that quarter; they were twenty-three in number, and have

a minister and a cheerful christian. His table was furnished by his friends at Bury, and his fine afterwards 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 26, 1699, aged 77.—Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. ii. p. 442. 43. *Ed.*

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 676.

† 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.*

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 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 Christ-church, 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 most op-

† Peirce, p. 259.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 58. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 152—53.

‡ 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," ob-

probrious 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 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 stile is a little intricate and perplexed.

[In this year died aged 72, Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, the friend of Tillotson. He was of an ancient and honorable 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 grad-

serves Mr. Granger, with equal judgment and candor, "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 behavior, 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 favors, 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 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 favor 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. iii. p. 301, 2, note; and Palmer's Non-con. Mem. vol. i. p. 154, 5. Ed.

uated 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 Somersetsbire. 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 this 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, Nov. 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 *crowne*, 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 "Apho-

* See before vol. iii. p. 139, text and note, where we have already made respectful mention of Dr. Whichcote.

risms" was printed by Dr. S. Salter, in 1753. See the second preface to which, p. 16—27.] *Ed.*

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 *non-conformists* were struck with terror, by the severe prosecutions of the heads of their party.* Mr. Hampden was fined forty thousand pounds, Sir Samuel Barnadiston ten thousand pounds, for defaming the evidenee in the Rye-house plot. Mr. Speke two thousand, and Mr. Braddon one thousand pounds, for reporting that the earl of Essex had been murdered in the Tower. Mr. John Dutton-colt one hundred thousand pounds, for *scandalum magnatum* against the duke of York, who now ruled all at court. Oates was fined for the same crime one hundred thousand pounds, 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. Eachard.) 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

* Rapin, p. 733, and note. Eachard, 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 honor 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,

privileges, and reduced to an absolute monarchy.* Whole peals of anathemas were rung out against those *patriots*, who stood in the gap against this inundation of power.—The scriptures were tortured 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 ranked on that side, by some who pretended to expound its will. Instead of dropping a tear over our expiring laws, liberties, and parliaments, falsome 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 *non-conformists* was continued, and edged 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 Jan. 11, 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 neighborhood of Uxbridge, for frequenting conventicles, or not resorting to church.‡ An order was made by the justices of Exeter, promising a reward of forty shillings to any one who should apprehend a non-conformist minister, which the bishop of the diocese, Dr. Lamplugh, comogot 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-council men. 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 MSS. 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 absolute as the kings of Israel: as Thomas Quicke, Esq. told me, who stood behind him. J. W."

‡ Howe's Life, p. 80.

manded 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. Robert Mayot of Oxford, a moderate conformist, having left Mr. Baxter six hundred pounds 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 behavior 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 four hundred pounds, 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.† Sept. 23, 1684, Mr. Thomas Rosewell, the dissenting minister at Rotherhithe, was imprisoned in the Gatehouse Westminster, for high treason; and a bill was found against him at the quarter-sessions, upon which he was tried Nov. 8, at the King's-bench bar, by a Surry jury, before lord chief justice Jefferies, and his brethren, (viz.) Withins, Holloway, and Walcot. He was indicted for the following expressions in his sermon, Sept. 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 resem-*

* Baxter, part iii. p. 498.

† Barnet, vol. ii. p. 444, 5.

ble 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 ram's-horns, broken platters, and a stone in a sling. The witnesses were three infamous women, who swore to the words without the *inuendoes* ; they were laden with the guilt of many perjuries already, and such of them as could be found afterwards were convicted, and the chief of them pilloryed before the Exchange. The trial lasted seven hours, and Mr. Rosewell 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. Rosewell 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*

* As soon as Mr. Rosewell was convicted, Sir John Talbot, who was present at the trial, went to the king, and urged it on his majesty, that if such evidence as had appeared against Mr. Rosewell 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 ardor in the business. When the court met to hear Mr. Rosewell'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 endeavored 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 lately reprinted in the Protestant Dissenter's Magazine.

rejoicing; and it was now thought, all conventicles must be suppressed, 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. Rosewell moved an arrest of judgment till council 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 Rosewell 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 non-conformity, we must not forget the reverend Mr. William Jenkyn, 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 Black-friars, 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

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 756. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. ii. p. 512.

‡ Mr. Jenkyn was, by his mother, the grandson of Mr John Rogers, the proto-martyr 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. Jenkyn might have done, had it not been for a piece of vanity in a lady, whose long train hindered his going down stairs; Mr. Jenkyn, and 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 Jenkyn murdered in Newgate." Upon his death, a nobleman said to the king, "May it please your majesty, Jenkyn 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. Grainger, vol. iii. p. 317. Palmer, vol. i. p. 98-100, and History of the Town of Taunton, p. 157. *Ed.*

submission to the *powers in being*, he was pardoned, and his sequestration taken off, but he carefully avoided meddling in politics afterwards. He was summoned before the council Jan. 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 merchants' 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, 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, Jan. 19, 1684-5, having been a prisoner four month 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 honor, 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."†

* Kennet's Chron. p. 601.

† Peirce, p. 259.

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 afterwards suffered many ways for his non-conformity, 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 behavior 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 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 non-conformists 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

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 956. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 229.

† Vol. i. p. 206—211.

deserved, for their deportment was unbecoming their function, (says bishop Burnet;*) some did not live within their dioceses, 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 whipt 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 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*

* Page 317. † P. 307. ‡ P. 309, 310. § Burnet, vol. i. p. 318.

friends, world and time, and this weak and frail body; and welcome eternity, welcome angels and saints, welcome Savior 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 Cargil, 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 was 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

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 64, 155, 182, 266, 268, 269. † P. 223, 4.

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 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 Feb. 2, and died on the Friday following, Feb. 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

* P. 341. † Welwood's Mem. p. 123. 6th edit. ‡ Burnet, vol ii. p. 460.

§ Charles the II. "as a gentleman," says Dr. Warner. "was liked by every body, but beloved by no-body; and as a prince, though he might be respected for his station, yet his death could not be lamented by a

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.† Religion was with him no more than an engine of state. He hated the *non-conformists*, 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 shewed 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.

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. ii. p. 929. Sharpe's Introduction to *Universal History*, p. 256, 2d edit.

† Burnet, vol. ii. 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. *Rocius 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 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.*

SUPPLEMENT

TO

CHAPTERS I. and II.

SECT. I.

The History of the Baptists.

THE period through which the two preceding chapters lead the reader, comprehends some new circumstances in the history of the Quakers and the Baptists.

At the beginning of it a controversy arose among the latter denomination about *laying on of hands*, called by the clergy *confirmation*. It created not a little trouble. Till then, it appears that this rite was practised by them as an apostolical ordinance, and was accompanied with prayer over the newly baptised. 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 of 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 apprized 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 endeavored 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* alledged 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 further 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

*Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. ii. p. 294-310. Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 368-71.

between them. They aimed to express themselves, 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 afterwards 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 an 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 labored. In 1794, 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 alledged against their distinguishing sentiment and practice, and give the reasons, with brevity and plainness, why they could not acquiesce in them.‡

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 317; vol. iii. p. 258; and Appendix, No. ii.

† Rippon's Baptist Annual Register, p. 124-91.

‡ See it at length in Crosby, vol. ii. p. 317-344.

This denomination greatly increased. Their arguments weighed with many; their exemplary lives spoke in their favor: but the number of their converts excited against them a spirit of jealousy and resentment, and they were the objects of clamor 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 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 200l. a year. About the year 1645 he became chaplain to the *army*, constantly attending Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and preaching at the headquarters. 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

* Crosby, vol. iii. Appendix, No. i.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 344. 5.

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 monopolize 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, and 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 anti-christian. These principles created him enemies, who blackened his character by odious names.—But, though he was tinged with the enthusiasm of the times, he was a man of substantial learning, of real piety, and a noble defender of the rights 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 non-conformity, refusing to wear

* Crosby, vol. i. p. 323—333. Palmer's Non-conformist's Memorial, vol. i. p. 201, and p. 225, note.

the surplice, to kneel at the sacrament, and to use the sign of the cross in baptism. His companion in Maidstone gaol was Mr. Wilson, of Otham near that town.

Among the visitors 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 endeavored, 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 his 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 only, 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 dependence, 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 expected, much startled the clergy who were present, but

* Mr. Thompson's Collections, MSS. under the words STAPLEHURST and SMARDEN.

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 an 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 baptised 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 honor 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 re-

* Mr. Thompson's Collections, MSS.

ceived *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?

He affirmed the *former*, and maintained it by several arguments; the *latter* he denied; and intimated, that they who were guilty of such practises acted like the Jews of old, who cast the blind man out of the temple, for confessing that Jesus was the Christ.*

In close connection with Mr. Cornwall's history stands, as we have seen, that of Mr. Blackwood, who, in consequence of his visitation sermon, became a proselyte to believer's 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 afterwards 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 pulished, 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.

* Crosby, vol. i. p. 334—349, and vol. iii. p. 6—9

† Thompson's Collections, MSS.

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 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 afterwards 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 *non-conformist* 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 begin-

* 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.

ning 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 *tryers* were authorised 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 the *baptists* as 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.†

* Crosby, vol. i. p. 353, 54. See also our Third Volume, p. 549, in the Supplement.

† Crosby, vol. i. p. 289.

SECT. II.

The History of the Quakers.

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 prevades 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 immured 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 præmunire, 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

* The patent, when made out, contained eleven skins of vellum.

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, countenanced and assisted by the temporising 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 stedfast, and enabled to break the strength of the enemy. Some of the *baptists*, especially, expressed an 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 *præmunire* of James I. for refusing to swear; on the obsolete statute of twenty pounds 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 excommunicato capiendo* to be issued, to throw them into prison. They became a prey to idle and profligate

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 361-68.

gate 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 20l. for a meeting at his house, had his house broken open, and two cart-loads of goods to the worth of 40l. besides a mare, were carried away. About the same time cattle and goods to the value of 100l. were taken from sundry persons in and about Nantwick; and from one person the bed on which he lay, and even the dunghill 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, endeavoring afterwards 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 7l. goods to the worth of near 18l. were taken.§ The distresses made this year in Nottinghamshire, upon the members of this society, for their religious assemblies only, amounted to 712l. 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 encour-

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 392-97. † Ibid. p. 406. ‡ P. 414.

§ Vol. ii. p. 416-17.

aged 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 neighbors. §

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 dress. 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

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 420—424.

§ Id. p. 426—29, 438.

being crowded into 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 felon's place. Many suffered, as in former years, and other places, by heavy fines and grievous distrains: goods to the value of 155*l.* being seized to discharge a fine of 79*l.* When most or all of the men were imprisoned, the women kept up the religious meeting, till they also were cast into gaol. 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 di-

vers 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 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 parlor at Tredington in Worcestershire, and sent to the county gaol. They applied, by letter, to the lord lieutenant and deputy lieutenants 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,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 522, 525, 528, 532, 547-48. † Id. p. 536, 508.

‡ Gough, vol. iii. p. 21-30.

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 an *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 gaol; 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 *præmunire* 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-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 shew 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 *præmunire* 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 great 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 endeavors 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 lay in prison all his days, than come out in any way dishonorable to the truth he made profession of.” He preferred having the validity of his indictment tried before the judges, and with this view procured an *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 favor, and gained himself great credit, by ably urging, “ that by law they could not imprison a man upon *præmunire*.” 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 honorably 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 rebellion, 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

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 377—391.

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 afterwards brought over to decide with the adverse barons : the sequestration was, however, limited to the sum proved due, to the great disappointment of the persecutor'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 the informers, rushed into the meeting with tumult and violence, and pulled him down ; to the requisition to shew 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 afterwards, 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 20l. 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 gaol 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 mittimuses ; but

† Gough, vol. ii. p. 514, 515.

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 shewed the prejudice and enmity of this man, that he first insinuated that 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 expences of inefficacious appeals, besides the damage done to his house and goods, amounted to 61l. 7s. 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 20l. for absence from the national worship, amounted in the year 1683, to the enormous sum of 16,400l. 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.

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 501—505.

† Id. p. 520, 21.

In 1680 he was imprisoned upon an excommunication: he was afterwards, for attending meetings, subject to frequent fines and distrains, and at last he was proceeded against on the statute of the 35 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 an *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 over-ruled 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 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 color to their design, they blackened and caluminated his character; representing him as a person disaffected to government, and endeavoring, 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 behavior 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 honor, 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 20l. 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 intreating you in the circuits to enquire into the several causes of their commitments, and other sufferings, which they lie under, and to extend what favor 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 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, Wm. Penn, George Whitehead, and oth-

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 539-544. † Id. p. 394. ‡ Id. p. 425.

ers, 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 his solicitations for friends suffering by heavy fines and imprisonments in Ireland: for at an 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 an 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 an 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 favorable 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 former commissioners in conjunction with three others; but their liberty was not obtained, till the fines were

* Id. p. 433-35.

† Id. p. 479.

discharged by exorbitant and oppressive restraints! †— 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 endeavor 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 case, and from a generous sympathy with their friends under persecution, improved the favorable 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 the second. To discharge this debt the king, by letters patent bearing date the 4th of March 1680-1, grant-

† Id. p. 460-470.

† Gough, vol. ii. p. 506.

ed 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 favorite. 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 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 no wise 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 honor 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."

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 515, and vol. iii. p. 131—137.

CHAP. III.*

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 gratified 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*

* In the Author's edition this is chap. XI. of the 4th volume: and in Dr. Toulmin's edition it is chap. I. of the 5th volume.

† Bp. 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. i. p. 95. MSS. 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

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 whatsoever 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 shew, 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

character and worth, who heard Dr. Sharpe, afterwards 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 afterwards. 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 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. § Eachard, 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

the duties of *tonnage* and *poundage*, &c. which were given to the late king only for life; and in his letters to the Scots parliament, which met March 28, he says, "*I am resolved 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 whipt from Aldgate to Newgate, and from thence to Tyburn; which was exercised with a severity unknown to the English nation.†— And Dangerfield, who had 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 five hundred pounds. He was also sentenced to be pillored, and whiped 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

censures it for the "uneouthness 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 comprized 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 addressers 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 and 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 Eachard, 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. iii. p. 160, 61. *Ed.*

* Burnet, vol. iii. 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 flead. 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 villainy.

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 arbitrary designs.† When the houses met, May 22, the king repeated what he had declared in council, that *he would pre-*

His first education was at Merchant-Taylor'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, "mere 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 villainous 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 400l. a year was given him by King William. "The æra of Oates's plot," remarks Mr. Granger, "was the grand æra 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 *Histor. Account of his own life*, vol. i. p. 98, 99.—Granger's *History of England*, vol. iv. p. 201, 349; and Crosby's *History of the Baptists*, vol. iii. p. 166—182. *Ed.*

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 12, 13, Edin. edition.

† Dr. Grey quotes here Eachard 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.*

serve 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 license to distress the *dissenters*, who were to be sacrificed over again to a bigotted clergy, and an incensed king, zealous for their destruction, (says bishop Kennet) in order to unite and increase the strength of popery, which he favored 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

† Gazette, No. 2036.

‡ “The commons, charmed with these promises, and bigotted 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 further ceremony, did this house of commons deliver up the liberties of the nation to a popish arbitrary prince.”—Warner's *Eccles. History*, vol. ii. p. 631. *Ed.*

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 labor. Dissenting ministers could neither travel the road, nor appear in public but in disguise; nay, they were 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 Matth. v. 19. Mark ix. 39. Mark xi. 31. xii. 38, 39, 40, Luke x. 2. John xi. 57. and Acts xv. 2. They were collected by sir Roger l' Estraunge; 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 council 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 council 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 whipt 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 behavior for seven years. Mr. Baxter continued in prison* about two years, and when the court 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 *whigs* and *dissenters* to a further 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

* Dr. Grey has given us, with apparent approbation, what he calls a *characteristical 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 Richardus Baxter, theologus armatus, lololita reformatus, heresiarcha ærianus, schismaticorum antesignanus: ejus pruritus disputandi* peperit, scriptandi cacœthes nutritiv, præticandi zelus intemperatus maturavit *ecclesie scabiem*. Qui dissentit ab iis, quibuscum consentit maximo: tum sibi, cum aliis noneonformis præteritis, præsentibus et futuris: regum & episcoporum juratus hostis: ipsumq; rebellionem solenne foedus. Qui natus erat per septuaginta annos, et octoginta libros, ad perturbandas regni republicas, et ad bis perdendam ecclesiam Anglicanam; magnis tamen excidit ausis. Deo gratias." Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 281, note. *Ed.*

* "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 sententiae primæ author, disputandi pruritus ecclesiarum scabies*:" i. e. "Here lies the first author of this opinion; the itch of disputing is 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 non-conformists, past, present, and to come; the sworn enemy of kings and bishops, and in himself the very bond of rebels: who was burn, 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 endeavor of which mighty mischiefs he fell short. For which thanks be to God." *Biogr. Britan.* vol. ii. p. 19, second edition. *Ed.*

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, being taken up by warrants, and secured in gaols, 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, resolved 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 rude-

* 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 Pater-noster-row ; who imported the paper. His assistant at the press was apprehended and suffered : he himself escaped into Holland, and absconded in 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. iii. p. 403-4. *Ed.*

ness and violence.* Some days after Monmouth's defeat, Col. Kirk ordered several of the prisoners to be hung up at Taunton, without any trial or form of law, while he and his company were dancing, revelling, and drinking healths at a neighboring window, with a variety of music, from whence they beheld, with a more than brutish triumph, the dreadful spectacle. The gaols being full of prisoners, the king appointed lord chief justice Jefferies to go the western circuit, whose cruel behavior surpassed 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 threatened and confined 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 non-conformist 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 persuaded many of the prisoners to plead guilty, in hopes of favor, and then taking advantage of their confession, ordered their immediate execution, without giving them a minute's time to say their prayers. Mr. Tuchin, 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 petitioned the king that he might be hanged.†—Bishop Burnet says, that in several places in the *west*, there were executed near six hundred persons, and that the quarters of two or three hundred were fixed 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 behavior towards some of the nobility and gentry, who were well affected, but appeared to the character of some of the criminals, would have amazed one (says bishop Burnet) if done by a *bashaw* in Turkey. The king had advice of his proceedings every day, and spoke of it in a stile neither becoming the majesty nor mercy of a

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 43, Edinburgh edition.

† Bennet's Memoirs, p. 374, 5, second edition.

great prince.* And Jefferies, besides satiating himself with blood, got great sums of money, by selling pardons to such as were able to purchase them, from ten pounds to fourteen thousand guineas a-piece.†

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 gaols, 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 harboring 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. Ferneley, Col. 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

* Bennet's Memorial, p. 44, second edition.

† 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.

opposed their measures, they would not have let *that butcher* loose (says Burnet) to commit so many barbarous acts of cruelty, as struck an 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 Nov. 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 *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 Nov. 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 non-conformists;‡ 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.

* Gazette, No. 2085.

† Burnet, p. 70, 71.

‡ Calamy's Abridgment, p. 460. &c.

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 six or seven thousand pounds: the like at Enfield, Hackney, and all the neighboring 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 Bishopsgate, 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 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

* Calamy, p. 372, 373; or Palmer's Non-conformist's Memorial, vol. ii. p. 163—168.

† Palmer's Non-con. Mem. vol. i. p. 95-6.

‡ 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

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 back yards and gardens into the house, to avoid the observation of neighbors 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 centinel 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 non-conformists 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 hab-

at the chancellor's elbow and took notes, while the bishop's council were pleading, he said nothing by way of reply. Bp. Compton's Life, p. 37. *Ed.*

its, 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 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, Tennyson, Patrick, Wake, Whithy, Sharp, Atterbury, Williams, Aldrich, Burnet, Fowler, &c.† men of great name and renown, who gained

* 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. iii. p. 79, 80. *Edin. edit.*

immortal honor, and were afterwards 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 non-conformists, 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 non-conformists 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 non-conformists stood in the gap, and exposed themselves sufficiently to the resentments of the papists, for refusing to come into their measures for an *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. Further, the *church party* was most nearly concerned, the non-conformists 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

* Calamy, p. 373; and Pierce's Vindication, p. 266.

† A licence was refused to a discourse against the whole system of popery, drawn up by the learned Mr. Jonathan Hammer, who was ejected from Bishop's-Tawton in Devon. A discourse against transubstantiation, written by Mr. Henry Pendlebury, ejected from Holcomb chapel in Lancashire, and afterwards published by Arch. 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

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 expence; nor would they provoke the *church party*, or by any ill behavior 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. His majesty now resolved to introduce an *universal toleration* in despite of the church, and at their expence.† 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 favor to the papists, provided*

Dr. Isham, Dr. Alston, Dr. Batteley, and Mr Needham, licensers of the press, declaring that *they* never refused to license 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. Haumer 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, 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 edit. Baxter's History of his own Life, part III. p. 183, folio. Palmer's Non-conformist's Memorial, vol. i. p. 342. Dr. Grey, vol. ii. 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.

† Burnet, p. 140.

they might be still suffered to vex the dissenters; and he named the very men, though they thought fit afterwards 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 favor, 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 *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 bishoprics. Parker to Oxford, and Cartwright to Chester. Many pamphlets were written and dispersed in favor 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 inseperable branch of the prerogative of the kings of England, as of all other sovereign princes, to dispense with all penal laws in particular*

* Burnet, p. 73, 4.

† 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 Reresby, p. 233. Ed.*

‡ Welwood's *Memoirs*, p. 194.

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 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 *non-conformists*. “All on a sudden (says bishop Burnet*) the churchmen were disgraced, and the dissenters in high favor. Lord chief justice Herbert went the Western circuit after Jefferies, who was now made lord chancellor, and all was grace and favor 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 every where, that the king would not have them or their meetings disturbed.”† A *dispensation or license office* was set up, where all who applied might have an indulgence, paying only fifty shillings, for themselves and their families. Many who had been prosecuted for *conventicles*, took out those licenses, 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 shew of grace and kindness, and *they took care not to provoke the church party.*” But where then were the under-

* Page 78.

† King James, previously to his adopting of 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 is 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 non-conformists. Calamy's History of his own Life, vol. i. p. 170, MS. Ed.

standings of the high church clergy, during the whole reign of king Charles II. while they were pursuing the non-conformists 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 expence 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 non-conformists 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 allwise 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 suspended, 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 eighty-three, of which two hundred are women; many under sentence of *præmunire*; 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 gaol 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

* 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. iii. p. 162; and the Index under the word ADDRESS. *Ed.*

† Sewel, p. 588, 593.

violences, outrageous distresses, and woeful 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 twenty pounds 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 twenty pounds 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 ten pounds a warrant,

* 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.

7 Eliz. cap. 23, *De excommu. capiendo*.

23 Eliz. cap. 1, for 20l. 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 non-conformists*.

22 King Charles II. cap. 1, *against seditious conventicles*.

N^o 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.

and five warrants together for fifty pounds to one man; and for non-payment, 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 one hundred pounds, 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 vexations suits of the *commons*, and the expences 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 two millions; 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

* Preface to Delaune's Plea, p. 5.

their substance 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 three or four pounds 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.

* History of the Stuarts, p. 715.

† Among these were Mr Howe, Mr. Shower, Mr. Nat. Taylor, Mr. Papillon, Sir John Thompson, (afterwards 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, ingenious and genteel 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.

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 humor, but conscience.

2. To *their doctrine and manner of preaching*, which was plain 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 an 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 school-masters 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 non-conformists 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 neighbors, 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 favorable 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 enquire *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 *commissioners* 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 enquire what money or goods had been taken or received for any matters relating to religion since Sept. 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 enquiry* 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 enquire 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 further 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 acknowledgement.

To humble the clergy yet further, 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, 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,

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 110, 41, Edinb. edit.

which by the spiritual or ecclesiastical laws might be corrected. They were also to enquire into all misdemeanors 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 *enquiries*, according to the mandates sent to the chancellors and archdeacons of the several dioceses, 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 further preferment, swam with the stream.§ Some *Roman*

* 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. iii. p. 82, 3. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. 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 humors 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. iii. p. 405, 6. *Ed.*

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 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 *abso-*

* 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 Dec. 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 300l. a year for his own and son's life was granted to him with 1000l. in money, and a place of 100l. 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 Rus-

lute 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 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 grown quite indifferent in matters of religion; but the *presbyterians*, though now freed from the severities they had smarted under for 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 favorable aspect for the court: the king had a greater dependence on the Irish *catholics*† than upon any other of his subjects. Colonel

sel; 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 500 marks, and committed to the prison till it was paid, and sureties for his good behavior 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 Archb. Tillotson*, p. 216, &c. *Ed.*

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 86, 90.

† 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

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 favor of *papists*. The corporations were dissolved, and all things managed with an arbitrary hand, so that many, imagining the massaering 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* Aug. 4, where he was treated by Jefferies in a manner unbecoming his character.

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. 4, 5.

‡ 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

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. Sharp, 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 Alban 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 and beneficio*, for disobedience

James, discoursing with him 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 honor 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. iv. p. 283-4. *Ed.*

* Though Bp. 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 Bp. Compton*, p. 45; where from p. 22-39. and *Biographia Britannica*, vol. iv. article Compton, 55-6, second edit. may be seen a full account of his prosecution. *Ed.*

† Burnet, p. 144-15.

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 sundry enquiries 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 afterwards 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 shew kindness to the *dissenters*; for this purpose his ma-

* It will be thought but justice to the memory of Bp. 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 Exam. p. 406, 7. *Ed*

† Burnet, p. 701.

esty sent agents among them, offering them the royal favor, 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 intreated the *dissenters* to appear on their side, and stand by the establishment, making large promises of favor 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 an uniformity of worship had been endeavored 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 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 of the trade of his subjects, than an entire liberty of conscience, it having always been his opinion, as most suitable to the principles of

* Amongst other measures, which expressed the disposition of the court towards dissenters, was the power with which some gentlemen were invested to grant out licenses directed to the bishops and their officers, to the judges, justices, and all others whom it may concern.—The licenses 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 20l. a month: or, 3, upon outlawries, or *excom. capiendo*. 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 licenses was 10l. for a single person: but if several joined the price was 16l. and eight persons might join in taking out one license.—There were not very many dissenters that took out these licenses. Tong’s Life of Mr. Matthew Henry. p. 45, 6, 12mo. *Ed.*

† Gazette, No. 2226.

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 endeavor 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 non-conformity 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

* Under all the pretences of tenderness, liberal policy and wisdom, which gilded over the king's speech, "It was well understood," observes sir John Heresby, "that his view was to divide the protestant churches, *divide & impera*; that so the papists might with the more ease possess themselves of the highest place." *Memoirs*, p. 243. *Ed.*

† *Gazette*, No. 2231.

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 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 further 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 *non-conformist 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.*

* 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

A declaration of the same nature was sent to Scotland, in which the king, "by virtue of his prerogative royal, 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 broken the *edict of Nantz*, 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*. Nov. 6, the king sent an or-

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 favor 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. 27, &c. *Ed.*

† Eachard, p. 1082. Burnet, p. 136.

der 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 open 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 endeavors 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 mean and inconsiderable. When there was a general meeting of the minis-

* Sewel informs us, that the king carried his condescension to the quakers so far, that a countryman of that persuasion came 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. 669. *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 afterwards gathered a congregation in London, which assembled at Haberdashers'-Hall, was a minister of great reputation and influence; an active and 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. 45. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 410-416. *Ed.*

ters to consider of their behavior 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 favor, 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 favor and benefit derived to us from your royal clemency, compel 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

* 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. i. p. 10. *Ed.*

‡ Howe’s Life, p. 124.

|| 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,

majesty's 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 favors 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

Mr. Franklin, Mr. Deal, and Mr. Reynolds. It is preserved at length, with the king's answer, in the *Biographia Britannica*: vol. i. article *Al-sor*. 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 favors: 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 pleasant countenances of the courtiers, and the courteous words, looks, and behavior of his majesty." *Palmer's Non-conformists Memorial*, vol. ii. p. 13. *Ed.*

† Gazette, No. 2238.

|| Sewel, p. 606.

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 endeavor 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.†

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

* 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 croud 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 concessious 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. 137-8. *Ed.*

thankful as they were for their liberty, (says lord Halifax) they were fearful of the issue; neither can any number 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 neighbors."* 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 *non-conformists* 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 upset the *whole hierarchy*. In this distress they turned their eyes all

* "The churchmen on their side," says Dr. Warner, "did all that lay in their power to establish an 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 behavior on the re-establishment of their affairs. It must be owned, that this conduct was dextrous, 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. ii. p. 639, 40. *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 baulk 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 an hand to convey

around them for relief: they applied to the *dissenters*, 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 of 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*

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 had always taken him for that ingenuous honest man that he now found him to be." Mr. Howe afterwards 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. 141-2. *Ed.*

* Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 132.

erown 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 the *non-conformists*, 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 the 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 impowered 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 behavior 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 favorable juncture ; they entered into no alliance with the papists, nor complied with the court measures, any further 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 favor 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 endeavors, 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 ne-

cessary 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 Eardard) 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-lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants, 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

* 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, ministers 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 Living, 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.

legal right to what they now enjoyed only by the royal favor ; 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 favor ; the *dissenters* therefore were afraid, that if they should give into his majesty's measures, though they might secure their liberty for 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 his 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 diocese 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 fre-

* Burnet, p. 145.

quently to church and behaved with more decency (says his lordship) than could have been expected. This obliged 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 life-time* ;* and when one of them was lamenting that his next heir was an *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 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 Ox-

* Barnet, p. 135.

† Ibid. p. 136.

‡ Ibid. p. 172.

ford. 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 his *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 Wellwood) 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. Mr. David Clarkson, B. D. born at Bradford in Yorkshire, Feb. 1621-2, and fellow of Clare-hall, Cambridge, where he was tutor to Dr. Tillotson, afterwards 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 *treatise of lit-*

urgies, his primitive episcopacy, his practical divinity of papists destructive to men's souls; and his volume of sermons, printed after his death. He was sometime minister of Mortlake in Surry, 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 Bridgwater, he was covered from his enemies. This honorable and virtuous lady was a comfort and support to the non-conformist ministers throughout the reign of King Charles II. Her respects to the doctor were pe-

* This is an inaccuracy: he was chosen copastor 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 Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 451. Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 4. And Granger's History of England, vol. iii. p. 310, 8vo. *Ed.*

cular, and her favors 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 non-conformist upon moderate principles. He died of a cancerous humor, 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 65th year of his age.*

Mr. John Collins was educated in 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 any where 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

* It is a proof what different coloring 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 his "as the prettiest, nonsensical, 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 Hist. of England, vol. iii. 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. iii. 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, b. iv. p. 200; where may be seen a Latin epitaph for him. *Ed.*

the living of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, and was consecrated bishop of Chester, Feb. 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 speaking 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 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 the theological systems." Burnet's History, vol. iii. 12mo. p. 109, 10. Granger's History of England, vol. iii. 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 op-

pressed royalists. After the restoration he was installed canon, and then dean of Christ-church, Nov. 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 Feb. 6th, 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 honor 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 spirit. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. ii. p. 602, 5.—Richardson de *Præsulibus*, p. 548. Burnet's *History*, vol. iii. p. 100. Granger's *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 252. *British Biogr.* vol. v. p. 41; and Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 100.]

CHAP. IV.*

From King JAMES's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, to the act of Toleration in the reign of King WILLIAM, and Queen MARY.

1688.

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

* In the author's edition this is chapter XII. of the IVth volume, and chapter II. of the Vth volume, in Dr. Toulmin's edition.

† Burnet, p. 149, 155, vol. iii. Edinburgh edition.

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."

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 immovably fixed in her religion, and that there was not the least prospect of her departing from it.

* Page 156.

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, Nov. 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 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 to 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

* Burnet, p. 165, 6.

† Welwood's Memoirs, p. 218.

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 shew 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 Jan. 2d and 26th, 1687-8, in words to this effect, “That it had pleased 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 was drawn up accordingly by the bishops of Durham, Rochester,

* Burnet, p. 167.

‡ Gazette, No. 2309, and 2316.

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 further 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

* Calamy's Abridgments, p. 382.

§ Gazette, No. 2342.

which we doubt not but the next parliament will shew, and that it will not be in vain that we have resolved to use our utmost endeavors to establish liberty of conscience on such just and equal foundations as will render it unalterable, 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 burthen 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 neighbors, 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 honor 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 dioceses: some of them (says Barnet) 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 Chester, Wood of Lichfield 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

* 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 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 afterwards taking the oaths to his successors. Biogr. Britan. vol. i. article Barlow. Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 305. *Ed.*

‡ Gazette, No. 2374.

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* 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 Lam-

* 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. iii. p. 178. *Ed.*

§ Burnet, p. 184,

‡ Gazette, No. 2364.

beth, 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,† Lloyde 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*

* Burnet, p. 176. Welwood's Memoirs, p. 184, 6th ed.

† 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. Areher, of Tunbridge, could produce, and did shew 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 favor 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. i. p. 172-6. *Ed.*

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* 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 stopt 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

* Burnet, p. 177.

† 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 non-conformist 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 the declaration in the churches." Reresby's Memoirs, p. 261, 62. *Ed.*

in Westminster-hall, attended by several of the nobility, and a vast croud 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 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 an one as they themselves should settle in *convocation*; and though they had all along vigorously endeavored 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 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

* "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 council 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 expence of their own sufferings stood up for the liberty of their country, did now endeavor 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, 6. *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 print-seller's 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 opposition he met with. Dr. Grey's examination, vol. iii. p. 420, 21. And on the day after the trial, he was observed to labor under a very great disturbance of mind. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 254. *Ed.*

pen; and it was apparent beyond contradiction, that the hearts of the people were alienated from the king; even the *dissenters* (says Eachard) shewed 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. Lloyde, 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 shew 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 this 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 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

|| Calamy's Abridgments, vol. i. 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, Aug. 4th, 1622, and repeated in the reign of Charles II. High Church Politics, p. 84. *Ed.*

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 an 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 those 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 wrapt up judge too right, that ever they will be *priest-ridden* in this point. And if any argument

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. i. p. 426.

† Ibid. p. 384, note.

was wanting to conclude the certainty of this point, *the wise and generous behavior 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 favor when it is in our power to do it.*"*

The reader has now seen the various and strong assurances of favor, given by the *church party in distress*, to the non-conformists, 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 *non-resistance* 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 afterwards distinguished by the names of *non-jurors, jacobites, and high-fliers*, 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 further 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

* Burnet, p. 142.

† Calamy's Abridg. vol. i. p. 386.

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. Eachard, 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, 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 by distress from their favorite doctrine of non-resistance, 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 favorably, 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 interest 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 critical 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. Zuytlestein 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 Tyrcon-

* Burnet, p. 217.

nel 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 endeavor a legal establishment of an *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 further 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 protestants." Sept. 23, the king was further 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 licenses 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 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 further redress of grievances.

* Gazette, No. 2384.

§ Ibid. No. 2386.

† Ibid. 2388, 2391.

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 favor,* landed at Torbay, Nov. 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 Oct. 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

* Bishop Burnet, who minutely describes the circumstances of the prince of 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 favorite, for whom the skies do fight,

“ And all the winds conspire to guide thee right.”

Burnet's History, vol. iii. 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. Eachard 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 Roberts, 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

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 non-conformists, and in the mean time 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 expression 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 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 favor 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 dis-

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. iii. p. 422, and Burnet, vol. iii. p. 214, 15. *Ed.* || Burnet, p. 243, 4.

affection 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, Churchil, and others of the first distinction, deserted the army at Salisbury, and joined the prince, 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 afterwards 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 so high 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 *non-jurors*, 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

* Burnet, p. 257, 8. † Eachard, p. 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.*

he declared that though he was going to seek for 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 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, favorers 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 upon 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 *non-conformist 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

* Burnet, p. 274.

† Calamy, p. 387.

Mr. Howe, in the name of the rest, assured his highness “ of their grateful sense of his hazardous and heroical expedition, which the favor 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 endeavors, 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 future endeavors 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 favorably, 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 endeavors,

† Howe’s Life, p. 142.

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 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

* Gazette, No. 2414.

† Burnet, p. 282.

of England, &c. Feb. 13, 1688-9, 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 dishonorable 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 them 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

§ 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. iv. p. 34, 12mo. and Lindsey's Historical View of the State of Unitarianism, p. 303, note. *Ed.*

their rescue; they signed an association to support and assist him; they offered him 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 dishonorable part to their GREAT DELIVERER, throughout the course of this 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 non-conformists, 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 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 expence, 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 to 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 honor 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 Savior has prescribed in his word. We shall not trespass further 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 favor as with a shield, and

make your government an 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 an 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 an universal joy through this kingdom. It is an auspicious sign of public felicity, when supreme virtue, and sepreme 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 honorable 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 request 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 endeavors for the obtaining an union that is necessary for the edifying of the church. I desire your prayers."*

* 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

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, Jan. 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. Saucroft archbishop of Canterbury, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Kenn of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, Thomas of Worcester, Lloyde of Norwich, and Frampton of Gloucester; however, that they might recommend themselves by a shew 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 the second'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

were generally non-conformists, 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. iv. p. 7, 8. Edin. Ed. 42mo.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 303.

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 honor or conscience. Many suffered the time limited for taking the oaths to elapse, and yet officiated afterwards 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 *non-jurors* should gain over great numbers of the laity, by pretending to abide by the old liturgy, in opposition to the reformed one. Thus the non-conformists 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 favorers 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

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 303.

† Gazette, No. 2436.

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.*

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.†

* The protests of the dissentient peers were grounded on the following reasons: "That an 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 sacrament is a test on protestants rather than on papists: that so long as it is 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 distant 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. 61, 65. *Ed.*

It was proposed further, 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 humored, 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 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 ap-

* Burnet, p. 45.

† “The act of toleration,” remarks a late writer, “was another interference of the state to check the power of ecclesiasties, 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 Limboreh (Locke’s Works, vol. iv. p. 406,) soon after the passing of this act say, “*Tolerantiam apud nos jam tandem lege stabilitam te ante hæc audisse nihil dubito. Non ea forsân latitudine, qua tu et tui similes veri, et sine ambitione vel invidia, christiani optarent. Sed aliquid est prodire tænis. His initiis jacta, spero, sunt libertatis et pacis fundamenta, quibus stabilienda olim erit 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.

|| History, p. 14.

pears they did not much like it. It is entitled, *an act for exempting their majesty's protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws 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 declaration 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 affecting 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*

§ Burnet, vol. iv. p. 14.

‡ Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 179.

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,

Dr. <i>Lamplugh</i> , abp. of York,	Sir <i>Jonath. Trelawney</i> , bp. Exeter,
<i>Compton</i> , bp. London,	
<i>Mew</i> , bp. Winchester,	Dr. <i>Burnet</i> , bp. Sarum,
<i>Lloyd</i> , bp. St. Asaph,	<i>Humphreys</i> , bp. Bangor,
<i>Sprat</i> , bp. Rochester,	<i>Stratford</i> , bp. Chester.
<i>Smith</i> , bp. Carlisle,	

To these were added the following divines,

Dr. <i>Stillingfleet</i> ,	Dr. <i>Alston</i> ,	Dr. <i>Beaumont</i> ,
<i>Tillotson</i> ,	<i>Scot</i> ,	<i>Goodman</i> ,
<i>Sharp</i> ,	<i>Grove</i> ,	<i>Battely</i> ,
<i>Aldridge</i> ,	<i>Patrick</i> ,	<i>Tennison</i> ,
<i>Hall</i> ,	<i>Maggot</i> ,	<i>Fowler</i> ,
<i>Montague</i> ,	<i>Kidder</i> ,	<i>Williams</i> ,
<i>Beveridge</i> ,	<i>Jane</i> ,	

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 authorize 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 *præmunire*, 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, 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 further, that altering the customs and constitutions of the church, to gratify a peevish and obstinate party, was like 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 re-

* Life of Archbp. Tennison, p. 40, &c.

§ Burnet, vol. iv. p. 44.

treating from so many promises without a single offer? But it was said further, 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 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 re-

ferred, 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 non-conformists 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 those 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 afterwards 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

* Burnet, p. 44.

† Apparatus, p. 95, 96.

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 alterations 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 of Dr. Tillotson.† His majesty sent a

|| Calamy's Abridgment, vol. i. 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, 4th 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

letter or message by the earl of Nottingham, assuring them of his constant favor 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 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 owing 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 endeavor a temper of

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 expectation 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, 56. Ed.*

*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. *Bp. Compton's Life, p. 54, 55. Ed.*

things not essential to religion ; and that it was their duty to shew 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§ or a *comprehension of dissenters within the establishment* ; and such was the

† Bishop Compton closed his speech, which breathed a different spirit from that of Dr. Jane, with these words of Joseph to his brethren, "*Ne multumini 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 authorised 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 endeavors 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 names whose memory we revere,

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 succor 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 afterwards 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,

Compton, Lloyd, Burnet, among the bishops ; with Fillotson, 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, 8, 9. 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 favor 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. vii. p. 224-5. *Ed.*

* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 32.

that the reformation in Scotland having been begun by a parity 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 establishment; 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 Gillicranky, 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 favor, 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

* Burnet, p. 40.

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, shewed 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 the second, will judge how far they had reason to replace them in the saddle, and deliver the reins into their hands.

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 endeavors 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 clamors.

* Burnet, p. 42.

† Ibid. p. 49.

‡ Ibid. p. 55, 56.

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 endeavored 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 further 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-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 further 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 in-

trusted only with such who were *full and entire conformists*. And if any school-master 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 hardships 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 Number 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,

The Rev. William Bates, D.D.	The Rev. Mr. John Quick
Obad. Grew, D.D.	Mr. Nathaniel Vincent,
Sam. Annesly, D.D.	M.A.
John Collings, D.D.	Mr. Rd. Stretton, M.A.
Mr. Richard Baxter,	Mr. George Hammond,
Mr. Vincent Alsop, M.A.	M.A.
Mr. John Howe, M.A.	Mr. Richard Kentish,
Mr. Tho. Doolittle, M.A.	Mr. H. Newcome, M.A.
Mr. Phil. and Matth. Henry, M.A.	Mr. Matth. Sylvester,
Mr. John Flavel,	Mr. Christ. Nesse, M.A.
Mr. Matthew Barker,	Mr. John Humphreys,
M.A.	M.A.
Mr. George Cockayne,	Mr. Richard Mayo,
Mr. John Faldo,	Mr. Matth. Clarke, sen.
Mr. W. Lorimer, M.A.	Isaac Chauncey, M.D.
Mr. Tho. Gilbert, B.D.	Mr. Sam. Slater, M.A.
Mr. Jos. Hill, B.D.	Daniel Williams, D.D.
Mr. Robert Bragge,	Mr. John Spademan,
Mr. Matth. Mead,	M.A.
Mr. Jas. Forbes, M.A.	Mr. Robert Billio,
Mr. Tho. Cole, M.A.	Mr. Rich. Steele, M.A.
Mr. Geo. Griffith, M.A.	Mr Nath Taylor,
Mr. Nath. Mather,	Mr. R. Flemming, M.A.
Mr. Edward Veal,	Mr. Daniel Burgess,
	Mr. James Owen, &c.

These and others who deserve an honorable 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

TO

CHAPTERS III. and IV. and of VOL. V.

SECT. I.

The History of the Baptists continued.

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 baptised, 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 gaol, 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, after full five years imprisonment in different gaols, and enduring many inhumanities from merciless gaolers, he yielded up his spirit without pang or considerable groan, the fifth of March 1668. At his death the church consisted of 150 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 re-

ligious tracts, and letters to his friends, full of christian exhortations to constancy and stedfastness. 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 recompense 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 an 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 one hundred and ten pounds.†

Another, who suffered much in this period for his non-conformity, 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 afterwards at Shadwell chapel and other

* Thompson's Collections, MSS. and Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. iii. p. 11, 24.

† Ibid. p. 118, 119.

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 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 every 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. Harcastle'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, finding the number of members, which amount-

* 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 baptised 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 Non. Conf. Mem. vol. ii. p. 351, and Thomp. Col. MSS.

† Thompson's Collections, MSS. Crosby, vol. iii. p. 27, 28; and Palmer's Non-conformists' Memorial, vol. ii. p. 557.

ed, when Mr. Hardcastle became their pastor, to a hundred, increased to 166, 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 an *habeas corpus* to the King's-Bench, and acquitted. He was afterwards apprehended on the highway in Kingswood, on suspicion of only coming from a meeting, and committed to Gloucester gaol, for refusing 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 behavior, 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. Willis, Mr. Blinman, and Mr. Baxter, in whose writ-

* Palmer's Non-conformists' Memorial, vol. i. p. 243, &c. Crosby, vol. iii. p. 28, 29; and Thompson's Collections, MSS.

ings, 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 honorable parents, his father being a gentleman who had an estate of 400l. 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 before the plague at his own house in Cannon-street; but afterwards 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 *non-conformity*, 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 53, Mr. John Gosnold, who had been a scholar at the Charter-house, 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 correspondence 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

* Crosby, vol. iii. p. 99.

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 fifty pounds 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 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 53d year of his age."

SECT. II.

The History of the Quakers continued.

DURING the preceding period, from the declaration of indulgence to the end of Charles the III'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, nor 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 gaols, 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, addressing 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 a-top of the waters." He afterwards added, "the creating word of the Lord endures for ever."†

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 407-411.

† This William Baily married Mary Fisher, a woman of singular ardor 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

In 1679, died, at Goodnestone Court in Kent, in the 63d year of his age, Isaac Pennington, of Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, an honorable, 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 for 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

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 afterwards 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. i. p. 423.

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 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 demeanor, 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 honorable 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

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 439, 448.

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 devoutness to the glory of God, and by a generous concern to promote the well-being of mankind, he took many journies, 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 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 65 years, an ancient and faithful minister of this society. He was born, at or near Ship-ton 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 baptise 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 labors. 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,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 549, 553.

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 connections were among the *independents*; he then joined the *quakers*, and continued a steady, serviceable, and honorable 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 gaol, Thomas Stordy, descended from a family of repute in Cumberland, and born to the inheritance of an 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 religious 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 neighborhood as a man of circumspect, sober, and temperate demeanor, 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 harrassed by prosecution upon prosecution, and penalty upon penalty; he was detained a close prisoner at Carlisle, under a *præmunire*, 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 Eliza-

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 554—557.

both, he was cast into gaol, 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 an 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 afterwards 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 restraints, in divers imprisonments, and in personal abuses. In Shropshire, the gaoler 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 serviceable at the time,

* Gough, vol. iii. p. 34—37.

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 55, and his funeral was attended to Bunhill-fields by many hundreds of friends and others.*

While the society derived honor, 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, 1674, 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

* Gough, vol. iii. p. 154—157.

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 neighbors 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 shew 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 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 favor and respect, and the knowledge, charity, and disinterested probity of its author justly applauded. It was printed in Latin at Amsterdam, in 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 chris-

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 397—400.

tians, 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 an heap of extravagancies 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 Barelays, 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.
 "See his religion, which so late before
 "Was like a jumbled mass of dross and ore,
 "Refin'd 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

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 401—406. Biographia Britan. vol. ii. 2d ed. Article Barclay. Dictionaire des Heresies, vol. ii. p. 460 Mosheim, however, has not treated this work with candor or justice, but endeavors 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. v. p. 36, note (b) 2d ed. and Gough, ut supra.

† Biographia Brit. vol. ii. p. 602, of the 2d. edit.

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 favor 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, reunited 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

* Biographia Britan. vol. ii. p. 592-3. Gough, vol. iii. p. 15.

† Gough, vol. iii. p. 9-21.

the court and the nation. But in March 1685-6 they made an application to the throne, soliciting 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 out, "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

* Gough, vol. iii. p. 164—169.

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 state 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 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 depredations 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 favor.†

* Gough, vol. iii. p. 172—176.

† Id. p. 189—195.

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 parliament 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 honorable 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 behavior, naturally eloquent, and in great credit among them.* The acquisition of so consid-

† Gough. vol. iii. p. 198-9.

‡ Id. p. 199-202.

* This Mr. Swinton was attainted after the restoration of Charles II.

erable 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, Sept. 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.†

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 of 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. ii. p. 590, and Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 182.

† Gough, vol. iii. p. 181-2-3, and Biog. Brit. vol. ii. p. 590, 1. 2d 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 labors 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 journies; 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 dis-

course, 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 an holy triumph over its power.*

The history of this society has, with an impartial and commendable disregard to the distinction of sex, made honorable 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 behavior, 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 labored herself in the ministry among them, in London and its neighborhood. 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 down-

* Gough, vol. iii. p. 223—228.

fall. 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 of 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, 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.†

* Gough, vol. iii. p. 219, 223.

† Id. p. 183, 185.

SECT. III.

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 half, and the prospects 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 æra 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 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.

Sometime 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 diocese 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

* Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. iii. p. 88.

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 further 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 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 combing the re-establishment of popery with arbitrary power was to be carried; and show 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 the *exercise* of which is generously waved. 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 *favor*; the time is yet to come, when christians, of 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 tyrannising over conscience into their own hands, that they themselves might be *free*, and all other parties remain

* Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 323.

slaves, than liberal endeavors 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 Bocher, 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, stigmatised 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 their principles into practice, and to shew that they could rule according to the maxims for which, when oppressed, they could forcibly plead.

* 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 honor it should be said, their conduct was consistent with the arguments they had advanced, and liberty of conscience, on an extensive and liberal scale, was a leading feature of each constitution.

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 is not merely the *connivance* of the law."* It hath been followed with an 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 enquiry 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 enquiry 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 Sa-

* Lord Mansfield.

voy, 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 vallies, and obliged them to take shelter among the Switzers and others that would afford them an asylum. But, in September 1639, 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 country, 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 vallies, 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

* Calamy's History of his own Times, MS. Dr Calamy was told several remarkable particulars concerning this march, by Mr. Arnold, who came afterwards to England to solicit the assistance of king William. One was, that when they were come pretty near to their vallies, 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 vallies, 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.

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 40; afterwards it increased to 50; then to 140; and has since been 200. It was the first institution of the kind, wherein the *protestant dissenters* were concerned; and into it 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 honor 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.

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 enquiries. 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 *Socinians*: 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 confirm 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 alledged 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 afterwards 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 from whence arose rash judg-

ments, animosities, hatreds, and persecution, began his piece with the first principles discernable in human nature ; and, avoiding all sentiments controverted amongst Christians, confined himself to those 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 license, 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 et Historique*, tom. ix. p. 95, &c.

December 11, 1729.

WAITING on Arthur Onslow, Esq. speaker of the honorable house of commons, he was pleased to suffer me to peruse and afterwards to transcribe a marginal note, which he had written with his own hand to page 152, 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 ministers 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 HALES, 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 endeavors 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* 157, the *noes* 183. 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 afterwards discharged being a member of the house of commons, for being a popish recusant convict.”

I here insert this for the use of posterity.

* Dr. Calamy's History of his own Life.

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 Easter-day, and St. Michael the archangel, or on some other Sunday within one month after those feasts, immediately after the gospel.

“FORASMUCH as it appertaineth to all christian men, but especially to the ministers and 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 rites, as they be superfluous or abused; and to constitute others, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.

4. "Moreover I confess, that it is not lawful for *any man* to take upon him any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, but *such only* as are lawfully thereunto called, by the high authorities, according to the ordinances of the realm.

5. "Furthermore, I do acknowledge the queen's majesty's prerogative, and superiority of government of all estates, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm and other her dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God's word, and of right to appertain to her highness, in such sort as is in the late act of parliament expressed, and 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 word of God, he hath no more authority than other bishops have in their provinces and dioceses, and therefore the power which he now challengeth, that is, to be the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, and so to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church; and therefore is for most just causes taken away and 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 Savior 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 say-

ing, *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 contrarywise most ungodly, and most injurious to the precious redemption of our Savior 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, Hierom, 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 contrarywise 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 only acceptable 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 Savior 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 Superintendant Ministers, and Commissioners of Charges within the realm of Scotland, to their brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in sincerity, desire the perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit.

BY word and writ, it is come to our knowledge (reverend pastors) that divers of our dearest brethren, amongst whom are some of the best learned within that realm, are deprived from ecclesiastical function, and forbidden to preach, and so by you, that they are straight to promote the kingdom of Jesus Christ, because their consciences will not suffer to take upon them (at the commandment of authority) such garments as idolaters, in time of blindness, have used in their idolatry, which bruit cannot be but 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 agitated with greater vehemency than well liketh us: to wit, whether that such apparel is to be counted 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 hath 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. Color 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 further 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 conscience of yours 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 favor too much of the earth, and of worldly wisdom.

And therefore we think that ye should boldly oppone yourselves to all power, that will or dare extol itself, not only against God, but also against all such as do burthen the consciences of the faithful, farther than God hath burthened them by his own word. But herein we confess our offence, in that we have 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 favors 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 that Roman antichrist, and travel, that the kingdom of Christ Jesus universally may be maintained and advanced. The days are evil; iniquity abounds; christian charity (alas!) is waxen cold; and therefore we ought the more diligently to watch: for the hour is uncertain when the Lord Jesus shall appear, before whom we your brethren, and ye, may give an account of our administration.

And thus, in conclusion, we once again crave favor to our brethren, which granted, ye in the Lord shall command us in things of double more importance. The Lord Jesus rule your hearts in his true fear to the end, and give unto you and unto us victory over that conjured enemy of all true religion; to wit, over that Roman antichrist, whose

wounded head Satan, by all means, labors 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. GRAIG,	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 unquam interpellatione obturbarem; ita vehementer dolet silentium hoc, quo hæcenus 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 hæc usque, ut molestus fuerim nemini, invitus nunc egor contra naturam principi etiam ipsi esse importunus, non re ulla aut causa mea, sed aliena inductus calamitate. Quæ quo acerbior sit et luctuosior, hoc acriores mihi addit ad deprecandum stimulos. Nonnullos intellego 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 pœnitentia; complures in exilium sunt condemnati, idque recitissime meo judicio 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 conti-

neri perspicio, quorum alterum ad errorum pravitatem, alterum ad supplicii acerbitatem attinet. Ac erroribus quidem ipsis nihil possit absurdius esse, sanus nemo est qui dubitat, mirorque tam fœda opinionum portenta in quosquam potuisse Christianos cadere. Sed ita habet humanæ infirmitatis conditio, si divina paululum luce destituti nobis relinquitur, quo non ruimus præcipites? Atque hoc nomine Christo gratias quam maximas habeo, quod Anglorum hodie neminem huic insanæ affinem 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 picæ 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 Perrilli taurum quisquam in mitem Christi ecclesiam Importavisset. Non quod maleficiis delecter, aut erroribus ejusquam faveam, diæta hæc esse velim; vitæ hominum, ipse homo cum sim, faveo; ideoque faveo, non ut erret, sed ut respiciat: ac neque hominum solum, utinam et pecudibus ipsis opitulari possem. Ita enim sum, (stulte fortassis hæc de meipso, at vere dico) macellum ipsum, ubi maectantur etiam pecudes, vix prætereo, quin tacito quodam doloris Sensu mens refugiat. Atque equidem in eo Dei ipsius valde admiror, venerorque toto pectore elementiam, qui in iumentis illis brutis et abjectis, quæ sacrificiis olim parabantur, id prospexerat, ne prius igitur 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 elementissimam hanc regis sublimitatis excellentiam, præ autoritate hæc *mea* (*lege tua*) qua ad vitam multorum *consecrandum pellere* (i. e. 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 quodeunque commutetur supplicii genus. Sunt ejectiones, inclusiones retrasæ, sunt vincula, sunt perpetua exilia, sunt stigmata et *plegmata* aut etiam patibula; id unum valde deprecor, ne piras ac flammæ Smithfieldianas jam diu faustissimis tuis auspiciis huic usque sopitas, sinas nunc recandescere. Quod si ne id quidem obtineri possit, id saltem omnibus supplicandi modis efflagito, *touto to pelargikon* 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 æterno 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 Non-conformists in the days of queen Elizabeth, found in the study of the most accomplished divine Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his decease.

The Sacred Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God.

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 further also, with those that are proper to that ministry wherein he is to be used, and necessary for the executing of the same; whereupon, for trial of those gifts, some convenient way and examination is to be used.

The party to be called must first be elected; then he is to be ordained to that charge whereunto he is chosen, by the prayers of that church whereunto he is to be admitted; the mutual duties of him, and of the church being before laid open.

The Ministers of the Church are, first, they that are ministers of the word. In their examination it is especially 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 behavior 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 particular persons. First, to all the members of that church, that the good may enjoy all the privileges that belong unto them, that the wicked may be corrected with ecclesiastical censures, according to the quality of the fault, private and 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 proeured, 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.

Further, in such assemblies there is also to be chosen one that may be set over the assemblies, who may moderate and direct them. His duty is to see that the assemblies be held godly, quiet, and comely: therefore it belongeth unto him to begin and end the conference with prayer; to know every man's instructions; to propound in order the things that are to be handled; to gather their opinions, and to propound what is the opinion of the greater part. It is also the part of the rest of the assembly to speak their opinions of the things propounded godly and quietly.

The synodical Discipline gathered out of the synods and use of the churches which have restored it according to the word of God, and out of sundry books that are written of the same, and referred unto certain heads.

Of the Necessity of a Calling.

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*. Further, in his ordinary ministry, let him not take postils, (as they are called) but some whole

book of the holy scripture, especially of the New Testament, to expound in order: in choice whereof regard is to be had both of the minister's ability, and of the edification of the church.

He that preacheth must perform two things; the first, that his speech be uncorrupt; which is to be considered both in regard of the doctrine, that it be holy, sound, wholesome and profitable to edification; not devilish, heretical, leavened, corrupt, fabulous, curious, or contentious; and also in respect of the manner of it, that it be proper to the place which is handled, that is, which either is contained plainly in the very words; or if it be gathered by consequent, that the same be fit and clear, and such as may rise upon the property of the word, grace of speech, and suit of the matter; and not be allegorical, strange, wrested, or far fetched. Now let that which is such, and chiefly which is fittest for the times and occasions of the church, be delivered. Further, 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 alledged.

The second thing to be performed by him that preacheth, is a reverend gravity: this is considered first in the stile, phrase, and manner of speech, that it be spiritual, pure, proper, simple, and applied to the capacity of the people; nor such as human wisdom teacheth, nor savoring 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 tune) it may be equal, and both rise and fall by degrees: as also in ordering the gesture, wherein (the body being upright) the guiding and ordering the whole body is to follow the voice, there being avoided in it all unseemly gestures of the head or other parts, and often turning of the body to divers sides. Finally let the gesture be grave, modest and seemly, not utterly none, nor too much neither, like the gestures of plays or fencers.

These things are to be performed by him that preacheth; whereby, when need requireth, they may be examined who are trained and exercised to be made fit to preach: let there be, if it may be, every sabbath-day, two sermons, and let them that preach always endeavor to keep themselves within one hour, especially on the week days. The use of preaching at burials is to be left as it may be done conveniently; because there is danger that they may nourish the superstition of some, or be abused to pomp and vanity.

Of the Catechism,

LET the catechism be taught in every church: Let there be two sorts. One more large applied to the delivering of the sum of religion by a suite and order of certain places of the scriptures, according

to which some point of the holy doctrine may be expounded every week. Another of the same sort, but shorter, fit for the examination of the rude and ignorant before they be admitted to the Lord's supper.

Of the other parts of Liturgy or divine Service.

ALL the rest of the liturgy or divine service consisteth in the administration of the sacraments, and, by the custom of the church in the blessing of marriage: the most commodious form thereof is that which is used by the churches that have reformed their ——— discipline according to the word of God.

Of Sacraments.

LET only a minister of the word, that is, a preacher, minister the sacraments, and that after the preaching of the word, and not in any other place than in the public assemblies of the church.

Of Baptism.

WOMEN only may not offer unto baptism those that are to be baptised, 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 baptised the names of God, or of Christ, or of angels, or of holy offices, as of baptist, evangelist, &c. nor such as savor 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 enquiring of them may be committed to the elders: that if there be any cause of hindrance, there may be stay made betime; but if there be no such thing, let them proceed (where need may be) to the examining of their faith, before 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 petitioning 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 an elder, be present at the espousals, who, having called upon God, may admonish both parties of their duties. First, may have care of avoiding the degrees forbidden both by the law of God and man: and then they may demand of them, whether they be free from any bond of marriage; which if they profess and be strangers, he may also require sufficient testimony. Further also, they are to be demanded, whether they have been married before, and of the death of the party with whom they were married, which if they acknowledge and be strangers, he may demand convenient testimony of the death of the other party. Finally, let them be asked if they be under the government of any? whether they whom it concerneth have consented?

The espousals being done in due order, let them not be dissolved, though both parties should consent. Let the marriage be solemnized within two months after. Before the marriage let the promise be published three several sabbath days; but first, let the parties espoused, with their parents or governors, desire the publishing thereof, of the minister and two elders at the least, that they may be demanded of those things that are needful; and let them require to see the instrument of the covenant of the marriage, or at least sufficient testimony of the espousals. 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. Further, 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. Further also are to be noted their names that are married, that die, and to whom letters testimonial are given.

Of the Censures.

NONE is to be complained of unto the consistory, unless first the matter being uttered with silencing the parties name, 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.—Further, 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 pertinacy and contempt. Fourthly, That for the heinousness of the offence are to be punished with some grievous civil punishment.

They that are to be excommunicated, being in 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 rooms of such as are disabled by means of sickness or age, let another be placed without the reproach of him that is discharged; and further, so as the reverence of the ministry may remain unto him, and he may be provided for, liberally and in good order.

When there is question concerning an heretic, complained of to the consistory, straight let two or three neighbor 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 he 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 burthensome 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 things done in the assembly may be written, that the delegates of every church may write them out, and communicate them with the conferences from whence they came.

The moderator is also, by the order and judgment of the assembly, to give answer, either by speech or by letters, to such as desire any answer; and to execute censures, if any be to be executed. Further, he is to procure all things to be done in it, godly and quietly: exhorting to meekness, moderation of spirit, and forbearing one of another where need shall be, and referring it to the assembly to take order for such as are obstinate and contentious. Lastly, he is to remember them of the next meeting following, with thanks for their pains, and exhortation to proceed cheerfully in their calling; 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 ad-

vice 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 publiely. Of his speech, let the rest judge among themselves, (the elders being put apart) and admonish him brotherly, if there be any cause, examining all things according to those rules that are before declared in the chapter concerning the things that are to be performed by those that preach.

Of Synods.

A **SYNOD** is the meeting of chosen men of many conferences: in them let the whole treatise of discipline be read: in them also (other things first being 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 council 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 diverse 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 so far as it 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 favor, 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 favor, 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 enquire 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 we may furnish both matter of accusation and evidence of proof against ourselves.

which was not used to be done in cases 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 further, 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.†*

SCHISM.

“As to the charge of Schism, and that we so far condemn 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 and 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 among 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 further 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 erime suggested against us is, that we should practice or purpose rebelliously to procure such further reformation of our church

* An. 25 H. VIII. cap. 14

† An. 55 H. VIII. cap. 15. § 3d.

as we desire, by violent and undutiful means. Whereunto our answer is, that as we think it not lawful to make a schism in the church for any thing that we esteem needful to be reformed in it, so do we in all simplicity and sincerity of heart [declare] in the presence of Almighty God (to whom all secrets are known) and of your excellent Majesty, (to whom the sword is given of God for just vengeance and punishment of transgressors) that for procuring reformation of any thing that we desire to be 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 recognized by the high court of parliament in the *statute of recognition*, and is set down in the oath of supremacy enacted by the same; and as it is further declared in your Majesty’s injunctions, and also in the articles of religion agreed in the convocation, and in sundry books of learned men of our nation, published and allowed by 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 this protestation, we appeal to the former whole course of our lives, wherein it cannot be shewed, that we ever made question of it; and more particularly by our 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, not 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 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 dioceses, 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, seminaries, and other*

heretics sought to seduce many; and wherein also some *schismatics* condemned the whole state of our church, as no part of the true visible church of Christ, and therefore refused to have any part or communion with it: upon which occasion, it is needful for us to advise of the best way and means we could, to keep the people that we had charge to instruct, from such damnable errors.

“Further also particularly, because some reckoned us to have part with their schism, and reported us to agree in nothing, but to differ one from another in the reformation we desire; we have special cause to confer together, that we might set down some things touching such matters, which at all times, whensoever we should be demanded, might be our true and just defence, both to clear us from partaking with the schism, and to witness for us that we agreed in the reformation 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 authorised thereunto.

“Further also, touching such our meetings, we affirm that they were only of *ministers* (saving in some parts where a school-master, two or three, desirous to train themselves to the ministry joined with us) and the same, but of six or seven, or like small number in a conference, without all deed 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 favor not our most humble desire of a further reformation, to disgrace us, and make us odious with others, and chiefly with your excellent Majesty; whereunto our answer is, that the discipline of the primitive church is ancient, and so acknowledged by the book of Common Prayer—in these words, *that there was a godly discipline in the primitive church; instead whereof, until the said discipline may be restored again, (which thing is much to be wished) it is thought convenient to use such a form of commination as is prescribed.*

“Further also, if it please your Majesty with favor 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 further testify, that no minister within this land desiring a further 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 favor (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. III.

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 <i>Moses,</i> <i>Joshua,</i> <i>Judges,</i> <i>Ruth,</i> The first and second of <i>Samuel,</i> The first and second of <i>Kings,</i>	The first and second of <i>Chronicles,</i> <i>Ezra,</i> <i>Nehemiah,</i> <i>Esther,</i> <i>Job,</i> <i>Psalms,</i> <i>Proverbs,</i> <i>Ecclesiastes,</i>	<i>The Song of Solomon,</i> <i>Isaiah,</i> <i>Jeremiah,</i> his prophecy and lamentation, <i>Ezekiel,</i> <i>Daniel,</i> The twelve less prophets.
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OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The gospels according to <i>Matthew,</i> <i>Mark,</i> <i>Luke,</i> <i>John,</i> <i>The Acts of the Apostles.</i> <i>The epistle of St. Paul</i> to the <i>Romans,</i> The first and second epistle to the <i>Corin-</i> <i>thians.</i>	<i>Galatians,</i> <i>Ephesians,</i> <i>Philippians,</i> <i>Colossians,</i> The first and second epistle to the <i>Thes-</i> <i>salonians,</i> The first and second epistle to <i>Timothy,</i> <i>Titus,</i>	<i>Philemon,</i> <i>Hebrews,</i> <i>The epistle of St. James,</i> <i>The two epistles of St.</i> <i>Peter,</i> <i>The three epistles of St.</i> <i>John,</i> <i>St. Jude,</i> <i>The Revelation of St.</i> <i>John,</i>
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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 :

<i>The third book of Es-</i> <i>dras,</i> <i>The fourth book of Es-</i> <i>dras,</i> <i>The book of Tobias,</i> <i>The book of Judith,</i> <i>Additions to the book</i> of <i>Esther,</i>	<i>The book of Wisdom,</i> <i>The book of Jesus the</i> son of <i>Sirach,</i> called <i>Ecclesiasticus,</i> <i>Baruch,</i> with the epis- tle of <i>Jeremiah,</i> <i>The song of the three</i> children,	<i>Susanna,</i> <i>Bell and the Dragon,</i> <i>The prayer of Manasses</i> <i>The first book of Mac-</i> cabees, <i>The second book of Mac-</i> cabees.
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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 afterwards 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 good duties that we are bound to practise.

7. All and every the articles contained in the *Nicene Creed*, the *Creed of Athanasias*, 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 causes 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 honor.

☞ 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 any thing 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 be 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 afterwards 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, for as much 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 ingenerated 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, 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 the 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 actual 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
 VII. come unto the Son; 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 Savior 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; for as much 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, Savior 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 an-

trient 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 vanisheeth 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 arrogancy and impiety; for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required.

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 honor 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 addiet 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 jubiles, pharisaical sects, and feigned religious, 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; and 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 license 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 Neighbors.

63. OUR duty towards our neighbors, is to love them as ourselves, and to do to all men as we would they should do to us; to honor 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 labor 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 men 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 for as much as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and minister by his 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 ministring 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 any thing 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 an usurped power, contrary to the scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church, and therefore is for most just causes taken away and 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 Savior 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 the *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 an 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 Savior 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,

THE ARTICLES

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Revised and altered by the
Assembly of divines at
Westminster, in the year
1643, with scripture ref-
erences.

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 sub-

ARTICLE I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

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

a Isa. 46. 9. 1 Cor. 8. 4. 6. *b* Jer. 40. 10. 1 Thes. 1. 9. *c* Psal. 90. 2. Rom. 16. 26. *d* Deut. 4. 15. 16. John 4. 24, with Luke 24. 39. *e* Acts 14, 15. James 1. 17. *f* Jer. 32. 17. 27. Mark 10. 27. *g* Psal. 147. 5. Rom. 11. 33. *h* Psal. 119. 68, with Matt. 19. 17. *i* Num. 9. 6. Col. 1. 16, 17. *k* Matt. 3. 16. 17. Matt. 28. 19. 1 John 4. 7. 2 Cor. 13. 14. *l* Prov. 8. 22-31. John 1. 13, 14. *m* 1 John 5. 20. Rom. 9. 5. *n* John 17. 5. Heb. 1. 8, with Psal. 45. 6.

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stance 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 resurrection; *x* 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, *y* and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, *z* wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there *a*

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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.

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



o John 10. 30. Heb. 1. 3. *p* John 1. 14. Isa. 7. 14. Luke 13. 5. Gal. 4. 4. *q* Isa. 7. 14. with Matt. 1. 23. Rom. 1. 3. 4. Heb. 13. 8. *r* Isa. 53. 10. 11. Mark 14. 33, 34. *s* 1 Pet. 2. 24. Phil. 2. 1. 1 Cor. 15. 3, 4. *t* Ezek. 16. 63. Rom. 3. 25. 2 Cor. 5. 12. *z* Isa. 53. 10. Eph. 5. 2. 1. John 1. 7. Heb. 9. 26.
y Psal. 16. 10. with Acts 2. 24, 25, 26, 27, 31. *x* Rom. 6. 9. Matt. 12. 40.
z 1 Cor. 15. 4. Rom. 8. 34. Psal. 16. 10. with Acts 2. 31. Luke 24. 34. *a* Luke 24. 39, with John 20. 25, 27. *a* Psal. 68. 18, with Eph. 4. 8. Psal. 110. 1. with Acts 2. 34, 35. Mark 16. 10. Rom. 8. 34.

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sitteth, until he return to judge *b* all men *c* at the general resurrection of the body at the last day. *d*

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 *i* containeth all things necessary to salvation, *k* so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be believed 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 re-

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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

b Acts 3. 21. Psal. 110. 1, with 1 Cor. 15. 25, 26. Acts 1. 11. *c* 2 Cor. 5. 20. Acts 17. 31. *d* Exod. 3. 6. with Luke 20. 37, 38. Acts 24. 14. 15. 1 Cor. 15. 12. to the end: John 5. 28, 29.
e 2 Sam. 23. 2, with verse 3. Isa. 6. 5, 8, with Acts 28. 25. Acts 5. 3, 4. 1 Cor. 3. 16. and 6. 19.
f Job 26. 13. 33. 34. 1 Cor. 12th chap. Matt. 28. 19. 2. Cor. 13. 14. *g* 1 Cor. 12. 11. Eph. 1. 17, and 1 Cor. 2. 8. with 1 Pet. 4. 14. *h* John 15. 26 and Matt. 10. 20. and 1 Cor. 2. 11, 12, with Gal. 4. 6, and Rom. 8. 9. and Phil. 1. 9. John 16. 14. Isa. 11. 2. Isa. 61. 1. Gen. 1. 2. 2 Chron. 16. 1.
i Rom. 1. 2. 2 Tim. 3. 15. 2 Peter 1. 20, 21. *k* Psal. 19. 7. 2 Tim. 3. 15, 16, 17. James 1. 21, 25. Acts 20. 32.
l Prov. 30. 5, 6. Isa. 8. 20. Acts 26, 22, with verse 20, 27. Gal. 1. 8, 9. John 5. 39.

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ceive, and acknowledge them to be given by the inspiration of God; and in that regard, to be of most certain credit, and highest authority.

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for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine: such as these following,

Third of Esdras, Book of Tobias, Fourth of Esdras, Judith, &c.

All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them for canonical.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, in the 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 com-

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.



m Acts 26, 21, 23. 2 Pet. 3. 2. Luke 24. 44. Rom. 3. 31. Gal. 3. 21, 23, 24. *n* Gen. 3. 15. Gen. 22. 18, with Gal. 3. 8, 14. 1 Cor. 10. 2, 3, 4. Luke 1. 69, 70. Acts 3. 24. Isa. 53. chap. *o* Dan. 9. 17. Rom. 8. 34. 1 John 2. 1. Heb. 7. 25. 1 Tim. 2. 5. John 14. 6. *p* Gal. 4. 4, 5. Acts 20. 28. Phil. 2. 7, 8. *q* Acts 26. 6, 7. Rom. 4. 11. Gal. 3. 9. Heb. 11. 10, 16, 35. *r* Gal. 4. 9, 10. Col. 2. 14, 16, 17. Heb. 9. 9, 10. *s* Acts 25. 9, 10, 25, with Deut. 17. 8--13. Lom. 13. 1, 5. Tit. 3. 1, 1 Pet. 2, 13, 14.

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mandments which are called moral. *t* By the moral law, we understand all the ten commandments taken in their full extent.

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ARTICLE VIII.

Of the Three Creeds.

The three creeds, *Nice* creed, *Athanasius* creed, and that which is commonly called the apostle's 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: *w* but together with his first sin imputed, it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is propogated from *Adam*; wherchy man is wholly deprived of original righteousness, *y* and is of his own nature inclined only to evil. *z* So that the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *φρονημα σαρκος*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God, *a* and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. *b* And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth of 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 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* *φρονημα σαρκος*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law

t Matt. 5. 17. to the end. Rom. 13. 6, 9, 10. Eph. 6. 1, 2, 3. James 2. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. Rom. 7. 25. Rom. 3. 21. Matt. 7. 12.

u Psal. 51. 5. John 3. 5, 6. *w* Job. 14. 4. Job 15. 14. Rom. 6. 6. Joh. 3. 3, 5, 7. *x* Rom. 5. 12. 19. Gen. 2. 11, with 1 Cor. 15. 22. *y* Col. 2. 13. Rom. 7. 18. Eccl. 2. 29. *z* Gen. 6. 5. Gen. 8. 21. Jer. 17. 9. Rom. 7. 3. James 1. 14. *g* Rom. 8. 7. 1 Cor. 2. 14. Col. 1. 21. *b* Eph. 2. 3. Rom. 8. 6, 7.

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them that are regenerate, *c* whereby the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit. *d* And although there is no condemnation for them that are regenerate, and do believe, *e* yet the apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust is truly and properly sin. *f*

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 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

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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 Savior Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Where-

c Prov. 20. 9. Rom. 7. 17, 20, 23, 25. *d* Gal. 5. 17. *e* Rom. 8. 1, 13. John 3. 13. *f* Rom. 8. 17, 20. *g* Eph. 2. 1, 5. 1 Cor. 2. 14. Eph. 2. 8, 9, 10. John 6. 44, 65. *h* Rom. 8. 8. Heb. 11. 6. *i* Ezek. 11. 19, 20. Ezek. 36. 25, 27. Jer. 31. 32, 33, with Heb. 10. 11. Phil. 2. 12, 13. John 6. 45. Eph. 1. 19, 20. 1 Cor. 4. 7. *k* Heb. 13. 21. Phil. 8. 1, 6. Heb. 12. 22. 1 Pet. 5. 10. 1 Thess. 5. 23, 24. 1 Kings 8. 57, 58.

l Rom. 4. 5, 6, 7. Psal. 32. 1, 2. *m* Rom. 3. 20. Gal. 2. 15. Gal. 3. 10, 11. Phil. 3. 9.

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grace, *n* only for our Lord and Savior 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*

ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

Good works, which are the fruits of faith, *t* and follow after justification, *u* cannot put away our sins, *w* and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet are they, notwithstanding their imperfections, in the sight of God pleasing and acceptable unto him in and for Christ, *y* and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, *z* inasmuch that by them a lively faith may be evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruits. *a*

ARTICLE XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before justification by Christ, and regeneration by his spirit, are not pleasing unto

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fore, 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.

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, inasmuch 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,

n Rom. 3. 24. Tit. 3. 7. *o* Rom. 3. 24, 25. Rom. 5. 1. 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19. *p* Rom. 5. 9, 17, 18, 19. Rom. 3. 25, 26. Rom. 4. 6, 24. 2 Cor. 5. 21. *q* Rom. 3. 22, 25, 26, 28. Gal. 2. 16. Isa. 28. 16, with Rom. 9. 33, and 1 Pet. 2. 6. Phil. 3. 9. *r* 2 Tim. 1. 13. Rom. 5. 1, 2, 3, 11. Rom. 15. 13. 1 Pet. 1. 8. *s* Psal. 68. 20, 21. Exod. 34. 6, 7. Luke 13. 3, 5. *t* Gal. 5. 6. James 2. 17, 18, 22. *u* Tit. 2. 14. Tit. 3. 7, 8. Eph. 2. 8, 9, 13. *w* Rom. 3. 20, 21. Rom. 4. 4-9. Dan. 9. 18, 19. *x* Neh. 13. 22. Psal. 143. 2. Job 9. 14, 15, 19, 20. Exod. 28. 38.-Rev. 8. 3, 4. *y* 1 Pet. 2. 5. Heb. 13. 16, 20, 21. Col. 1. 10. Phil. 4. 18. *z* James 2. 16. 1 John 1. 4. *a* James 2. 18, 19. John 15. 4, 5. 1 John 2. 3, 5. Matt. 12. 33.

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God, *b* for as much as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ: *c* neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; 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 *f* without arrogancy and impiety; *g* for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do: but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly, *When ye have done all 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 void both in his flesh and in his spirit: *k* he came to be the lamb without spot, *l* who by sacrifice of himself *m* once

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for as much as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea rather, for that they are not done as GOD hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

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. For by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God, as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly, *When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.*

ARTICLE XV.

Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things (sin only except) from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh and in his spirit. He came to be a Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made, should

b Tit. 1. 15, 16. Matt. 7. 13. Rom. 8. 8. Prov. 15. 8, 26. Prov. 21. 27. Rom. 3. 12. *c* Heb. 11. 5, 6. Gal. 5. 6. *d* 2 Tim. 1. 9. John 1. 13. Rom. 8. 7, 8. Hag. 2. 14. Isa. 58. 1-5. Isa. 66. 2, 3. *e* Matt. 5. 43. Mark 12. 30, 31. Phil. 4. 8. 9. *f* Job 9. 2, 3, 20, 21. Psal. 143. 2. Prov. 20. 9. *g* Phil. 3. 8-15. *h* Luke 17. 10, with ver. 7, 8, 9. *i* Isa. 53. 3, 4, 5. Heb. 2. 17, with Heb. 5. 15. *k* Luke 1. 35, with Acts 3. 14. John 14. 30. 2 Cor. 5. 21. Heb. 7. 26. *l* 1 Pet. 1. 19. *m* Eph. 5. 2.

Articles revised.

made, *n* should take away the sins of the world; *o* and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him. *p* But all we the rest, although baptized and regenerate, yet offend in many things; and *if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. q*

Articles of the Church of England.

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, *scriba.*

ADONIRAM BYFIELD, *scriba.*

N. B. *The Assembly proceeded no farther in the revisal.*

No. VII.

The DIRECTORY for the PUBLIC WORSHIP of GOD,
 Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster;
 examined and approved, Anno 1645, by the GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY of the CHURCH of SCOTLAND; and rati-
 fied 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 mis-

n Heb. 9, 26, 28. Heb. 10. 10, 12. *o* John 1. 29. *p* 1 John 3. 5. *q* James 3. 2. 1 John 1. 8; 10.

chief, 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 labored to raise the estimation of it to such an height, as if there were no other worship, or way of worship of God amongst us, but only the service-book; to the great hindrance of the preaching of the word, and, (in some places, especially of late) to the justling of it out, as unnecessary; or (at best) as far inferior to the reading of *common-prayer*, which was made no better than an idol by many ignorant and superstitious people, who, pleasing themselves in their presence at that service, and their lip-labor in bearing a part in 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 endeavoring 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 they may be had of us and posterity in everlasting remembrance, with thankfulness and honor) but that we may, in some measure, answer the gracious providence of God, which at this time calleth upon us for further reformation, and may satisfy our own consciences, and answer the expectation of other reformed churches, and the desires of many of the godly among ourselves, and withal give some public testimony of our endeavors 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 endeavored 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 further, or other materials of prayer and of exhortation, as shall be needful upon all occasions.

Of the assembling of the Congregation, and their Behavior 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, and other indecent behavior, 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 ordinance, be straitned, 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 endeavor 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 endeavoring, 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 endeavoring after mortification and newness of life, nor after the exercise of godliness in the power thereof: and that the best of us have not so stedfastly walked with God, kept our garments so unspotted, nor been so zealous of his glory, and the good of others, as we ought: and to mourn over such other sins, as the congregation is particularly guilty of, notwithstanding the manifold and great mercies of our God, the love of Christ, the light of the gospel, and reformation of religion, our own purposes, promises, vows, solemn covenant, and other special obligations to the contrary.

“To acknowledge and confess, that, as we are convinced of our guilt, so, out of a deep sense thereof, we judge ourselves unworthy of the smallest benefits, most worthy of God’s fiercest wrath, and of all the curses of the law, and heaviest judgments inflicted upon the most rebellious sinners; and that he might most justly take his kingdom and gospel from us, plague us with all sorts of spiritual and temporal judgments in this life, and after cast us into utter darkness, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth for evermore.

“Notwithstanding all which, to draw near to the throne of grace, encouraging ourselves with hope of a gracious answer of our prayers, in the riches and all-sufficiency of that 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 Savior 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 callings towards God and men; strength against temptations, the sanctified use of blessings and crosses, and perseverance in faith and obedience unto the end.

“To pray for the propagation of the gospel and kingdom of Christ to all nations, for the conversion of the Jews, the fulness of the *gentiles*, the fall of *anti-christ*, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord: for the deliverance of the distressed churches abroad from the tyranny of the *anti-christian 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 all our rents and divisions, and preserve us from breach of our *solemn covenant*.

“To pray for all in authority, especially for the King’s Majesty, that God would make him rich in blessings, both in his person and government; establish his throne in religion and righteousness, save him from evil 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 upon the high court of parliament, (when sitting in any of these kingdoms respectively) the nobility, the subordinate judges and magistrates, the gentry, and all the commonalty; for all pastors and teachers, that God would fill them with his spirit, make them exemplarily holy, sober, just, peaceable, and gracious in their lives; sound, faithful, and powerful in their ministry; and follow all their labors with abundance of success and blessing; and give unto all his people pastors according to his own heart; for the universities, and all schools and religious seminaries of church and 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 celebrate 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 Christ Jesus our Lord, and in him, of the things which belong to our peace, that we may account all things but as dross in comparison of him: and that we, tasting the first fruits of the glory that is to be revealed, may long for a more full and perfect communion with him, that where he is we may be also, and enjoy the fullness 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 circumscribe 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 ministry 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 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 endeavor to perform it in such a manner, that his auditors may feel the word of God, to be quiet and powerful, and a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart; and that, if any unbeliever or ignorant person be present

he may have the secrets of his heart made manifest, and give glory to God.

In the use of instruction or information in the knowledge of some truth, which is a consequence from his doctrine, he may (when convenient) confirm it by a few firm arguments from the text in hand, and other places of scripture, or from the nature of that common-place in divinity, whereof that truth is a branch.

In confutation of false doctrines, he is neither to raise an old heresy from the grave, nor to mention a blasphemous opinion unnecessarily: but if the people be in danger of an error, he is to confute it soundly, and endeavor 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 surprized by it, together with the remedies and best way to avoid it.

In applying comfort, whether general against all temptations, or particular against some special troubles or terrors, he is carefully to answer such objections, as a troubled heart and afflicted spirit may suggest to the contrary.

It is also sometimes requisite to give some notes of trial, (which is very profitable, especially when performed by able and experienced ministers, with circumspection and prudence, and the signs clearly grounded on the holy scripture) whereby the hearers may be able to examine themselves, whether they have attained those graces, and performed those duties to which he exhorteth, or be guilty of the sin reprehended, and in danger of the judgments threatened, or are such to whom the consolations propounded do belong; that accordingly they may be 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 honor of Christ, the conversion, edification and salvation of the people, not as his own gain or glory, keeping nothing back which may promote those holy ends, giving to every one his own portion, and bearing indifferent respect unto all, without neglecting the meanest, or sparing the greatest in their sins.
4. Wisely framing all his doctrines, exhortations, and especially his reproofs, in such a manner as may be most likely to prevail, shewing all due respect to each man's person and place, and not mixing his own passion or bitterness.
5. Gravely, as becometh the word of God, shunning all such gesture, voice, and expressions, as may occasion the corruptions of men to despise him and his ministry.
6. With loving affection, that the people may see all coming from his godly zeal, and hearty desire to do them good.
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 labors 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 labors, even in this life, and afterwards 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 there-

in ; 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 intreat of God the forgiveness of the iniquities of our holy things, and the acceptation of our spiritual sacrifice, through the merit and mediation of our great high priest and Savior 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 conveniency it may be done. After which, (unless some other ordinance of Christ, that concerneth the congregation at that time, be to follow) let the minister dismiss the congregation with a solemn blessing.



THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

AND FIRST, OF BAPTISM.

BAPTISM, as it is not unnecessarily to be delayed, so it is not to be 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 baptised, after notice given to the minister the day before, is to be presented by the father, or (in case of his necessary absence) by some christian friend in his place, professing his earnest desire that the child may be baptised.

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 baptising, 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 baptised in the name of Christ, do renounce, and by their baptism, are bound to fight against the devil, the world, and the flesh : that they are christians, and fœderally holy before baptism, and therefore are they baptised : 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 contemn 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 its name)

I baptise thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

As he pronounceth these words, he is to baptise 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 favor: that he would receive the infant, now baptised, and solemnly entered into the household of faith, into his fatherly tuition and defence, and remember him with

the favor 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 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 labor 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 27th verse, which the minister may, when he seeth requisite, explain and apply.

Let the prayer, thanksgiving, or blessing of the bread and wine, be to this effect:

"WITH humble and hearty acknowledgment of the greatness of our misery, from which neither man nor angel was able to deliver us, and of our great unworthiness of the least of all God's mercies: to give thanks to God for all his benefits, and especially for that great benefit of our redemption, the love of God the Father, the sufferings and merits of the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, by which we are delivered; and for all means of grace, the word, and sacraments; and for this sacrament in particular, by which Christ, and all his benefits, are applied and sealed up unto us, which, notwithstanding the denial of them unto others, are in great mercy continued unto us, after so much and long abuse of them all.

"To profess, that there is no other name under 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 endeavor to perform with suitable affections, answerable to such an holy action, and to stir up the like in the people.

The elements being now sanctified by the word and prayer, the minister, being at the table, is to take the bread in his hand, and say, in these expressions, (or other the like, used by Christ, or his apostle upon this occasion:)

“According to the holy institution, command and example of our blessed Savior 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 exhorting 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 intreat for pardou 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 to so 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 before-hand, as that all worldly business of our ordinary callings may be so ordered, and so timely and seasonably laid aside, as they may not be impediments to the due sanctifying of the day when it comes.

The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in 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 labors; 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 person hindered from the sanctifying that day.

That there be private preparation of every person and family, by prayer for themselves, and for God's assistance of the minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry; and by such other holy exercises as may further dispose them to a more comfortable communion with God in his 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) endeavoring 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 imberter all our comforts ; earnestly, in the name of Christ, to intreat the Lord (whose presence and favor 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 honorable 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 further ceremony, the minister shall, in the face of the congregation, pronounce them to be husband and wife, according to God's ordinance; and so conclude the action with prayer to this effect:

“That the Lord would be pleased to accompany his own ordinance with his blessing, beseeching him to enrich the persons now married, as with other pledges of his love, so particularly with the comforts and fruits of marriage, to the praise of his abundant mercy, in and through Christ Jesus.”

A register is to be carefully kept, wherein the names of the parties so married, with the time of their marriage, are forthwith to be fairly recorded in a book, provided for that purpose, for the perusal of all whom it may concern.

Concerning Visitation of the Sick.

IT is the duty of the minister, not only to teach the people committed to his charge, in 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 state 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 labor to make a sanctified use of God's visitation, neither despising his chastening, nor waxing weary of his correction.

If he suspect him of ignorance, he shall examine him in the principles of religion, especially touching repentance and faith; and as he seeth cause, instruct him in the nature, use, excellency, and necessity of those graces; as also touching the covenant of grace, and Christ the Son of God, the mediator of it, and concerning remission of sins by faith in him.

He shall exhort the sick person to examine himself, to search and try his former ways, and his estate towards God.

And if the sick person shall declare any scruple, doubt or temptation that are upon him, instructions and resolutions shall be given to satisfy and settle him.

If it appear that he hath not a due sense of his sins, endeavors 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 endeavored 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 favor, 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 Savior, 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 labor, discourses and thoughts, and from all bodily delights, (al-

though 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 an holy reverence and awe of him; acknowledging his manifold, great, and tender mercies, especially to the church and nation, the more effectually to soften and abase our hearts before him; humbly confessing of sins of all sorts, with their several aggravations; justifying God’s righteous judgments, as being far less than our sins do deserve; yet humbly and earnestly imploring his mercy and grace for ourselves, the church and nation, for our king, and all in authority, and for all others for whom we are bound to pray, (according as the present 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 afflicting of the soul.

Special choice is to be made of such scriptures to be read, and of such texts for preaching, as may best work the hearts of the hearers to the special business of the day, and most dispose them to humiliation and repentance; insisting most on those particulars, which each minister’s observation and experience tells him, are most conducing to the edification and reformation of that congregation to which he preacheth.

Before the close of the 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 savor 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 further exhortation and prayer before his sermon, with special reference to the present work: after which, let him preach upon some text of scripture pertinent to the occasion.

The sermon ended, let him not only pray, as at other times, after preaching is directed, with remembrance of the necessities of the

church, king, and state, (if before the sermon they were omitted) but enlarge himself in due and solemn thanksgiving for former mercies and deliverances, but more especially for that which at the present calls them together to give thanks: with humble petition for the continuance and renewing of God's wonted mercies, as need shall be, and for sanctifying grace to make a right use thereof. And so, having sung another psalm suitable to the mercy, let him dismiss the congregation with a blessing, that they may have some convenient time for their repast and refreshment.

But the minister (before their d'smission) is solemnly to admonish them, to beware of all excess and riot, tending to gluttony or drunkenness, and much more of these sins themselves, in their eating and refreshing; and to take care that their mirth and rejoicing be not carnal, but spiritual, which may make God's praise to be glorious, and themselves humble and sober; and that both their feeding and rejoicing may render them more cheerful and enlarged, further to celebrate his praises in the midst of the congregation, when they return unto it, in the remaining part of that day.

When the congregation shall be again assembled, the like course in praying, reading, preaching, singing of psalms, and offering up of more praise and thanksgiving, that is before directed for the morning, is to be renewed and continued so far as the time will give leave.

At one or both of the 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 tuneably 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 holy days, having no warrant in the word of God, are not to be continued.

Nevertheless, it is lawful and necessary, upon special emergent occasions, to separate a day or days for 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.



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An APPENDIX, touching days and places of public worship.

No. VIII.

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 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, are given by Jesus Christ to the general church visible, for the gathering and perfecting of it in this life, until his second coming, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 4, 5, compared with ver. 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, of the same chapter.

Particular visible churches, members of the general church, are also held forth in the New Testament, Gal. i. 21, 22. Rev. i. 4, 20, and Rev. ii. 1. Particular churches, in the primitive times, were made up of visible saints, viz. of such as, being of age, professed faith in Christ, and obedience unto Christ, according to the rules of faith and life, taught by Christ and his apostles; and of their children, Acts ii. 38, 41. Acts ii. ver. last, compared with Acts v. 14. 1 Cor. i. 2, compared with 2 Cor. ix. 13. Acts ii. 39. 1 Cor. vii.

* Isa. 9 6, 7.

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, 16, 17; prophesying of the time of the gospel. 1 *Peter* v. 2, 3, 4. *Eph.* iv. 11, 12, 13.

First, it belongs to his office,

To pray for and with his flock, as the mouth of the people unto God. *Acts* vi. 2, 3, 4. *Acts* xx. 36; where preaching and prayer are joined as several parts of the same office. *James* v. 14, 15. The office of the elder, that is, the pastor, is to pray for the sick, even in private, to which a blessing is especially promised; much more therefore ought he to perform this in the 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, 10, 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 Savior entitleth the officers of the New Testament, whom he will send forth, by the same names of the teachers of the Old.

Which propositions prove, that therefore (the duty being of a moral nature) it followeth by just consequence, that the 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.

* *Matt.* xxviii. 18, 19, 20. *Eph.* i. 20, 21, 22, compared with *Eph.* iv. 8, 11 and *Psalms* lxxviii. 13.

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, 24, 25*, compared with *1 Cor. x. 16.*

To bless the people from God, *Numb. vi. 23, 24, 25, 26*, compared with *Rev. xiv. 5*, (where the same blessings, and persons from whom they come, are 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. Acts iv. 34, 35, 36, 37. Acts vi. 2, 3, 4. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4. Gal. ii. 9, 10.*

And he hath also a ruling power over the flock as a pastor, *1 Tim. v. 17. Acts xx. 17, 28. 1 Thess. v. 12. Heb. xiii. 7, 17.*

Teacher or Doctor.

THE scripture doth hold out the name and title of teacher, as well as of the pastor, *1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11.*

Who is also a minister of the word as well as the pastor, and hath power of administration of the sacraments.

The Lord having given different gifts, and divers exercises according to these gifts, in the ministry of the word, *Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7*, though these 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 he 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, 7, 8. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.* And he that doth more excel in exposition of scriptures, in teaching sound doctrine, and in convincing gainsayers, than he doth in application, and is accordingly employed therein, may be called a teacher, or doctor, (the places alledged by the notation of the word do prove the proposition) nevertheless, where is but one minister in a particular congregation, he is to perform so far as he is able the whole work of the ministry, as appeareth in *2 Tim. iv. 2. Tit. i. 9*, before alledged, *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 in *2 Chron. xix. 8, 9, 10.*) so Christ, who hath instituted a government,

and governors ecclesiastical in the church, hath furnished some in his church, beside the ministers of the word, with gifts for government, and with commission to execute the same when called thereunto, who are to join with the minister in the government of the church, *Rom. xii. 7, 8.* *1 Cor. xii. 28.* Which officers reformed churches commonly call elders.

Deacons.

THE scripture doth hold out deacons as distinct officers in the church. *Phil. i. 1.* *1 Tim. iii. 8.*

Whose office is perpetual. *1 Tim. iii. 8, to verse 15.* *Acts vi. 1, 2, 3, 4.* To whose office it belongs not to preach the word, or administer the sacraments, but to take special care in distributing to the necessities of the poor. *Acts vi. 1, 2, 3, 4,* and the verses following.

Of particular Congregations.

IT is lawful and expedient that there be fixed congregations, that is, a certain company of christians to meet in one assembly ordinarily for 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. verse 26.* *Let all things be done unto edifying;* and *verses 33, and 40.*

The ordinary way of dividing christians into distinct congregations, and most expedient for edification, is by the respective bounds of their dwellings.

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.* *Matt. 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 convenience.

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 labor 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 labor 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.* chap. xviii.

They have power to hear and determine such causes and differences as do orderly come before them.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that all the said assemblies have some power to dispense church censures.

Of Congregational Assemblies, that is, the Meeting of the ruling Officers of a particular Congregation for the government thereof.

THE ruling officers of a particular congregation have power, authoritatively, to call before them any member of the congregation, as they shall see just occasion,

To enquire into the knowledge and spiritual estate of the several members of the congregation.

To admonish and rebuke.

Which three branches are proved by *Heb. xiii. 17.* *1 Thess. v. 12, 13.* *Ezek. xxxiv. 4.*

Authoritative suspension from the Lord's table of a person not yet cast out of the church, is agreeable to the scripture ;

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, verse 23.* *1 Tim. v. 22.* And there was power and authority, under the Old Testament, to keep unclean persons from holy things, *Levit. xiii. v.* *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 dependence ; as also, in regard of enemies from without.

Of Classical Assemblies.

THE scripture doth hold out a presbytery in a church, both in the first epistle to *Timothy, 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 means of the persecution, (mentioned in the *Acts* of the Apostles, *chap.* viii. in the beginning thereof) witness, *chap.* i. *verse* 11. *chap.* ii. *verses* 41, 46, and 47, *chap.* iv. 4, *chap.* v. 14, *chap.* vi. of the same book of the *Acts*, *verses* 1, 7. And also after the dispersion, *Acts* ix. 31 ; 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, and *chap.* ii. 47, compared with *chap.* v. 11, *chap.* xii. 5, and *chap.* xv. 4, of the same book.

2dly. The elders of the church are mentioned, *Acts*, xi. 30 ; xv. 4, 6, 22, and *chap.* 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. *Acts* xv. 4, 6, 22, and *chap.* xxi. 17, 18, and so forward : which proves that those several congregations were under one presbyterial government.

And whether these congregations were fixed, or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is all one as to the truth of the proposition.

Nor doth there appear any material difference betwixt the several congregations in Jerusalem, and the many congregations now in the ordinary condition of the church, as to the point of fixedness required of officers or members.

3. *Thirdly.* Therefore the scripture doth hold forth, that many congregations may be under one presbyterial government.

II. *Secondly.* By the instance of the church of Ephesus; for

1. That they were more congregations than one in the church of Ephesus, appears by *Acts* xx. 31, where is mention of *Paul's* continuance at Ephesus in preaching for the space of three years; and *Acts* xix. 18, 19, 20, where the special effect of the word is mentioned; and *verse* 10, and 17, of the same chapter, where is a distinction of *Jews* and *Greeks*; and *1 Cor.* xvi. 8, 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. *Numbers* 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 Timothy* v. 22. *Acts* iv. 23, and *Acts* xiii. 3.

It is agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers, be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge. *Acts* xiv. 23. *Titus* 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 Timothy* iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and *Titus* i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

He is to be examined and approved by those by whom he is to be ordained. *1 Timothy* 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 Timothy* iii. 2. *Titus* i. 7.

Touching the Power of Ordination.

ORDINATION is the act of a presbytery, *1 Timothy* 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 Timothy* 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 neighboring 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. *Romans* x. 14, 15, *Jer.* xiv. 14. *Hebrews* v. 4.

2. Ordination is always to be continued in the church. *Titus* i. 5. *1 Tim.* v. 21, 22.

3. Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church office. *Numbers* viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22. *Acts* vi. 3, 5, 6.

4. Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong. *1 Tim.* v. 22. *Acts* xiv. 23. *Acts* xiii. 3.

5. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination is in the whole presbytery, which, when it is over more congregations than one, whether those congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent as to the point of ordination, *1 Timothy* 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. *Titus* 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 Timothy* iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. *Titus* i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

8. He is to be examined, and approved of by those by whom he is to be ordained. *1 Timothy* iii. 7, 10. *1 Timothy* 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 Timothy* iii. 2. *Titus* i. 7.

10. Preaching presbyters orderly associated, either in cities, or neighboring villages, are those to whom the imposition of hands do appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively. *1 Timothy* 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, 35, 36. *2 Chron.* xxx. 2, 3, 4, 5.

12. There is at this time, (as we humbly conceive) an extraordinary occasion for a way of ordination for the present supply of ministers.

The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers.

IT being manifest, by the word of God, that no man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the gospel, until he be lawfully called and ordained thereunto; and that the work of ordination is to be performed with all due care, wisdom, gravity, and solemnity; we humbly tender these directions as requisite to be observed.

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 enquire touching the grace of God in him, and whether he be of such holiness of life as is requisite in a minister of the gospel; and to examine him touching his learning and sufficiency, and touching the evidences of his calling to the holy ministry, and in particular, his fair and direct calling to that place.

THE RULES FOR EXAMINATION ARE THESE.

1. That the party examined be dealt withal in a brotherly way, with mildness of spirit, and with special respect to the gravity, modesty, and quality of every one.

2. He shall be examined touching his skill in the original tongues, and his trial to be made by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testaments, and rendering some portion of same into Latin; and if he be defective in them, enquiry shall be made more strictly after his other learning, and whether he hath skill in 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 further examination of him.

3. In all which he being approved, he is to be sent to the church, where he is to serve, there to preach three several days, and to converse with the people, that they may have trial of his gifts for their edification, and may have time and occasion to enquire into, and the better to know his life and conversation.

4. In the last of these three days appointed for the trial of his gifts in preaching, there shall be sent from the presbytery 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 labors 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 endeavors, by the help of God; the minister likewise shall demand of the people, concerning their willingness to receive

and acknowledge him as the minister of Christ; and to obey, and submit unto him, as having rule over them in the Lord; and to maintain, encourage, and assist him in all the parts of his office.

8. Which being mutually promised by the people, the presbytery, or the ministers sent from them for ordination, shall solemnly set him apart to the office and work of the ministry, by laying their hands on him, which is to be accompanied with a short prayer or blessing, to this effect:

“Thankfully acknowledging the great mercy of God, in sending Jesus Christ for the redemption of his people; and for his ascension to the right hand of God the Father, and thence pouring out his spirit, and giving gifts to men, apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors, and teachers, for the gathering and building up of his church; and for fitting and inclining this man to this great work;* to intreat him to fit him with his Holy Spirit, to give him, (who in his name we thus set apart to this holy service) to fulfil the work of his ministry in all things, that he may both save himself, and his people committed to his charge.”

9. This, or the like form of prayer and blessing being ended, let the minister who preached, briefly exhort him, to consider of the greatness of his office and work, the danger of negligence both to himself and his people, the blessing which will accompany his faithfulness in this life, and that to come; and withal exhort the people to carry themselves to him, as to their minister in the Lord, according to their solemn promise made before; and so by prayer commending both him and his flock to the grace of God, after singing of a psalm, let the assembly be dismissed with a blessing.

10. If a minister be designed to a congregation, who hath been formerly ordained presbyter, according to the form 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

* Here let them impose hands on his head.

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 enquire, and find out one who may be a faithful minister for them, or have any with safety sent unto them, for such a solemn trial as was before mentioned in the ordinary rules, especially when there can be no presbytery near unto them, to whom they may address themselves, or which may come or send to them a fit man to be ordained in that congregation, and for that people: and yet, notwithstanding, it is requisite that ministers be ordained for them, by some, who, being set apart themselves for the work of the ministry, have power to join in the setting apart others who are found fit and worthy. In those cases, until, by God's blessing, the aforesaid difficulties may be in some good measure removed, let some godly ministers in or about the city of London, be designed by 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 neighboring parishes in the several counties, which are at the present quiet and undisturbed, to do the like for the parts adjacent.

3. Let such as are chosen, or appointed for the service of the armies or navy, be ordained as aforesaid, by the associated ministers of London, or some others in the country.

4. Let them do the like when any man shall duly and lawfully be recommended to them for the ministry of any congregation, who cannot enjoy liberty to have a trial of his parts and abilities, and desire the help of such ministers so associated, for the better furnishing of them with such a person, as by them shall be judged fit for the service of that church and people.

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No. IX.

The Assemblies 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, intitled, *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 further 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 further 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. X.

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 Aspersions, 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.

1 Cor. viii. 6. Isa. xlv. 6, and xlv. 9. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Tim. vi. 16. Isa. xliii. 15. Psalm cxlvii. 5. Deut. xxxii. 3. Job xxxvi. 5. Jer. x. 12. Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Acts xvii. 28. Rom. xi. 36.

II.

In this divine and infinite Being there is the Father, the Word, 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.

1 Cor. i. 3. John i. 1; and xv. 26. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Cor. viii. 6.

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.

Isa. xlv. 10. Eph. i. 11. Rom. xi. 33. Psalm xxxiii. 15; cxv. 3; cxxxv. 6; and cxlv. 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.

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 honor; 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.

Gen. i. 1; and iii. 1, 4, 5. Col. i. 16. Isaiah xlv. 12. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 46. Ecces. vii. 29. 2 Cor. xi. 3. 1 Timothy ii. 14. Gal. iii. 22. Romans v. 12; vi. 22; and xviii. 19. Eph. ii. 3.

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.

Job xxxviii. 11. Isaiah xlvi. 10, 11. Ecces. iii. 14. Mark x. 29, 30. Exodus xxi. 13. Proverbs xvi. 33. Romans viii. 28.

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.

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. ix. 23, 24. 1 Cor. i. 30, 31.

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.

John vi. 36; and xvii. 3. Heb. v. 9. 1 Thess. i. 8.

VIII.

The rule of this knowledge, faith, and obedience, concerning the worship of God, in which is contained the whole duty of man, is (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.

Col. ii. 23. Matt. xv. 9, 6. John v. 39. 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17.
Isa. viii. 20. Gal. i. 8, 9. Acts iii. 22, 23.

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.

Gen. iii. 15; xxii. 18; and xlix. 9, 10. Dan. vii. 13; and ix. 24, &c. Prov. viii. 23. John i. 1, 2, 3. Heb. i. 8; ii. 16; iv. 15; and vii. 14. Gal. iv. 4. Rev. v. 5. Rom. i. 3; and ix. 10. Matt. i. 16; Luke iii. 23, 26. Isa. liii. 3, 4, 5.

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.

1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. ix. 15. John xiv. 6. Isa. ix. 6, 7.

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.

Prov. viii. 23. Isa. xi. 2, 3, 4, 5; xlii. 6; xlix. 15; and lxi. 1, 2. Luke iv. 17, 22. John i. 14, 26; and iii. 34.

XII.

Concerning his mediatorship, the scripture holds forth Christ's call to his office; for none takes this honor 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.

Heb. v. 4, 5, 6. Isa. lii. 10, 11. John iii. 16. Rom. viii. 32.

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, can it be transferred from him to any other.

1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. vii. 24. Dan. vii. 14. Acts iv. 12. Luke i. 33. John xiv. 6.

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.

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.

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 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.

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.

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.

John i. 18. Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. i. 1.

That Jesus Christ is God, is wonderful 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, Hebrews ii. 14. He took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, verse 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, Hebrews ii. 11. See Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15. Hebrews i. 4.

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, an 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.

John xvii. 19. Hebrews v. 7, 8, 9, 10, 12. Romans v. 19. Eph. v. 2. Col. i. 20. Eph. ii. 14, &c. Romans viii. 34. Hebrews viii. i; and ix. 24. 1 Peter ii. 5. John iv. 23, 24.

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 which is offered upon it, and so it ought to be of greater dignity than the sacrifice itself.

Hebrews v. 6; vii. 16, &c; ix. 13, 14; x. 10; and xiii. 10, 12, 15. 1 Peter i. 18, 19. Col. i. 20, 22. Acts xx. 28. Matt. xxiii. 17.—John xvii. 19.

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 over-ruling 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, preserv-

ing 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.

1 Cor. xv. 4. 1 Peter iii. 21, 22. Matthew xxviii. 18, 19. Luke xxiv. 51. Acts i. 4; and v. 30, 31. John v. 26, 27; xix. 36; and xvi. 15. Romans i. 21; v. 6, 7, 8; xiv. 9, 17; and xvii. 18. Gal. v. 22, 23. Mark i. 27. Hebrews i. 14. Job ii. 8; and xvii. 18. Eph. iv. 17, 18. 2 Peter ii.

XX.

This his kingly power shall be more fully manifested when he shall come into 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.

1 Cor. xv. 24, 28. Hebrews ix. 28. 1 Thess. iv. 15, 16, 17.— 2 Thess. i. 9, 10. John xvii. 21, 26.

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.

Eph. i. 14. Hebrews v. 9; and vii. 25. Matthew i. 21. John xvii. 6. 1 Cor. ii. 12. Romans viii. 29, 30. 1 John v. 12. John xv. 13; and iii. 16.

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.

Ephesians ii. 8. John iv. 10; vi. 29, 63; and xvii. 17. Philemon i. 29. Galatians v. Hebrews iv. 11, 12.

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 he clouded and overwhelmed for a time; yet God is still the same, and they shall be sure to be kept by the 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.

Matt. vii. 24, 25. John xiii. 10; and x. 28, 29. 1 Peter i. 4, 5, 6. Isa. xlix. 13, 14, 15, 16.

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.

Rom. x. 17. 1 Cor. i. 28. Rom. i. 16; iii. 12; and ix. 16. Ezek. xvi. 16. Eph. i. 19. Col. ii. 12.

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 a savior for such sinners as through the gospel shall be brought to believe on him.

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.

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.

1 Peter i. 5. 1 Cor. xv. 10. 2 Cor. xii. 9. Phil. ii. 12, 13. John xv. 5. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

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

1 Thess. i. 1. John xvii. 21; and xx. 17. Heb. ii. 11. 1 John iv. 16. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

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.

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.

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.

1 Cor. xii. 1 Peter ii. 9. Eph. i. 4. 1 John iv. 16. Matt. xxviii. 20.

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.

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.

Rom. vii. 23-4; and viii. 29. Eph. vi. 10, 11, &c. Heb. ii. 9, 10. 2 Tim. iii. 12. 1 Thess. iii. 3. Gal. ii. 20. 2 Cor. v. 7. Dent. ii. 5.

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.

John xv. 5; and xvi. 33. Phil. iv. 11. Heb. ii. 9, 10. 2 Tim. iv. 18.

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 baptised into that faith, and joined to the Lord, and to each other, by mutual agreement in the practical enjoyment of the ordinances commanded by Christ their head and king.

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 Peter ii. 5.

XXXIV.

To this church he hath made his promises, and giveth the signs of his covenant, presence, acceptance, love, blessing, and protection.— Here are the fountains and springs of his heavenly graces flowing forth to refresh and strengthen them.

Matt. xxviii. 18, &c. 1 Cor. iii. 21; and xi. 24. 2 Cor. vi. 18.— Rom. x. 4, 5. Psalm cxxxiii. 3. Rom. iii. 7, 10. Ezek. xlvi. 2.

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 others 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.

Acts ii. 41, 44, 45, 47. Isaiah iv. 3. 1 Cor. xii. 6, 7, &c. Ezek. xx. 37, 40. Cant. iv. 12. Eph. ii. 19. Romans xii. 4, 5, 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.

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, governing, serving, and building up of his church: and that none have any power to impose on them either these or any other.

Acts i. 23, 26; vi. 3; and xv. 22, 25. Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Tim. iii. 2, 6, 7. 1 Cor. xii. 8, 28. Heb. xiii. 7, 17. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3; and iv. 15.

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.

Heb. v. 4. John x. 3, 4. Acts xx. 28, 29. Rom. xii. 7, 8. Heb. xiii. 7, 17. 1 Peter v. 1, 2, 3.

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.

1 Cor. ix. 7, 14. Gal. vi. 8. Phil. iv. 15, 16. 2 Cor. x. 4. 1 Tim. i. 2. Psalm cx. 3.

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 confession of faith, ought to be baptised, and after to partake of the Lord's Supper.

Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. John iv. 1. Mark xvi. 15, 16. Acts ii. 37, 38; and viii. 36, 37, &c.

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.

Matt. iii. 6, 16. Mark xv. 9, reads [into Jordan] in Greek. John iii. 23. Acts viii. 38. Rev. i. 5; and vii. 14. Heb. x. 22. Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5, 6. 1 Cor. xv. 28, 29.

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.

Isaiah 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. Romans xvi. 2. Matt. xviii. 17.

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.

Rom. xvi. 2. Matt. xviii. 17. 1 Cor. v. 4, 11, 13; xii. 6; and ii. 3. 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7.

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.

Matt. xviii. 16; and xvii. 18. Acts xi. 2, 3. 1 Tim. v. 19, &c. Col. iv. 17. Acts xv. 1, 2, 3.

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 keeping thereof, in all places by the members, he hath given authority, and laid duty upon all to watch over one another.

Acts xx. 27, 28. Heb. xiii. 17, 24. Matt. xxiv. 45. 1 Thess. v. 2, 14. Jude 3, 20. Hebrews x. 34, 35; and xii. 15.

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.

1 Cor. xiv. 3, &c. Romans xii. 6. 1 Peter iv. 10, 11. 1 Cor. xii. 7. 1 Thess. v. 19, &c.

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.

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, 2, 3.

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.

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.

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.

Romans xiii. 1, 2, &c. 1 Peter. ii. 13, 14. 1 Timothy ii. 1, 2, 3.

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 honorable in throwing down the prelatial 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 honor 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 honor and 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 Peter v. Galatians v.*

XLIX.

But in case we find not the magistrate to favor 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.

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, 7, 8. Romans xiv. 10, 12. 2 Cor. v. 10. Psalm xlix. 7; and l. 22.

I.

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.

Acts viii. 38; and x. 1, 2, 35. Romans xvi. 23. Deut. vi. 13. Romans i. 9. 2 Cor. x. 11. Jeremiah iv. 2. Hebrews vi. 16.

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.

1 Thess. iv. 6. Rom. xiii. 5, 6, 7. Matt. xxii. 21. Titus iii. 1 Peter ii. 15, 17; and v. 5. Eph. v. 21, 23; and vi. 1, 9. Titus iii. 1, 2, 3.

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.

Acts xxiv. 15. 1 Cor. v. 10. Rom. xiv. 12.

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, endeavoring 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, quiet, and harmless people, (no ways dangerous or troublesome to human society) and to labor 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 stedfast and immovable, always abounding in obedience to Christ, as knowing our labor shall not be in vain in the Lord.

Psalm lxxiv. 21, 22.

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. XI.

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 hast 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 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

* John xvii. 3.

† Matt. xi. 27.

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 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*

* John xvi. 13. Rom. viii. 14.

† Rom. v. 12, 15.

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 reproveable, 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 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

* Eph. ii. 1. † Ezek. xviii. 23. Isaiah 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.

saved, so also may now some (who by Providence are cast into these 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, 8, 9. Romans x. 8.—Titus ii. 11.

THE SEVENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Justification.

AS many as resist not this Light, but receive the same, in them is produced an 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 :

|| 1 Cor. xii. 7.

* Heb. ii. 9.

But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the 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 further 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 apostasy.

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 labor 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

+ 1 Cor. vi. 11.

* Titus iii. 5.

§ Rom. vi. 2, 14. 18. and viii. 13. 1 John iii. 6.

† 1 Tim. i. 6. Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6.

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, 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

* 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.

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 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 of 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 neighbor 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.

* Eph. iv. 5. 1 Peter iii. 21. Rom. vi. 4. Gal. iii. 27. Col. ii. 12. John iii. 30.—† 1 Cor. i. 17.—‡ 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.

THE FIFTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Salutations and Recreation, &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; such as the taking off the hat to a man, the bowings and cringing 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.

† Eph. v. 11. 1 Peter i. 14. John v. 44. Jer. x. 3. Acts x. 26. Matt. xv. 13. Col. ii. 8.

No. XII.

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 23d year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth, † entitled, *an act to retain the queen majesty's subjects in their due obedience*; nor that statute made in the 29th year of the said queen, ‡ entitled, *an act for the more speedy*

* 2 Will. and Mary, cap. 13. † 23 Eliz. cap. 1. ‡ 29 Eliz. cap. 6.

and the execution of certain branches of the statute made in the 23d year of the queen majesty's reign, viz. the aforesaid act; 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 3d 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 25th 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 30th year 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 20th 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 further 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 further 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 pres-

* 29 Eliz. cap. 2, § 14. † 3 Jac. I. cap. 4. ‡ 3 Jac. I. cap. 5. § 25 Car. II. cap. 2. || 30 Car. II. stat, 2d cap, 1, ¶ Id.

ent 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 further charge whatsoever.

III. And be it further 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 35th year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth,* entitled, *an act to retain the queen majesty's subjects in their due obedience*. Nor in an act made in the 22d 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 non-conforming 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 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 further 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, church-warden, 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 of employment, by a sufficient deputy, by him to be provided, that shall comply with the laws on this behalf; provided always, the said deputy,

* 35 Eliz. cap. 1.

† 22 Car. II. cap. 1.

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 further 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 13th 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, and yet,*] shall be liable to any of the pains or penalties mentioned in an act made in the 17th 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 22d 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 100l. mentioned in an act made in the 13th and 14th 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 of approbation and subscription to the said articles, in manner as aforesaid, by every respective person or persons herein before-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 six-pence 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

* 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.

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 further 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 further 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 herein after 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 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.

* 8 Geo. I. cap. 6.

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 afore-mentioned statutes made against popish recusants, or protestant non-conformists ; and also from the penalties of an act made in the 5th year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth,* intituled *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 13th and 14th years of the reign of King Charles II.† intituled, *an act for preventing mischiefs that may arise by certain persons called quakers refusing to take lawful oaths*, and enjoy all the other benefits, privileges, and advantages, under the like limitations, provisos, 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 pe-

* 5 Eliz. cap. 1.

† 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 1.

nal sum of fifty pounds, 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 further 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 fifty pounds, 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 twenty pounds, 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 diocese, 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.

* Sec Geo. I. stat. 2, cap. 5, § 4.

No. XIII.

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 further 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 the second, 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 the second, 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 religions worship; as also for the further 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,

* 10th of Queen Anne.

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 of the same household, if it be in any house where there is a family inhabiting, or if it be in an 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 forty pounds, 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 essoign, protection, or wager of law, shall be allowed, or any more than one imparlance.

And be it further 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 further 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 rites and 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 the offices or employments aforesaid.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, that every such person so convicted, and afterwards 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, 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 further 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 further 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 said act, if thereunto required.

And be it further 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 further 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 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. XIII.

*The SCHISM ACT, entitled, an Act to prevent the growth of Schism, and for the further 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 the second, 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 school-master keeping any public or private school, and every person instructing or teaching any youth in any house or private family, as a tutor or school-master, 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*

* 12th of Queen Anne

liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by law established; and if any school-master or other person, instructing or teaching youth in any private house or family, as a tutor or school-master, should instruct or teach any youth as a tutor or school-master, before license obtained from his respective archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocese, 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 school-master 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 school-masters, 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 school-master, 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 license 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 gaol 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 gaol.

Provided always, and be it hereby enacted, that no license shall be granted by any 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 license, 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 the second, 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, are 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 oaths and declarations.

And be it further 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 school-master, 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 school-master.

And be it further 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 license of such person shall from thenceforth be void, and such person shall be liable to the penalties of this act.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the bishop of the diocese, or other proper ordinary, to re-cite any person or persons whatsoever, keeping school or seminary, or teaching without license 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 afterwards 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 alledge, 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 impowered 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, grand-children, or great grand-children 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 school-master.

Provided always, and be it further 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 school-master, he or they also performing all that is made requisite thereunto by this act.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, that every such person so convicted, and afterwards 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 the second, 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 school-masters, and other persons instructing youth in private families, in Ireland, as in and by the above-recited act is enacted concerning school-masters 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. XIV.

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*

* 5th of King George I. cap. 4.

† 10 Annæ, cap. 2.

established, and for confirming the toleration granted to protestant dissenters, by an act [entitled, an act for exempting their Majesty's protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws ;] and for supplying the defects thereof, and for the further 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 further 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.

* 10 Annæ, cap. 2 ; † and 12 Annæ, stat. 2. cap. 7.

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Errata.—The reader will observe that an error escaped the printer in paging the half Sheet, (Sig. 12 Vol. 5) p. 135 to 145, where each page is numbered two pages forward.

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