

EDMUND CALAMY
AN ABRIDGEMENT OF
MR. BAXTER'S
HISTORY OF HIS LIFE AND TIMES

1702



Mr. Baxter's
HISTORY
OF HIS
LIFE and TIMES.

With an ACCOUNT of many others of those *Worthy Ministers* who were Ejected, after the Restauration of King CHARLES the Second.

Their *Apology* for Themselves and their Adherents; containing the Grounds of their *Nonconformity*, and Practise as to *Stated* and *Occasional Communion* with the Church of England. And a Continuation of their History, till the Year 1691.

By EDMUND CALAMY. *Edm. Fil. & Nepos.*

LONDON:

Printed by *S. Bridge*, for *Thomas Parkhurst* at the Bible and *Three Crowns* in *Cheapside*. *Jonathan Robinson* at the *Golden Lyon* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*. And *John Lawrence* at the *Angel* in the *Poultry*, 1702.

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TO THE
Right Honourable
THE
LORD MARQUESS
OF
Hartington.

My Lord,

NOblemen. *have* *always*
had *many* *Admirers,*
but *never* *more,* *than*
when *their* *Goodness* *has* *been* *as*
Diffusive, *as* *their* *Greatness*
was *Illustrious.* *Your* *Lordships*
Publick *Spirit,* *and* *Steady* *Ver-*
tue *are* *too* *Conspicuous* *to* *be*
Conceal'd *from* *General* *Obser-*
vation; All Eyes are upon you

A 3

with

with *raised* *Expectations,* *and*
your *Lordship* *can't* *be* *much* *sur-*
priz'd *that* *Even* *the* *most* *Di-*
stant *should* *desire* *to* *pay* *their*
Respects *where* *the* *Meanest* *are*
not deny'd *Access.*

Being *therefore* *Incouraged* *by*
your *Lordships* *Inquisitive* *Ge-*
nius, *your* *Noble* *Freedom* *of*
Thought, *and* *Generous* *Love* *of*
Truth *(by* *whose* *Hands* *soever*
presented *to* *you)* *I* *have* *presu-*
med *to* *lay* *these* *Papers* *at* *your*

Lordships Feet, which if they
 may be honoured with your Pe-
 rusal, I Question not but your
 Lordship will find some Men
 and Things fairly and iimpar-
 tially Represented, that have ge-
 nerally been misunderstood, for
 want of a Distinct Account of
 them.

My

My Lord, we have lately lost
 a Great and Good King, whose
 Generous Charity made him the
 Common Father of All his Peo-
 ple. And he has more than once
 expressid his Wonder, that where
 there was such an Harmony in
 the great Points of Faith, there
 should be such a want of Charity,
 in Matters of meer Opinion.

Blessed be Divine Providence
 which has Raised up our most
 Gracious Queen, the Common
 Centre of all our Hopes, whose
 late Royal Assurance of her
 Favour and Protection affords us
 an agreeable Prospect, and in-
 tire Satisfaction.

And we are thankful to God,
 that hath Inspired so many in
 both Houses of Parliament with

A 4

fa-

favourable Sentiments towards
 us: We hope we shall always
 Demean our Selves so, as not to
 forfeit the Good-will of our

*Superiours, particularly of your
 Lordship. That you may be
 long continu'd a bright Pattern
 of Virtue: An Ornament to the
 Nobility: A, Patron of Liberty:
 Honoured and Beloved by all
 good People; is the Prayer
 of many, besides
 Your Lordship's,
 Most Humble and most
 Obedient Servant.
 Edm. Calamy.*

THE

* This Edmund Calamy was born 5 April 1671 (O.S.) and died 3 June 1732 (O.S.). He was the son of Edmund Calamy (mentioned on page 248 of this book) and grandson of Edmund Calamy (mentioned on page 186 of this book)

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THE PREFACE

MR. *Baxter's* Narrative of his life and Times, which has bin extant now for some Years, has met with the same Treatment, He in his Life time was so much us'd to, both as to his Person and Writings: It has bin much Valu'd by same, and as much Slighted by others. But where it has bin most freely Censur'd, it has yet bin generally acknowledg'd to contain a Collection of many valuable Things in Divers Kinds: And that an Epitome of it would be acceptable and useful. I don't think it needful to trouble the World with a particular Account how I came to undertake it; If I had tho't that would want all Excuse, I had never meddled: And therefore, shall only say that thinking I might this way Profitably employ my Time and Pains: I was willing to do what I could to make my Abridgement of general Use. In order to it, tho't have endeavour'd to say much in a Little, yet I have not willingly omitted any thing that I tho't Material. I have reduc'd things to that Method which appear'd to me most proper. Personal Reflections, and little Privacys

I have dropt, and things which were out of Date, I have pass'd over lightly; sometimes I have kept pretty much to his language, and sometimes I have taken the freedom to use my own. I have divided the whole into Chapters, and given things something of a Connexion: And perhaps, have this way taken more Pains, than it would need to have cost me, had the Work been entirely New. Of my Performance, I must be Contented every one should Judge, according to their pleasure: For I could expect no other, whatsoever I might be able to Suggest, to bespeak their Favour.

It

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It being generally apprehended, that in some Respects Additions were needful, and many being desirous of a Continuation, to bring down the History nearer to the present time, I have been prevail'd with to undertake that also tho' a Work of no small Difficulty; and there I think a more particular Account may justly be expected from me.

The Ninth Chapter, which has most swell'd this Volume, at the same time as it gave me the most Trouble, Contains a List of the Silenc'd Ministers, with the Characters of many of them. This was the more needful, because Dr. *Sam. Parker* and some others, have taken a liberty strangely to diminish their Number, whereby they have in Effect charg'd those who have reported them to have bin about two Thousand, with falsifying in their own Favour; which cannot but blacken their Memory hereafter, if they should not be clear'd by a just Representation. But tho' this is what I have endeavour'd, yet for my part I lay so little stress upon Numbers in a Case of this Nature, that I have not had the Curiosity to make a Calculation of the Sum Total of the List here Publish'd. I leave that to others, who take more delight than I do in numbring the People.

A Catalogue of this Nature, was indeed Printed in 2 Sheets in the Year 1663; but 'tis become such a Rarity, that with all the Interest I could make, I could not obtain a sight of it, 'till mine was got through the Press. Having perus'd it, I am far from repenting my Pains; For I find it mentions the Names of those who were Ejected in *London* and *Essex*, and eight Counties more, but has not a word of all the rest, and yet it bears the Title of an *Exact Catalogue*. What must the next Age think of the Dissenting Ministers, to find them Asserting with so much Assurance, that the Number of the Ejected amounted to 2000, when all *exact Catalogue* can't reckon up above 5 or 600. I could not but think the future Reputation of many, concern'd in the clearing of this matter, by Publishing List, that might better deserve the name

of Exact. than one that contains the name of little more than a quarter part of them.

Accord

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Accordingly I sought out every where for Assistance: And after some time obtain'd 4 written Catalogues. One was Collected with great Industry and Application by the Reverend Mr. *William Taylor*, late of *Newbery*, who while Chaplain to the late Lord *Wharton*, had a Correspondence in most parts of *England*, in Pursuit of this Design. Two I had put into my Hands by the Laborious Mr. *Roger Morrice*, who was for Collecting everything that was curious, and had taken a great deal of Pains, in order to the compleating such a Design. The fourth I receiv'd from another Hand. I Collated them together, and drew one List out of all of them, omitting none wherein all agreed; and where they differ'd, I some times follow'd one Copy, and some times another, with respect to the several Counties, according to the Information and Advice of such as I consulted in Person and by Letter, for the places with which they were best Acquainted. And yet after all, dare not undertake, that my List is even yet *Exact*: But I hope it may Pave the way for one, that at length may deserve that Name.

Several things concur to make exactness in this Case difficult. There were two Ejections of Ministers in the beginning of the Reign of King *Charles II*. One out of the livings that had been Sequestred, and another by the Act for Uniformity. The Lists which I have seen, have not made that Distinction in this Respect I could have wish'd for. There were same few, (and as far as my Information reaches they were but very few) of those cast out of the Sequestred livings, who still kept in the Church after the Act took place. 'Tis not impossible but here and there one of these may be still nam'd as Ejected: But then there were others who lost their Ecclesiastical Preferments soon after the Restauration, whom the Act for Uniformity found unpossesst of any Benefice; and others who were Chaplains to Persons of Quality, without my other Preferments, on whom the Church Doors were by that Act shut up, for all time to come: And I have reason to believe, (having my self observ'd and inserted some such) that my List may be as destrutive in those of this latter, as it can be redundant

in

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in those of the Former sort. Some were Ejected twice; First out of Sequestred livings, and afterwards out of some other place in which they were fix'd,

before, the Act took place by which they were totally Silenc'd. Some such I have noted; and 'tis not unlikely but several others may have escap'd my Notice. But then there were others just entred upon the Ministry, tho' not fully fix'd in any certain Vlace, who were as much Silcnc'd by that Atl, as if they had been Ejected out of Livings of which they for some time had had Possession: And I have reason to apprehend that as many of these will upon a narrow Search be found omitted, as there arc of the others that are mcntion'd twice, and at two several places. However any thing of this kind either way, is inconsistent with that exactness I would aim at: And therefore I make it my Request to all that come to the sight of there Papers, that they will oblige both me and the World, by giving me Notice of any Mistakes they obfcn'e of either sort. 'Twas my Desire and Hope of this made me the more hasty. And indeed those Aged Ministers that yet remain, from whom the best Intelligence is to be expected, do now drop off so fast, that had I staid much longer, I might have seen the Stage clear of those, by whom alone this Design of a perfect List can be completed.

At the end of each County I have added the Names of such as I could obtain the Knowledge off, who tho' Nonconformists at first, did afterwards comply with the National Establishment. The Reason of this Addition, is that it may be seen, how few, under all the Hardships and Disadvantages that attended Nonconformity, were prevail'd with by any Opposite Prospect to desert their Principles, compar'd with those who were firm in adhering to them. I have herein follow'd the foremention'd Lists, and should be sorry for any Mistakes: But upon Intimation givrn, will readily correct them hereafter.

I have added the Characters of many, which I tho't but a just Debt to the Memory of so many deserving Persons, who suffer'd so bravely to maintain their Integrity, and rather expos'd themselves and

their

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their Families to no small Hardships, than they would strain their Consciences. 'Tis pity the World should not have a full Account of them. The Ingenious Dr. *Sampson*, had taken much Pains in a Design of that Nature: But he lay'd a Platform that was too wide in Compass for anyone Man's life. We have few if any, more capable of bringing it to Perfection, than he into whose hands the Doctor's Papers are fallen, if want of Health or leisure don't prevent him.

Lives and Characters are very entertaining. Hardly any part of Mr. *Baxter's* Narrative was more generally agreeable than his Brief Account of the Ministers

of *Worcestershire*, and the parts adjoining. My List would have been dull, without Characters to give it life. And therefore I took the Pains to consult the Printed lives, and scatter'd Characters, and Funeral Sermons of as many of them as I could meet with, Collecting thence, what appear'd suitable to my Purpose. I have added an Account of some few, my own Acquaintance with whom, put me into a Capacity of giving their just Character. And there are a great many others of whom no account at all was ever Printed before, whose Memoires are Communicated by Divers Friends in City and Country, who were best able to do them Justice. Whatever Acceptance this part of my Performance meets with, this I can say, it hath cost me much Time and Pains, in Reading and Abridging so many Printed Accounts and Manuscript Narratives. And yet 'tis but a Specimen of what I intend, unless the better Performances of others make my Pains needless.

Some angry Persons have taken much Pleasure in bespatterngg these worthy Men, whose Names rather deserv'd Embalming: But none hath more Signaliz'd his Rancour and Bitterness in ill Natur'd particular Reflections, than Mr. *Antony a Wood*, the *Oxford* Historiographer; who hath bin taken to Task by several for his other Failures, while no one that I know off, hath been so Charitable as to wipe off the foul Aspersion, he hath can on those of our Denomination, who to say the least, deserve much better Treatment. What must those who come after us

think

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think of our supine Neglect should such malignant Insinuations as his, which so blacken the whole Body of our Ministers, and the most leading Men amongst them, (very few only excepted) be suffer'd to pass uncontradicted. If any think Innocence needs no Apology: They will do well to consider whether such as rise up amongst us, and are strangers to their Characters, maint suppose there was something of truth in his spiteful Reflections, If none had the face publicly to Confront them.

The first Specimen of this Author's Abilities was his *Antiquitates Universitatis Oxon*, in which (they are the Words of a learned Bishop*) there is not, only false Latin, but false English too, and many bad Characters cast on good Men, especially on the Anti-Arminians, who are all (especially Dr. Prideaux). made seditious Persons, Schismatics if not Hereticks; nay our first Reformers, (out of Peter Heylins angry, and (to our Church and Truth) scandalous Writings) are made Fanatics. The truth is, not only the Latin, but also the matter of those Antiquities, being Erroneous in several things, may prove Scandalous, and give our Adversaries some Occasion to Censure, not only, the University, but the Church of England

and our Reformation. And that truly great Man, Arch-Bishop Tillotson, found it Necessary to vindicate the Memory of that excellent Person Bishop Wilkins, from this Authors Aspersions, in his Preface to a Volume of that Bishop's Sermons: And after a mild Censure, concludes (in his wonted manner) with this sort Reflection; that *there is no readier was for a Man to bring his own worth into question, than by endeavouring to detract from the worth of other Men.*

His next work was his *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, with an Eye to which Bishop Barnet* Stiles him a Scribler, and hath this Remarkable Passage. *That poor Writer, hath thrown together such a Tumultuary Mixture of Stuff and Tattle, and has bin so visibly a Tool of some of the Church of Rome, to reproach all the greatest Men of our Church, that no Man who takes care of his own Reputation, will take any thing upon trust that is said by one that has no Reputation to loose. He has laid together all that the Malice of Missionarys could furnish him with, to*

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* Bishop Barlows Genuine Remains, page 181, 184.

*The Lord Bishop of Sarum's Letter to the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, Page 9, 10.

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blemish the Work of one of the treatest Men of our Church, Bishop JEWEL; and he hath barbarously attack'd the Memory of Bishop WARD, who was in so many Respects one of the greatest Men of his Age, but that he had appear'd with too much Zeal against Popery, to be spar'd by one of their Faction. The Truth of it is the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Historically relating the Writers of that Famous University with their Works, was a very Noble Design: But the Canker'd Spirit of the Authour, has spoild that which otherwise had been one of the best Books, that a Biographer could easily have met with. His Reflections, which are many Times as void of Judgment as Charity, are intolerable. He spares none. Many of the most eminent *Conformists*, some that were the Glory of the Establish'd Church, are severely Lash'd, as well as the Poor *Nonconformists*. Nay, the very Martyrs do again suffer under him. With him Bishop Ferrar's Answer to the *Papists* was *insufficient*. The Loss of Excellent Bishop Hooper (who with great Constancy endur'd the Flames, to Attest the Truth of his Religion in Opposition to *Popery*) he says, *was Lamented by such as Pretended to Reformation*. And indeed whoever will take the Pains to pursue the Comparison with Observation, will generally find better Characters given of the *Papists*, than of the *Protestants*. He could not spare the famous *John Fox*, and his Book of Martyrs, which he declares *too bitter against the Papists*. And as for the Learned Bishop Bale, he is with him a meer Whiffler, and to

be run down upon all Occasions: And there was good Reason for it; for he was an irreconcilable Enemy to all the Relicks of *Popery*.

He not only inveighs against Dean *Sampson* of *Christ-Church*, as one in *Perpetual Motion* for Carrying on the *Holy Cause*; but Reflects with Freedom, on Dr. *George Abbot*, Arch-BISHOP of *Canterbury*, as shewing more Respect to Cloak than to a Cassock. He gives a strange Character of Dr. *Holland*, who he says had more than a *Ship of Learning*. He adds, he was esteem'd by the *Precise Men* of his Times and After, as a Man mighty in the *Scriptures*. But for his own part, he had not one Word to add in his Favour, though he was Do

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ctor of the Chair. Dr. *Gracanthorp* is insinuated to be a Foul Mouth'd Writer against the Popish Bishop *Reynolds*, is Recorded for a Man given to Change, to please a Covetous and Politick Consort. And Bishop *Wilkins*, for a Man of unsettled Principles; with this Addition, that he was Malign'd by the Arch-Bishops *Sheldon*, and *Dolben*, and Bishop *Fell*, for his wavering and inconstant Mind in Religion. If this be True, he might very well have spar'd the Mention of it for their Sakes, whose Memory is thereby like to suffer with impartial Posterity; who in all Probability will prefer the Moderation of Bishop *Wilkins*, which is falsly Stil'd Inconstancy, to the Stiffness and Rigour of the other Three.

What is there that should make this Book admir'd by any that love either Truth or Candour? Instead of being an Ornament to the Famous University of Oxford, 'tis really a Blemish to it; and so 'twill remain as long as 'tis Uncorrected. Its not capable of being Purg'd by Flames. It cannot indeed be suppos'd, but it was a Mortification to the Author, to Live to see his Book Censur'd and Burnt, and himself Expell'd the University. Justice was hereby done many Worthy Persons, tho' undesignedly: For 'twas upon a Particular Complaint, that the Chancellours Court of the University proceeded to that Severity, which was due for the Injury he had done to the Memory of many. But the Book is still an Instrument of lasting Mischief, by Conveying ill Impressions, which sometimes are never after Rectify'd. And what greater Injury can there be, than to perpetuate the Sufferings of deserving Persons.

It cannot indeed be much wondred, that he that could Treat some of the greatest Men of the Church of *England* with so much Contempt, as he hath done, should give himself such a Liberty in aspersing the *Nonconformists*: And yet is it not a hardship, if they are the only Persons with Reference to whom he must be Credited? He gives sufficient Warning in his Preface, to all that

have any Thing of an ingenuous Temper, or are for dealing with others, as they would be dealt by themselves. For he declares,

That

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That the Nonconformists were as usually, so little Friends to the carrying on of a Publick Design, that very few, and those very unsatisfactory Relations could be obtain'd from them; and that therefore no very favourable Account of their Writings was to be expected from him. This is a singular Instance of his Fairness to let them know what they must expect. They must look for no Favour. The Truth of it is, they never expected it from a Man of his Character; no, nor Justice neither, which comes a Degree below it: And that was the true Reason, why so many of them, tho't it to no Purpose, to hold any Correspondence with him about the Design he had in Hand. But some there were, that were free and open in communicating Memoirs to him, to whom he refus'd what no Candid Writer would have deny'd. I have it from a Person of Note and Worth, that when he observ'd a considerable Mistake in this Authours Account of his own Father, who was a worthy Nonconforming Minister, he offer'd him to have been at the Charge of Reprinting that Sheet, that so that Mistake might be rectify'd: But so true was he to his Word, that he has given in the Case, that no favour was to be expected from him, that this could by no Means be obtain'd. let any then Judge, what Regard his Characters of them may deserve. He is a Writer that pretends to great Exactness, and yet runs into a great many gross Mistakes in Matters of Fact; which had been hardly censurable in one that touches upon so great a Variety of Particulars, had he but allow'd for Slips and Over-sights, and other Marks of Humane Fallibility, and been ready to Correct upon better Information: But that was a Thing below him. Dr. *Walter Pope*, who wrote the Life of his Friend Bishop *Ward*, vindicating his Memory from this Authours Reflections, charges him home. I'll add his Words. *Hers* (says he) *I should dismiss Mr. Wood, and close this Chapter; had I not just Cause of quarrelling with him upon my own Account, for having endeavour'd to Rob me of my deserved Praise, and to obscure the most glorious Action of my Life; in not mentioning that Famous Contestation concerning Formalities* (meaning the Academical Habits) *which I have described at*

a

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large in the Fifth Chapter, or my being Proctor, which cannot but be either out of Ignorance or Design, either of which is sufficient to ruin the Credit of an Historian. He has falsify'd the History; having made the Proctors Bifield and Conant serve

for the Tears 1657 and 1658, which is not only notoriously Untrue, but also, it thrusts my Colledge, and my Self out of the Fasti, or the University Chronicles; which is an intolerable Grievance to Persons thirsty of Fame, and ambitious of Honour: But for our Comfort, whoever Consults the University Register, or the Convocation Books, will be easily and clearly, Convinc'd of the Truth of what I have here Asserted. Hence I conclude, if he may not be Credited in a Matter so notoriously known, and of such Importance to his History, we may, with good Reason, suspect the Character he gives of a Person, with whom I firmly Believe he never had any Conversation. Notwithstanding which, I have tho't it requisite to take Notice of several of his Characters, in the ensuing Account; perhaps more than they deserv'd. And I have also taken several Things from him, as to the Degrees of several Persons, and other Particulars, where I saw no Reason to suspect any wrong Byass, but wish upon Second Tho'ts, he mayn't have misguided me. I have some Reason to suspect it, because I find in one Particular, he hath led me into an Errour. For he more than once Asserts, that Dr. *Manton* was Son in law to Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick*. This is a Particular of that Nature, that I tho't no Danger could attend my Crediting his Report: But am since Inform'd by those who are man: likely to know, that 'tis an absolute Fiction, without the least Ground. This I the rather mention, that others may thence judge, how little Credit is to be given to that Doughty Authour.

There is one Thing in which I have not been able in many Cases to do Justice to these Worthy Men, and that is as to their Degrees. Where any Printed Works of their own, or Accounts given of them by others, or the Information of their Surviving Friends, satisfy'd me as to the Degrees of any of the Silenc'd Ministers, I fairly mention'd it: But where I had no light any of these Ways, I tho't 'twas fitter to be Silent, than to pretend to guess. Should any appre-

hend,

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hend, that they who have no Degrees here mention'd were no Graduates, they'd wrong them and me too. Them in supposing them to want an Ornament which they really were possess'd of: And me, in taking that as my Denial, which is only a mark of my Ignorance, or uncertainty in the matter. I have also added an Account of their Works, which may be some Gratification to the Curious. I'm sensible 'tis many ways Defective, but 'twill be much more easie hereafter to supply those Defects, than it was to lay such a Foundation.

If any think it unseasonable to revive the Memory of these Good Mm, I would desire them to consider, that there's a great deal of Curiosity in the Age we live in, which inclines Men of sense and tho't, to be inquisitive into

the Notions, the Conduct and Fate, of those, of a different Stamp from themselves, as well as of those who stand upon the Square with them, that they may have the better Understanding of Humane Nature, as well as of their own Country, under its several different Faces. If others are Strangers to such a sort of Curiosity, 'tis not in my Power to help it.

If any complain of my omitting the Characters of many Persons who were as considerable as most of those mention'd, besides my want of Information, I have this to Alledge; that the Characterizing all, was fitter to be a work by itself than an Addition by way of Supplement. But having several Memoirs by me, some of which were too long, and others came too late to be here inserted, I purpose, (unless the Publishing of Dr. *Sampson's*, Papers with Additions should make it needless) some time or other hereafter to cast them into a separate account of these Ministers, in which as I shall be ready to insert such Particulars concerning their friends and Acquaintance, here omitted, as any shall think fit to communicate, that are well attested, so I'll also be careful to rectifie such Mistakes, as I may have fallen into in this first Essay.

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If any are surpriz'd that I have kept in the names of some in the Extremities of *Wales*, who were of a different Stamp from those Ejected in other Parts, I have this to Plead: That pretending to Publish a List of the Persons Ejected, I did not think my self left at Liberty to Pick and Choose. These as well as others were of that number, which is all that is intended to be intimated by the naming them. 'Tis well known, that they who had the Ascendant in those Parts, between 1650, and 60, made it their endeavour to bring in an illiterate Ministry; and therefore 'tis no wonder if some Ignorant Mechanicks, were of the Number of those there Ejected. But however, their Case admits of the same Plea, as was us'd with Reference to some of the Ministers whose livings were Sequestred in the Parliament Times. They were as freely charg'd with Immoralities, as these Persons can be, with any other Defects: But it was urg'd on their behalf, that while such Charges were not fairly prov'd, they could not be alledg'd as the Cause of their Ejection. It seems to me to be much the same here. Had any such Persons as these upon fair Tryal, bin Ejected as incompetent, their Names might have remain'd bury'd in Oblivion for me: But when they were cast out in a Heat without any Difference, whether they were qualify'd or unqualify'd, they stand all fair in view as under an Hardship in their Ejection, and had the Honour conferr'd upon them too be Sufferers in a Good Cause.

When Mr. *Baxter*, in his History comes to the Act of Uniformity, he subjoins the Controversie between the present Conformists and Nonconformists, which takes up Eleven Sheets. Instead of Abridging that, I rather had recourse to *His Nonconformity Stated and Vindicated* in 4to. Which contains the Summ of his tho'ts any where Extant, upon the several Points in Debate. I have reduc'd the Substance within the compass of the Eleventh Chapter, entitled, the *Reasons of the Ejected Ministers for their Nonconformity*. And that that Title might be the better Answer'd, I have drawn in, what has bin written upon the same Argument by others, with References in the Margin to the several Tracts, where those things

of

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of which I have only given the general Heads, will be found consider'd distinctly and at Large. The making this Account, Succinct, Clear and Methodical, was a Work of more than a little Time and labour.

I have cast that Chapter into this Method. I have First given their Reasons why they could not comply with the Demands of the Act of Parliament, in Order to the continuance of their Publick Ministry. Then follows a brief Representation of the Grounds upon which they still held on in the Ministry, tho' they parted with their Livings. I have added the Grounds upon which many People found themselves oblig'd to adhere to them, while they held on their Ministry; How both Ministers and People were defend'd from the Charge of Schism; and upon what Grounds the more moderate among them yielded to Occasional Communion with the Parish Churches, even while they kept up a Stated Separation. And upon the whole, I think I may venture to say, that he that will take the Pains to peruse that Chapter, may at one view take in the whole Cause in Debate, and see the strength of the Argument, abstracted from Personal Brangles and Contests, which as far as I can discern, seldom contribute either Light or Strength.

There is indeed through the whole Book a convenient Mixture of History and Argument, which is one of the best Methods I know off, to present tediousness. Besides the Summary of the main Controversie in the 11th Chapter, there are several considerable Points that are else where Canvass'd, and Inserted in the most proper Places in the Narrative. As for Instance, A debate concerning the Necessity of a clear and uninterrupted Succession in the Ministry which same lay such address upon: *Page 125, &c.* And another about unwarrantable Impositions, and the true sense of that Celebrated Text. *Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3. page 165. &c.* The Warrantableness, the Prudence, and the Consequences of the *Bartholomew* Ejection, is freely Debated, *Page 486, &c.*

And the account given of the several Attempts, in order to Accomodation of the Difference, will appear to

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contain Argument to convince, as well as History to inform, such as are strangers to these matters, but so far unprejudic'd, as to be able to weigh things with Candor and Impartiality.

Mr. *Baxter's* History proceeds no farther than the Year 1684. And therefore besides additional Passages cast all along into the Margin, which I tho't might not be disagreeable, I have added a Continuation. This part contains not only an Account of Mr. *Baxter's* Tryal, never before Publish'd, (in which I have had the Concurring Testimony of several then present in the Court) and of the later Years of his Life; but also the State of the Dissenters, in the Reign of King *James*, and the first Years of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*. I tho't myself oblig'd to enter into the Debates that were on Foot presently after our last happy Revolution, and I have endeavour'd to represent them with all possible fairness, Particularly that about a Comprehension. He that will narrowly observe the State of the Case at that time, cannot but discern, that the Dissenters had some Reason to expect it, that they were not willing in any requisite or becoming Step in order to it, and that it was not their fault that it was not effected. When so fair an opportunity will return again, God only knows.

I might have bin tempted upon occasion of the Debate at that time, about Alterations and Amendments in the Liturgy, Ceremonies and Discipline of the Church, to have taken more Scope in dilating on the Particulars most demurr'd upon, but that there is a Discourse now Printing abroad, which was drawn up by one of the Greatest Men of the Age, which I tho't rendred it wholly needless. For the Celebrated Monsieur *Frederick Spanheim*, who was for so many Years the Ornament of the University of *Leyden* as Honorary Professor, and who was well known to be no Enemy to the *English* Hierarchy, came over hither by Desire, at the beginning of the late Reign, in order to the giving his Assistance in the healing our unhappy Breaches. He had well study'd the Controversie, and Canvass'd the Arguments on both sides, and drew up his tho'ts upon

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the several Contested Points, They were Communicated, not only to their Majesties, but to many Persons of Eminence among us. They were lodg'd

with some Persons of the highest Rank in the Church, and at the same time with some of our Denomination. Tho' they were not then tho't fit to be expos'd to publick view, yet they are now Printing with the rest of his Works in *Holland*, and will I suppose be soon Translated into *English*, for the Satisfaction of our Country-Men, as to the Judgment of that Learned Foreigner, about the needfulness of Alterations and Amendments among us in order to an happy Settlement.

But whatsoever is suggested by any Persons either at Home or Abroad, 'tis now plain and evident that 'tis to little purpose any longer to cherish such Expectations, till some very Peculiar Providence hath given that softness of Disposition to the minds of some, which neither Arguments nor Intreaties have hitherto bin able to produce. A Late Learned Writer,* who would be understood to speak the sense of many, taking the Bishop of *Sarum* to Task for his Elaborate Exposition of the 39 Articles, with a keenness of Reflection, not very well agreeing with that Submissiveness in a Son, to the Fathers of the Church, which has sometime bin so warmly inculcated, has among other things, charg'd him, with such *Misrepresentations, as may tend to the Prejudice of the Establish'd Church*. In pursuit of the Charge, he warmly inveighs against a Passage in the Close of his Preface, where he so *Capitally* wrong'd the Church as to Insinuate, what will still be believ'd by all Men of Temper, till farther Evidence convince them, *viz. That the Differences between the Church and the Dissenters, are only of things indifferent in themselves, and all our Breaches might be made up, by making some few Concessions*. To confront him in this Supposition, he Marshalls the Dissenters Rank and File, and makes them a numerous, and a formidable Body. *There are* (says he) *as has bin already observ'd* and he might have added invidiously enough; *the Papists, the Socinians, the Deists, and Quakers, the Anabaptists, the Presbyterians, the Independants; besides many other*

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* *A Prefatory Discourse, to an Examination of a late Book Entit. an Exposition of the 39 Articles of the Church of England.*

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Hereticks and Schismatics. He takes it for granted, the Differences with those of the four sorts first nam'd, are of things of Great Importance. But no Mortal can imagine that he could suppose the Bishop of *Sarum* of another mind; or that his Lordship had an Eye to *Papists* or *Socinians, Deists* or *Quakers* in what he Advances. He adds afterwards in an Expostulatory way, such Remarks as he seems to think: amount to a Triumphant Conviction. *Can it* (says he) *be reckon'd at a thing indifferent to an Episcopal Church to have*

it question'd whether Episcopacy be a Lawful Institution or not? Or whether we ought for Peace sake, to throw up the Commission we can so plainly prove to descend down to us, from the Apostles themselves (and consequently from Christ) and for the future derive all Spiritual Power, either from the choice of the People, and a call from the Congregation in the Independent way; or change Episcopacy, tho' as Ancient as Christianity, for Presbytery, which was never pretended to as an Establishment till Calvin, and that only at first upon the Account of absolute Necessity? And yet unless we will come up to all this, all other overtures for Peace, we are abundantly satisfy'd, will signifie nothing. That learned Prelate, I doubt not is abundantly able to clear himself; and can easily give the true Rise of all that ill Will under which he has bin so great a sufferer, which would be much to the Satisfaction of many Standers-by, who are hearty Honourers of his Lordships Worth, and reckon themselves sharers with him in the Censures he has unhappily met with, for his unbyass'd Freedom, and extensive Charity. But in the mean time, I begg leave to enter an Appeal, from the Heat of some, to the Candor of all that are impartial, as to the unworthy Treatment of the main Body of the *Dissenters*, by the Learned Writer of that Prefatory Discourse. He gives us several marks of his particular good Will, by the By. He Bansters the poor silenc'd *Nonconformists*, who he says more than once, were *able Ministers, as Mr. Baxter us'd to express it.* And why he might not express it so I cant understand. What harm is there in the Expression; Is it not Modest eno'? Is there a Jest depends upon it? It might be tho't an Aspersion, should I have said in

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return, that it were to have bin wish'd, that all who had since Succeeded them in the places whence they were Ejected, had equal'd them in Ministerial Ability. But I let it pass, and leave it to any that will be at the Pains to look over the Account I here put into their hands, to judge, whether they did not deserve Respect rather than Contempt. In another Place, he speaks of *the healing of the Differences, and the Uniting of Protestants, as our Dissenters expect to be call'd.* He'd have done well in the mean time to have added his Reasons why they might not as well expect to be call'd so, as their Neighbours. No sense of the Word has hitherto bin given, which does not as much agree to them as any Persons: No Men more averse to Popish Principles and Practices; no Men more backward to a Coalition with the *Roman Sea*, or any revolt to a Foreign Jurisdiction; No Men less fond of the Relicks of Popery than they; and why then they mayn't expect to be call'd Protestants, and esteem'd as firm and steady Protestants as any Men whatsoever, the Reason is yet to

seek. Next time, perhaps we may have it question'd, whether we may be call'd Christians; and then whether we may be call'd and treated as *Englishmen*; For when Men are once got beyond Common Bounds, there's no knowing where they'll Stop. But his main effort is in the Passage Cited, which is so full of Mistakes, that the most Charitable Construction it will bear is this, that the Author forgat the Office he had undertaken, which was to Rectifie Misrepresentations. For had he desir'd to represent things truly, could he have Insinuated that the generality of those Dissenters he is there speaking of, question'd whether Episcopacy were a *Lawful Institution*? Possibly by *Lawful*, he may mean *Divine* Institution: And if so, he may find a New set of Dissenters from him and his Fraternity, even in his own Church. But as a Humane Prudential Institution, many *Dissenters* might and do allow Diocesan, Episcopacy, Lawful; provided it were so temper'd, as not to destroy the Pastoral Power which they are satisfy'd is of a Divine Institution, and therefore cannot lawfully be set aside. Nor was the

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Lawfulness of *Submission* to this Diocesan Episcopacy, as Stated in King *Charles* his Declaration for Ecclesiastical Affairs, question'd by the Commissioners at the *Savoy*, as he cannot but know. Again, is there not a great Difference between deriving the Ministerial Commission from the Apostles, and consequently from Christ, and the insisting upon a clear and uninterrupted Succession in that Office, in order to the safe deriving of such a Commission? Who is against insisting on the former? But who ever yet gave *plain Proof* of the Later. Who of us would have the Ministerial Commission from Christ thrown up, when we all profess to Act as Ministers in his Name, and according to his Appointment? Whilst yet we cannot presume to Act without the choice, or at least Consent of the People to whom we Minister. Will either Independents or Presbyterians Controvert that Episcopacy, that is as Ancient as Christianity? But was that ever yet prov'd as to the Diocesan Frame? Was the Settlement of Presbytery insisted on in the Debates in 61, or any of the Proposals offer'd afterwards in order to a Coalition? And why should it be said that all Overtures for Peace would signifie nothing, if such things as those mention'd are not yielded to? Have all other Methods bin try'd? Has there ever bin any Experiment made, how far Bishop *Usher's* Reduction would go? Or what would be the Effects of settling King *Charles's* Declaration for Ecclesiastical Affairs by Law, which was so well accepted in 1661? Or have we ever seen what Consequences might ensue, upon the passing of such a comprehending Bill, as that which was drawn up by the incomparable

Sir *Matthew Hale*? Till then some Persons may indeed be *abundantly satisfy'd* in their own Opinion, because they have once espous'd it, or may apprehend it to be for their Interest, but they won't find it so easie to convince others, that hearty Attempts would be Insignificant. But upon the whole, since he who would be tho't to Represent the sense of the lower House of Convocation, declares so peremptorily, that a *Comprehension is a thing impracticable*. It cannot justly be esteem'd matter of Reflection, if none of the Dissenters should make

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any farther Motions towards it, till we have some publick Signification that their minds are alter'd: For 'tis very Comfortless to be always at Labour in Vain, especially when wew are so plainly told before hand what we must trust to.

I have nothing to add but this, that if I have miss'd of truth in any Point, it has bin unwillingly, and upon better Information, shall be ready to own my Errour. I have carefully avoided Personal Reflections in the whole Narrative, which I find are made, with much more ease, than they are born when return'd. Various Censures will not surprize me; nor will any flurts of Wit affect me. 'Tis eno' for me if I may have the Approbation of Men of Temper. I desire not to offend any: For I know not the Man, much less the Party, to whom I bear any Enmity or ill Will.

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Postscript.

There being some who may be willing to search into the bottom of that Controversie, that hath bin depending ever since the Reformation, between the Assertors of the Perfection of the Establish'd Church, and those who have acted upon the opposite Principle, of the Necessity of a farther Reformation, in order to an happy Settlement: I have bin desir'd in order to their Satisfaction, to point out the Writings, which may be judg'd to contain the strength of the Cause of the Dissenters. In Compliance with which desire, I Recommend the following Writings to the Perusal of the Curious, who are without taking things upon Trust, for seeing with their own Eyes.

A part of a *Register*, containing sundry memorable Matters, written by Divers Godly and Learned in our Time, which stand for, and desire the Reformation of our Church, in Discipline and Ceremonies, according to the pure Word of God, and the Law of our land, *Octavo*.

Robertus Parkerus de Politeia Ecclesiasticâ, 4to. *Francof*, 1616.

Idem de Signa Crucis.

Didoclavii Altare Damascenum, 4to. 1623.

Dav. Blondelli Apologia pro Sententia Hieronymi de Episcopis & Presbyteris. Amstel. 1646.

Ame's Fresh Suit against Ceremonies, 4to. 1633.

Gillespy's Dispute against English, Popish Ceremonies, &c. 4to. 1637.

Smectymnuus, 4to. 1640. The First and Second Part.

The Papers that past in the Conference at the *Savoy* in 1661; which were Printed first in Quarto, a little after the ending of the Conference; and afterwards more at large in Mr. *Baxter's* Life in Folio; and are here Abridg'd.

Bishop *Stillingfleet's Irenicum*, 4to. 1662.

Mr. *Corbets* Remains, 4to. 1684.

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Mr. *Baxter's English Nonconformity*, as under King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. Truly Stated and Argued, 4to. 1690.

Mr. *Tongue's* Defence of Mr. *Henry's* Brief Enquiry into the Nature of Schism, 4to. 1693.

He that will be at the Pains to Peruse these several Writings, will find that the Dissenters have much to say in their own Defence; and little Reason to be troublesome to the World by repeating their Pleas, as often as such as love Contention, think fit to renew the Charges that have bin so oft brought against them, and as oft Answer'd. What were this but to perpetuate a Dispute, the Accomodating which by an Amicable Agreement, would be more for our Interest and Safety, Peace and Comfort on all Hands.

The

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THE
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Mr. Richard Baxter.

CHAP. I.

His Birth and Education, Early Seriousness; and Entrance into the Ministry.

FAR the Greater Number of those who have bin sent to Act a Part on the Stage of this Lower World, have either pass'd off silently, or misemploy'd their Activity; so that their Names are either bury'd in Oblivion, or stigmatiz'd, to the Warning and Terrour of Posterity. Among such as have made the greatest Figure while Living, or bin most applauded after their Decease, many have ow'd their Distinguish'd Reputation, to the Stock that bore them, to their Peculiar outward Helps and Advantages, or to certain Accidental Hits, that are not to be accounted for: While in the mean time, there have in all Ages bin some few others, who have bin signaliz'd by their Remarkable Endowments, and extraordinary Actions, the Fame of which hath long
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surviv'd them, and given a Lustre to their Names in the Annals of Time. Such have bin their Merits, that they have broke thro' all those Clouds which Envy and Malice have rais'd to obscure them. So Great Blessings have they prov'd to the World, that Attempts to detract from them, have recoil'd upon the Assailants to their own Infamy.

Under the Great Degeneracy of the Present Age, which is the Matter of so just Complaint, we have had some Instances of this kind. *Mr. Richard Baxter* (the Subject of the Ensuing History) cannot be deny'd to be one of the Number. His Soul was too Great for an Useless and Unactive Life, and his Piety and Integrity too Conspicuous for him to be justly Charg'd with perverting his Uncommon Abilities, or misemploying his Considerable

Interest. His Rise was mean, and his Descent obscure; he had no external Advantages to raise and distinguish him, but as many Difficulties to break thro' as most Men, and yet hath his Personal Merit advanc'd his Reputation to that height, that it will outlive the Calumnies of all his Detractors.

His Birth.

He was a Native of *Shropshire*. His Father was a Freeholder of that County, who made no great Figure. His Estate was but small; and so encumbered with Debts, as not to be clear'd without much Thrift and Good Husbandry. His Mother was of the same County; being the Daughter of Mr. *Richard Adeney* of *Rowton*, near *High Ercal*, the Seat of the Lord *Newport*. There was he born, *November* the 12th 1615, and there he spent his Infancy, which was so remarkable in nothing as in the Discovery of a Pious Inclination, which gave great Hopes to such as observ'd him. When he was about 10 Years of Age, he was taken Home by his Parents to *Eaton Constantine*, (a Village about 5 Miles from *Shrewsbury* where he past away his Childhood and Youth, which upon Reflection, he according to the Wife Man's Consure, found to be Vanity.

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Dr. Bates declares in his Sermon at his Funeral, That he had receiv'd this Testimony concerning his Early Piety. His Father said with Tears of Joy to a Friend. My Son Richard I hope was Sanctify'd from the Womb: for when he was a little Boy in Coats, if he heard other Children in Play speak Profane words, he would reprove them, to the wonder of them that heard him.

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His Education.

He was unhappy in his Education, with Respect both to Learning and Piety. His Schoolmasters were both Lewd and Ignorant. For want of better Instructors, he fell into the Hands of the Readers of the Villages he liv'd in. Learning was at no great height in so remote a Corner of the Land: Neither could much Improvement be expected in so Barren a Soil. His Greaten Help in Grammar Learning was from Mr. *John Owen*, Master of the Free-School at *Wroxeter*, with whom he continu'd, 'till he had bin some time Captain of his School; and advanc'd as far as his Assistance would forward him.

He had not afterwards the Advantage of an Academical Education, and yet, (to use the Words of the Reverend Dr. *Bates*) by the Divine Blessing upon his rare Dexterity and Diligence, his Sacred Knowledge was in that Degree of Eminence, as few in the University ever arrive to. None could be more Desirous of Academical Helps than he; but he was depriv'd of them by a Proposal of his Schoolmaster's, much to his Sorrow. When he was

leaving his School, Mr. *Owen* (as may well be suppos'd out of real Kindness) motion'd his Living with Mr. *Richard Wickstead*, Chaplain to the Council at *Ludlow*, who had allowance from the King for one to attend him. There being no others under his Care, he represented this as likely to be more Advantageous than a Tutor in the University. This Motion easily took with his Parents, who were much better pleas'd with the tho'ts of having their Son so near them, than at a much greater Distance, and they soon embrac'd it. But it answer'd not Expectation. For Mr. *Wickstead* himself was no Great Scholar, and he took no Pains with his Pupil, tho' he was otherwise very kind to him. So that his only Advantage by *Living* with him; was in the free use of his Library, which was open to him: And he having time eno' for Study, improv'd that Priviledge to his utmost. After he had spent a Year and half with him, he return'd home to his Father; and soon after, at the Lord *Newport's* Request, supply'd the Place of his Schoolmaster Mr. *John Owen* for a few Months, while he was wasting away in a Consumpton, of which he dy'd.

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Intending for the Ministry, he was earnestly Desirous of that Knowledge that was necessary to qualify him for it. Being disappointed in his Hopes of going to the University, he apply'd himself to a close Course of Study, under the Conduct of Mr. *Francis Garbett*; (a Person of Great Note and Worth, then Minister of *Wroxeter*) and with his Assistance he run thro' a Course of Philosophy. Great was his Industry; and nothing troubled him so much, as the Hindrance he receiv'd from his Bodily Indisposition, which was very considerable. He endeavour'd to manage his Studies in a Subordination to Divinity, and was assisted by the Advice of several Neighbouring Ministers, with whose Help he was making an Hopeful Progress, 'till a New Motion was made that bid fair for ensnaring him, and had like to have turn'd his tho'ts into a quite Different Channel, to the unspeakable Damage of himself and others. *But the Purpose of God shall stand.*

A Great Snare escap'd.

When he was about 18 Years of Age, Mr. *Wickstead* perswaded him to forbear further tho'ts of the Ministry, to leave the Country for the Court, and to make an Interest for some Office there, by which he might have an Opportunity of rising in the World, and becoming Great and Considerable. The thing was Pleasing to his Parents, and upon their Instigation he came up to *White-Hall*, being recommended to Sir *Henry Herbert*, who was then Master of the Revels. He was courteously receiv'd, and kindly entertain'd,

but found nothing taking in a Court Life; so far from it, that he was daily entertain'd with what made him very uneasy: Whereupon, after a Month's stay, he return'd down into the Country, reassum'd his Former Purposes, and apply'd himself to his Studies with fresh Vigour; being more Indefatigable in the Pursuit of Knowledge than can easily be imagin'd; 'till at length upon the Earnest Solicitation of Mr. *Richard Foley of Stourbridge*, he accepted of the Mastership of a Free-School he had lately erected at *Dudley*, having an Usher under him. And by this time God had fitted him for Great *Service* in His Church, by bringing him to more than Ordinary Seriousness, the Means and Methods whereof deserve particular Observation.

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The Country he liv'd in had very little Preaching. The Clergy of those Parts were (generally speaking) Lazy and Vitious. Some by forging Orders, had compass'd a Translation even from the Stage to the Pulpit. With Amazement be it mention'd, several in that Neighbourhood of the sacred Ministerial Function, were more Noted for their Gaming and Drinking, than either their Good Preaching or Good Living. There were not above three or (our competent Preachers all round the Country, and tho' all except one were Conformable, they were Derided by the Common People as Puritans, because not so careless as their Neighbours. In a Word; there was scarce the Face almost of Religion left. In the Village he liv'd in, not a Sermon was to be heard from Year to Year. And the Service was run over very Cursorily and Irreverently; and when that was done, the rest of the Lord's Day was profanely spent by the whole Town in Dancing under a May-Pole, and a Great Tree. In these Circumstances, 'tis amazing he did not swim with the Stream. He hath indeed himself acknowledg'd, That the Universality of the Corruption did sometimes prove a Considerable Temptation to him, but the Goodness of God preserv'd him. His Father's Good Instructions and Example were singularly helpful to him, under all these Disadvantages. The time that others spent in Dancing, his Father employ'd in Reading and Praying in his Family, and recommending an Holy Life. He put him upon a careful Reading of the Historical Part of Scripture, which being Delightful to him, made him in Love with the Bible: And his Serious Speeches of God and the Life to come, possess'd him with a Fear of Sinning. So that He became the first Instrument of his Hearty Approbation of an Holy Life. He found his Father reproach'd for his Singularity, and that much affected him. The Profane Crew derided him as a Puritan, Because not so Loose and Careless as they; which mov'd his Indignation. At first indeed, hearing the

Generality speak scornfully of Puritans, he was apt to think there was Ground for it: Why else should there be so common a Consent in the Cry that was against them? And he was too unacquainted with their Principles or Practices to be able to

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The Benefit be receiv'd from a Pious Education.

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defend them. But when he observ'd his own Father, of whose sincere Piety he had so good Evidence, branded with that Name as a Reproach, by a fourth Drunken sort of People, he came to discern that Piety was the Ground of that General Obloquy. For his Father never scrupled Common-Prayer or Ceremonies, nor ever spake against Bishops, nor so much as Pray'd but by a Book or Form: And yet being zealous for Piety and Sobriety, Reproving Drunkards and Swearers, and intermixing now and then in his Conversation some serious Discourse concerning Scripture and the Life to come, he was revil'd by the Name of Puritan, Precisian and Hypocrite; and it was the like with such Pious Conformable Ministers too, as the Country afforded. This Observation made him loath the Company of these Scoffers, and love Religion the better.

The Irregularities of his childhood.

Many Ways however did his Corruption break forth in his Childhood. He was addicted to Lying for fear of Correction. He joyn'd sometimes with other Naughty Boys in Robbing Neighbours Orchards of their Fruit, when he had eno' at home. He was much enclin'd to Play, and that with Covetousness for Money. He was bewitch'd with a Love of Romances and Idle Tales; and tho' he durst not Swear, yet was he sometimes drawn to imitate other Children in scurrilous and foolish Words and Actions. He was too Proud of his several School masters Commendations for his Learning; and too Bold and Irreverent towards his Parents. Which things he could not in his advanced Years reflect on, without Hearty Concern, Regret, and Sorrow.

The Means of his Conversion.

But about the 14th Year of his Age, being under some more than usual Convictions of Sin, after his having robb'd a Neighbour's Orchard, it pleas'd God he met with *Parsons of Resolution*, (as Corrected by *Bunny*) in the reading of which such Impressions were made upon his Spirit, as never wore off to the Day of his Death. Now it was that God thro'ly awaken'd his Soul, and shew'd him the Folly of Sinning, and the Misery of the Wicked, the inexpressible Weight of things Eternal, and the necessity of resolving on an Holy Life

more than ever before. He had often formerly had tho'ts of this kind Stirring in his Mind, but

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now they came in another manner, with Sense and Power and Seriousness to his Heart. This cast him into Fears about his Condition, and they drove him to Cordial Contrition, Confession and Prayer; and issu'd in a serious Resolution of altering his Course. Meeting afterwards with *Dr. Sibbs's bruised Reed*, he found it open'd more of the Love of God to him, and gave him a livelier Apprehension than he had before of the Mystery of Redemption, and convinc'd him more than ever, how much he was beholden to Jesus Christ. By the reading also of *Mr. Perkins of Reptntance*, and of *The Art of Living and Dying well*, and some other of his Treatises, he was further inform'd and confirm'd.

His Spiritual Trouble afterwards.

Some time after, being in Expectation of Death, by a Violent Cough, with Spitting of Blood, of 2 Years Continuance, he was awaken'd to be yet more serious and solicitous about the Everlasting Estate of his Soul. He apprehended himself to fall so short of that Sence and Seriousness which a Matter of that infinite weight requir'd, that he was long in Doubt about his Sincerity, and fearful that he was yet a Stranger to the true Spiritual and Divine Life. He wond'red at himself, that he could think and talk of Sin and Hell, of Christ and Grace, of God and Heaven, with no more feeling. He cry'd to God from Day to Day, against this Deadness, and all his Groans were for more Contrition, and a tender Heart. And between the Expectations of Death, and his Doubts of his own Sincerity in Grace, he was kept in more Care concerning his Salvation, than one of his Natural Temper could (in his own Esteem) have otherwise bin bro't to. The reading of *Mr. Ezek. Culverwel of Faith* at this time gave him much Relief. But tho' he had now and then certain glimmerings of Hope and Comfort, yet did his Fears often return again. And long was he kept with the Calls of Approaching Death as it were at one Ear, and the Questionings of a Doubtful Conscience at the other.

The Benefit of that Exercise.

This Method which it pleased God to take with him, he often admir'd; and many were the Benefits which he apprehended he receiv'd from it. According to his own Account, this kept him Humble, and

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made Pride one of the hatefullest Sins in the World to him. It restrain'd him from the Sportful Levity and Vanity to which Nature and Youth enclin'd him; and caus'd him to meet Temptations to Sensuality with the Greatest Fear. It made him the better Relish the Doctrine of Redemption, and rendred his tho'ts of Christ the more serious and affecting. It made the World seem to him as a Carkass, without either Life or Loveliness. It set him upon the most Advantageous Method of Study. It caus'd him first to seek God's Kingdom and his Righteousness; and most to mind the one thing needful: To determine first his Ultunate End; by which he was engag'd to choose and prosecute all other Studies but as means to that End: And therefore he study'd Practical Divinity first, in the most Practical Books, and in a Practical Order, aiming in all Primarily at the Informing and Reforming of his own Soul. So that he had read over and digested all the Practical Treatises he could meet with, before he meddled with any considerable Body of Divinity. By which means his Affections were carry'd on with his Judgment, and he prosecuted all his Studies with Unweariedness and Delight.

The Grounds of his Doubts and Fears.

The Chief Grounds of his Doubts concerning his Salvation were these. Because he could not distinctly trace the Workings of the Divine Spirit on his Heart, in the Method which *Bolton* and *Hooker* and *Rogers*, and many other Divines describe; or Possitively Assign the Particular Instant of his Conversion. Because of his want of such lively Apprehensions of things Spiritual, as he had of things Corporeal. Because he had at certain Seasons bin under warm Convictions even from his Childhood, and had often observ'd more of Fear than Love in his Duties and Restraints. Because his Grief and Humiliation was not greater and deeper; and above all, because of his having Sinn'd deliberately and knowingly, after his apprehended Change. But Converse with Consolatory Books, the Observation of other Christians, close Consideration, and further Experience, by degrees satisfy'd and quieted him.

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The Means of his Satisfaction.

For upon further search, he found that the first Degree of Special Grace was usually very small, and therefore not easily distinguishable in the season of its first Prevalence from Preparatory Grace: That a Soul in Flesh doth work so much after the manner of the Flesh, that it much desireth sensible

Apprehensions; but things Spiritual and Distant are not so apt to work upon it, and to stir the Passions, as things present and sensible: That Education is God's ordinary way for the Conveyance of his Grace; and ought no more to be set in opposition to the Spirit, than even the Preaching of the Word, or any other appointed Means, on which his Blessing might be expected: That tho' Fear without Love be not a state of Saving Grace, yet that Fear being the easier, and more irresistible Passion of the two, doth oft hinder that Measure of Love that is true, from being Discernible: And that he who had rather leave his Sin than have leave to keep it, and had rather be the most Holy, than have leave to be Unholy or less Holy, is neither without true Repentance nor the Love of God.

Of Sinning after Conversion.

But that which most perplex'd him, and which created him the Greatest Difficulty, was the finding himself Guilty of known and deliberate Sin, after that he had tho't himself Converted: This he for a long time could not tell how to Reconcile with true Grace. Every known Sin he committed, in this respect, renew'd his Doubt. He could not fall in with those, who reckon that every Sin against Knowledge nullifies former Grace; and that every renew'd Act of Repentance, is attended with a New Regeneration: For this he tho't would be to seek to solve one Difficulty, by introducing another that is Greater. At length he fix'd on this Scheme of Tho'ts, which gave him Satisfaction. That all Saving Grace doth indeed put the Soul into a state of Enmity to Sin as Sin, and consequently to every known Sin: That this Enmity must shew it self in Victory, for bare Striving is not a full Evidence of Sincerity: That this Victory however is not constant, for then the Upright would not Sin at all; whereas, *He that saith he hath no Sin, deceiveth himself*: But that the Children of God nevertheless do always overcome those Temptations, which would draw them to

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a wicked unholy State of Life, or to any Particular Sin which proveth such a State, and signifieth a Heart which hath more Habitual Love to the World than unto God; And therefore, tho' in the most Upright, Temptations of a lower sort do often prevail, yet is the Inclination of the Soul still most to God: And this is very possible, even altho' Sin be committed with some deliberation. For as Grace may strive one Instant only in one Act, and then be suddainly overcome; so it may strive longer, and keep the mind on the Consideration of restraining Motives, and yet be overcome. For it is not the meer length of Consideration which is eno' to fence the Heart against Sin,

but there must be clearness of Light, and Liveliness in those Considerations; which the Best have not always Experience of. And tho' a little Sin must be hated, and Universal Obedience must prove our Sincerity, and no one Sin must be wilfully continu'd in, yet is it certain that the Servants of God do not often commit Sins materially Great and Heinous, and yet that they often do commit some lesser Sins, (as idle Tho'ts and Words, and Dulness in Holy Duties, &c.) and that the Tempter oft getteth Advantage even with them, by telling them, That the Sin is small, and such as God's Servants ordinarily commit. And therefore one Reason why Idle Words and Sinful Tho'ts are even deliberately oftner committed than most heinous Sins, is because the Soul is not awaken'd so much by Fear and Care to make Resistance. Pious Persons however, being Men commonly of the most Knowledge in Divine things, do therefore when they are drawn into Sin, ordinarily Sin against more Knowledge than others. Withall, there are some Sins so difficult to avoid, and some Temptations so strong, and the Soul at some seasons is so sluggish, and so indispos'd to the necessary Resistance, that Good Tho'ts, which are deliberately us'd against them, are at last born down, and less effectual. And as for our Present Stock of Habitual Grace, 'tis never sufficient of it self, without Co-operating Grace from Christ: And therefore, when we provoke him to withdraw his Help, 'tis no wonder if we discover our Weakness, altho' we don't turn back, and go again from God to the World. But yet,

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when ever Persons thus dispos'd do fall into Sin, they recover again by Repentance; and the New Nature or Habit of Divine Love within them, will work out the Sin as soon as it hath Advantage. Tho' in the mean time, 'tis not at all to be wondred at, that such a thing as Sin should breed. Fears and Uneasiness. And the best way, when all is done, to keep under Doubts and Fears, and maintain Comfort, is to keep up Actual Obedience, and quickly and penitently return after Sin is committed.

Such as these were the Considerations by which he was reliev'd and quieted. And it much encreas'd his Peace to find others in the like Condition: He found his Case had nothing Singular; being call'd by the Providence of God to the Comforting of others, who had the same Complaints. While he answer'd their Doubts, he answer'd his own; and the Charity he was constrain'd to exercise towards them, redounded to himself, and insensibly abated his Disturbance. And yet, after all, he was glad of Probability instead of undoubted Certainty. And for the Greatest Part of his Life, tho' he had no such Degree

of Doubtfulness as was any great Trouble to his Spirit, or procur'd any sinking disquieting Fears, yet he could not say that he had such a Certainty of his own Sincerity in Grace, as excluded all Doubts and Fears to the contrary.

His Entrance upon the Ministry.

From the Age of 21, 'till near 23, his Weakness was so great, that he hardly tho't it possible he should live above a Year. And finding his own Soul under serious Apprehensions of the Matters of another World, he was very desirous to Communicate those Apprehensions to such ignorant careless presumptuous Sinners as the World abounds with. Altho' therefore he had his Discouragements, thro' his Sense of the Greatness and Awfulness of the Work of the Ministry; and his Fear of exposing himself to the Censure of many, on the Account of his wanting Academical Education, Honour and Dignities; yet expecting to be so quickly in another World, the great Concernments of miserable Souls prevail'd with him to engage in it; and finding in himself a thirsty Desire of Mens Conversion and Salvation, and a competent perswading

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Faculty of Expression, which fervent Affections might help to Actuate, he concluded, that if but one or two Souls might by his Means be won to God, it would easily recompence any Treatment he might meet with in the World. And as for his Fitness in Point of Learning, he determin'd to submit himself to the Judgment of others. And accordingly he apply'd himself to the Bp. of *Worcester*, who after Examination, Ordain'd him, and at the same time gave him a License to Teach School at *Dudley*; the Place which his Friend Mr. *Foley* had provided for him.

CHAP. II.

*HIS FIRST SENTIMENTS CONCERNING CONFORMITY. HIS ACCEPTANCE IN,
HIS FIRST MINISTERIAL LABOURS; AND THE DIFFICULTIES HE MET WITH.
HIS SETTLEMENT AT KEDERMINSTER.*

***His first Tho'ts of the Controversy between the Conformists and
Nonconformists.***

IN his Younger Years he was troubled, with no Scruples about Conformity. He joyn'd in the *Common-Prayer* with as Hearty Fervency as he afterwards did in any other *Prayers*. As for the *Nonconformists*, he heard them generally

run down, and represented as an Unreasonable, Heady sort of People; and therefore, tho' he was personally Acquainted with none of them, he was as forward as others to Censure and Condemn them. But when he was about 20 Years of Age, he became acquainted with Mr. *Simmonds*, Mr. *Cradock*, and other Pious Nonconformists in and about *Shrewsbury*, whose fervent Prayers and Holy Lives and Conversations he found much to his Edification. Observing such Persons as these silenc'd and troubl'd by the Bishops, he was much affected, and resolv'd carefully to study the Cause in Debate between them. Consulting the Neighbouring Ministers, they furnish'd him with *Downham*, *Sprint*, and Dr. *Burgess*, who had written for Conformity, whom he carefully read over: But they could help him to stone on the other side, who were represented as mean

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Scholars, and Men of little Learning. Whereupon, he concluded the Cause of the *Conformists* justifiable, and the Reasoning of the *Nonconformists* weak. And therefore, tho' he had not distinctly at that time weigh'd: Particulars, having never read over the Book concerning *Ordination*, nor half the Book of *Homilies*, nor scann'd the Book of *Common-Prayer* with any exactness, nor consider'd duly some Controverted Points in the Nine and Thirty Articles; yet his Teachers and Books having caus'd him in the general to think the Conformists had the better Cause, he kept out all Particular Scruples by that Opinion, and so subscrib'd as usually at the time of his Ordination.

His further Studying that Controversy.

But being settled at *Dudley*, Preaching frequently both in the Town and the Neighbouring Villages, he had Occasion and Opportunity to study these Matters more particularly. For he there fell into the Acquaintance of several Nonconformists, whom he apprehended too Censorious and Bitter in their Invectives against Conformity, while yet he found them Honest and Godly People. They supply'd him with several Writings on their own side, and among the rest, with Ames's *fresh Suit against Ceremonies*, which he read over very distinctly, comparing it with Dr. Burgess's *Rejoynder*. And upon the whole, he at that time came to these Conclusions. *Kneeling* he tho't Lawful, and all meer Circumstances determin'd by the Magistrate, which God in Nature or Scripture hath determin'd of only in the general. The *Surplice* he more doubted of, but was inclin'd to think it Lawful: And tho' he intended to forbear it 'till under Necessity, yet he could not see how he could have justified the forsaking his Ministry meerly on that Account; tho' he never actually wore it. About the *Ring* in Marriage, he had no Scruple. The *Cross*

in Baptism, he tho't Dr. *Ames* prov'd unlawful: And tho' he was not without same Doubting in the Point, yet because he most enclin'd to judge it unlawful, he never once us'd it. A *Form of Prayer* and *Liturgy* he judg'd to be Lawful, and in some Cases lawfully Impos'd. The *English Liturgy* in particular, he judg'd to have much Disorder and Defensiveness in it, but nothing which should make the Use of it in the Ordinary Publick Worship,

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to be unlawful to them who could not do better; He fought for *Discipline* in the Church, and saw the sad Effects of its Neglect, but he was not then so sensible as afterwards, that the very Frame of Diocesan Prelacy excluded it; but tho't it had bin Chargeable only on the Personal Neglects of the Bishops. *Subscription* he began to think unlawful, and repented his Rashness in yielding to it so hastily. For tho' he could use the *Common-Prayer*, and was not yet against Diocesans, yet to subscribe *Ex Animo, That there is nothing in the three Books contrary to the Word of God*; was that which he durst not do, had it bin to be done again. So that *Subscription*, and the *Cross* in Baptism, and the *Promiscuous Giving the Lords-Supper* to all Comers, tho' ever so unqualify'd, if they were not Excommunicate by a Bishop or Chancellour who knows nothing of them, were the only things in which he as yet in his Judgment inclin'd to Nonconformity. And yet even as to these things, he kept his Tho'ts to himself. He continu'd to argue with the Nonconformists about the Points they differ'd in, and Particularly Kneeling at the Sacrament; about which he manag'd a Dispute with some of them in Writing, 'till they did not think fit to pursue it any farther. He freely reprov'd them for the Bitterness of their Language against the Bishops and their Adherents, and exhorted them to endeavour for Patience and Charity, but found their Spirits so exasperated. by the hard Measure they had met with, that they were deaf to his Admonitions. Observing which, he came to this Conclusion, That he that will have Children, must be a Father; and he that will be a Tyrant, must be contented with Slaves.

His Labours in Dudley & Bridgnorth.

While he continu'd at *Dudley*, he had a Numerous Auditory, and a Tractable People to deal with. The Town had before bin Famous for Drunkenness; but he found there a greater Readiness to hear the Word of God with Submission and Reformation, than in most places he was acquainted with. But within three Quarters of a Year, he was by earnest Importunity prevail'd with to remove to *Bridgnorth*, the second Town in *Shropshire*, to be Assistant to Mr. *William Mardstard*. His Work here being just what he desired,

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without his being put upon anything that he scrupled, with a fair probability of Peace and Quietness, was his main Inducement to listen to this Motion. For *Bridgnorth* is a Place priviledg'd from all Episcopal Jurisdiction, except the Arch-Bishop's Triennial Visitation. There is a Peculiar Ordinary, who as an Official keeps a constant Ecclesiastical Court, having Jurisdiction over 6 Parishes, which lye there together, which have all the Priviledge of this Exemption. Mr. *Madstard*, who then was Minister, was a grave and severe Ancient Divine, very Honest and Conscientious, and an excellent Preacher, but somewhat Afflicted thro' the Scantiness of his Maintenance, and much more thro' the Unprofitableness of his People. He was not only Minister but Official too, which was a Security to his Assistant. The Town Maintenance being inconsiderable, he took the Parsonage of *Oldbury* near the Town, a Village of scarce 20 Houses, desiring Mr. *Baxter* to spend one half of the Lord's Day in the Town, and the other at the Village. Tho' his Lot afterwards fell out to be mostly in the Town. He was here put upon nothing which he esteem'd unlawful. He often read the *Common-Prayer* before he Preach'd, both on Lords-Days and Holy-Days; but he never administred the Lords-Supper, nor ever Baptiz'd any Child with the sign of the Cross, nor ever wore the Surplice, nor was he ever put to appear at any Bishop's Court. He found the People here, generally Ignorant and dead Hearted. The Town consisted very much of Inns and Ale-Houses, and had no General Trade to employ the Inhabitants, which is the undoing of many Great Towns. So that tho' by his first Labours among them, he was Instrumental in the Conversion of several Persons, and was generally Applauded, yet he was not so successful in his Work, as afterwards in other Places. Tippling and Ill Company rendred his, Preaching ineffectual.

Of the Etcætera Oath.

He was scarce well settled here, before he was disturb'd by the *Et cætera Oath*, which was fram'd by the Convocation then sitting. All were enjoyn'd to swear, *That they would never Consent to the Alteration of the Present Government of the Church, by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, &c.* And that upon

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An. 1640. pain of Expulsion. This was a New Engine of Division. Some were Zealous for this Oath; Asserting the Divine Right of Episcopacy, which

was settled by Law, they apprehended that upon the Command of the Sovereign Power, It was very warrantable to Swear, never to consent to an Alteration. And the King's Approbation of those Canons wherein this Oath was enjoyn'd, they tho't made them sufficiently Obligatory. But others look'd upon Episcopacy as an Indifferent thing, Mutable when King and Parliament pleas'd. Nay, they apprehended the English Frame, consisting of Arch-Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and Arch-Deacons; and Diocesans having many hundred Parish-Churches under one Bishop, as foreign to the Word of God, and destructive of that Episcopacy which was known in the Church at least for 200 Years. The Swearing to a blind *Et etætera* they look'd upon as Intolerable; because it took in all the Officers of the Ecclesiastical Courts, Lay Chancellours, Surrogates, Commissaries and Officials, which was Swearing to an Anomalous Rabble. They further pleaded, That this sort of Government might actually be legally alter'd by King and Parliament; and that to Swear before-hand not to obey such a Law, was in such a manner to make an Oath a Bond of Disobedience, as was next to a Rebellion. They urg'd, that it was against the Subjects Liberty, to Petition for Redress of Grievances, among which some Branches of this Government might well be reckon'd: And that it was against the Privilege of Parliament, to have such an Oath impos'd without their Consent. The Neighbouring Ministers met together upon this Occasion, to consider what to do: Some were for complying, but more against it. This put Mr. *Baxter* upon studying the Matter of Episcopacy, and the English Frame of Church Government afresh; and reading *Gersome Bucer* his *Dissertatio de Gubernatione Ecclesiæ*, *Didoclavii Altare Damascenum*, *Parker de Politeia Ecclesiastica*, & *Baynes's, Diocesans Tryal*; and comparing their Reasons with Bishop *Downam's*, he was convinced, that tho' all kind of Episcopacy was not flatly unlawful, yet that the English Diocesan Frame was guilty of the Corruption of Churches and Ministry,

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and of the Ruin of the true Church Discipline, and substituting an Heterogeneous thing in its Head. So that this very Oath, which was impos'd in order to the unalterable Subjectig of the Nation to Diocesans, was a great Means to alienate him from them, and not him only, but many others with him. They who before tho't it best to follow their Business, and live in Quietness, and let the Bishops alone, were rowz'd by the Terrour of an Oath to look about them, and understand what they did. New Heats were stirr'd up among the Contending Parties, by the Debates which this Oath occasion'd:

And they who were against it; began to think better of the *Cause of Nonconformity*, and to Honour the *Nonconformists* more than before. So that *that* which was design'd for their Ruin, pro~d a great Advantage, to them.

OF THE DISORDERS IN SCOTLAND.

It unhappily fell out, that while this Divided the Church at home, the Church of *Scotland*, also was all in a Flame: For when all was quiet there under a more *moderate Episcopacy* than ours in *England*, (tho' that Nation had bin us'd to *Presbytery*) a New *Common-Prayer* Book (that is the English One, with some few, Alterations) was impos'd upon them, together with the *English Ceremonies*. This occasion'd an Insurrection in *Edinburgh*, and many other Places. A Fire being once kindled amongst them, was not easily extinguish'd. Notwithstanding all the Industry and Care of the Earl of *Trequare*' the King's Commissioner, the Number of the Malecontents so encreas'd, that there was no opposing them; but they got the Power of all the Land into their Hands, the Greatest Part of the Nobility falling in with the Ministers and their Adherents. Hereupon they all enter'd into a National Covenant, to the same Purpose as formerly that Nation had done against *Popery*, *Prelacy* and *Superstition*, and to uphold the *Gospel* and *Reformation*. The Doctors of *Aberdeen* Dissented from the *Covenant*, and many Writings pass'd between them and the *Covenanters* upon that Subject, 'till at last the Wars that came on, turn'd the Debates into another Strain.

OF THE SHIP-MONEY

At the very same time, a Tax which the King had impos'd in *England*, call'd *Ship-Money* (as for, the Strengthening the Navy) gave general Dissatisfaction.

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This being done without Consent of Parliament, there was a Murmuring all over the Land, especially among the Country Nobility and Gentry; for they look'd upon it as the *Overthrow* of the *Fundamental Laws* or *Constitution* of the *Kingdom*, and of *Parliaments* and *Property*. This was the *Common Cry* at that time, that if once *Parliaments* and *Property* were destroy'd, the *Government* was dissolv'd, and no Man had any Security of Estate, Liberty, or Life, but the Pleasure of the King, whose Will would be the only Law. Some deny'd

the Payment of this Tax, and put the Sheriffs upon Distraining. The Sheriffs, tho' afraid of a future Parliament; did it in Obedience to the King. Mr. *Hampden* and the Lord *Say* brought it to a Suit; Mr. *Oliver St. John*, and others, boldly pleading the Peoples Cause. All the Judges, except *Hattan* and *Crook*, had, when they were consulted, given it as their Judgment, That the King in a Case of Need might impose such a Tax: And so Judgment past for the King in the Suit, which caus'd the Matter to make much the Greater Noise.

THE SCOTTISH BROILS

The *Scots* soon after enter'd *England* with an Army, encourag'd, as it was suppos'd, by many of the *English* Nobility, who tho't there was no other way to cause the Calling of a Parliament to remedy Disorders. The Earls of *Essex*, *Warwick*, *Bedford*, *Clare*, *Bullingbrook*, *Mulgrave*, and *Holland*, and the Lords *Say* and *Brook*, were reputed of this Confederacy. But *Heylin* says, *That the Scots, after they came in, did perswade these Persons of their Danger in England if Arbitrary Government went on;* and so they Petition'd the King for a Parliament, which was all their Confederacy. And this was after their second Coming into *England* too.

The King met the *Scots* at *New-Castle*. A Pacification was concluded, and a Parliament call'd, and the *Scots* return'd home. This Parliament quickly displeasing the King, he dissolv'd it, and again undertakes a War against the *Scots*, to which, besides others, the Papists by the Queen's Means, did voluntarily Contribute: Whereupon, the *Scots* complain of Evil Counsellours and Papists, as the Cause of their renew'd Dangers; and raise their Army again, and enter into

England

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England. The *English* at *York* Petition the King for a Parliament, and once more it is resolv'd on, and an Agreement made: But neither the *Scottish* nor *English* Army was Disbanded, And thus in the Year 1640, began that which hath since bin call'd the *Long Parliament*: The most Celebrated Parliament that ever sate in *England*.

MR. BAXTER IN SOME DANGER FOR NONCONFORMITY.

During these Northern Stirs, the Earl of *Bridgwater*, who was Lord-President of the Marches in *Wales*, passing thro' *Bridgnorth* in his Journey from *Ludlow* to the King, Complaint was made to him by some Malicious Persons of the Town, that Mr. *Madstard* and Mr. *Baxter* were Defective in Point of Conformity; not signing with the Sign of the *Cross*, nor wearing the *Surplice*, nor praying against the *Scots*, who were just then entering into *England* for which there was a Form of Prayer printed by the Bishops, tho' no Command from the King. The Complaint was made on *Saturday* Evening, when the Lord President enter'd the Town; and he promis'd them, he would himself be next Day at the Church, and see holy things went. Mr. *Madstard* retired, and left Mr. *Baxter*, and Mr. *Swain* the Reader, to stand alone. But when the next Day came, the Lord President suddainly alter'd his Mind, and went as far as *Lichfeid*; requiring the Accusers and Bailiffs, to send after him to inform aim what was done that Day at Church. They fail'd not, to obey his Orders, and threaten'd mighty things on the Account of Noncompliance; but all evaporated at length into Smoak: For he sent them word in Answer, *That he had not the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and therefore could not meddle with them.*

THE OPENING OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

The Parliament being met, fell directly upon a *Reformation* of Church and State. Long and Vehement of the Long Speeches were made against *Ship-Money*, against the *Judges* that Approv'd it, against the *Et cætera Oath*, and the *Bishops* and *Convocation* that form'd it, and against my Lord *Strafford*, Arch-Bishop *Laud*, and other Evil Counsellours. There was at first a marvellous Concord among the Members, thro' the Complication of the Interests of those Causes, in which they severally did most concern themselves. For, as the King had at once impos'd the *Ship-Money* on the Com

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mon-Wealth, and permitted the Bishops to impose upon the Church their Displeasing Articles, the Book for Dancing on the Lord's Day, &c. and to Suspend or Silence a great many Ministers, for want of Super Canonical Conformity, so the Parliament accordingly consisted of Two sorts of Men, who by the Conjunction of these Causes were united in their Votes and

Endeavours for a Reformation. One Party made no great matter of the Alterations in the Church, but said, *That if Parliaments are once dorm, and Property gone, and Arbitrary Government set up, and Law subjected to the Prince's Will, then all were Slaves;* and this they reckon'd Intollerable: For the remedying of it, they said, *No true English Man could think any Price too dear.* These the People call'd *Good Common-Wealths Men.* The other sort were the more Religious Men, who were also sensible of these things, but much more affected with the Interest of Religion. These most inveigh'de against *Innovations* in the Church, the *Bowing to Altars*, the *Book for Sports on Sundays*, the *Calling out Ministers*, the *High-Commission Court*, the *Putting down Lectures and Afternoon Sermons*, and *Expositions on the Lords-Days;* with other such things, which they tho't of Greater Weight than *Ship-Money.* But because they who were of this Stamp, agreed with the others in the Vindication of Liberty and Property, therefore did they of the other sort the more easily concur with them, in opposition to the Proceedings of the *Bishops*, and *High-Commission Court*, &c.

Their Disposition being known, Complaints and Petitions were sent into them from all Parts, with reference both to Ecclesiastical and Civil Encroachments. Great Things, such as before were tho't Impracticable, were compass'd in a litletime. An Act pass'd against the *High-Commission Court*, and the *secular or Civil Power of Church Men.* Another, *That the Parliament should not be dissolv'd without its own Consent.* And another for *Triennial Parliaments.* Nay, at length, the King was forc'd to part even with his Favourite the Lord-Deputy *Wentworth.* All things in general put on a New Face; of which the Sequel of this Narrative gives a further Account.

Among

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A REFORMATION OF THE CLERGY INTENDED.

An. 1640.

Among other Important Matters were determin'd, a *Reformation of the Clergy* was resolv'd on, and accordingly a Committee was, appointed, to hear Petitions and Complamts against them. Multitudes from all Quarters came up immediately with Petitions against their Ministers, charging them with *Insufficiency, False Doctrine, Illegal Innovations, or Scandal.* Mr. *John White* was Chairman, and was the Publisher of *A Century of Scandalous Ministers*, which was afterwards follow'd with a *Second Century;* both were fill'd with man abominable Particularities; the concealing which had certainly bin a much

greater Service to Religion than their Publication; which was but making Sport for Atheists, Papists and Profane,

A PETITION FROM *KEDERMINSTER*, THE OCCASION OF MR. *BAXTER'S* SETTLEMENT THERE.

Amongst other Complainers, the Town of *Kederminster* in *Worcester-shire* had drawn up a Petition against their Vicar and his two Curates, as Insufficient for the Ministry, and they put it into the Hands of Sir *Henry Herbert*, who was Burgess of *Bewdly*. The Vicar well knowing his own Insufficiency agreed to Compound the Business, and was free to allow 60*l.* *per An.* (out of near 200 the Living was worth) to a Preacher who should be chosen by 14 Nommated Trustees. He that was chosen was to Preach whensoever he pleas'd, the Vicar still reading the *Common-Prayer*, and doing every thing that might be Matter of Scruple; for all which he gave a Bond of 50*l.* Hereupon, the Bailiff of the Town, and all the Feoffees invited Mr. *Baxter* to give them a Sermon; and he upon Preaching once to them, was unanimously chosen to be their Minister. Thus was he Providentially bro't to that Place which had the Chiefest of his Labours, and yielded him the Greatest Comfort. He was the rather inclin'd to listen to the Motion, because it was a full Congregation, and most Convenient Church; an Ignorant People for the most part, who had great need of Preaching, and yet who had among them a small Company of Converts, who were Humble and Godly, and of a Good Conversation, and not much hated by the rest; and therefore the fitter to assist their Teacher: And they had had but little Lively and serious Preaching amongst them. Here therefore he fixt himself, making this remarkable Observation:

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That among all his Charges he never went to any Place which he had before desired, design'd or tho't off, but only to those Places he never tho't of, 'till the suddain Invitation did surprize him.

C H A P. III.

**The Opposition he met with at first in the Town of *Kedermminster*.
His Indefatigable Labours, and the Admirable Efficacy of his
Ministry in that Place.**

HE spent Two Years at *Kedermminster* before the War broke out, and above Fourteen Years after it; and in all that time never touch'd the Vicaridge House, tho' authoriz'd by an Order of Parliament: But the Old Vicar liv'd there peaceably and quietly, without any Molestation. He found the Place like a piece of dry and barren Earth, *Ignorance* and *Profaneness*, as Natives of the Soil, were rife among them: But by the Blessing of Heaven upon his Labour and Cultivating the Face of Paradise appear'd there in all the *Fruits of Righteousness*. At first, *Rage* and *Malice* created him a great deal of Opposition; but it was soon over, and a *Special Divine Blessing* gave his unwearied Pains among that People an unprecedented Success.

STRANGE INSTANCES OF MALIGNITY.

Before his Coming, the Town, having bin Eminent for *Vanity*, had a Yearly shew, in which they bro't forth the painted Forms of Gyants, to walk about the Streets with. He gave them no Disturbance, yet the Rabble of the more Vitious sort, had still some Spleen to vent against him, as one part of their Game. And once all the Ignorant Rout were Raging Mad against him for Preaching to them the Doctrine of *Original Sin*, and telling them, *That Infants, before Regeneration, had so much Guilt and Corruption as made them loathsome in the Eyes of God*. Whereupon, they vented it abroad in the Country, *That he Preach'd that God hated and loath'd Infants*. So that they

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rail'd at him as he pass'd thro' the Streets. The next Lord's-Day he clear'd and confirm'd the Doctrine he had before deliver'd; and shewed them, That if it was not true, their Infants had no need of Christ, or of Baptism, or of Renewing by the Holy Ghost. And he ask'd them, *Whether they durst say, that their Children were sav'd without a Saviour, and were no Christians, and why they Baptize'd them, &c.* And afterwards they were Asham'd and Silent.

Another time, one of the Drunken Beggars of the Town rais'd a Slander of him, *That he was under a Tree with a Woman of Ill Fame*. All the Drunkards had got it in their Mouths, before he could find the Original. He got three or four of them bound to their Good Behaviour; and the Sot himself that

rais'd the Slander, confess'd before the Court, *That he saw him in a Rainy Day on Horseback, stand under an Oak, which grew in thick Hedge, and the Woman standing for shelter on the other side the Hedge, under the same Tree; and that he believ'd they saw not one another:* But he spake it as a Test, and the Compy were glad of the Occasion to feed their Malice. They all askt him Forgiveness, and he desired the Magistrate to release them. Such things as these were not uncommon at *Kederminster*. For Mr. *John Cross*, (who afterwards dy'd Minister of *Friday-street* in *London*) being a Preacher there some time before this, a Woman defam'd him openly, and told the People he would have Ravish'd her. Mr. *Cross*, being a Prudent Man, sent one before to the Bailiff and Justice, to desire them to call her to Examination, and he came after, and sate in a common dark colour'd Coat, among many others, in the Bailiff's Parlour, as if he had bin one of the Magistrates. The Bailiff called her in, and she stood impudently to the Accusation. The Bailiff askt her, *Whether she knew the Man if she saw him?* Which she confidently asserted. He ask'd her, *Is it this Man, or that Man, or the other Man, or any there?* She said, *O no; God forbid that she should accuse any of them.* Mr. *Cross* said, *Am not I the Man?* And she said, *No; she knew the Man well eno'.* And when they had told her that this was Mr. *Cross*, she fell down on her Knee, and ask'd him Forgiveness; and confess'd, *That one of his neighbours* (his

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Great Accuser at the Bishop's Courts) *had hired her to report it.* But the good Man forgave them both. How entirely is the best establish'd Reputation at the Mercy of the *Revengeful* and *Malicious*, any farther than a Wise Providence fences and screens it!

At another time, *the Parliament* sending down an Order for the Demolishing of all Statues and Images of any of the three Persons in the Trinity, or of the *Virgin Mary*, which should be found in Churches, or on Crosses in Church-Yards; Mr. *Baxter* was for obeying it. The Church-Warden, seeing a Crucifix upon the Cross in the Church-Yard at *Kederminster*, set up a Ladder to reach it, which prov'd too short: He going to seek another, the Drunken Crew in the Town took the Alarum, and ran all together with Weapons to defend their Crucifix: and Church Images. It was reported, Mr. *Baxter* was the Actour, and him they fo't for: But, as Providence had order'd it, he was walking about a Mile out of Town, or else he might probably have there ended his Days Missing him and the Church-Warden too, they went raving about the Streets to seek them: Two Neighbours ran in amongst them to see if Mr. *Baxter* was there, and they knock'd them down, and so miserably

bruised them, that they dy'd soon after, never recovering the Hurt they receiv'd. When they had seam'd about half an Hour, and met not those whom they sought after, and were newly hous'd, he came in from his Walk, and hearing the People cursing him at their Doors, he wonder'd what was the matter; but quickly found how fairly he had escap'd. The next Lord's-Day he dealt plainly with them, and laid open to them the Quality of that Action, and told them, *Seeing they so requited him as to seek his Blood, he was willing to leave them, and save them from that Guilt.* But the poor Creatures were so amaz'd and alarm'd, that they took on sorrowfully, and after all were very loth to part with him.

Not being at all discourag'd with this malicious Opposition; he laid out himself very Laboriously in the Word of the Lord among this People, and had very eminent Success, Which under God he look'd

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upon as procur'd by several Advantageous Circumstances, which deserve Observation.

HIS LABORIOUS EMPLOYMENT AT *KEDERMINSTER.*

Before the Civil War, he preach'd twice every Lord's-Day; out afterwards but once, and once every *Thursday*, besides Occasional Sermons. Every *Thursday* Evening, those of his Neighbours that had Inclination and Opportunity met at his House, one of them repeated the Sermon, and afterwards they propos'd any Doubts about it, or any other Case of Conscience, which he resolv'd. He then caus'd sometimes one, and sometimes another of them to Pray, and sometimes pray'd with them himself; and so the Meeting brake up with singing a Psalm. Once a Week some of the younger sort, who were not fit to pray in so great an Assembly, met among themselves more privately, spending 3 Hours in Prayer. Every *Saturday* Night, they met at some of their Houses to repeat the last Lord's-Day's Sermon, and to Pray and prepare themselves for the Day following. Once in a few Weeks, there was a Day of Humiliation kept, upon one Particular Occasion or another, Every Religious Woman that was safely deliver'd, instead of the old Gossippings, if she were able, kept a Day or Thanksgiving, with some of her Neighbours about her, praising God and singing Psalms, and soberly Feasting together.

Two Days every Week he and his Assistant took 14 Families between them for private Catechizing and, Conference, His Method was this: He first heard them recite the Words of the Catechism) and then examin'd them

about the Sense, and afterwards urg'd them with all possible engaging Reason, and Vehemence, to answerable Affection and Practice. If any were shy, thro' Ignorance or Bashfulness, he forbore to press them any farther to Answers, but made them Hearers, and either examin'd others, or turn'd all into Instruction and Exhortation. He spent about an Hour with a Family, and admitted no others to be present least Bainfulness should make it burthensom, or any should talk of the Weaknesses they observ'd. His whole Afternoon on *Mondays* and *Tuesdays*, was this way employ'd. Every first *Wednesday* of the Month he had a meeting for Parish Discipline: And every

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first *Thursday* in the Month was a Meeting held of the Neighbouring Ministers for Discipline and Disputation; in which Disputations he was generally Moderatour, taking the Pains to prepare a written Determination of the Question to be debated. And every *Thursday* in the Month besides, he had the Company of divers worthy Ministers at his House after the lecture, with whom he spent the Afternoon in profitable Conversation, 'till his Neighbours came to meet for their Exercise of Repetition and Prayer.

HIS SUCCESS.

His Publick Preaching met with an Attentive Diligent Auditory. The Congregation was usually full. Tho' the Church was very Capacious and Commodious, yet after his coming thither, they were forc'd to build 5 Galleries to receive the Hearers. Their Private Meetings also were full. On the Lord's-Days, there was no Disorder to be seen in the Town, but you might hear a Hundred Families singing Psalms, and repeating Sermons, as you pass'd thro' the Streets. When he first came thither, there might be about one Family in a Street that worship'd God and call'd on his Name; and when he came away, there was not above a Family on the side of a Street that did not do it; and that did not by professing serious Godliness give some Hopes of their Sincerity. Nay, in the Worst Families, Inns and Ale-Houses, usually some in each House seem'd to be Religious. Tho' the Administration of the Lord's Supper was so order'd as that many were displeas'd, and the far greater part kept away themselves, yet were there 600 Communicants, of whom there were not 12 that he had not good Hopes of as to their Sincerity. And those few that did consent to Communion, and yet liv'd Scandalously, were afterward Excommunicated. He had good reason to hope, That many who join'd not in Sacramental Communion with him, were yet Persons truly

fearing God. Some of them being kept off by Husbands, by Parents, by Masters, or perswaded by Men of opposite Sentiments, rather than Acting according to their own Inclinations and Desires. Tho' they were many that were kept away, yet they took it Patiently; and for bore Reviling, as if any Wrong were done, them. And as for those unruly Young Men who were Excom

municated,

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municated, they generally bore it Patiently as to their outward Behaviour, tho' their Hearts were full of Bitterness. When he set upon *Personal Conference* with each Family, and Catechizing them, there were very few Families in all the Town that refus'd to come; and those few were Beggars at the Towns end, who were so Ignorant, that they were asham'd it should be manifest. Few Families went away without some Tears, or seemingly serious Promises of a Godly Life. Yet many Ignorant and Ungodly Persons there were still remaining; but most of them were in the Parish, not in the Town, and in those Parts of the Parish which were farthest from the Town, And whereas one Part of the Parish was impropriated and pay'd Tythes to Lay-Men, and the other Part maintain'd the Church, it so fell out, that almost all that side of the Parish which pav'd Tythe to the Church were godly honest People, and did it willingly without Contention, most of the bad People of the Parish liv'd on the other side. Some Poor Men did competently understand the Body of Divinity, and were able to judge in Difficult Controversies: Some of them were so able in Prayer, that few Ministers did exceed them in Order and Fulness, in apt Expressions, and holy Oratory with fervency. Many of them were able to Pray very laudably with other Families, or with others: The Temper of their Minds, and the Innocence of their Lives, was much more laudable than their Parts. The Professors of serious Godliness were generally of very humble Minds and Carriage, of meek and quiet Behaviour unto others, and of Blamelessness and Innocence in their Conversations.

God was pleas'd also to give him abundant Encouragement in the *Lectures* which he preach'd abroad in other Places; as at *Worcester, Cleobury, Dudley, Shiffnal, &c.* where he had full Auditories, and many Converts. Neither were his Labours lost among his Brethren in the Ministry. Their Disputations were *advantageous*. Their Meetings were never contentious, but always *profitable*. When he motion'd a Way of *Church Order and Discipline*, (of which hereafter) which all might agree in, that their Churches might not be ungovern'd, nor fall into Divisions amongst

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themselves, he was readily listen'd to, and his Motion reduc'd to Practise. And when he attempted to bring them all conjunctly to the Work of *Catechizing*, and instructing every Family by it self, he found a ready Consent in most, and many actually comply'd with it, much to their Satisfaction. The Praise of all which he freely and heartily ascrib'd to God.

THE ADVANTAGEOUS CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH PROMOTED THIS SUCCESS.

Many were his Advantages in order to this Success. He came to a People that had never sate under an awakening Ministry before. He was himself in the Vigour of his Spirits, and had a very *moving Delivery*; and doing all under great Bodily Weakness, as a Dying Man, he was the more *warm* and *earnest*. The greatest Enemies of serious Religion in that Town, were carry'd off by the War. He had also the Favour of the Government on his side. Before the Civil War, the Riotous Rabble had Boldness eno' to make serious Godliness a common Scorn, and call them all *Puritans* and *Precisians*, that did not care as little for God and Heaven and their Souls, as they did. If a Man was not fully satisfy'd with their undisciplin'd disorder'd, Churches, or Lay-Chancellours Excommunications, &c. If they did but *Fast* and *Pray* together, or go from an Ignorant Drunken Reader, to hear a Godly Minister at the next Parish, the Bishop's Articles would enquire after them, and the High Commission grievously assist them. After the War, the Case in this respect was mightily alter'd: For Piety had then full Liberty; nay, and Countenance and Reputation too. Withal, he gain'd a Great Interest in the Affections of the Inhabitants of the Town, which is no inconsiderable thing: For tho' to win Estimation and Love to our selves only, be an End intended by none but Persons egregiously Proud and Hypocritical; yet it is most certain, that the Gratefulness of the Person doth ingratiate the Message, and greatly prepare People to receive the Truth; He was much assisted by the Zeal and Diligence of the Godly People there; who thirsted after the Salvation of their Neighbours, and being dispers'd thro' the Town, were ready in all Companies to repress Seducing Words, and to justify Godliness; and to Convince, Reprove and Exhort as there was occasion. The Holy, Hum

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ble and Blameless Lives also of the Religious sort was a singular Blessing. The most Malicious could not say here, Your Professors are as Proud and

Covetous as any. But the blameless Lives of godly People did shame the Opposers, and put to silence the Ignorance of foolish Men; and many were won by their Conversation. Their Unity and Concord also was very Advantageous, and their Freedom from those Sects and Heresies which infected many other Places. There was no *Pastor against Pastor*, nor *Church against Church*, nor *Sect against Sect*, nor *Christian against Christian*. There was not a *Separatist*, an *Anabaptist*, an *Antinomian* in the Town. At *Bewdly* there was a Church of *Anabaptists*; at *Worcester* the *Independents* gather'd a Church: But here *all* were of *one* Mind and Mouth and Way. One Journeyman Shoemaker turn'd *Anabaptist*, but he left the Town upon it, and went amongst them. When People saw Diversity of Sects and Churches in any Place, it greatly hindred their Conversion; they were at a Loss, and knew not *what Party* to be of, or *what Way* to go; and therefore many would be for no Religion at all, but derided *all* whom they saw disagreed. But they had no such Offence or Objection here; they could not ask, *Which Church or Party shall we be of?* For *all* were but as *one*. So Modest were the Ablest of the People, that they never were enclin'd to a *Preaching Way*, nor to make *Ostentation* of their *Parts*; but took Warning by the Pride of others, and tho't they had Teaching eno' by their pastours; and that it was better for them to bestow their Labour in digesting that, than in Preaching themselves. The *private* Meetings that were kept up, were also very helpful to the *Propagating* of *Godliness*. Truths that were slip'd away were thereby recall'd, and the Serioufness of Peoples Minds renew'd: Good Desires were cherish'd, and Knowledge increas'd. By these he had opportunity to know their *Case*: For if any were touch'd and awaken'd in Publick, presently they came dropping in to the Private Meetings. And so remote was the Danger of *Schism* or *Divisions*, that this was the *principal Means* to prevent them. All being under his Oversight and guidance, who was usually present with them, answering their Doubts, and silencing Obje

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ctions, and moderating them in all. Some Private Meetings he found were very much desired among them. Had he not allow'd them such as were *lawful* and *profitable*, they would have bin apt to run into such as were unlawful and hurtful. And therefore, by encouraging them in such a Way, in the fit Exercise of their Parts, in *Repetition*, *Prayer*, and *Asking Questions*; He kept them from enclining to the disorderly Exercise of them, in Imitation of the *Sectaries*. Besides, there were some publick *Disputations*, whereby the People were much Confirm'd, The *Quakers* would have made Disturbance, and set

up a Meeting in the Town, and rail'd bitterly at Mr. *Baxter*: But he giving them leave to meet in the Church for a Dispute, and opening before the People their Deceits, none would entertain them more; nor did they gain one Proselyte. Mr. *Tombes*, the *Anabaptist*, who was Lecturer at *Bewdley*, had shaken some. But after the Dispute held with him, (of which hereafter) the People were settled, and the Infection stopp'd. Another *Advantage* he had, was the Great Honesty and Diligence of his Assistants. Mr. *Richard Serjeant*, the first of them, was very Laborious, much Belov'd, of a meek and humble Spirit, and blameless Life: And so also was Mr. *Humphry Waldern*, who succeeded him; which made the People so much the more in Love with the Ministry, and the more ready to submit to Instruction. Another *Advantage* was the Presence and Countenance of honest Justices of the Peace. Col. *John Bridges*, a prudent pious Gentleman, was Patron of the Living, and liv'd in the Parish, and was a Justice of Peace. And a Bailiff and Justice were annually chosen in the Corporation, who ordinarily were Godly Men, and always such as would be tho't so, and were ready to use their Authority to suppress Sin and promote Goodness. And when once a *Sabbath-breaker* tho't to have overthrown the Officers at Law, Serjeant *Fountain* being then Judge of the Assize, did so repress his Malice, as discourag'd all others from any further Attempts of that kind. His Readiness also to help the Poor, was a great Help to his Success. He assisted them for sometime with his Advice in Physick, and was very successful; but finding it took up to

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so much time as to be burdensome, he at length fix'd among them a Diligent Skilful Physician, and bound himself to him by Promise, *That he would Practise no more in common Cases*. But he always was Liberal with his Purse. His stated Income was not above 90*l. per Annum*: Besides which, he some Years had 60 or 80*l.* a Year of the Booksellers for Books; which being given away amongst them, except so much as was necessary for his Comfortable Subsistence, made them much the readier to listen to him. Several of their Children that had Capacities, he took from School, and sent to the University, where he maintain'd them by his own and others Contributions: Some of which afterwards prov'd very useful Ministers: His giving away Bibles and other good Books among *poor Families*, was a thing highly *pleasing* to them. The People generally were of such a Trade as allow'd them time eno' to Read or Talk of holy things, which was another Help. His single Life also was in some respects an *Advantage* to him. Being free from Family Cares, he had the Greater Vacancy and Liberty for the Labours of his Calling. And it

was also some Comfort, that there were at last few that were bad, but some of their Relations were Converted. Many were wrought on at 14, 15, 16 Years of Age: Which did much towards the Reconciling the Minds of the Parents and elder sort to Godliness. Many there were of a considerable Age, the Conversion of whose Children was the Chief Means to overcome their Prejudice, and old Customs and Conceits. Many did God recover by Sickness, and his constant disowning the Iniquity of the Times tended to the Good of many; and so also did the Unanimity of the Ministers of the Country round, who Associated in a way of Concord. The Quality of the open Sinners of the place was such, as discourag'd others. Those given to Drunkenness were so Beastly and Ridiculous, that they made that Sin (of which there was the greatest Danger) the more abhor'd. The Quality of the Apostate Sinners of the Place was also remarkable. They that fell off, (who were not many) were such as before by their want of Grounded Understanding, Humility and Mortification, gave the greatest suspicion

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of their Stability: And they fell to no less than Familism and Infidelity, making a Jest of the Scripture, and the Essentials of Christianity. And as they fell from the Faith, so they fell to Drinking, Gaming, furious Passions, and a grosly Vicious Life: And were thereupon as Pillars and Monuments of God's Justice, to warn all others to take heed of Self-conceitedness, and Heresies; and of departing from, Truth and Christian Unity. Another considerable Furtherance of the People? Good, was the foremention'd Work of Personal Conference with every Family apart, and Catechizing and Instructing them. That which was spoken to them Personally, and put them many times upon Particular Answers, awaken'd their Attention; and was more easily apply'd than Publick Preaching, and seem'd to work much more upon them. The Exercise of Church Discipline, was another great Help.

AN AMAZING INSTANCE OF AN INCORRIGIBLE SINNER.

About 6 or 7 Young Men join'd with the Congregation who were addicted to Tipling, and one of them was a weak-headed Fellow, who was a common notorious Drunkard. He was admonish'd of his Sin, upon offering himself to Communion; and told, *That without an Humble Penitent Confession, and Promise of Amendment, he must be declar'd Unfit for Church Communion.* He hereupon lamented his Sin with great Bitterness, and promis'd Amendment but quickly return'd to it again. He was Admonish'd over and over, and

great Endeavours were us'd to bring him to Contrition and Resolution; and he would still confess it, and yet still go on. Whereupon, Mr. *Baxter* Warn'd him publickly; and Pray'd for him several Days in the Church: But he went on in his Drunkenness still. At last, he declar'd him utterly unfit for Church Communion; and required all to avoid him accordingly, endeavouring to convince him of his Misery, and of the Necessity of true Repentance and Reformation. After his Ejection, when he was Drunk, he would stand at the Market-place, and like a *Quaker* cry out against the Town, and take on him to Prophecy God's Judgments against them, and would Raze at Mr. *Baxter's* Door, and Rail and Curse him bitterly. And once he fellow'd him as he went to

Church

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Church, and laid Hands on him in the Church-Yard, with a purpose to have kill'd him; but it fell out that he had hold only of his Cloak, which he unbutton'd and left with him; and before his Fury could do any more, (it being the *Fair-Day*) there were some Strangers by in the Church-Yard, who dragg'd him to the Magistrate and the Stocks. And thus he continu'd raging against him about a Year, and then dy'd of a *Feaver*, in Great Horror of Conscience. Three or Four more were forc'd to be cast out, one for Slandering, and the rest for Drunkenness: And they were enrag'd, and much the worse after it, and so were *Lowd Warnings* to, others. Another *Advantage*, in order to his Success among them, was his *ordering* his Doctrine to them in a Suitableness to his main End; and yet so as might suit their Dispositions and Diseases. The Great *Fundamental Principles* of *Christianity*, contain'd in the Baptismal Covenant; even a right Knowledge and Belief of, and Subjection and Love to, *God the Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghost*, were the things which he daily open'd to them, and with greatest Importunity labour'd to imprint upon their minds. So frequently did he inculcate the Knowledge of God, Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, and Love and Obedience to Him, and Unity with the Church Catholick, and Love to Men, and Hope of Life Eternal; that these were the *matter* of their Daily Meditations and Discourses, and indeed their Religion. And yet he usually put something into his Sermons that was above their Discovery, and which they had not known before, that they might be kept Humble, still perceive their Ignorance; and be willing to remain in a Learning State; and to encrease their Knowledge, and make Religion pleasant to them by a daily Addition to their former Light, and to draw them on with Desire and Delight. But these things, which they did not know before, were not unprofitable Controversies, which tended not

to Edification, nor Novelties in Doctrine, contrary to the Universal Church; but either such Points as tended to illustrate the Great Doctrines of Religion, or usually about the right Methodizing them, which requires a great deal of Tho't and Accuracy. He was abundantly convinc'd of the Neces

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sity of care in this respect, by *long* Observation: For when Ministers tell their People of no more than they know, and do not shew that they excell them in Knowledge and Abilities, they will be tempted to turn Preachers themselves: And thinking that they have learn'd all that their Ministers can teach them, they will contemn them, and wrangle with their Doctrines, and set their Wits against them, and hear them as Censurers and not as Disciples, to their own Undoing, and to the Disturbance of the Church; and they will easily draw Disciples after them. The bare Authority of the Clergy will not serve the turn, without considerable Ministerial Abilities. Another *Advantage* lay in the Quality of the People as to their Outward Condition. They were not Rich. There were few Beggars indeed, because their Common Trade of *Stuff-Weaving* would find Work for all, Men, Women and Children, that were able: But there were none of the Tradesmen Wealthy, their Employment ordinarily finding them but Food and Raiment. Few of the Magistrates were worth *40l. per Annum*; and most not half so much. Three or Four of the Master Workmen got perhaps Five or Six Hundred Pound in 20 Years; but the Generality of them liv'd little better than Journeymen, from Hand to Mouth, excepting that they labour'd not altogether so hard. This kept them from a great many *Temptations* which Wealth is attended with, and made them much more pliable and yielding to the Ministry, than could otherwise have been expected.

His not meddling with *Tyths* or *Worldly Business* was another *Advantage* to him. Hereby he had, the more time for his study, and his Mind was the freer from Entanglements, and he avoided offending the People by Contentious Law-Suits. There were 3 or 4 of his Honest Neighbours who manag'd for him all Concerns of that Nature, and he never took an Account of them: After that he was constrain'd to let the Tyths be gather'd as by his Title, to save the Gatherers from Law Suits, he gave Orders, *That if any Persons refus'd to pay who were Poor, it should be forgiven them: But that if the Persons were able, what was due should be sought for by the help of the Magistrate with the Damage; and that both*

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his Part and the Damages should be given to the Poor. When this was once known, none that were able would do the Poor so great a Kindness as to refuse Payment. His staying so long in this one place was a further *Advantage*. By this means it came about, that almost all the Religious People of the place were of his own Instructing and Informing; and he stay'd to see them grown up to some Confirmedness and Maturity. All which *Advantages* he distinctly Noted and Recorded with due Regard to that *Providence* whereto they were owing.

HIS CARE ABOUT DISCIPLINE

One of his Main Difficulties when he fix'd in *Kederminster*, was how to set up any thing of a *true Discipline*, without being satisfy'd with the Shadow of it, instead of the Reality on one hand, or unchurching the Parish Church on the other. After mature Tho'ts upon the matter told the People, *That he went not about to gather a New Church, but would take the Parish for the Church; unless they were unwilling to own their Membership.* All that did own their Membership in that Parish Church, and would own him for their Pastour, he desired to give in their Names, or any other way to signify that they, did so: And those who were not willing to be Members, and rather chose to withdraw themselves, than to live under Discipline" he desired to be silent. And so thro' fear of Discipline, all the Parish kept off except 600, when there were in all above 1600 at Age to be Communicants: Yet because it was their own doing, and they knew they might come in when they would, they were quiet. If any scrupled sitting at the Lords Table, he openly told them, *They should have the Liberty of their own Gesture.* And he was free to Baptize all their Children: But he made them first (as he would have done by Strangers) give him privately (or publickly if they had rather) an Account of their Faith. And if any Father were a Scandalous Sinner, he made him confess his Sin openly with seeming Penitence, before he would Baptize his Child. If he refus'd it, he forbore 'till the Mother came to present it. For he rarely, if ever, found both Father and Mother so destitute of Knowledge and Faith, as in a Church Sense to be utterly incapable.

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HIS CONDUCT TOWARDS SIR *RALPH CLARE*.

There was one Sir *Ralph Clare* who liv'd in the Parish, who did more to hinder his Success, than could have bin done by a great many others. He was a Man indeed of great Courtship and Civility, and carry'd it with much Personal Reverence and Respect, and yet coming but once to Church on the Lord's-Days, and abstaining from the Sacrament, his Example did much mischief; tho' at the same time his sending his Family to be Personally Instructed and, Catechiz'd, did win with the worst almost to do the like. He made a Motion to Mr. *Baxter*, That he would Communicate with him, if he would administer the Sacrament to him Kneeling, and on a distinct Day, and not with those that receiv'd it Sitting. In a Letter in Answer to him, he offer'd, *If he would submit to Discipline, and take him for his Pastour, and first hear his Reasons, if he could not convince him, but if he would profess that he tho't it a Sin against God to receive the Sacrament unless it were put into his Hands Kneeling, and that he durst not in Conscience take it otherwise, he would so give it him: But as for doing it as a distinct stated time from the rest, it would make such a Breach or Schism, as he could have no hand in.*

THE CASE OF THE VICARIDGE OF *KEDERMINSTER*.

He had also some Difficulty about the Sequestration of the Living of *Kederminster*, upon the Account of which he was reflected on by many, but very unjustly: For the true State of the Case was this. While he was kept away from the Place by a Languishing Illness, not knowing whether God would make any farther use of him, the Towns People tho't fit to renew their Articles against their old Vicar and his Curate; and upon Tryal of the Cause, the Committee sequestred the Place, but put no one into it, leaving the Profits in the hands of divers Inhabitants to pay a Preacher, 'till it were dispos'd of. Mr. *Baxter*, tho' urgently press'd, refus'd the Vicaridge, and would nave only the Lecture, which by the Old Man's own Consent and Bond he held before. And at his return, he found only Mr. *Serjeant* in Possession, who was desired to Officiate during the Vacancy. Being vehemently urg'd again to accept the Vicaridge, he repeated his Refusal, and got the Magistrates and Burgesses together into the Town Hall, and told them,

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That tho' he was offer'd several Hundred Pounds per Annum elsewhere, yet he was willing to continue with them in his Old Lecturer's Place, which he had before the War, expecting they should make the Maintenance an 100l. per Annum, with the Addition of an House: And if they would promise to submit to that Doctrine of Christ, which as his Minister he should deliver to them, he would never leave them. But he intimated, that this Maintenance should neither come out of their own Purses, nor any more of it out of the Tythes but the 60l. which the Vicar had before bound himself to pay him, but from an Augmentation, easily to be procur'd: And the rest he would have nothing to do with. This Covenant was drawn up in Articles, and Subscrib'd; and he expressly disclaim'd the Vicaridge and Pastoral Charge of the Parish, and only undertook the Lecture. And thus the Sequestration continu'd in the Hands of the Townsmen, who gather'd the Tythes, and paid him (not an Hundred, as they promis'd) but 80l. *per Annum*, or 90 at most, and Rent for a few Rooms: the rest they gave to Mr. *Serjeant*, and about 40l. *per Annum* to the Old Vicar, and 6l. *per Annum* to the Lord for Rents, besides other Charges. But when they had continu'd long in this way, they fear'd least some one against their Will should get a Grant of the Sequestration from the Committee, and therefore they went privately and got an Order from them to settle Mr. *Baxter* in the Title, and never shew'd it him, but kept it secret, designing only to secure the Place from a surprize, and themselves from repaying what they disburs'd. But when King *Charles* came out of *Scotland* with his Army to *Worcester*, their Houses being full of Soldiers, they bro't him the Order, entreating him, if he would not own it, yet at least to keep it safe, and to save them harmless by it, if they were; call'd to Account. Which is the rather mention'd so particularly, to clear him from some Aspersions, unjustly cast upon him about this Matter.

Upon the whole; so much of the Presence of God did Mr. *Baxter* find accompanying him in his Work at *Kederminster*, and so affectionate was his Regard to the Loving People of that Place, that he would not

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willingly have exchange'd his Relation to them for any Preferment in the Kingdom, nor could he without force have bin separated from them.

CHAP. IV.

**The Rise and Springs of the Civil War: Some brief Touches of
the History of the Times 'till the Cutting off the King.**

An. 1641.

NOT long after his Settlement at *Kederminster*, the Civil War began, and the Times rain'd Blood so long, 'till the Languishing State of the Kingdom was almost *desperate* and *incurable*. He was a Mournful Spectatour of the Publick Confusions, and made some Remarks on the Occurrences of the Times, which are not unworthy the Notice of Posterity.

THE FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT

The Nation had for some time before bin under Discontent. The General Cry was for Justice in the Punishment of Delinquents. This went against the King, and was a great Trouble to his Friends, and Favourites; who none of them knew how soon his own turn might come. The Lord-Keeper *Fincn* and Secretary *Windebank* fled beyond Sea and sav'd themselves. The Guilty Judges were deeply accus'd in Parliament, and some of them Imprison'd on the Account of Shipmoney. But the Great Displeasure was against the Earl of *Strafford*, and Arch-Bishop *Laud*. They were both sent to the Tower, and a Charge was drawn up against them, and manag'd presently against the Lord-Deputy *Wentworth*, by the Ablest Lawyers and gentlemen of the House. This was a matter they were long about; for the King being unwilling to consent to his Death, us'd all his skill to stop the Prosecution. A Division arose among, the Great Ones. The Lords *Falkland* and *Digby*, and other Persons of considerable Note, were for Gratifying the King by *sparing* him. Others were vehement on the other side, saying: *That if after a plain Attempt to sub*

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vert the Fundamental Laws and Liberties, no one Man should suffer Death, it would encourage others hereafter in the like. The *Londoners* Petition'd the House for *Justice*, and follow'd them with their Cries and Clamours: And an unhappy Painter drew the Pictures of the Chief of those Members who were for saving the lord-Deputy, and call'd them *Straffordians*, hanging them with their Heels upward on the *Exchange*. This Procedure made the Lord *Digby* and the Lord *Falkland* heartily fall in with the King's Interest being not so immovable as

some others, whom neither Hope nor Fear, nor Discontent, would alienate from the Cause which they tho't well of. Yet others were try'd with the Offer of Preferments. The Lord *Say* was made One of the Privy-Council; and Mr. *Oliver St. John* the King's solicitor, &c. But as this did not alter them, so others would accept no Preferment, least they should be tho't to seek themselves, or set their Fidelity to sale. At length the Earl of *Stratford* was Condemn'd, and the King being desired to Sign the Bill, had the Advice of divers Bishops, and among the rest, of Arch-Bishop *Usher*, and Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London*. The former,* as was said, told him, *That he might lawfully concur with the Judgment of his Parliament Proceeding according to Law, tho' his own Judgment were, that their Sentence was unjust; but the latter advis'd him to do nothing against his Conscience.*

* Dr. Parr in the List of Arch-Bishop *Usher*, which he publish'd in Folio, mentioning his being consulted by the King upon this Occasion, says he was injur'd by Common Fame, in the Report spread abroad, about the Advice he gave. He tells us, (pag 61.) that when that Holy Man was in such dangerous Circumstances, as that all who were about him tho't him near his End, he look the Liberty to ask him, If he had advis'd the King to pass the Bill against the Earl of *Stratford*? To which he reply'd, I know there is such a thing most wrongfully laid to my Charge; for I neither gave, nor approv'd of any such Advice, as that the King should Assent to the Bill against the Earl; but on the contrary told his Majesty, That if he was satisfy'd by what he had heard at his Tryal, that the Earl was not Guilty of Treason, his Majesty ought not in Conscience to consent to his Condemnation.

ARGUMENTS PRO AND CON ABOUT PLEASING OR DISPLEASEING THE KING IN A PARLIAMENTARY WAY.

There was Great Heat among the Members of Parliment in those Debates which this Matter occasion'd. Some were much against Displeasing and Provoking the King, and tho't themselves not oblig'd to attempt any other Justice or Reformation, than what they

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could bring him to be willing to. And they thus argu'd: *When you have displeas'd and provok'd him to the utmost, he will be your King still; and when you have sate to the longest, you must be dissolv'd at last. You have no Power over his Person, tho' you have over Delinquent Subjects. If he protect them by Arms, you must either your selves be ruin'd by his Displeasure, or engag'd in the War. Displeasing him, is but exasperating him; and would you be Rul'd by a King that hates you? The more you offend him, the less you can trust him; and when mutual Confidence is gone, a War is beginning. And if it come to a War, either you will Conquer, or be Conquer'd, or come to Agreement: If you are Conquer'd, you and the Commonwealth*

are ruin'd, and the King will be Absolute, and neglect Parliaments, and Govern as he pleaseth. If you come to an Agreement, it will either be such as you force him to, or such as he is willing of: If the latter be the Result, it may be done more easily and cheaply before a War than after: If the former, be the Issue, it can have no great Strength; for nothing Violent is lasting. And if you Conquer him, what are you the better? He will still be King, and consequently have the Power of Avenging himself in his Hands. The Pleas of those of the other Stamp were of this Nature: If the King be not to be displeas'd, then this Parliament should never have bin call'd, Ship-Money should have gone on, and the Subjects Property and Parliaments have bin suffer'd to be overthrown: Church Innovations should not have bin controul'd, nor any stop to the Subverters of our Government and Liberties attempted. Then no Members should speak freely of any of these things in the House; And what do we here? Could not the King have pleas'd himself without us? Or do we come to be his Instruments, to give away the Peoples Liberties, and set up that which is begun? Either it is our Duty to Reform, and to Recover our Liberties, and Relieve our Country, and Punish Delinquents, or not? If not, let us go home again. If it be, let us do it, And trust God. For if the fears of foreseen Opposition shall make us Betray our Country and Posterity, we are Perfidious to them. Enemies to our selves, and worse than Infidels. As for a War, the Danger of it may be avoided; It is a thing uncertain; and therefore a present certain Ruin, and that by our own Hand, is not to be chosen to avoid it. The King

may

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may see the Danger of it as well as we, and avoid it on better Terms: Or if he were willing, he may not be able, to do any great Harm. Do you think that the People of England are so mad as to fight against those whom they have chosen to represent them? To destroy themselves and the Hopes of their Posterity! Do they not know, that if Parliaments are destroy'd, their Lives and Estates are meerly at the Will and Mercy of the Conquerour? And what fear of Revenge, when we may continue, 'till we consent to our own Dissolution? Can we not avoid Consenting to it, 'till we see our selves out of the Danger of Revenge? Thus were Mens Minds divided: But some unhappy Means fell out to unite them, so as to cause them to proceed to a War.

THE FORERUNNERS OF THE WAR.

The King had a Considerable Party that adher'd to him, made up both of State Politicians, and Friends of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy; who jointly set

themselves against the Parliament, not only because of their Apprehended Encroachments on the Civil Power, but also because of the Church Reformation intended. But the Country Party carry'd all things with a High Hand, depending upon the Assistance of true hearted English-men if Matters came to Extremity. Many things fell in to heighten Discontents. The *London Apprentices* (encourag'd by some Members of Parliament) in a Tumultuous manner brought up their Petitions to *Westminster*. In one of their Progresses they met some of the Bishops going to the House in their Coaches: Forgetting Civility, they cry'd out, *No Bishops*, and flouted and insulted rudely. The Bishops hereupon in a Fright met together, and declaring themselves *Deter'd from their Attendance in Parliament by Clamours and Tumults*, drew up a Protestation against any Law that should pass in their Absence. This was so resented by the Parliament, that they who subscrib'd it were Voted *Delinquents*, and sent to Prison, as attempting to destroy the Power of Parliaments. And even Bp. *Hall* himself was one of them. These numerous Petitioners were also very Offensive to the King, insomuch, that when at another time they pass'd by *White-Hall*, they were set upon by some of his Cavaliers, who laying hold of some of them, cut off their Ears. There was another Scuffle about *Westminster*

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minster-Abbey, when Sir *Richard Wiseman*, that Headed them, was kill'd by a Stone from the Abbey Walls, These Tumults made the King not think himself safe, either in the City or near it.

Great were the Jealousies between him and his Parliament. He distrusted them, as thinking they bore hard upon him in every thing; and they distrusted him without any Dependence upon his Declarations or Promises. They were confident he was immoveable as to his Judgment and Affections, and that what ever he granted them was but in Design to get his Advantage utterly to destroy them; and that he did but watch for such an Opportunity. They suppos'd that he utterly abhorr'd them, and their Actions against his Ship-Money, his Judges, Bishops, &c. and charging him with the *Breach of former Promises*, they durst not take his Word in any thing. This their Diffidence was many ways encreas'd. The two Armies of *Scots* and *English* remain'd undisbanded in the North, 'till the Parliament would provide for their Pay. The *English* Army wanting Pay, were Discontented: Hereupon they entertain'd a Design to march suddainly up to *London*, and master the Parliament. This being discover'd, several of the Chief Officers (as Sir *Jacob Astley*, O *Neal*, and Sir *Fulk Hunks*) were examin'd, and confess'd, *That some near the King,*

had treated with them about bringing up the Army. Which Examinations were publish'd, and satisfy'd many, *That the King did but watch while he quieted them with Promises, to master them by force, and use them at his pleasure.* The Parliament, to prevent any Insults, provided themselves with a Guard, which they took to be their Priviledge. The King discharging them, set another Guard upon them of his own choosing. This made them look like Prisoners; and they fear'd they who made up the Guard appointed by the King, would if commanded become the Executioners of his Wrath upon them. Upon which they dismissed them, and call'd for a Guard of the City Regiments. At length the King, being advis'd no longer to stand by and see himself Affronted, took an unprecedented Step in going suddainly to *the House of Commons*, with a Company, of Cavaliers with Swords and Pistols, to charge

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five of their Members, *viz.* Mr. *Pim*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Strowd*, and Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, and one of the *Lords House*; *viz.* the Lord *Kimbolton*, (afterwards Earl of *Manchester*, and Lord Chamberlain) with High-Treason. Had they bin there, it was suppos'd they would have bin seiz'd by force; but upon Notice beforehand, they absented themselves, retiring into the City. The House was hereupon Alarum'd, as if their Liberties or Lives must be assaulted by the Sword, if they pleas'd not the Court; and thereupon they presently Voted this Action, a *Breach of their Priviledges*, and an *Effect of the King's Evil Counsellours*; and publish'd their Votes, to awaken the People to rescue them, as if they were in apparent Danger. The King being disappointed, publisheth a Paper, in which he chargeth the aforesaid Persons with Treason, as stirring up the Apprentices to Tumultuous Petitioning, &c. But confesseth his Error in violating their Priviledges.

Not long after, the Lord *Digby* and some other Cavaliers, attempted at *Kingston upon Thames* to have suddenly got together a Body of Horse, which the Parliament highly resented. But the Party was dissipated, and he was Voted a *Delinquent*, and order'd to be Apprehended: But he fled to *France*, and thence wrote to the King, (which Letters were intercepted) advising him to retire from the City to some Place of Strength: which they took as an Advice to make open War upon them.

THE IRISH MASSACRE AND REBELLION.

But there was nothing that wrought so much with the People as the Irish Massacre and Rebellion. The Irish Papists made an unexpected Insurrection in all Parts of that Kingdom at once, and seiz'd upon almost all the Strong Places in the Land, and it was very wonderful that *Dublin* escap'd, which was to have bin surpriz'd with the rest, *Octob.* 23. 1641. they murder'd Two Hundred Thousand Persons. Men, Women and Children were most cruelly us'd, the Women ript up and treated most Filthily and Barbarously, and Infants us'd like Toads or Vermin. Thousands of those who escap'd, came Stript and almost Famish'd to *Dublin*, and afterwards

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See Sir John Temple's History; Dr. Jones's Narrative of the Examinations, & the Earl of Orrery's Answer to a Petition.

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into *England* to beg their Bread. Multitudes of them were driven together into Rivers, and cast over Bridges and Drown'd. Many Witnesses swore before the Lords Justices, That at *Portdown-Bridge*, a Vision every Day appear'd to the Passengers of Naked Persons, standing up to the middle in the River, and crying out *Revenge, Revenge*. In a word; scarce any History mentioneth the like Barbarous Cruelty with this. The Irish declar'd, They had the King's Commission for what they did: And many even at that time, weighing all Circumstances, believ'd as much, while others represented it as an horridly Unjust and Scandalous Aspersion upon his Majesty; but as Providence order'd it, a certain Memorable Particularity help'd to set this Matter in a just Light. The Marquess of *Antrim*, who was a Noted Man among the Irish Rebels, having had his Estate Sequestred, tho't fit, upon the Restauration of K. *Charles* the Second, to sue for the Restitution of it. The D. of *Ormond* and the Council judg'd against him as one of the Rebels. Whereupon he bro't his Cause over to the King, and affirm'd, That what he did was by his Father's Consent and Authority, the King referr'd it to some worthy Members of his Privy-Council, to examine what he had to shew. Upon Examination, they reported, *That they found he had the King's Consent, or Letter of Instructions for what he did*, which amaz'd many. Hereupon K. *Charles* wrote to the D. of *Ormond* and the Council, *To restore his Estate*, because it appear'd to those appointed to Examine it, that what he did was by his Father's Order or Consent. The lord *Mazarine*, and others in *Ireland*, not fully satisfy'd with this, tho't fit so far to prosecute the matter, as that the Marquess of *Antrim*

was forc'd to produce in the *House of Commons* a Letter of K. *Charles* the First, by which he gave him Order for the taking up Arms, which being read in the House, produc'd a general Silence. The whole Account of it, with a great many surprizing Particulars, was publish'd in a Pamphlet call'd, *Murder will out*. At the time when this Barbarity was committed, all *England* was fill'd with Fear. People were afraid both of the Irish, and of the Papists at home: Insomuch, that when the Rumour of a plot was spread about a

little

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little after in *London*, the Poor People all the Countries over, were ready either to run to Arms, or bide themselves, thinking the Papists were coming to cut their Throats. The Parliament was solicitous to send Help to *Dublin*, to prevent its being lost. The King press'd to go over himself; than which nothing could be more disagreeable to them, who were, afraid lest setting at the Head of two Armies he should unite them both against them, and by his Absence make a Breach, and hinder the Proceedings of the Houses. The few that were left in *Dublin* defended themselves, tho' under pressing Necessities; and sent over word, *That the Irish threatned, that when they had done with the handful that was left in Ireland they would come into England, and deal with the Parliament and Protestants here*. These Threatnings with the name of 200000 murder'd, and the recital of the Monstrous Cruelties of those Canibals, made many Thoufarids in *England* think, that nothing could be more necessary than for the Parliament to put the Country into an Armed Poilure, for their own Defence.

THE OPENING OF THE WAR.

At length the King leaves *London*, and goes Northward, and marches to *Hull*, where Entrance was deny'd him by Sir *John Hotham*. The Parliament publish'd their Votes to the People, *That the King, misled by Evil Counsel, was raising a War against his Parliament*. They nam'd Lord Lieutenants for the Militia of the several Counties, and the King nam'd others, by a Commission of Array, and each command the said Lord Lieutenants to settle the Militia: And both King and Parliament publish'd their Declarations, justifying their Cause. The Parliament chose the Earl of *Essex* for General, and resolves to raise an Army, *for the Defence of King and Parliament, and the Liberties of the Subjects against Evil Counsellours and Delinquents*. They publish'd a Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, and a Declaration of the Causes of their taking

up Arms: Which two Writings contain the Sum of their Justification, The King went to *Nottingham*, where he set up his Standard. There were but about 2000 that came into him there; whereas the *Londoners* quickly fill'd up a Gallant Army for the Earl of *Effex*, and the Citizens bro't in their Money and

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and Plate, and the Women their Rings to *Guild-Hall* for the Paying them. The King from *Nottingham* offer'd a Treaty, and sent some General Proposals. The Parliament sent him 19 Proposals of their own: Offering, *That he would Disband his Army, come to his Parliament, give up Delinquents to a legal Course of Justice, &c. he should find them Dutiful.* The Great Bone of Contention was the Militia. The King pleaded, *'Twas his by Law, and would not part with the Power of it.* The Parliament pleaded, *That as things stood, they must either secure it, or give up the Protestant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Land, and their own Necks, to the Will of Papists and Delinquents.*

THE QUALITY OF THE PERSONS WHO SEVERALLY ADHER'D TO THE KING
AND TO THE PARLIAMENT.

In his Contest between King and Parliament; the Generality of the Nobility were on the King's side. After *Edge-Hill* Fight, when the King was at *Oxford*, a great Part of the *Lords*, and many of the *Commons*, went over to him. A Great Part of the Knights and Gentlemen of *England* adher'd to him, except in *Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire*, where the King never came with his Army. Most of their Tenants follow'd them, and most of the poorer sort of People throughout the Nation. On the Parliaments side, were the smaller part of the Gentry in most Counties, and the greatest part of the Tradesmen and Freeholders, and the middle sort of Men, especially in those Corporations and Countries which depend on *Cloathing*, and such Manufactures. To them also adher'd the far Greater Part of those thro' the Nation, who were Friends to a *Religious Strictness*, and Enemies to *Formality and Profaneness, Superstition and Immorality.* It was not indeed properly *Bellum Episcopale*, the Bishops War, tho' by many so stil'd. For Thousands that wish'd for *Good Bishops*, were on the Parliaments side. But the Generality of those who were call'd *Puritans* and *Precisians*, and were for Serious Godliness, both Ministers and People adher'd to the Parliament. On the other side, they who were for *Looseness, Swearing, Gaming, and Drinking;* the Ministers and People who were against the strict Observation of the *Lord's Day*, and fond, of Dancing

and Recreations at those facred Seasons, that plac'd all their *Religion* in going to *Church*, and hearing *Common-*

Prayer,

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Prayer, that were against serious Preaching; and for running down all those who were stricter than themselves these adher'd all along to the King. Which one Consideration was the thing that determin'd many *sober* and *honest* Persons which side to take. The Nation was long before divided into two Parties, with respect to *Religious Matters*, the brief Consideration of the Rise and Progress of which Division, adds not a little Light to the *Animosities* which were at that time on Foot. Thus then stood the Case.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL DIFFERENCES IN THE
NATION FROM THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION.

It unhappily fell out in the Days of *Q. Mary*, that our *Reformers* being Fugitives at *Frankford*, fell into a *Division*: One part of them were for *Diocesan*, and the *English Liturgy* and *Ceremonies*, that they might no more than needs depart from the *Papists*, nor seem Inconstant by departing from what King *Edward* had begun. The other were for *Calvin's Discipline* and *Way of Worship*; for the setting up of *Parochial Discipline* in Head of *Diocesan*; and to have a *Government* in every Particular Church, and not only One over a Thousand or many Hundred Churches; and for a plain and serious *Way of Worship*, suited as near as possible to the Word of God.

These two Parties returning into *England*, the *Diocesan Party* got *Q. Elizabeth's* Countenance, and were preferr'd, and their *Way* set up: The other Party Petition'd, and Hop'd, and Waited, but were Discountenanc'd, Rebuk'd, and by Law Suppress'd. The Discountenanc'd Party were fervent Preachers, and of Holy Lives: And so were many of the Bishops also in those Days. Had they who succeeded them bin herein generally like them, they had in all probability bin more Honour'd and less Assaulted. But when *Jewel*, *Pilkinton*, *Grindal*, and such like were Dead, many succeeded them, who were Men of another Stamp. The silenc'd *Disciplinarians* (as they were stil'd) did by their Writings, secret Conference and Preaching, and their Godly Lives, work much upon such as were Religiously Addicted. So that this Opinion spread very much, *That a just Parochial Discipline would very much Reform the Church, and that Diocesans by excluding it cherish'd Vice*. The Prelatical Party finding their Places and Power, Lands and

Lordships

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An. 1641.

Lordships, assaulted by this Opinion, tho't it necessary more and more to suppress the Promoters of it. Hereupon, putting Episcopacy, Liturgy and Ceremonies into the Subscriptions which they Impos'd on all that would be Ministers of Schoolmasters, they kept and cast out many worthy Men. For some that were for Liturgy and Ceremonies, were not for Diocesans; but for Parish Discipline; and some that were for Bishops were not for the Ceremonies; and some that were for the rest, yet scrupled some one; and he that, could not subscribe to all, was forbidden to Preach the Gospel: Whereas, in the mean time, many Bishops Preach'd but seldom, and abundance of Places had ignorant Readers who could not Preach, or weak Preachers whose Performances were very mean, and many of them were also Scandalous in their Lives.

Hereupon, the *Disciplinarians* cry'd out of the *Severity* and *Impositions* of the Prelates, and the *Ignorance* and *Scandalous Lives* of many of their Ministers: And they on the other side, vehemently inveigh'd against the *Nonconformists*. They call'd them *Puritans*, which was the Name whereby they were commonly known. And in process of time; the Vitious Multitude call'd all *Puritans* that were Strict and Serious in a Holy Life, tho' ever so Conformable. So that the same Name in a Bishop's Mouth, signify'd a *Nonconformist*; and in an ignorant Drunkard's or Swearer's Mouth, a *Godly Obedient Christian*: Now the ignorant Rabble hearing that the *Bishops* were against the *Puritans*, were the more embolden'd against all those which they gave that, Name to, and their Rage against the Godly was the more increas'd; and they cry'd up the *Bishops*, partly because they were against the *Puritans*, and partly because they were earnest for that way of Worship which they found most suitable to their Ignorance; Carelessness and Formality; and thus the Interest of the *Diocesans*, and of the Prophan and Ignorant sort of People, was unhappily twisted together in the Nation.

Many also were much set against the *Bishops*, by observing Men of Parts and Piety silenc'd, while insufficient and vicious Men were encourag'd and preferr'd among the Clergy, and many Thousands of the

People

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An. 1641.

People were perishing in Ignorance and Sin, for want of Help. And it not a little disturb'd them, to see Fasting and Praying, and other Religious Exercises which they found Beneficial, so strictly look'd after, and punish'd in the *High Commission* and the *Bishops Courts*, as if more Perilous than Common Swearing and Drunkenness prov'd to the Ungodly: And it added to their Disturbance, to have a Book publish'd for Recreations on the *Lord's-Day*, with the Bishops Approbation, as if they concurr'd with the Profane: That *Afternoon Sermons* and *Lectures*, tho' carry'd on by Conformable Men, were put down in divers Counties: That so Great a Number of Conformable Ministers were *suspended* or *punish'd* for not Reading the Book of Sports, or about Altars, &c. And so many Thousand Families, and many worthy Ministers, driven out of the Land: That Bowing towards Altars, and other Innovations, were daily bro't in by the *Hyper-Conformists*, none knowing where they would end: And finally, That the Bishops proceeded so far, as to swear Men to their whole Government by the *Et cætera Oath*, and that *they approv'd of Ship-Money*, and other such Encroachments on their Civil Interests. These were the Causes why so many of those who were counted most Religious fell in with the Parliament.

It hath indeed bin asserted *That it was Seditious Preachers who stirr'd up the people, and were the Cause of all the Commotions*. Which is a Notorious Falsity. Many indeed there were, who discover'd their Dislike of the Book of Sports, and Bowing to Altars, and Diminishing Preaching, and Silencing Ministers, &c. and were glad that the Parliament attempted a *Reformation*; but very few even of these stirr'd up to War, but were fearful of the Consequences: But this is certain, That whether they did so more or less, they were almost all of them Conformable Ministers, the laws and Bishops having cast out the *Nonconformists* long eno' before. They who made up the Assembly at *Westminster*, and who thro' the Land were the Honour of the Parliament's Party, were almost all such as had 'till then Conform'd, and took those things to be Lawful in case of Necessity, but long'd to have that Necessity remov'd.

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Having afterwards the Advantage to be on the Rising side, it had possibly bin both their Wisdom and their and the Nations Interest, to have kept some Bounds without running things to Extremity. Had they endeavour'd only the Ejection of Lay-Chancellours, the Reducing the Diocesses to a narrower Compass, or the Setting up a Subordinate Discipline, and the Correcting; and Reforming the Liturgy, so as to leave nothing justly Exceptionable, in all probability it had bin patiently born, and the Confusions the Nation

afterwards run into had bin prevented. Then: is good Reason to suppose it, because Bp. *Usher*, *Williams*, and *Morton*, and many either Episcopal Divines with them, agreed in certain Points of *Reformation*.* They had Censur'd the most remarkable *Innovations*, both in Doctrine and Discipline; and concurr'd in altering the *Comman-Prayer*, so as to obviate the Objections against it; and if any thing of this Nature would have suffic'd, had bin likely to have fallen in heartily with the Parliament's Interest: But finding an universal Change insisted on, and that nothing short of the utmost extremity would satisfy, they turn'd against the Parliament and their Interest, and were as much displeas'd as any; except Arch-Bishop *Williams*, who afterwards took up Arms for the Parliament.

THE REASONS OF THE PARLIAMENTARIANS.

The Reasons alledg'd by those who adher'd to the Parliament, were briefly these. They tho't the Danger of the State evident from sundry Matters of Fact. *Ship-Money* they found threaten'd the Overthrow of Property. Many Parliaments had bin dissolv'd in Dispeasure, after they had bin long forborn. The calling up the Army, and demanding the Members, satisfy'd them that the Ruin of the Parliament was design'd. And the Murder of so many Thousands in *Ireland* convinc'd them they were far from being Secure, while Men of the like Malignity were protected, and could not be kept out of Arms nor bro't to Justice. They tho't the Preservation of a Kingdom was such an End to aim at, as would make any necessary Means lawful, which God himself had not forbidden. The parliament having a part in the Legislative Power, they tho't had so far inherently a Power to defend it, which no Law can suppose them to give away:

And

* See this Paper in the large Life, Pag. 369.

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An. 1641.

And as the Peoples Representatives they suppos'd them intructed to secure their reserved Liberties, which the Law giveth not the King any Authority to take away. They tho't that the Judgments and Executions of the Courts of Justice, being the Effects of Laws which King and Parliament have made, are of greater Authority than contrary Commissions or Commands from the King alone. It confirm'd them to hear it own'd so generally, that the Sheriffs of Counties may in some Cases raise the *Posse Comitatus*, tho' the King forbid it, or grant a Commission to hinder it. They said, That it belongeth to the

Parliament to judge its own: Members, and that if on pretence of punishing such of them as do offend; the King may come and fetch away, or demand those that displease him, Parliaments and Liberties, and all the Security of them is gone: Many were confirm'd by the King's Answer to their Propositions, wherein it was declar'd, *That the Legislative Power was in King, Lords and Commons; and that the Government was mix'd, and not Arbitrary;* which they thought it must be, if his Commissions were of greater Power than his Laws and Courts, and if no Resistance might be made against such as executed an Illegal Commission. The War (they said) was not against the King, but his Delinquent Subjects. They pleaded, *Barclay, Gratius de Jure Belli & Pacis, Hooker and Bilson,* who all own the Lawfulness of Resistance in some Cases, and in such Circumstances as theirs then were. *Gratius* says particularly, *That if several Persons have a part in the Summa Potestas, (of which Legislation is a Chief Act) each part hath naturally the Power of defending its own Interest in the Sovereignty, against the other part if they invade it. And that if in such a War they Conquer, the Conquer'd Party looseth to them his Share.* And that this is so true, that it holdeth, tho' the Law expressly say, *That one of the Parties shall have the Power of the Militia: It being to be understood that he shall have it against Foreign Enemies, and Delinquents, and not against the other Part.* But to go on with the History.

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A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE WAR.

An. 1642.

The King marching from *Nottingham* to *Shrewsbury*, fill'd up his Army out of *Shropshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire,* and *Wales.* And the Earl of *Essex* march'd with a Gallant Army to *Worcester;* Many excellent Divines were Chaplains to the several Regiments. Mr. *Stephen Marshal* and Dr. *Burgess,* to the General's own Regiments. Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick,* to Col. *Hollis's* Regiment. Dr. *Calibute Downing,* to the Lord *Roberts's* Regiment. Mr. *John Sedgwick,* to the Earl of *Stamford's* Regiment. Dr. *Spurstow,* to Mr. *Hampden's.* Mr. *Perkins,* to Col. *Goodwin's.* Mr. *Moor,* to the Lord *Wharton's.* Mr. *Adoniram Byfield,* to Sir *Henry Cholmley's.* Mr. *Nalton,* to Col. *Grantham's.* Mr. *Simeon Ash,* either to the Lord *Brook's,* or the Earl of *Manchester's.* Mr. *Marion* of *New-Castle,* with Sir *Arthur Haslerigg's* Troop. With many more. On *October* the 23d 1642, was the Battle at *Edge-Hill,* between the two Armies; in which the Advantage was on the Parliament side. The King's Army drew off towards

Oxford; and *Essex's* towards *Coventry*, for Refreshment. There were a great many other Fights, particularly related by the Historians of those times, who may be consulted by such as therein desire Information. But that which upon the whole was the great Cause of the Parliament's Strength; and the King's Ruin, was that the Debauched Rabble thro' the Land, embolden'd by his Gentry, and seconded by the Common Soldiers of his Army, took all that were call'd *Puritans* for their Enemies. And tho' some of the King's Gentry and Superiour Officers were so Civil, that they would do no such thing, yet that was no Security to the Country, while the Multitude did what they list. So that if anyone was noted for a strict and famous Preacher, or for a Man of a Pious life, he was either plunder'd or abused, and in danger of his Life. So that if a Man did but pray in his Family, or were but heard repeat a Sermon, or sing a Psalm; they presently cry'd out *Rebels*, *Roundheads*, and all their Money and Goods that were portable, prov'd Guilty, how Innocent soever they were themselves. This was it that fill'd the Armies and Garrisons of the Parliament with Sober, Pious Men. Thousands had no mind to meddle with the Wars, but

greatly

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greatly desired to live Peaceably at home, when the Rage of Soldiers and Drunkards would not suffer them. Some stay'd 'till they had bin Imprison'd. Some 'till they had bin Plunder'd twice or thrice over, and had nothing left them. Some were quite tired out with the Abuse of all Comers that quarter'd on them; and some by the Insolvency of their Neighbours. But most were afraid of their Lives; and so fought Refuge in the Parliament's Garrisons.

An. 1644.

OF THE LAYING ASIDE THE EARL OF *ESSEX*.

After the War had bin carry'd on for some time, with Great Uncertainty in what it would Issue; there was at length a great Chance made on the Parliament's side, which had Considerable Consequences. The Earl of *Essex* being weaken'd by a great Loss in *Cornwall*, was hid by, and another General chosen. The *Reasons* given for this Chance were these. Because of the *Dissoluteness* of many of his Soldiers, who were grown too like the King's Soldiers in *Profaneness* and *Lewdness*: And withal, it was urg'd, That the Revolt of Sir *Faithful Fortescue*, Sir *Richard Greenville*, Col. *Urrey*, and others, was a sufficient Evidence, that they who had not a Sence of Religion, were not much to be trusted, but might easily be hired by Money to betray them. It

was discover'd, That the Earl's Judgment was against Ending the War by the Sword and that he and the wisest Men about him, were for aiming only to Force a *Pacificatory Treaty*, and against a Conquest. For he tho't, if the King should Conquer, the Government of the Kingdom would become Arbitrary, and the Subjects Property and Liberty lost: And that if *he* should Conquer, the Parliament would swallow up the *Prerogative* of the King, and the *Priviledges* of the Lords, and not know how to settle the Estate of the Kingdom or the Church, without injuring others, and running into Extreame, and falling into Divisions amongst themselves. And therefore the New Regulatours tho't that by Delay, he gave the King an Advantage, and weary'd out and ruin'd the Country, and said, *That at Edge-Hill, Newbury, and other Places, he had not prosecuted his Victory, but stood still, and saw the King's Army Retreat, and never pursu'd them, when it had bin easy to have ended the Wars.* But the main Spring of the Alteration, was the Pre

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lence of the *Sectarian* Interest in the House, joyn'd with *Cromwel's* in the Army, which now began to carry all before it. Many honest and intelligent People indeed were for New Modelling the Army, putting out the Looser Men, and taking in those who were more strict and sober, but *Vane* and *Cromwel* joining together, outwitted and over-reacht the rest, and carry'd on their own Particular Interest successfully. The method they took for compassing this Design without Disturbance, by stirring up against themselves the Forces they disbanded, was by a *Self-denying Vate* in the House, pass'd to this purpose: *That because Commands in the Army had much Pay, and Parliament Men should keep to the Service of the House, therefore no Parliament Men should be Members of the Army.* This put out at once the E. of *Essex*, and the E. of *Manchester*, the 2 Generals; and Sir *William Waller*, a valiant Major-General, and a great many Colonels; and to avoid Suspicion, *Cromwel* himself was put out at the first. They then chose for General Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Son to the Lord *Ferdinando Fairfax*, who had bin in the Wars beyond Sea, and had fought valiantly for the Parliament in *Yorkshire*. He was therefore chosen, because neither too Great nor too Cunning to be commanded by the Parliament; nor too Subtle for *Cromwel* to make a Tool of. He being chosen, *Cromwel's* Men could not be without Him: And therefore the *Self-denying Vote* must be thus far dispens'd with, That *Cromwel* may be in the Army, tho' no other Member of the House were allow'd it; and so he was made Lieutenant-General.

An. 1645.

CROMWELS INTEREST IN THE NEW MODEL'D ARMY, AND THEIR
PROCEEDINGS.

The Army being thus New Modell'd, was really in the Hands of *Cromwel*, tho' seemingly under *Fairfax's* Command. Not long after the Change, was the Fight at *Naseby*, where the King's Army was totally routed and put to flight, and about 5000 Prisoners taken, with all the King's Ordnance and Carriage, and abundance of his own Letters to the Queen and others in his Cabinet: Which Letters the Parliament printed, thinking they contain'd such things as greatly clouded the Reputation of his Word and Cause. *Cromwel* in the Army did all, and chose almost all the Officers; He first made *Ireton* Commissary-General; and when any

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Troop or Company was to be dispos'd off, or any considerable Officer's Place was void, he was sure to put a Sectary into the Place. And when the Brunt of the War was over, he look'd not so much at Valour as Opinion: So that by Degrees he had Headed the greatest Part of the Army with *Anabaptists*, *Antinomians*, *Seekers* or *Separatists*, at best; and he ty'd all together by the Point of *Liberty of Conscience*, which was the Common Interest wherein they united. At length the Parliament came to be solicitous about keeping them from Tumults and Disobedience. But Sir *Henry Vane* Confederating with them, they procur'd the House to Disband almost all the honest County Forces and Garrisons, which might have oppos'd them in their Designs, and so the Army went on with little fear of Opposition. The next Design of *Vane* and *Cromwel*, was to use the Army to model the Parliament. With this Aim they stir up the House to pass some Votes, which they knew would be most displeasing; to the Army, and then stir up the Army to the deepest Resentment. The Parliament Voted, *That part of the Army should goe for Ireland, part be Disbanded, and pat continu'd.* The Officers told the Army, *This was to Divide them, and Deprive them of their Pay, and to get an Advantage on them to Ruin them as Sectaries, &c.* A rare Reward for all their Services! At *Triploe-Heath* they enter'd into an Engagement to stick together, and were drawing up a Declaration of their Grievances. Col. *Edward Harley* acquainted the House with it. *Cromwel* stifly deny'd it, and said it was a Slander, altho' deep in the Secret, as he afterwards acknowledg'd, when he Headed them in their Rebellion. The Parliament order'd all that were Faithful to forsake them; and several Officers, as General *Fincher*, Major *Alsop*, Major *Huntington*, and others, with a considerable Number of Common Soldiers, did so; but not

being able to make a Body to resist them, it prov'd a great Addition to their Strength. For now all that were against them being gone, they fill'd up their Places with Men of their own mind, and so were ever after the more Unanimous.—Upon this, *Cromwel* and his *Obedient Lambs* (as he call'd them) advanc'd in their Design, came nearer the City, and drew up an Impeachment

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An. 1646.*An.* 1647.

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against 11 of the most Active Members of the House; Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Col. *Hollis*, Sir *John Maynard*, Mr. *Glyn*, Col. *Edward Harley*, &c. And when they had forc'd the House to seclude them, as under Accusation, they let fall their Suit, and never prosecuted them, nor prov'd them guilty. Having advanc'd thus far, they expected to have found the House very Pliable and Yielding, but were still disappointed. The City took Courage, and under the Conduct of two Major-Generals, *Massey* and *Pointz*, were for defending the Parliament against the Army; but the Army speedily advancing, the Hearts of the Citizens fail'd them, and they let the Army enter the City in Triumph. Whereupon, *Massey* and *Hollis*, and others of the Accused Members, fled into *France*; and among the rest Sir *Philip Stapleton*, who dy'd of the Plague near *Callice*.

OF THE KING'S FLYING TO THE SCOTS: AND WHAT AFTERWARDS BEFELL HIM, TO THE TIME OF HIS DEATH.

As for the King, when *Oxford* was Besieg'd by the Parliament's Forces, having no Army left, he escap'd to the to the North, and cast himself upon the *Scots* who lay there with an Army. The *Scots* were puzzled how to steer in this Critical Juncture: To send him back to the *English* Parliament, seem'd Unfaithful, when he had cast himself upon them: To keep him, would divide the two Kingdoms, and be follow'd with a War from *England*, for which they were not provided. After long Consultations, the Terrour of the Conquering Army made them deliver him to the Parliaments Commissioners, upon two Conditions: That the King's Person should be preserv'd in Safety and Honour; And that their Army should have half the Pay that was due to them advanc'd immediately. The Parliament hereupon appointed Col. *Greaves*, and Major-General *Brown*, to attend the King at *Homeby House* in *Northamptonshire*. Cornet *Joice* by Concert with the Leading Part of the Army, fetcht him thence, and kept him amongst them, 'till they came to *Hampton-Court*, where

he was Guarded by Col. *Whalley*. The Army fawn'd upon the King at first; they blam'd the Austerity of the Parliament, who had deny'd him the Attendance of his own Chaplains; and of his Friends, in whom he took most pleasure. They gave liberty for his Friends and Chaplains to come to him,
and

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and pretended that they would save him from the Incivilities of the Parliament and Presbyterians. And when the Parliament made him Proposals, they presented him with Proposals of their own. But all on a suddain they began to cry for *Justice* upon him. A Council of *Agitours* was chosen among them, of which Col. *James Berry* was President. They drew up a Paper call'd, *The Agreement of the People*, as the Model or Form of a New Commonwealth. *Cromwel* seems to be against them; and while they were contending, a letter came to Col. *Whalley*, (from an unknown hand) intimating a Design of these *Agitours* to Surprize and Murder the King. Some think that this was sent from a Real Friend, but *most* think it was contriv'd by *Cromwel*, to affright the King out of the Land, or into some desperate Course, which might give them Advantage against him. The Colonel gave the King a sight of the Letter; and he thereupon escaped secretly with two Confidants only to the *Isle of Wight*, committing himself to Col. *Hammond*, who was Governour of a Castle there: And here *Cromwel* had him in a Pinfold, and was more secure of him than before. While the King was confin'd, several Armies were rais'd in his Favour. One in *Pembrokeshire*, by Major-General *Langhorn*; another in *Scotland*, by the Duke of *Hamilton*; a third in *Kent*, by the Lord *Goring*; and a fourth, in *Essex*, by Sir *Charles Lucas*: But were all Defeated. At length the Parliament sent to the King, while he continu'd in this Island, same Propositions to be consented to in order to his Restoration. Some of them he Granted, and others he Refus'd. The Chief thing he stuck at, was *The utter Abolishing of Episcopacy, and the Alienating of Bishops and Dean and Chapters Lands*. Upon which Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Vinu*, and Dr. *Seaman*, were sent down as Commissioners to discourse with him about it, in order to his Satisfaction. They debated the Matter with Arch-Bishop *Usher*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sheldon*, and others of the King's Divines. The Debates were printed, and each Party that they had the better. Arch-Bishop *Usher* then offer'd the King his Reduction of Episcopacy to the Form of Presbytery, which the King would have accepted; and had it bin

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accepted on the other side, might have bin the Foundation of a lasting Agreement.

The King sending his Final Answers to the Parliament, there were warm Debates among them, *Whether they should acquiesce in them as a sufficient Ground for Peace?* and at last they Voted his *Concessions* a sufficient Ground for a Personal Treaty with him, and were for sending for him up accordingly. But *Cromwel* and his Confidants, seeing all their Designs would be utterly disappointed by this Method of Procedure, sent Col. *Pride* to the House with a Party of Soldiers, who Guarded the Door. Such Members as were to their Purpose they let in, others they turn'd away, and some they Imprison'd; and the Remainder of the House was henceforward call'd the *Rump*. The Secluded and Imprison'd Members publish'd a Writing call'd their *Vindication*; and some of them would afterwards have thrust into the House, but the Guard of Soldiers kept them out; and the *Rump* were cry'd up for the only Honest Men. They pass'd a Vote to establish a Government without a King and House of Lords; and so the Lords dissolv'd, and these Commons sate and did all alone. They erected an High-Court of Justice,* brought the King to his Tryal, Condemned him, and erected a Scaffold at *White-Hall-Gate*, and there before a full Assembly of People Beheaded him. The Lord General *Fairfax* stood by all the while, full of Regret, but Trick'd and Overpower'd by his Lieu

* *That the Papists tho' they Acted behind the Curtain, had a considerable, Hand in these Commotions and their Tragical Issue, there is very good Evidence. In the Collection of Letters at the end of Dr. Parr's Life of Arch. Bishop Usher, there is one written by Bp. Bramhall (then abroad) to that Arch-bishop. 'Tis Num. 293. wherein is this Account. That in 1646. by Order from Rome, above a 100 of the Romish Clergy were sent into England, consisting of English, Scots. and Irish, who had bin Educated in France, Italy, Germany, and Spain: who were most of them Soldiers in the Parliament's Army, and were to hold Correspondence with the Romanists that were in the King's Army, who were not as yet admitted to the Grand Secret. Upon conferring together in 1647. enquiring into the Reasons of each others Measures, they produc'd Bulls and Licenses for their Warrant. Upon which, seeing their Capacity of having Secret Influence, they wrote to their several Convents, especially the Sorbonists, to know whether the taking off the King was a thing to be scrupled? The Answer return'd was this, That it might Lawfully be done, for Mother Churches Advancement.*

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tenant. At the time of the King's Death, he was in wonderful Perplexity, and when Mr. *Calamy*, and some other Ministers who were with him, would have persuaded him to Rescue the King, his Troubles so confounded him, that they durst let no Man speak to him. *Cromwel* (as it was said) kept him Praying and Consulting, 'till the Stroke was given. But when a little after,

War was determin'd against *Scotland*, he laid down his Commission, and never had to do with the Army more: And *Cromwel* became General in his stead.

Agreeable whereto is the Account given by Dr. Peter du Moulin in his Vindication of the Sincerity of the Protestant Religion, written in Answer to a Jesuitical Libel, call'd Philanax Anglicus; where he tells us, That the Year before the King's Death, a Select Number of English Jesuites were sent from their whole Party in England, first to Paris, to consult with the Faculty of Sorbon, then altogether Jesuited, to whom they put this Question in Writing; That seeing the State of England was in a likely Posture to Change of Governmtnt, whether it was Lawful for the Catholicks to work that Change, for the Advancing and Securing of the Catholick Cause in England, by making away the King? Which was answer'd Affirmatively. After which, the same Persons went to Rome. where the same Question being propounded and debated, it was concluded by the Pope and his Council, That it was both Lawful and Expedient for the Catholicks to promote that Alteration of State. When he Blow was actually given, and the Fact exclaim'd against, the Pope commanded all the Papers about that Question to be gather'd and burnt. According to which Order, a Romanist at Paris had a Copy of those Papers which he had by him, demanded from him; but he refus'd to give it, and shew'd it a Protestant Friend of his. This Account Dr. Du Moulin first Publish'd in the Year 1662. It immediately struck a Terour at Somerset-House, where the Queen Mother then resided with her Jesuites about her, and where she at that time entertain'd the very Lord who conducted the Jesuites in their Progress foremention'd, as a Principal Officer of her House. By her Means they demanded Justice of the King against this Author, for the Affront he had put upon them by publishing such a Narrative. The Doctor offer'd to give full Proof in Justification of his Report, whensoever he was required by Authority, and to produce living Witnesses of the Truth of it. Upon consideration therefore they tho't it best to keep Silence, not daring to exasperate him. And they insisted no farther than that the Secretary of State, Sir William Morrice, should be order'd to write to him, to charge him to forbear Printing any thing for the future in English, considering it was not his Native Language. This was accordingly done. And tho' the same Book was Printed several times afterwards, and the Challenge as oft repeated; yet did they think fit to continue silent, without ever calling him into Question before the Judges, according to his desire. To this Mr. Pryn's Account may be added, who in

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The Ministers all this Time generally Preach'd and Pray'd against Disloyalty. They drew up a Writing to the Lord General, (which was printed) declaring their abhorrence of all violence against the Person of the King, and urging him and his Army to take heed of such an Action: And they presented it to him, when the King was in danger. Neither was this the Act only of a few; for there were 60 of the Presbyterian Ministers of *London*, who subscrib'd the Writing, together with many Country Ministers.

a Book called The True and Perfect Narrative p. 46. relates this Passage: That King Charles, having in the Treaty in the Isle of Wight, agreed to 5 strict Bills against Popery, the Jesuits in France, at a General Meeting there, presently resolv'd to bring him to Justice, and take off his Head, by the Power of their Friends in the Army; of which the King himself was certify'd by an Express from thence, and wish'd to provide against it, but two Days before his Removal by the Army from that Island, in Order to this Execution. All which consider'd, makes the Passage related by Mr. Baxter, in his History, Part 2. p. 373. much the more Credible; the Story is this. One Mr. Atkins of Gloucestershire, Brother to Judge Atkins, being beyond Sea, with others that had serv'd King Charles the First, fell into intimate Acquaintance with a Priest, that had bin (or then was) Governour of one of their Colledges in Flanders. They agreed not to meddle with each other about Religion, and so continu'd their Friendship long. A

little after the King was Beheaded, Mr. Atkins met this Priest in London, and going into a Tavern with him, said to him in his Familiar way: What Business have you here? I'll warrant you come about some Roguery or other? Whereupon the priest told him, as a Great Secret, That there were 30 of them here in London, who by Instructions from Cardinal Mazarine, did take care of Publick Affairs, and had sate in Council, and debated the Question, Whether the King should be put to Death, or not? And that it was carry'd in the Affirmative, and there were but two Voices for the Negative, which was his own and anothers. And that for his Part he could not, concur with them, as foreseeing what Misery this would bring upon his Country. *This Passage was first told to Mr. Baxter, by Mr. James Stanfield, a Gloucestershire Minister, also had it from Mr. Atkins himself: And afterwards relating it to Dr. Thomas Goad, who was well Acquaint'd with the said Mr. Atkins, he desired him to enquire of him concerning it; and he afterwards told him, That Mr. Atkins assur'd him it was true. Which particularity of 30 of the Jesuitical Crew coming about that time from France with a special Commission, agrees very well with the Account given in a Book call'd, The Fair Warning, printed many Years before; wherein is this Passage: That 30 Priests were met by a Protestant Gentleman between Roan and Diep, to whom they (taking him for one of their Party) declar'd, That they were going in*

And

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And thus these Intestine Commotions came to an Issue, little tho't off at first by any that began them, which cannot but surprize all future Generations.

to England and would take Arms in the Independent Army, and endeavour to be Agitatours. Notwithstanding the Abundant Evidence of the Concern of the Papist, in this Affair, many have taken the freedom to Charge it on the Presbyterians, but very unjustly. He that Would see them fully Vindicated, may Consult The Conformists first Plea for the Nonconformists, where there is an Appendix design'd on purpose to wipe of that Aspersion. Their Carriage, in the whole matter is there particularly related, and their Innocence clear'd by Authentick Evidence.

CHAP

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CHAP. V.

Reflections on Publick Transactions, from the Death of King Charles the First, to the Restauration of King Charles the second.

An. 1649.

THE ENGAGEMENT.

THE King being taken out of the way, Cromwel pretends to be for a Common-wealth, 'till he had hid a sufficient Foundation for his own Advancement. The Rump presently drew up a Form of an Engagement, to be Subscrib'd by all Men of the Age of 18 Years and upwards; viz. *I do promise to be True and Faithful to the Common-wealth as it is now establish'd, without a*

King or House of Lords. Without this *Engagement* no Man must have the Benefit of Suing another at Law, nor have any Mastership in the Universities, nor Travel above so many Miles from their Houses, &c. Mr. *Vines* and Dr. *Rainbow* were hereupon put out of their Headships in the University, and Mr. *Sympton* and Mr. *Sadler* put in their Places. Dr. *Reynolds* also was cast out of the Deanry of *Christ Church, Oxon.* and Dr. *Owen* succeeded him. The *Covenant* was now laid aside, as an Almanack out of Date. Many Episcopal Divines wrote for the *Engagement*, and pleaded for taking it, upon the same Distinction of *De Facto & De Jure*, as hath since bin so Celebrated among us. But the Moderate Church Party and the Presbyterians refus'd it.*

CROMWELS DIFFICULTIES.

Tho' *Cromwel* had Conquer'd *England* and *Ireland*, tho' the Parliament was Imprison'd and Cast Out, the King cut off, and the *Rump* Establish'd as a New Common-wealth; yet were there still several Impediments to his laying hands upon the Crown according to his desire. There were still many Cavaliers, who

were

* Many of the Ministers of Cheshire and Lancashire, and the Parts adjoining, publish'd the Reasons of their Refusal of this Engagement, while many of the Prelatical Stamp printed their Reasons for taking it.

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were ready for New Enterprizes against him. The *Scots* resolv'd to stick to the *Covenant* and the King. The Army also created him no small Difficulty, who must be untaught all the Principles which he had bin instilling into them with so much care. For he well knew, that those Principles that were requisite to bring him to the Crown, would be the worst in the World, when once he had gotten it. And at the same time he knew very well, that the Ministers of *England* and *Scotland*, and the sober People who regarded them, were very much against him. As for the Royalists, he after some Struggling crush'd them, making his Advantage by all their Enterprizes. As for the Army, he was never wholly without his Uneasiness. As for the Body of the Ministers, and the soberer Part of the Nation, he could never get them heartily to fall in with his Ambitious Designs: They kept quiet indeed, but never were in his Interest, and waited but for a favourable Opportunity to turn the Scale. And as for the *Scots*, tho' they put him to it at first, yet he at length overcame them, and reach'd his Designs upon them. Quickly after the King's Death, they dispatchcd Messengers to his Son, *Charles* the Second, to desire him to come over to them, and take the Crown: But first they

treated with him about taking the Covenant, and renouncing the Wars, and the Blood: that had bin shed in them by his Father's Party. So great were his Necessities, that he could not but comply with them. He took the Covenant, and publish'd a Declaration to the World, *That he did it Voluntarily and Heartily, and that he Lamented the Sins of his Father's House, acknowledging the Guilt of the Blood of the late Wars, &c.* and hereupon had the whole Kingdom at his Command and Disposal. This was no sooner understood, than an Invasion of the *Scots* was resolv'd on, to keep them from Invading *England*, without staying 'till they made an Entrance upon the Land as formerly. So that *Cromwel* was upon them with an Army, before they were well settled in their Affairs. Without any Delay he advanced towards *Edinburgh*, where the *Scotch* Army lay entrench'd: But after long skirmishing and Expectations, when he could neither draw the *Scots* out of their Trenches to a Fight, nor yet pass forward,

his

An. 1650.

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HIS SUCCESS IN SCOTLAND.

Soldiers fell Sick, and were Impatient of the Poverty of the Country; and so with a weakned ragged Army he drew off to return to *England*: and had the *Scots* but let him go, or cautiously follow'd him; they had in all probability secur'd themselves, and broken his Honour. But at length they drew, out, and follow'd him, and overtaking him near *Dunbarr*, forc'd him to a Fight by engaging his Rear. They were totally routed in Fight, and had their Foot taken, and their Horse pursu'd to *Edinburgh*. Ten Thousand Prisoners were bro't to *New-Castle*, where being neglected they were most of them Famish'd. The Colours that were taken, were hung up as Trophies in *Westminster-Hall*, and never taken down 'till the King's Restauration. *Cromwel* enters *Edinburgh* Triumphantly, and drives the *Scots* to *Sterling*, beyond the River, where they fortify'd themselves. He took the impregnable Castle of *Edinburgh*, after a short Siege, and then pass'd his Army over *Sterling* River, in pursuit of the *Scots*. King *Charles* with the *Scotch* Army, not being able to fight him, hastily advances towards *England*, hoping that Great Numbers of the *English* would join themselves to him. But many things concurr'd to hinder his expected Encrease. The manner of the *Scots* coming away, perswaded People that Necessity forc'd them, and they were rather look'd upon as Flying than as Marching into *England*. And few will put themselves into a Flying Army,

which is pursu'd by a Conquering Enemy. Withal, it was altogether uncertain how the Country would have bin treated, had they now appear'd for the King, before they were assur'd of an Amnesty of past Disorders, and an Abatement of their former Burthens. And at the same time, the Event was very uncertain, the Fame of the late Victory at *Dunbarr* had made great Impression, and *Cromwel's* speedy Pursuit rais'd such an Expectation, that People were generally willing to see how things would encline upon an Engagement between the two Armies, before they'd discov'er themselves: So that tho' the Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Talbot*; and some Gentlemen, joyn'd themselves to the King's Army, yet the Country in general would not follow their Example. The King came by the way of *Lancaster*,

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An. 1641.

THE FIGHT AT *WORCESTER*.

and summon'd *Shrewsbury* in vain; as he pass'd thro' *Shropshire*. But when all tho't he was hastning towards *London*, where it was commonly apprehended he might have attain'd his Ends, increas'd his Strength, and had no Resistance, he turn'd to *Worcester*, and there refresh'd his Army. *Cromwel* overtook him there, and sought to straiten him: But not enduring to be pent up, the King resolv'd to Charge him; and the *Scots* at first behav'd themselves gallantly: but at length, thinking they had a Security behind them, they retreated into the City, and at the same time *Cromwel's* Soldiers pursu'd them so close at the Heals, that they enter'd the City with them. The Surprize of this was so great, that the whole Army fled thro' the City in great Confusion, many being trodden down and slain in the Streets, and they were utterly routed. In their flight, the Troopers that were scatter'd up and down the Country, dispatch'd many of them. The Marquess of *Hamilton* (late Earl of *Limerick*) was slain. The Earl of *Derby* and Capt. *Benbow* of *Shrewsbury* were both taken, and put to Death: The Earl of *Lauderdale*, and the Earl of *Craford*, were sent Prisoners to, *Windsor-Castle*, where they were detain'd 'till the King's Restoration. As for King *Charles*, when he separated himself from his Lords, he went to *Boscobell* by the *White Ladies*, where he was hid in an *Oak*, in a manner sufficiently declar'd to the World; and thence to *Mosely*: After Which he accompany'd Mrs. *Lane* as a Traveller, and escap'd all the Searchers Hands, 'till he came safe beyond Sea.

The Scots Army being utterly dispers'd in *England*, and many of the Prisoners of Foot sent to the *Barbadoes* and other *American* Plantations, part of *Cromwel's* Army was dispatch'd into *Scotland* to prosecute the victory there. All their Garrisons at last were taken, and the Earl of *Glencarn*, and the Noble Earl of *Balcarres*, (who kept up the last Forces there for the King) were forc'd to fly to King *Charles* beyond the Sea. Upon which Major-General *Monk* was left there, with some Forces to keep the Country in Subjection.

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An. 1651.

MR. LOVE'S TRYAL AND EXECUTION.

A little before the Fight at *Worcester*, divers Persons were seiz'd on in *London* for holding Correspondence with the King. Many of them were *Presbyterian* Ministers, who for meeting together to contrive how to raise a small Sum of Money for *Massey's* Relief in *Scotland*, were charg'd with *Plotting against the Government*. Eight of them were sent to the Tower. Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Watson*, Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, &c. and Mr. *Nalton* and Mr. *Caughton* fled into *Holland*. Mr. *Love* was Try'd at a Court of Justice; where *Edmund Prideaux* Esq; a Member of the *Rump*, and Solicitor for the *Common-wealth*, tho't his Place allow'd him to plead against the Life and Blood of the Innocent. Mr. *Love* was Condemn'd and Beheaded, dying neither Timerously, nor Proudly in any desperate Bravado, but with as great Alacrity and fearless Quietness, and freedom of Speech, as if he had but gone to Bed, and had bin as little concern'd as the Standers-by. A worthy Gentleman, Mr. *Gibbons*, was Beheaded with him for the same Cause. And at the time of their Execution, or very near it on that Day, there was the dreadfulest Thunder, Lightning and Tempest, that was heard or seen of a long time before. This Blow sunk deeper towards the Root of the New *Common-wealth*, than will easily be believ'd at a distance. The rest of the Ministers were releas'd upon Mr. *Jenkins's* Recantation, and Submission to the Government.

CROMWEL DISCARDS THE RUMP PARLIAMENT.

Cromwel, being flush'd by his success in *Scotland*, tho't he might now do what he pleas'd. Having thus far seem'd to be a Servant to the Parliament, and to have work'd for his Masters the *Rump* or *Common-wealth*, he was at

length for setting up for himself. In order to this, he first serves them as he had before done the Presbyterians, seeking to make them odious by hard Speeches throughout his Army, as if they intended to perpetrate themselves, and would not be Accountable for the Money of the Common-wealth, &c. and then he treats privately with many of them to dissolve themselves, that another free Parliament might be chosen: But they perceiv'd the danger, and were rather for filling up their Number by New Elections, which he was utterly against. Impatient at last of fur

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An. 1653.

ther delay, he suddainly took *Harrison* and some Soldiers with him, and in a sort of a Rapture went to the House, and reproveth the Members for their Faults, and pointing to *Vane* calls him a Jugler, and to *Henry Martin*, and calls him Whoremaster; and having two such to instance in, takes it for granted that they were all unfit to continue in the Government; and so he Discards them. Few People being griev'd at their being laid aside, tho' all except the Sectaries and the Army, took him for a Traytor that was the Instrument.

THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT.

The Young Common-wealth was thus left Headless. Nothing might now seem to stand between *Cromwel* and the Crown. For a Governour there must be: And who better than himself? But Care must first be taken to make the Necessity of his Government undeniable, and to make his Soldiers out of love with *Democracy*, or at least to make them hateful that adher'd to it. And therefore a Parliament must be call'd, but the ungodly People are not to be trusted with the Choice; therefore the Soldiers, as more Religious, must be the Choosers: And two out of a County are chosen by the Officers, upon the Advice of their Sectarian Friends in all Parts. This was in Contempt call'd *The Little Parliament*. This Conventicle made an Act, *That Magistrates should Marry People instead of Ministers*; and then they came to the Business of *Tythes and Ministers*. Before this, *Harrison* being authoriz'd thereto, had at once put down all the Parish Ministers of *Wales*, because that most of them were Ignorant and Scandalous, and had set up a few Itinerent Preachers in their stead, who were for Number incompetent for so great a Charge, there being but One to many of those wide Parishes: So that the People having a Sermon but once in many Weeks, and nothing else in the mean time, were ready to turn Papists, or any thing else. And this is the Plight which the *Anabaptists*,

and other Sectaries, would have bro't the whole Land to. And all was with this Design. That the People might not be tempted to think the Parish Churches to be true Churches, or Infant Baptism true Baptism, or themselves true Christians; but might be convinc'd, That they mutt be made Christi

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ins and Churches in the way of the *Anabaptists* and *Separatists*. Hereupon, *Harrison* became the Head of the *Sectaries*, and *Cromwel* now began to design the Heading of a Soberer Party, that were for Learning and Ministry, while yet he was the Equal Protector of all. At length it was put to the Vote in this Parliament, *Whether all the Parish Ministers of England should at once be put down or no?* And it was but accidentally carry'd in the Negative by two Voices. And it was taken for granted, that *Tythes* and *Universities* would next be voted down; and now *Cromwel* must be their Saviour, or they must perish: When he had purposely cast them into the Pit, that they might be beholding to him to pull them out. In the Issue, Sir *C.W.* and some others, take their time, and put it to the Vote, *Whether the House, as incapable of serving the Common-wealth, should go and deliver up their Power unto Cromwel, from whom they had receiv'd it?* They carry'd it in the Affirmative, and away they go, and solemnly resign their Power to him; who then carries all before him. His Subtilty lay here; he caus'd and permitted Destruction to hang over the Nation, to Necessitate them, whether they would or not, to take him for their Governour, that he might be their Protector; A *Juncto* of Officers drew up a Writing, called, *The Instrument of the Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland*. This Instrument made *Oliver Cromwel* Lord Protector of the Common-wealth. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Judges and Officers of the Army were suddainly drawn together to *Westminster-Hall*, and upon the Reading this Instrument install'd *Cromwel* in the Office of *Protector*, and swore him accordingly; and thus the Common-wealth seem'd once more to have a Head.—As for the Proceedings of the Parliaments which he call'd in his Protectorship, their displeasing him by Ravelling his Instrument, and his rough and resolute dissolving them, the Particulars may be seen in the Common Historians of the Times.

THE TRIERS OF MINISTERS.

One of his Chief Works was the *Pursuing of the Ministry*. The *Synod of Westminster* was dissolv'd with the Parliament: And therefore a Society of Ministers with some others, were chosen by *Cromwel* to sit at *White*

hall,

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Hall, under the Name of *Triers*, who were mostly Independents, but had some Presbyterians join'd with 'em, and had Power to try all that came for Institution or Induction, and without their Approbation none were admitted. They themselves examin'd all that were able to come up to *London*: But it any were unable, or of doubtful Qualifications, they referr'd them to some Ministers in the County where they liv'd, and approv'd them, if they approv'd them: And with all their Faults, thus much must be said of these *Triers*, that they did a great deal of Good to the Church, they sav'd many a Congregation from ignorant ungod'ly Drunken Teachers. That sort of Ministers that either preacht against an Holy Life, or preacht as Men that never were acquainted with it; all those that us'd the Ministry but as a Common Trade to live by, and were never likely to Convert a Soul, all these they usually rejected; and in their Head admitted of any that were able serious Preachers, and liv'd a Godly Life, of what Opinion soever they were that was tolerable.

He had the Policy not to exasperate the Ministers and others, who consented not to his Government; but he let Men live quietly, without putting all Oaths of Fidelity upon them; except his Parliaments, which were not suffer'd to enter the House, 'till they had sworn Fidelity to him. The Sectarian Party in his Army and elsewhere be chiefly trusted to, and pleas'd, till by the Peoples Submission and Quietness he tho't himself well settled: And then he began to undermine them, and by Degrees to work them out. And tho' he had so often spoken for the *Anabaptists*, he now finds them so heady, and so much against any settled Government, and so set upon the promoting of their Way and Party, that he doth not only begin to blame their Unruliness, but also designeth to settle himself in the Peoples Favour by suppressing them. In *Ireland* they were grown so high, that the Soldiers were many of them Rebaptiz'd, as the way to Preferment: And they who oppos'd them we're crusht with uncharitable Fierceness. He sent his Son *Henry Cromwel* into *Ireland*, who mightily supprest them, and carry'd it so obligingly to all, that he was gener

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An. 1656.

CROMWELS CONDUCT WHILE PROTECTOR.

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ally below'd. So that Major-General *Ludlow*, who headed the *Anabaptists* in *Ireland*, was forc'd to submit. And tho' he long conniv'd at his Old Friend *Harrison*, the Head of the *Anabaptists* here, yet finding it would be an acceptable thing to the Nation to suppress him, he doth it in a Trice; and makes him Contemptible, who but Yesterday tho't himself not much below Him. As easily also to the full doth he lay by *Lambert*: Which were very pleasing Actions.

An. 1658.

HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.

At length *Cromwel*, who had escap'd the Attempts of many who fought to dispatch him, could not escape the stroke of God, but dy'd of a Fever, before he was aware. He dy'd very suddainly, tho' a bold Man, (one of the then prevailing Party) praying for him, and said, *Lord! we ask not for his Life, for that we are sure of; but that he may serve thee better than ever he has done;* to the Dishonour of that Presumption, which some Men call a Particular Faith; that is, a Believing that they shall receive whatsoever they ask, if they can but stedfastly believe that they shall receive it; tho' it be such as they have no other Promise for, but that of *Hearing Believing Prayers*, which they misunderstand. Never Man was highlier extoll'd, or baselier reported of, and vilify'd than this Man, according as Mens Interests led their Judgments.* The Soldiers and Sectaries highly magnify'd him, 'till he began to reek the Crown, and the Establishment of his Family: And then there were so ma

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* *There is a very memorable Passage concerning him, related in Bishop Hacket's life of Arch-Bishop Williams. 'Tis this: That Bp. Williams (Who was perhaps as well acquainted with Men and Things as most Statesmen we have ever had in this Nation) being in the Year 1644 sent for by K. Charles the first out of Wales, Whilst he had retired, he attended him accordingly at Oxford. Among other Advice he gave the King at that time, he assur'd him, That Cromwel, who was lately taken into the Parliament's Army by his Cousin Hambden, was the most dangerous Enemy that his Majesty had: And therefore he advis'd him, Either to win him by Promises of fair Treatment, or catch him by some Stratagem and cut him short. Nay (saith Bp. Hacket) his Servants often heard him say long before the Event, That they would live to see the time, when Cromwel would bear down all other Powers before him, and setup himself.*

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ny that would be half Kings themselves, that a King seem'd intollerable to them. The Royalists abhorr'd him as a most Perfidious Hypocrite; and the Presbyterians tho't him little better in his Management of Publick Matters. Upon the whole, Mr. *Baxter* hath left this as his Judgment concerning him: *That he began low, and rose higher in his Resolutions as his Condition rose. And the Promises which be made in his lower Condition, he us'd as the Interest of his higher following Condition did require; and kept as much Honesty and Godliness, in the main, as his Cause and Interest would allow him, and there they left him. And that his Name standeth as a Monitory Monument or Pillar to Posterity, to tell them the Instability of Man in strong Temptations, if God leave him to himself. What Pride can do, to make Man Selfish, and Corrupt the Heart with Ill Designs: What Selfishness and Ill Designs can do, to Bribe the Conscience, Corrupt the Judgment, make Men justify the greatest Errors and Sins, and set against the clearest Truth and Duty: What Bloodshed, and great Enormities of Life, and an erring deluded Judgment may draw Men to do, and Patronize; And that when God hath Dreadful Judgments to execute, an Erroneous Sectary, or a Proud Self-seeker, is oftner his Instrument, than an Humble Lamb-like Innocent Saint.*

RICHARD'S SUCCESSION.

Cromwel being dead, his Son *Richard*, by his Will and Testament and the Army, was quietly settled in his Place. The several Counties, Cities and Corporations of *England*, send up their Congratulations, to own him as *Protector*. He Interr'd his Father with great Pomp and Solemnity. He call'd a Parliament without any such Restraints as his Father had us'd. The Members took the *Oath of Fidelity* to him, before they entred the House. And all Men wondred to see all so quiet, in so dangerous a Time. Many sober Men, that call'd his Father no better than a *Traitorous Hypocrite*, began to think that they ow'd him Subjection. But the Army it seems set him up only upon Tryal, resolving to use him as he behav'd himself. And tho' they swore Fidelity to him, they meant to keep it no longer than he pleas'd them: and when they saw that he began to favour the sober People of the Land, to Honour Parliaments, and

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An. 1659.

to Respect the Ministers call'd *Presbyterians*, they presently resolv'd to make him know his Masters, and that it was *they*, and not he, that were call'd by God to be the *Chief Protectours of the Interest of the Nation*. He was not so formidable to them as his Father, and therefore everyone in a little time boldly spurn'd at him. The *Fifth Monarchy Men* under Sir *Henry Vane*, rais'd a violent Clamarous Party against him among the City Sectaries. *Rogers* and *Feake*, and such like Firebrands, blow'd the Coals: But the Assembly at *Wallingford-House* did the main Business. It was there determin'd, That *Richard's Parliament must be dissolv'd*; and then he quickly fell himself: And it was as soon done almost as determin'd. Tho' *Col. Ingolsby*, and some others, would have stuck to the Protector, and have ventur'd to surprize the Leaders of the Faction, and the Parliament would have bin true to him; Yet *Berry's* Regiment of Horse and some others were just ready to begin the Fray against him. And he, as he sought not the Government, so was resolv'd it should cost no Blood to keep him in it: And therefore he resign'd it by a Writing under his Hand, and retired himself, and left them to govern as they pleas'd. His Good Brother-in-Law *Fleetwood*, and his Uncle *Desborough*, were so Intoxicated as to be the Leaders of the Conspiracy. The Care of the Business was this; That *Oliver* had once made *Fleetwood* believe, that he would be his Successor, and drawn an Instrument to that purpose; but his Last Will disappointed him. However, now they set up a few of themselves, under the name of a *Council of State*, wherein *Fleetwood* was uppermost, and *Lambert* next him.

The Nation being tired with Changes, soon discover'd their Uneasiness. Sir *George Booth*. and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, rais'd Forces in *Cheshire* and *North-Wales* for King *Charles*, but being fail'd by the Cavaliers that would have joyn'd with them, *Lambert* soon routed them: And at the same time Sir *Arthur Haslerigge* siezes *Portsmouth* for the *Rump*. *Monk* purges his Army in *Scotland* of *Anabaptists*, and marches into *England*. The *Rump Party* with *Haslerigge* divided the Army at Home, and so disabled them to

oppose

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An. 1660.

oppose *Monk*, who march'd on to the great Surprize of all. At first, he joyn'd with the *Rump* against the Citizens, and pull'd down the City Gates to terrify them: But at length, being invited into the City by Sir *Thomas Allen*, then Lord-Mayor, he joyn'd with them against the *Rump*, which was the very thing that turn'd the Scales, and bro't in the King. *Monk* calls together the *Old Secluded Members*, agreeing with them, That they should sit but a few Days, and then dissolve themselves, and call another Parliament. They consented,

appointed a *Council of State*, and dissolv'd themselves. In this Council of State, it was put to the Question, *Whether they should call in the King upon Treaty and Covenant, or entirely confide in him?* And it was Resolv'd to trust him Absolutely, Mr. *A.* particularly so perswading. The New Parliament meeting, presently appointed a Day of Fasting and Prayer for themselves. The *House of Commons* chose Dr. *Gauden*, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Baxter*, to carry on the Work of the Day. The very next Morning, *May 1.* 1660, they unanimously voted home the King, *Nemine Contradicente*, The King being sent for over from *Holland*, certain Divines and others were sent by the Parliament and City to attend him; *viz.* Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Bowles*, and others: And his Majesty gave such encouraging Promises, as rais'd in some of them very high Expectations. And when he came in, as he pass'd thro' the City towards *Westminster*, the *London Ministers* in their Places attended him with Acclamations, and by the Hands of Old Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, presented him with a richly adorn'd Bible, which he receiv'd, telling them, *It should be the Rule of his Actions.*

 CHAP.

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CHAP. VI.

HIS CONDUCT OF HIMSELF DURING THESE PUBLICK COMMOTIONS AND FREQUENT ALTERATIONS. HIS BEHAVIOUR IN THE ARMY AND TOWARDS *CROMWEL*. HIS TROUBLE FROM THE *SECTARIES* OF THOSE TIMES; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR RISE AND PREVALENCE, PRINCIPLES AND PRACTISES.

EXTREAMS are very pleasing to Humane Nature: Most Men are so fond of them, that they'll run as far as from one Pole to another in a Breath, rather than Hop in a more Temperate Region. Such is their Eagerness, that nothing but what is *violent* and *furios* can suit them: And such their Stupidity, that they'll on each side entertain more favourable Tho'ts of those in the opposite Extream, than of such as keep in the Mid-way; being unwilling to bend towards the one fide or the other, any farther than a Cogency of Reason sways them. And therefore it hath bin oft observ'd, *That Men of a Calm and Healing Spirit, whose great Aim it hath bin to avoid Extreams, have bin assaulted on both sides with equal Fury, as if they were a sort of Common Enemies.*

Hardly any Man ever had more Experience of this than Mr. *Baxter*; who, in *Political Matters*, endeavour'd equally to shun the Slavish Principles of the Assertors of *Absolute Monarchy*, and the Confounding Notions of *Democratical Projectors*: And at the same time, in *Ecclesiastical Matters*, was equally fearful of the Arbitrary Encroachments of *Assuming Prelates*, and the Uncharitable and Dividing Principles and Practises of the *Sectaries*. This expos'd him to the Effects of the Malignity of each Party, and created him a great deal of Trouble: But at the same time his Conscience was satisfy'd in the Measures he took; and he doubted not but Posterity, when the Heats were over, would judge more favourably of his Conduct, than many of his

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Cotemporaries, who were acted by Malice and Fury, blind Zeal and Bigottry, in the Censures they pass'd upon him.

A REMARKABLE PASSAGE.

He was far from encouraging *suddain Impulses*, the Danger of yielding to which he was well aware of; and yet was once carry'd quite beyond his Intentions in a Publick Performance, the Manner and Consequence of which was Remarkable. Mr. *Madestard* (whom he had assisted at *Bridgnorth*) dying, after he had bin a little while fix'd at *Kederminster*, He was desired to Preach his Funeral Sermon. He discharg'd that Office under so deep a Sense of the Misery of the unprofitable People of that Town, and the deep Groans he had heard from their Faithful Pastor for their Obdurateness, that he could not forbear to tell them his Fears, *That some suddain Judgment would come upon that place*; which they were more capable of laying to Heart, than their Pastor's Death. Neither did he, either before or after, presume upon such kind of Predictions; but the Expression of that Fear he could not then suppress. His Text was *Ezek. 33. 33. And when this cometh to pass, (lo, it will come) then shall they know that a Prophet hath bin among them.* And when the War was begun, the Town being against the Parliament, was a Garrison for the King, kept by the Neighbouring Gentlemen of the Country, who fortify'd the Castle. When the Parliament's Forces came to take the Town, they by their Fireworks from the Castle burnt it to the Ground, together with the Church where that Sermon was preach'd, and where Mr. *Madestard* was interr'd. So that the Inhabitants were undone, and forc'd to lie under Hedges, 'till the Compassion of others afforded them Entertainment and Habitation. And as for their Church, it was a great while before it was rebuilt, and that after two

General Collections for it. The first time he came among them when the War was over, he chose the same Text again to Preach on, to call their sins against their Faithful Pastor to remembrance: But both Speaker and Hearers were so interrupted with Tears, that it was not without much Difficulty, and after several Pauses, that he was able to proceed on to the End,

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MR. BAXTER ADHERES TO THE PARLIAMENT.

He adher'd to the *Long Parliament*, as far as he could apprehend their Cause and their Motions justifiable; but no Hopes or Fears could draw or drive him any farther. Upon Occasion of the *Irish* Massacre, they made an Order, *That all the People should take a Protestation, to defend the King's Person, Honour and Authority, the Power and Priviledges of Parliaments, the Liberties of the Subject, and the Protestant Religion, against the Common Enemy*: Herein he readily obey'd, and joyn'd with the Magistrate in offering this *Protestation to the People*; tho' some were much offended at it. Soon after, the King's Declarations were read in the Market-Place at *Kederminster*, and the Commission of Array was set a foot; the Lord *Howard*, who was the Parliament's Lieutenant for the Militia of the County of *Worcester*, not appearing. Hereupon, the Rabble grew so Riotous and Furious, that a Sober Man could hardly hope for Safety: For in the Preparation to the Approaching War, they had got the word amongst them, *Down with the Roundheads*; insomuch, that if a Stranger in many places happen'd but to pass by, that had short Hair, and a civil Habit, the Cry was, *Down with the Roundheads*, and on they fell, knocking them down in the Open Streets, none daring to appear in their Defence.

RETIRES TO GLOUCESTER.

To avoid Uproars of this kind, he was advis'd to withdraw a while from Home; and follow'd the Advice. As he pass'd but thro' a Corner of the Suburbs of the City of *Worcester*, the Multitude, tho' they knew nothing of him, cry'd, *Down with the Roundheads*; insomuch, that he was glad to spur on and be gone. He retired to *Gloucester*, where he found a Civil, Courteous and Religious People, as different from those of *Worcester*, as if they had liv'd under another Government. This County came in for the Parliament, while *Worcestershire*, *Herefordshire* and *Shropshire* were wholly for the King. It was

in this Retirement that he met with the first *Anabaptists* that ever he was acquainted with. About a dozen Young Men, or more, of considerable Parts, had receiv'd the Opinion against Infant-Baptism, and were Re-baptiz'd, and labour'd to draw others after them, not far from *Gloucester*. The Minister of the Place, Mr. *Winnel*, being hot and impa

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tient with them, it was tho't, harden'd them the more. He wrote a Considerable Book at that time against them: But the Nation having than no great Experience of the Tendency of their Principles; the People that were not of their Opinion, did but pity them, and think it was a Conceit that had no great Harm in it, and blam'd Mr. *Winnel* for his Asperity towards them. But this was manifestly the Beginning of the Miseries of *Gloucester*: For while the *Anabaptists* encreas'd on one side, one Mr. *Hart* came out of *Herefordshire* with Mr. *Vaughan* a Gentleman, who drew many to Separation on another tide; and afterwards came Mr. *Bacon*, a Preacher of the Army, and he drew them to *Antinomianism* on another side, which together so distracted the good People, and eat out the Heart of Religion and Charity among them, that the City which before had as great Advantages for the Prosperity of Religion among them, as any in the land, in the Civility, Tractableness and Piety of the People, became as Low and Poor as others, and the Pity of more Happy Places.

After about a Month's stay at *Gloucester*, his Neighbours of *Kederminster* desired his return, lest the People should interpret his Absence, either as the effect of his Fear on the Account of some Guilt, or as signifying his being against the King. When he came Home, he found the Drunken Rabble very boisterous, threatening all sober People, and crying out as they met any of them In the Streets, *We shall take an Order with the Puritans e'er long*: They were like ty'd Mastiffs newly loosed, flying in the Face of all that was Religious, yea or Civil, which came in their way. This forc'd him to withdraw again. He spent a few Days in the Earl of *Essex's* Army then about *Worcester*, staying with them 'till the March of the King's Army occasion'd their Remove. On the Lord's-Day following, he preach'd at *Alcester*, and during his Preaching;—the Noise of the Cannon inform'd them that the Armies were engag'd; and this was the Fight at *Edge-Hill*. In the Evening many flying Troops assur'd them, *That all was lost on the Parliament's side, and the Carriage taken and Waggons plunder'd before they came away*: But they afterwards got a better Account; *viz. That while*

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Prince Rupert's Men were plundering the Waggon's of Essex's Left Wing which they had routed, the Main Body and the Right Wing prevail'd against the rest of the King's Army, and got the Day. The next Morning he went to see the Field where the Fight had bin the Day before, and found the Earl of *Essex* with the remaining part of his Army keeping the Ground, and the King's Army facing them upon a Hill a Mile off, and about a Thousand dead Bodies in the Field between them, and neither of the Armies moving towards each other. But in a little time they on both sides retired to Quarters of Refreshment.

RETIRES TO *COVENTRY*.

At this time Mr. *Baxter* was very much at a Loss, and knew not what Course to take. To live at Home was very uncomfortable and hazardous, the Soldiers on one side or other still passing to and fro, and being ready to make a Prey of whatsoever came before them: And yet he had not any thing to subsist on elsewhere in a Place of Safety. At length he determin'd to go to *Coventry*, where Mr. *Simon King*, who was his Acquaintance at *Bridgnorth*, was Minister, determining to stay there 'till one side or other had got the Victory, and the War was ended. For so little acquainted was he, or indeed the Country round him, with Matters of War, that it was commonly suppos'd, a very few Days or Weeks by one other Battle, would bring things to an Issue. When he had continu'd with Mr. *King* a Month, he found the War as far from being like to End as before. This put him upon Tho'ts of making further Provision for himself, that he might not be burdensome to his Friend; and while his mind was thus employ'd, as Providence order'd it, the Committee and Governour of the City of *Coventry* desired him to stay with them, and Lodge in the Governour's House, and Preach to the Soldiers. The Offer suited well with his Necessities; and tho' he was not inclin'd to be Chaplain to the Regiment, or take a Commission; yet, since the meer Preaching of a Sermon once or twice a Week to the Garrison would satisfy, he readily accepted the Offer 'till he could return Home in Safety. In this Post he follow'd his Studies as quietly as in a Time of Peace for about a Year, only Preaching once a Week to the Soldiers,

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and once on the *Lord's-Day* to the People, not taking any thing of them for either, excepting only his Diet. He had here a very Judicious Auditory:

Sir *Richard Skeffington*, Col. *Godfrey Bosvile*, Mr. *Mackworth*, Mr. *George Abbot*, and many other Pious and Judicious Gentlemen were his constant Auditors. There were also about 30 worthy Ministers in the City, who fled thither for Safety from Soldiers and Popular Fury, as he had done, tho' they never meddled in the Wars. Mr. *Richard Vines*, Mr. *Anthony Burgess*, Mr. *Burdall*, Mr. *Brunskill*. Dr. *Bryan*, Dr. *Grew*, Mr. *Stephens*, Mr. *Craddock*, Mr. *Morton of Bewdley*, Mr. *Diamond*, Mr. *Overton*, were some of them. And he was exceeding Thankful to God for the Quietness and Safety, and Sober, Wife and Religious Company, with Liberty to Preach the Gospel, which he vouchsafed him in this City, when other Places were in the Terrours and Flames of War. When he had bin above a Year at *Coventry*, the War was so far from being ended, that it had dispers'd it self into almost all the Land. Only *Middlesex*, *Hertfordshire*, most of *Bedford* and *Northamptonshire*, being entirely for the Parliament, had some Quietness. And *Essex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Huntingdonshire*, with the me of *Ely*, which were call'd the *Associated Counties*, liv'd as in Peace, the King's Armies never coming near them. And it was so for the most part also with *Kent*, *Surrey* and *Sussex*. While on the other side, *Herefordshire*, *Worcestershire*, and *Shropshire*, and almost all *Wales*, (*Pembrokeshire* excepted) were only possess'd for the King, and saw not the Forces of the Parliament. But almost all the rest of the Counties had Garrisons and Parties in them on both sides, which caus'd a War in every County, and there were but few Parishes where at one time or other Blood had not bin shed. The Religious Part of the People of *Kederninster* would gladly have liv'd quietly at Home, but were forc'd to be gone, and retired also to *Coventry*; where such of them as had any Estate of their own, liv'd at their own Charge; and the rest were fain to take up Arms, and be Garrison Soldiers to get them Bread. In *Shropshire*, where his Father dwelt, both he and all his Neighbours) that were noted for Pray

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ing and Hearing Sermons, were plunder'd by the King's Soldiers, so that some of them had nothing almost but Lumber left in their Houses: Tho' his Father meddled on neither side, but follow'd his own Business, and held no Correspondence at all with his Son. At length Col. *Mitton*, and other *Shropshire* Gentlemen, resolving to settle a Garrison at *Wem*, a little Town in their own Country, 8 Miles from *Shrewsbury*, and Mr. *Madworm*, Mr. *Hunt*; and others, pressing him to go with them, he comply'd, partly because 'twas his Native Country, and partly because he should be near his Father, and withal hoping

he should then have more of his *Kederminster* Neighbours about him. Having stay'd there and at *Longford* Garrison about 2 Months, and redeem'd his Father out of Prison at *Lilishul*, he return'd to *Coventry*, and settled in his former Habitation and Employment, and follow'd his Studies there in quietness for another Year.

THE STATE OF THAT CITY.

The Garrison of *Coventry* consisted half of Countrymen, and half of Citizens. The Countrymen were such as had bin forc'd from their Dwellings in the Neighbouring Places; and were Men of as great Sobriety, and Soundness of Understanding, as were in any Garrison in *England*. But one or two of Sir *Henry Vane's* Party, who came out of *New-England*, and an Anabaptist Taylor, had almost troubled all the Garrison, by infesting the honest Soldiers with their Opinions: So that he was forc'd to Preach over all the Controversies against the *Anabaptists*, and afterwards against the *Separatists*; and so kept the Garrison found. The *Anabaptists* sent to *Bedford* for one Mr; *Benjamin Cox*, an old *Anabaptist* Minister, a Bishop's Son, and no mean Scholar, with whom he had a Dispute first by Word of Mouth, and afterwards by Writing, which he tho't fit at length to forbear. So that upon the whole, a few Poor Townsmen only were carry'd away, about a dozen Men and Women: But the Soldiers, and the rest of the City, kept sound from all Infection of Sectaries and Dividers. While he liv'd here in Peace and Liberty, like one in a dry House that hears Storms abroad, he was daily entertain'd with the News of some Fight or other, or of

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one Garrison or other won or lost, the Particulars whereof are related by the *Historians* of those Times.

OF THE COVENANT.

When the Earl of *New-Castle* had over-power'd the Lord *Fairfax* in the North, and the Queen bro't over many Popish Soldiers from Foreign Parts, and other Circumstances concurr'd that made the *Royalists* Formidable; the Parliament was glad to desire Assistance from the *Scots*, whose Army was Paid off and Disbanded before the *English* War: The *Scots* consented, but withal offer'd a *Covenant* to be taken by both Nations far a Resolved *Reformation*,

against *Popery, Prelacy, Schism and Profaneness*. This *Covenant* was propos'd by the Parliament to the Consideration of the *Synod at Westminster*. They stumbled at some things in it, and especially at the word *Prelacy*. Dr. *Burges*, the Prolocutor, Mr. *Gataker*, and several others, declar'd their Judgments to be for *Episcopacy*, even for the *Ancient Moderate Episcopacy*, in which one stated President with his Presbytery govern'd every Church: Tho' not for the *English Diocesan Frame*, in which one Bishop did without his Presbytery, by a Lay-Chancellor's Court, govern all the Presbyters and Churches of a Diocess, being many Hundred; and that in a *Secular Manner*, by abundance of upstart Secular Officers, unknown to the Primitive Church. Hereupon there was a Debate in the Assembly. Some (especially the *Scottish Divines*) being; against every Degree of Bishops, and others for a Moderate Episcopacy. But the latter would not subscribe the *Covenant*, 'till there was an Alteration suited to their Judgments: And so a Parenthesis was yielded to, as describing that part of Prelacy which they oppos'd; viz. [*That is, Church Government by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy.*] When it was thus agreed on, the Lords and Commons first took the *Covenant* themselves; and Mr. *Thomas Coleman* preach'd to the House of Lords, and gave it them with this Publick Explication, *That by Prelacy we mean not all Episcopacy, but only the Form which is here describ'd*. When the Parliament had ta

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ken it, they sent it to be taken by all the Garrisons and Armies; and commended it to all the People of the land. And when the War was ended, they caus'd all the Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen; and Officers, which had bin against them in the Wars, to take it before they would admit them to Composition, and they did so. And they required all young Ministers to take it at their Ordination. This *Covenant* being taken, the *Scots* rais'd an Army and came into *England*, and clear'd the North; but afterwards lay still and did no Service, and thereupon were burdensome. Which arose from the Policy of *Cromwel* and his Party, who tho't them no fit Instruments for their Purposes, and thereupon kept them without Pay, and without Marching Orders, &c.

THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES.

The Mention of the *Westminster Synod*, upon occasion of this *Covenant*, seems to require some Account of it. This *Synod* was not a Convocation

according to the Diocesan way of Government, nor was it called by the Votes of the Ministers according to the Presbyterian Way: But the Parliament not intending to call an Assembly, which should pretend to a Divine Right to make obliging Laws or Canons to bind their Brethren, but an Ecclesiastical Council to be Advisers to themselves, did think that they best knew who were the fittest to give them Advice, and therefore chose them all themselves. Some Counties had two, and some but one. And because they would seem Impartial, and that each Party might have the Liberty to speak, they chose also many of the most Learned Episcopal Divines; as Arch-Bishop *Usher*, Dr. *Holdsworth*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Wincop*, Bp. *Westford*, Bp. *Prideaux*, Bp. *Brownrigg*. Dr. *Sanderson*, Dr. *Hackett*, and several others to joyn with them; but they refus'd to come because it was not a Legal Convocation, and because the King declar'd against it. Some few indeed came, and among the rest Dr. *Featly*. But being charg'd with sending Intelligence to the King at *Oxford* of what pass'd in Synod and Parliament, he was Imprison'd. Their first Prolocutor was Dr. *William Twiss*, a Man very Famous for

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his Scholastical Wit and Writings. The Divines were Men of Eminent Learning and Godliness, Ministerial Abilities and Fidelity. They were confin'd in their Debates to such things only as the Parliament propos'd. And many Lords and Commons were joyn'd with them, to see that they did not go beyond their Commission*. Six or Seven Independents were joyn'd to them, that

* *The Members of Parliament that were Appointed to meet in this Assembly, were, Algernon Earl of Northumberland. William Earl of Bedford. Philip Earl of Pembroke. William Earl of Salisbury. Henry Earl of Holland. Edward Earl of Manchester. William Lord Viscount Say and Seal. Edward Lord Viscount Conway. Philip Lord Wharton. Edward Lord Howard. John Selden Esq; Francis Rous Esq; Edmund Prideaux Esq; Sir Henry Vane Sen. Kt. John Glyn Esq; Recorder of London. John White Esq; Bulstrode Whitlocke Esq; Humphrey Salloway Esq; Mr. Serjeant Wild. Oliver St. John Esq; his Majesty's Solicitor. Sir Benj. Rudyard Kt. John Pym Esq; Sir John Clotworthy Kt. John Maynard Esq; Sir H. Vane Jun. Kt. William Pierpoint Esq; William Wheeler Esq; Sir Tho. Barrington Kt. Walter Young Esq; And Sir John Evelin Kt.*

The Ministers that met in this Assembly were these. Dr. William Twiss of Newbury, Prolocutor. Dr. Cornelius Burges of Watford, and Mr. John White of Dorchester, Assessors. Dr. William Gouge of Black-Fryars London. Mr. Robert Harris of Hanwell B.D. Mr. Thomas Gataker of Rotherhithe B.D. Mr. Oliver Bowles of Sutton B.D. Mr. Edward Reynolds of Bramston. Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker of Stretton. Mr. Anthony Tuckney of Boston B.D. Mr. John Arrowsmith of Lynne. Mr. Simeon Ashe of St. Brides. Mr. Philip Nye of Kimbolton. Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs of Stepney. Mr. John Lightfoot of Ashley. Mr. Stanley Gower of Brompton Bryan. Mr. Richard Heyrick of Manchester. Mr. Tho. Case of Londun. Dr. Thomas Temple of Battersey. Mr. George Gipps of Aylestone. Mr. Thomas Carter. Mr. Humphrey Chambers of Claverton B.D. Mr. Thomas Micklethwaite of Cherryburton. Mr. John Gibbon of Waltham. Mr. Christ. Tisdale of Uphusborne. Mr. John Phillips of Wrentham. Mr. George Walker B.D. Mr. Edmund Calamy

of Aldermanbury B.D. Mr. Joseph Caryl of Lincolns-Inn. Mr. Lazarus Seaman of London. Mr. Henry Wilkinson Sen. of Waddefdon B.D. Mr. Richard Vine of Calcot. Mr. Nicolas Proffet of Marlborough. Mr. Stephen Marshal of Finchingfield B.D. Dr. Joshua Hoyle. Mr. Thomas Wilson of Otham. Mr. Tho. Hodges of Kensington. Mr. Thomas Bayly of Manningford Bruce. Mr. Francis Taylor of Yalding. Mr. Thomas Young of Stowmarket. Mr. Thomas Valentine of Chalfont Giles B. D. Mr. William Greenhill of Stepney. Mr. Edward Peak of Compton, Mr. John Green of Pencombe. Mr. Andrew Pern of Wilby. Mr. Samuel

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all sides might be heard. Five of these, *viz.* Mr. *Philip Nye*. Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*; Mr. *Sydrach Sympson*, and Mr. *William Bridge*, were call'd the Dissenting Brethren. They joyn'd with the rest, 'till they had drawn up the Confession of Faith, and larger and smaller Ca

de la Place. Mr. John de la March. Mr. John Dury. Mr. Philip Delme. Mr. Sydrach Sympson of London. Mr. John Langley of Westuderly. Mr. Richard Cleyton of Showel. Mr. Arthur Salwey of Seavernstoak. Mr. John Ley of Budworth. Mr. Charles Herle of Winwick, *who was Prosecutor after Dr. Twiss*. Mr. Herbert Palmer of Ashwell B.D. *who was Assessor after Mr. White*. Mr. Daniel Cawdrey. Mr. Henry Painter of Exceester B.D. Mr. Henry Scudder of Colingburn. Mr. Thomas Hill of Tichmarch B.D. Mr. William Reynor of Egham. Mr. Tho. Goodwin of London B.D. Mr. William Spurstow of Hampden. Mr. Math. Newcomen of Dedham. Mr. John Conant of Lymington B.D. Dr. Edmund Staunton of Kingston. Mr. Anthony Burgesse of Sutton Coldfield. Mr. William Rathband. Mr. Francis Cheynel of Oxon. Mr. Henry Wilkinson Jun. B.D. Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick of Cogshall B.D. Mr. Edward Corbet of Merton-College. Oxon. Mr. Samuel Gibson of Burley. Mr. Thomas Coleman of Bliton. Mr. Theodore Backhurst of Overton Watervile. Mr. William Carter of London. Mr. Peter Smith. Mr. John Maynard. Mr. Willl. Price of Paul's Covent-Garden. Dr. John Whincop of St. Martins in- the Fields; Mr. William Bridge of Yarmouth. Mr. Peter Sterry of London. Mr. William Mew of Eslington B.D. Mr. Benj. Pickering of Easthoatly. Mr. John Strickland of New Sarum. Mr. Humphrey Hardwicke. Mr. Jasper Hickes of Lawrick. Mr. John Bond. Mr. Henry Hall of Norwich B.D. Mr. Thomas Ford. Mr. Thomas Thorowgood of Massingham. Mr. Peter Clark. Mr. William Good. Mr. John Foxcroft of Gotham. Mr. John Ward. Mr. Richard Byfield. Mr. Francis Woodcock. Mr. J. Jackson. *The Commissioners for Scotland were*, Mr. John Maitland. Mr. Alexander Henderson. Mr. George Gillespie. Mr. Samuel Rutherford. *And Mr. Robert Baylie. The Scribes were*, Mr. Henry Robrough. Mr. Adoniram Byfield. *And Mr. John Wallis.*

There was a Promise or Vow taken by every Member, who was admitted to sit in this Assembly, of this Tenour: I A.B. do seriously Promise and Vow, in the Presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly whereof I am a Member, I will maintain nothing in Point of Doctrine, but what I believe to be most agreeable to the Word of God: Nor in Point of Discipline, but what may make most for God's Glory, and the Peace and Good of his Church.

This Assembly first met in July 1643. their Number was design'd to be 120. The Episcopal Divines refusing to appear among them, and some others were nominated, absenting themselves, on the account of Age and

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techism: But when they came to Church Government, they engag'd them in Long Debates, and kept the Matter as long as they could undetermin'd: and after that, they kept it so long unexecuted in almost all Parts of the Land, except *London* and *Lancashire*, that their Party had

Indisposition, many others were joyn'd to them, who were call'd the Super Added Divines. Each Member had 4 Shillings a Day allow'd him by the Parliament towards his Expences. They continu'd their Meetings in the Years 1644 and 1645. But after the taking of Oxford, when the Countrey was quiet, they most of them return'd to their own Cures, and so the Assembly was resolv'd into a sort of Committee for the examining the Abilities and good Affections of such as were presented to Livings, but was never formally dissolv'd by the Authority that call'd it.

The Minutes of this Assembly are yet reserv'd in private Hands. The most remarkable Hints concerning their Debates that are punish'd to the World, are to be met with in the Life of Dr. Lightfoot, before his Works in Folio, and in the Preface to the same Doctors Remains in octavo; for which we are indebted to the Ingenious Mr. Strype, present Incumbent of Low Leyton. The Assembly met with many Difficulties. They were not only embarrass'd by the Dissenting Brethren, but by the Learned Mr. Selden, who often employ'd his uncommon Learning, rather to perplex than clear the matters that came before them. The Erastians also that were in the Assembly, of whom Mr. Coleman and Dr. Lightfoot were reckon'd the Principal Persons, created them a great deal of Trouble. And yet after all, it must be acknowledg'd, they went as far towards clearing the matters referr'd to them, as could be expected from Men in their Circumstances.

One of their first publick Acts was the presenting, a Petition so the two Houses for a Fast, which was readily comply'd with. After which they proceeded to draw up a Letter to the several Reformed Churches abroad, with an Account of their Circumstances and Intentions. And being call'd together to give Advice concerning the settling of Doctrine, Worship and Church Government they after some time presented to the Parliament, A Confession of Faith: A larger and shorter Catechism: A Directory for the Publick Worship of God throughout the 3 Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland: And their Humble Advice concerning Church Government. After the last had bin presented, the two Houses of Parliament agreed upon sundry Ordinances, Directions, and Votes for the speedy Establishment of the Presbyterial Government. They were publish'd under these Titles. Directions for the Choosing of Ruling Elders in all Congregations, August 19, 1645. Rules and Directions concerning Suspension from the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, in Cases of Ignorance and Scandal, Oct. 20. 1645. An Ordinance for keeping of Scandalous Persons from the Lord's-Supper, March 14. 1646. An Ordinance for the present settling (without further delay) of the Presbyterial Government in the Church of England, Jan. 5. 1646. Remedies

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time to strengthen themselves in the Army and Parliament, and hinder the Execution after all, and keep the Government determin'd of, a Stranger to most of the People of the Nation, who knew it but by Hear say, as it was represented by Reporters.

for removing some Obstructions in Church Government, April 22. 1647. An Ordinance for the Ordination of Ministers by the Classical Presbyters, Aug. 28. 1646. An Ordinance for the speedy dividing and settling the several Counties of the Kingdom, into distinct Classical Presbyteries, and Congregational Elderships, Jan. 29. 1647. *After which, the Debates between the Dissenting Brethren and the rest of the Assembly, about Church Government, were order'd to be printed by the Parliament; and there was an End of the intended Settlement.*

There is one Work unjustly Ascrib'd to this Assembly, and that is the Annotations on the Bible, which commonly bear their Name. It is true, as is hinted in the Preface before the said Notes, the same Parliament that call'd the Assembly, employ'd the Authors of those Annotations: For Letters were directed to them by the Chairman of the Committee for Religion, urging their undertaking of that Work: And they were by Order of that Committee furnish'd with whatsoever Books were needful. It is also true. That several of those that were concern'd in it, were Members of the Assembly: And yet it was not undertaken by the Direction or with the Consent of the Assembly; nor were the major part Members of the Assembly: Nor did any deputed by the Assembly review the Work when it was finish'd: So that it

cannot, upon any account, be said to be theirs. However, it was a grand Work in its season; and I shall add the Names of the true Authors, as far as my best Enquiry would help me to Intelligence. Mr. Ley, Sub-Dean of Chester, did the Pentateuch. Dr. Gouge had the 2 Books of Kings, and Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther for his Province. Mr. Meric Casaubon did the Psalms. Mr. Francis Taylor the Proverbs. And Dr. Reynolds, Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song. The Learned Gataker did Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations: And is (in the Opinion of many Competent Judges) exceeded by no Commentator, Antient or Modern, on those Books. Ezekiel, Daniel, and the small Prophets, were in the first Edition done by Mr. Pemerton, and in the second by Bishop Richardson. The Notes on the Four Evangelists are Mr. Ley's, and those on St. Paul's Epistles Dr. Featly's; which latter are broken and imperfect, on the Account of the Author's dying before he had revis'd or finish'd them. There were also 2 other Persons concern'd in this Work, viz. Mr. Downname and Mr. Reading, who might probably have the other Parts of Scripture allotted them, that are not here mention'd.

Among

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Among other Parts of their Trust, one was to approve of all that should be admitted into any *Church Livings*. They held no Power to put any out, but only were to judge of the Fitness of such as were taken in. The Power of Calling Out was in a Committee of Parliament Men at *London*, and partly also in the Committees of the several Counties. Those that were *Sequestred*, were generally by the Oaths of several Witnesses prov'd *insufficient* or *scandalous*, or both; especially guilty of *Drunkenness* and *Swearing*: And those that were Able and Pious *Preachers*, that were cast out for the War alone, as for Opinions sake, were comparatively few: 'Tis pity indeed there were any. And tho' now and then an unworthy Person by Sinister Means crept into their Places, yet commonly those that were put in, were such as set themselves laboriously to seek the Saving of Souls. But to return to Mr. *Baxter*.

An. 1645.

HE VISITS THE ARMY.

After the Great Fight at *March*, which was not far from *Coventry*, he went into the Army, to visit some few of his old intimate Friends. He stay'd a Night with them, and got such Intelligence as to the State of the Army, as amaz'd him; he found Plotting Heads were hot upon what intimated their Intention to Subvert both *Church* and *State*. *Independency* and *Anabaptistry* extremely prevail'd among them; and *Antinomianism* and *Arminianism* were equally distributed: And *Thomas Moor's* Followers, had made a shift to joyn these two Extreame together. Many Common Soldiers, and some of the Officers, were *honest*, *sober* and *ortho* x Men; but a few proud, self-conceited, hot-headed Secteries, had got into the highest Places, and were *Cromwel's* chief Favourites, and by their very Heat and Activity bore down the rest, or carry'd them along with them, and were the Soul of the Army,

tho' much fewwr in Number than the rest. They tho't *Providence* would cast the Truth of Religion and the Kingdom upon them as Conquerors; they made nothing of all the most Godly and Wise Men in the Armies and Garrisons, that were not of their way: *Per fas aut nefas*, By Law or without it, they were resolv'd to take down not only *Bishops*,

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Liturgies, and *Ceremonies*, but all that did withstand them. *Separatists* and *Sectaries* were the Persons most Honour'd; but *Cromwel* and his Council joyn'd in with no Party, being for the Liberty of all. Upon this he Lamented that the Ministers had forsaken the Army, betaking themselves to an easier and quieter Way of Life, as they had most of them done, after *Edge-Hill* Fight: For by their Staying and Diligence they might in all probability have prevented the Infection of the Army, and the Mischief that follow'd upon it. Neither could he forbear Reflecting with Regret upon his own Refusal to comply with an Invitation from *Cromwel*; who when he first rais'd his Troop (which was to be a gather'd Church) that was afterwards so Famous, sent to him from *Cambridge* to *Coventry*, an Invitation to come and be their Pastor; which was universally subscrib'd. He sent them a Denial, reproving their Attempt, and telling them wherein his Judgment was against the Lawfulness and Convenience of their way, and so he heard no more from them. But afterwards meeting *Cromwel* at *Leicester*, he expostulated with him for his refusal. Those very Men who then invited him to be their Pastor, were the Men that afterwards headed much of the Army, and some of them were the forwardest in all the Publick Changes; which made him wish he had gone among them, when all the fire was in one Spark. Cap. *Evanson* told him, '*Twas not yet too late to do Service; that the Regiment he was of, was one of the most Religious, Valiant and Successful of the Army, but in as much Danger as any*; and therefore he press'd him to come among them. He was loath to leave his Studies, Friends and Quietness at *Coventry*, to go into an Army of such a Complexion; but he tho't the Publick Good commanded him, so he gave him some Encouragement: Whereupon he told his Colonel (*Whalley*) who was an Orthodox Man, but engag'd to *Cromwel* by Kindred and Interest: *He invited him to be Chaplain to his Regiment*; which he took a Day's time to consider of, before he gave his Answer.

Coming home to *Coventry*, he consulted the Ministers that were there about the matter: He acquainted them with the Intelligence he had gotten, and the In

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BECOMES A CHAPLAIN TO A REGIMENT.

visitation that was made him. He told them, *That all was in Danger; that the Fate of the Kingdom was like to follow the Disposition and Interest of the Conquerours; and that for his part, tho' he knew his Weakness to be such that he should run the Hazard of his Life; and tho' he could not but expect the Effects of their Fury, and tho' he knew it was not much that one Man could do, yet if they apprehended it to be his Duty, he would venture his Life among them; and did not know but some other Ministers might be drawn in, and so more of the Evil be prevented.* Dr. Bryan, Dr. Grew, and other Ministers then present, finding his own Judgment for it, and being mov'd with the Cause, unanimously gave their Judgment for his going. Upon which he went directly to the *Committee*, and told them, *He had an Invitation to the Army, and desired their Consent to go.* After some Consultation, they left it wholly to the Governour; telling him, *That if he consented, they should not hinder him.* His Consent he soon obtain'd; for Col. *Barker* was just then going out, and was therefore the more willing to yield to Mr. *Baxter's* going, that he himself might be miss'd the more. Whereupon, he sent Col. *Whalley* word, *That he would speedily be with him.* The *Committee* afterwards was much against his going, but he pleaded their Consent, and told them, *He had promis'd and therefore was positive;* but he gave them his Reasons, taken from the State of the Army; which Col. *Puresoy*, who was one of them, and a Confident of *Cromwel's*, took care to give him Intelligence about. Which was the Cause that, when he came to the Army, *Cromwel* but coldly welcom'd him, and never spake one word more to him while he was there. And his Secretary gave out, *That there was a Reformer come to the Army to undeceive them, and to save Church and State;* whereby he understood that his Discourse before the *Coventry Committee*, was got to the Army before him.

THE STATE OF THE ARMY AND HIS PAINS AMONG THEM.

Here he set himself from Day to Day, to find out the Corruptions of the Soldiers, and to Discourse and Dispute them out of their Mistakes, both Religious and Political. His Life amongst them was a daily Contending against *Seducers*. He found that many honest Men of weak Judgments, and little Acquain

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tance with such Matters, had bin seduc'd into a disputing Vein, and made it too much of their Religion to talk for this or that Opinion: Sometimes they would *vehemently* contend for *State Democracy*, and at other times for *Church Demoracy*; sometimes against *Forms of Prayer*, and sometimes against *Infant Baptism*; sometimes against *Set-times of Prayer*, and against the *Tying* of our selves to any Duty before the Spirit moves us; and sometimes about *Free-Grace* and *Free-Will*; & all the Points of *Antinomianism* and *Arminianism*. So that he was almost always Disputing with one or other of them, sometimes for *Civil Government*, and sometimes for *Church Order* and *Government*; sometimes for *Infant Baptism*; and often against *Antinomianism*, and the Contrary Extream. But their most frequent and vehement Disputes were for *Liberty of Conscience*, as they call'd it; that is, That the Civil Magistrate had nothing to do in Matters of Religion, by Constraint or Restraint, but every Man might not only Hold and Believe, but Preach and do in Matters of Religion what he pleas'd. He found that one half almost of the Religious Party among them, were such as were either Orthodox, or but lightly touch'd with their Mistakes; and almost another half were Honest Men, that stept further into the Contending Way, than they could again get out of, but with competent Help might be recover'd. But a few fiery selfconceited Men among them kindled the rest, and made all the Noise and Bustle, and carry'd about the Army as they pleas'd. With these he endeavour'd to be Acquainted, and he would be often Disputing with them in the hearing of the rest; and he found that they were generally Men that had bin hatcht up in *London* among the *Old Separatists*, and made it all the Matter of their Study and Religion to rail against Ministers, Parish Churches and Presbyterians, and had little Knowledge, but were fierce with Pride and Self conceit, having gotten a great Conquest over their Charity to all other Parties but their own. Some of there Men became the Laughing Stock of the Soldiers before he left them: And when they Preach'd (for they were great Preachers) their Weakness expos'd them to Contempt. A great part of the Mis

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chief they did was by dispersing Pamphlets, which the Soldiers would eagerly read in their Quarters, when there was none to contradict them. But there was a yet more Dangerous Party among them, (only in Major *Bethel's* Troop, in *Whalley's* Regiment) who took the direct Jesuitical Way. They

first most vehemently declaim'd against the Doctrine of Election, and for the Power of Free-Will, &c. Then they as fiercely cry'd down the Present Translation of Scriptures, and debas'd their Authority, tho' they did not deny them to be Divine. They cry'd down the Ministry of all sorts, and all our Churches, they vilify'd almost all our Ordinary Worship, especially Singing of Psalms, and Constant Family Worship; they allow'd of no Argument from Scripture but in express Words; were vehement against all Government but Popular; and utterly against any Concern of Magistrates in Religious Matters. Whenever they Disputed, 'twas with as much Fierceness as if they had bin ready to draw Swords. They trusted more to Policy, Scorn and Power, than to Argument. These People avoided Mr. *Baxter* as much as possible; but if ever they engag'd, they drown'd all Reason in Fierceness and Vehemence, and Multitudes of Words. They greatly strove for Places of Command; and when any Place was due by Order to one that was not of their mind, they would be sure to work him out, and be ready to Mutiny if they had not their Will. It look'd as if they were Acted by the Jesuits, but the secret Spring was out of sight.* These were the Men, who were afterwards call'd *Levellers*, and rose up against *Cromwel*, and were surpriz'd at *Burford*. *Thomson* their General, who was slain upon the Insurrection in 1649, was no greater Man than one of the Corporals of this Troop; the Cornet and others being worse than he.

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* *We may very well suppose some of those Emissaries mention'd pag. 58, &c. to have bin here at Work. And had other Regiments bin as strictly observ'd by others as Col. Whalley's was by Mr. Baxter in that little time he was among them, many of their Deeds of Darkness might have bin bro't to light.*

HIS MOTIONS WITH THE ARMY.

An. 1646.

HIS PUBLICK DISPUTE WITH THE SECTARIES.

He march'd with the Army Westward against my Lord *Goring*, and was at the taking of *Bridgwater*, the Siege of *Bristol*, and *Sherborn-Castle*; and as they march'd along the Country, they were every where entertain'd with *strange Relations* of the *Horrid Impiety* and *Outrages* of the Lord *Goring's* Soldiers. A sober Gentleman he quarter'd with at *South-Pederton* in *Somersetshire*, averr'd

to him, *That with him a Company of them prickt their Fingers, letting the Blood run into a Cup, in which they drank a Health to the Devil,* He was with the Army 3 Weeks at the Siege of *Excester*: And *Whalley* being order'd thence with a Party of Horse to keep in the Garrison of *Oxford*, 'till the Army could come to Besiege it, he accompany'd him; was with him 6 Weeks before *Banbury-Castle*; and 11 Weeks at the Siege of *Worcester*. And Col. *Whalley* being suspected by the Sectarian Commanders at the Head-Quarters for his Chaplain's sake, lost the Government of that City when he had taken it, which was given to Col. *Rainsborough*, who was more for their turn; under whom tho' the *Sectaries* prosper'd in the City, yet the Country round remain'd free from their Infection. All this while he had full Employment in *Preaching, Conference* and *Disputing*, against the *Sectarian Errours*. The Soldiers of that Stamp much infected the Countries by their Pamphlets and Converse, and the People admiring the Conquering Army, were ready to receive what ever they commended to them. Quarters at *Agmondesham* in *Buckinghamshire*, he found some *Sectaries* of *Chesham* had set up a Publick Meeting by way of Conference, to propagate their Opinions thro' all the Country, and that in the Church, by the Encouragement of an Ignorant Lecturer. There he had a Conference with them of a whole Day's Continuance, with good Success. When the usual time of their Meeting came, *Bethel's* Troopers (then Capt. *Pitchford's*) with other *Sectarian* Soldiers, must be there, to confirm the *Chesham Men*, and make People believe that the Army was for them. Mr. *Baxter* tho't it his Duty to be there also, and took divers sober Officers with him, to let them see that more of the Army was against them than for them. He took the Reading Pew, and *Pitchford's* Cornet and Troopers

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took the Gallery. There was a crowded Congregation of poor well-meaning People, who came in the: Simplicity of their Hearts to be deceiv'd. The Leader of the *Chesham Men* began; *Pitchford's* Soldiers followed; and he disputed with them 'till it was almost Night, determining not to leave them behind him; knowing very well that if he had gone first, they would have Boasted extravagantly, and made People believe that they had Baffled him. Their Nonsensical Discourse, may be seen in *Edwards's Gangraena*, in which a Narrative of the Affair is publish'd, without the mention of Mr. *Baxter's* Name, according to the Account which he gave to a Friend in a Letter. He had many Thanks fix that Day's Work, & amongst the rest from Dr. *Crook*, and Mr. *Richardson*, the Rector and Curate of the Place, who being Royalists,

durst not open their Mouths for fear of Danger. The Sectaries were hereby so discourag'd, that they never met there any more.

His great Impediments as to the Success of his Endeavours, lay in the Discountenance of *Cromwel* and his Chief Officers, who kept him a Stranger to their Meetings and Councils; and the Incapacity he was under of speaking to many, the Quarters of the Soldiers being so scatter'd. So that the most of the Service he did beyond *Whalley's* Regiment, was by the Help of Capt. *Lawrence*, with some of the General's Regiment, and with Major *Harrison*, and some few others. But by what Success he had, he found reason to apprehend, that if there had bin a competent number of Ministers, each doing their Part, the whole Plot of the Furious Party might have bin broken, and King, Parliament and Religion preserv'd. *Saltmarsh* and *Dell* were the two great Preachers at the Head-Quarters; only Honest and Judicious Mr. *Edward Bowles* kept still with the General. At length Mr. *Cook* of *Roxhal* also came to the Army, to give Assistance; but he was soon weary. Major-General *Berry*, tho' his Old Friend, never once came to visit him in the whole 2 Years he was in the Army, nor gave him the least Encouragement; but look'd always askew upon him.

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HE LEAVES THE ARMY.

When *Worcester* Siege was over, he went and visited his Flock at *Kederminster*, who expected that the Country being clear'd, he shuld return to them, and settle in Peace among them. But going to *Coventry*, he again consulted the Ministers there about his Duty; he told them what Success he had already had, and with what difficulty. He told them, *That the greatest Service with the greatest Hazard was yet behind. That the War being ended, the Army would certainly shortly set up for themselves; that tho' he could not say he could do any great Matter to hinder it, yet he having some Interest, was willing to improve it to the utmost for the Publick Good.* Upon the whole, the Ministers advis'd him to remain with the Army, and yet for some time longer to absent himself from his Flock. Accordingly he return'd to the Army for a little while, but was soon separated from them by his Great Weakness, occasioned by the Loss of a Gallon of Blood at the Nose. Upon which retiring to Sir *Tho. Rouse's*, he was taken up with daily Medicines to prevent a Dropsy, and was in continual expectation of Death. By this Providence, God unavoidably prevented the Effect of his Purposes, in his last and chiefest Opposition to the Army; and took him off

at the very time when his main Attempt should have begun. His Purpose was to have done his best, first to take off the Regiment which he was with, and then with Capt. *Laurence* to have try'd upon the General's Regiment, (in which 2 were *Cromwel's* chief Confidants) and then to have joyn'd with others of the same mind. But the Determination of God against it was very observable. For at the very time that he was Bleeding, the Council of War sate at *Nottingham*, where they first began to open their Purposes and ad their Part: And presently after they enter'd into their Engagement at *Triploe-Heath*. Tho' had he had Scope for the Attempt he design'd, in all probability he had had but small Success; and had bin much more likely to have lost his life among them in their Fury, than to have reach'd his End.

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A GENERAL VIEW OF SECTARIES.

And here the Account which Mr. *Baxter* hath given to Posterity of the *Sectaries* in General, comes in very naturally. These are the People whom he most industriously in these Times set himself to oppose, foreseeing the ill Tendency of their Principles and Practises. Take his own words. "These are they (*says he*) who have bin most addicted to Church-Divisions, and Separations, and Sidings, and Parties, and have refus'd all Terms of Concord and Unity. Who tho' many of them weak and raw, were yet prone to be puff'd up with high Tho'ts of themselves, and to over-value their little Degrees of Knowledge and Parts, which set them not above the Pity of understanding Men. They have bin set upon those Courses which tend to advance them above the Common People, in the Observation of the World, and to set them at a farther distance from others than God alloweth, and all this under the Pretence of the *Purity of the Church*. In Prosecution of their Ends, there are few of the *Anabaptists* that have not bin the Opposers and Troublers of the Faithful Ministers of God in the Land, and the Troublers of their People, and Hinderers of their Success; strengthening the Hands of the Profane. The *Sectaries* (especially the *Anabaptists*, *Seekers*, and *Quakers*) chase out the most able zealous Ministers, to make the Marks of their Reproach and Obloquy, and all because they stood in the way of their Designs, and hindred them in the propagating their Opinions. They set against the same Men as the Drunkards and Swearers set against, and much after the same manner; reviling them, and raising up false Reports of them, and doing all that they could to make them odious, and at bit attempting to pull them all down: Only they did it

more Prophanely than the Prophane, in that they said, *Let the Lord be glorified, Let the Gospel be propagated*; and abus'd and profess'd Scripture, and the Name of God, by entitling him to their Faction and Miscarriages. Yea, tho' they tho't themselves the most Understanding and Consciencious People of the Land, yet did the Gang of them seldom stick at any thing which seem'd to promote their Cause;

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but what ever their Faction in the Army did, they pleaded for it, and approv'd it. If they pull'd down the Parliament, Imprison'd the Godly Faithful Members, and kill'd the King; if they cast out the *Rump*, if they chose a *Little Parliament* of their own, if they set up *Cromwel*, if they set up his Sort and pull'd him down again, if they fought to obtrude Agreements on the People, if they one Week set up a Council of State, and if another Week the *Rump* were restor'd, if they fought to take down Tithes and Parish Ministers, to the utter Confusion of the State of Religion in the Land; in all these the *Anabaptists*, and many of the *Independents* in the 3 Kingdoms follow'd them, and even their Pastors were ready to lead them to consent.

“And all this began but in unwarrantable Separations and too much aggravating the Faults of the Churches and Common People, and Common-Prayer Book, and Ministry; which indeed were none of them without Faults to be lamented and amended. But they tho't that what ever needed Amendment required their Obstinate Separation, and that they were allow'd to make odious any thing that was amiss: And because it was faulty, if any Man had rebuked them for belying it, and making it far more faulty than it was, instead of confessing their Sin, they call'd their Reprover a Pleader for Antichrist or Baal. Every Error in the Mode of the Common Worship, they had no fitter Name for than Idolatry, Popery, Antichristianism, Superstition, Will worship, &c. When in the mean time, many of their own Prayers were full of Carnal Passion, Selfishness, Faction, Disorder, Vain Repetitions, unsound and loathsome Expressions, and their Doctrine full of Errours and Confusion: And these Beams in their own Eyes, were Matter of no Offence to them. They would not Communicate with that Church where ignorant Persons or Swearers were tolerated, (tho' they themselves never did their Part to have them cast out, but look'd that the Ministers should do all without them) but without any Scruple they would Communicate with them that had broke their Vow and Covenant with God

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and Man, and rebell'd against all kind of Government that was let up, (even by themselves) and did all the fore-recited Evils.

"I know (*says he*) the same Accusations are laid by some in Ignorance or Malice, against many that are guilty of no such things, and therefore some will be offended at me, and say I imitate such Reproaches: But shall none be Reprov'd, because some are Slander'd? Shall Hypocrites be free from Conviction and Condemnation, because Wicked Men call the Godly *Hypocrites*? Woe to the Man that hath not a Faithful Reprover; but a thousand Woes will be to him that *hateth Reproof*: And Woe to them that had rather Sin were credited and kept in Honour, than their Party Dishonour'd: And Woe to the Land where the Reputation of Men doth keep Sin in Reputation. The Scripture it self will not spare a *Noah*, a *Lot*, a *David*, an *Hezekiah*, a *Josiah*, a *Peter*; but will open and shame their Sin to all Generations: And yet alas! the Hearts of many, that it is to be hop'd are truly Religious, will rise against him that shall yet tell them of the Misdoings of those of their Opinion, and call them to Repentance. The poor Church of Christ, the sober, found, Religious Part, are like Christ that was Crucify'd between 2 Malefactors; the Profane and Formal Persecutors on one hand, and the Fanatick Dividing Sectaries on the other hand, have in all Ages bin grinding the Spiritual Seed, as the Corn is ground between the Milstones: And tho' their Sins have min'd themselves and us, and silenc'd so many hundred Ministers, and scatter'd the Flocks, and made us the Hatred and Scorn of the ungodly World, and a By-word, and Desolation in the Earth, yet there are few of them that Lament their Sin, but justify themselves and their Misdoings, and the Penitent Malefactor is unknown to us. And seeing Posterity must know what they have done, to the Shame of our Land, and of our sacred Profession, let them know this much more also, to their own Shame, but all the Calamities which have befallen us by our Divisions, were long foreseen by many, and they were

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told and warn'd of them Year after Year. They were told, that *a House divided against itself could not stand*, and that *the Course they took would bring them, to shame, and turn a hopeful Reformation into a Scorn, and make the Land of their Nativity a Place of Calamity and Woe*; but the Warning signify'd nothing to them; but there Ductile professors blindly follow'd a few selfconceited Teachers to this Misery, and no Warning or Means could ever stop them.

“A few *Dissenting Members* of the *Westminster Synod* began all tim, and carry’d it far on. That Good Man Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs* joyn’d himself to them in Name; but as he never practis’d their *Church-gathering* way, so at last he was contented to have united, upon the Terms which were offer’d them, and wrote an excellent Book of *Heart Divisions*. Afterwards they encras’d, and others joyn’d themselves to them, who partly by Stiffness and partly by Policy, encreas’d our flames, and kept open our Wounds, as if there had bin none but they Considerable in the World: And having an Army and City Agents, fit to second them, effectually hindred all Remedy, ’till they had dash’d all into Pieces as a brok’n Glass. O what may not Pride do, and what Miscarriages will not false Principles and Faction hide! One would have tho’t that if their *Opinions* had bin *Certainly True*, and their *Church Order Good*; yet the Interest of Christ, and the Souls of Men, and of Greater Truths, should have bin so regarded by the *Dividers* in *England*, as that the Safety of all these should have bin preferr’d, and not all ruin’d, rather than their Way should want its Carnal Aim and Liberty: and that they would not tear the Garment of Christ all to pieces, rather than it would want their Lace.

Many New *Sects* also sprang up in these Times, whole Doctrines were almost the same, tho’ they put on different *Names* and *Shapes*.

Sir

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OF SIR *H. VANE* AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

Sir *Henry Vane* had a set of Disciples, who first sprang under him in *New-England*, when he was Governour there. But their Notions were then raw and undigested, and their Party quickly confounded by God’s *Providence*, as appears from Mr. *Tho. Weld*’s Account. One Mrs. *Dyer*, a Chief Person of the *Sea*, did first bring forth a Monster, which had the Parts of almost all sorts of Living Creatures; some Parts like Man, but most ugly and misplac’d; and some like Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, having Horns, Fins and Claws: And at the Birth of it the Bed shook, and the Women were forc’d to leave the Room. Mr. *Cotton* was too favourable to them, ’till this helpt to recover him. Mrs. *Hutchinson*, the chief Woman among them, and their Teacher, (to whose Exercises a Congregation of them us’d to assemble) brought forth about 30 *Mishapen Births* at once; and being banish’d into another Plantation, was kill’d there by the *Indians*. Sir *H. Vane* being Governour, and found to be the Life of their Cause, was fain to steal away by Night, and take Shipping for *England*, before his Year of Government was at an End. Coming over into *England*, he prov’d an Instrument of greater

Calamity to a sinful People. Being chosen a Parliament Man, he was very Active at first for the bringing Delinquents to Punishment. He was the Principal Man that drove on the Parliament with that vehemence against the King. Being of ready Parts, great Subtilty, and unwearied Industry, he labour'd, and not without Success, to win others in Parliament, City, and Country to his way. When the E. of *Strafford* was accus'd, he got a Paper out of his Father's Cabinet, (who was *Secretary of State*) which was the chief Means of his Condemnation. To most of the Changes that follow'd, he was that with in the House, that *Cromwel* was without. His great Zeal to inflame the War, and to cherish the Sectries, and especially in the Army, made him above all Men to be valu'd by that Party.

His Unhappiness lay in this, That his *Doctrines* were so cloudily form'd and express'd, that few could understand them; and therefore he had but few true Disciples. The Lord *Brook* was slain before he had brought him to Maturity. Mr. *Stery* is tho't to have

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bin of his Mind, being his Intimate; but he was famous for his Obscurity in *Preaching*. Sir *Benj. Rudiard* us'd to say of him, *That he was too high for this World, and too low for the next*. Mr. *Spring* is the Chief of his open Disciples, and he is too well known by a Book of his Sermons. Sir *Harry's* Obscurity was by some imputed to his not Understanding himself, but by others to Design; because he was able enough to speak plain, when he pleas'd. The 2 Courses in which he had most Success, and spake most plainly, were his *Earnest Plea* for Universal *Liberty of Conscience*, and against the Magistrates intermedling with Religion; and his Teaching his Followers to *revile the Ministry*, calling them ordinarily *Black Coats*, *Priests*, and other Names which favour'd of Reproach. When *Cromwel* had serv'd himself by him as his surest Friend as long as he could, and gone as far with him as their way lay together, (*Vane* being for a *Fanatick Democracy*, and *Cromwel* for *Monarchy*) at last there was no Remedy, but they must part; and he cast him off with Disdain. *Vane* thus laid by, wrote his Book call'd, *The Retired Man's Meditations*; wherein the best Part of his Opinions are so express'd, as will make but few Men his Disciples. His *Healing Question* is written more plainly. When *Cromwel* was dead, he got Sir *Arthur Haslerigge* to be his close Adherent on Civil Accounts, and got the Rump set up again, and a Council of State, and got the Power much into his own Hands. When in the height of his Power, he set upon the Forming a New *Common-wealth*, and with some of his Adherents drew

up the Model, which was for *Popular Government*; but so that Men of his Confidence must be the People.

It griev'd such a Man as Mr. *Baxter* to the Heart, to see a poor Kingdom so toss'd up and down in Unquietness, and the Ministers made odious, and ready to be cast out, and a Reformation trodden underfoot, and Parliaments and Piety made a Scorn, and all the while scarce any one doubted but he was the *Principle Spring*, of all. Therefore, being writing against the Papists, and coming to Vindicate the *Reform'd Religion* against them, when they impute to the Protestants the Blood of the King, he prov'd, That the Protestants, and

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particularly the *Presbyterians*, abhorr'd it, and suffer'd greatly for opposing it; and that it was the *Act of Cromwel's Army* and the *Sectaries*, among which he nam'd the *Vanists* as one sort, and he shew'd that the *Fryars* and *Jesuites* were their Deceivers, and under several Vizors were dispers'd amongst them. And Mr. *Nye* having told him, That he was long in *Italy*, he said, *It was considerable how much of his Doctrine he bro't from thence*; whereas it prov'd, That he was only in *France* and *Switzerland*, upon the Borders of *Italy*. Upon this Sir *Harry* being exceedingly provok'd, threaten'd him much, and spoke against him in the House: And one *Stubbs*, (that had bin whip'd in the *Convocation House* at *Oxford*) wrote a Bitter Book in his Defence, and from a *Vanist* he afterwards turn'd a *Conformist*, and afterwards a *Physician*, and was Drown'd in a small Puddle or Brook, as he was riding near the *Bath*. Mr. *Baxter's* Writing against him was a Means to lessen his Reputation, and make Men take him for what *Cromwel* (who better knew him) call'd him, *viz.* a *Jugler*. And he wish'd therefore he had taken the same Method much sooner. But the whole Land rang of his Anger, and Mr. *Baxter's* Danger, and all expected his present Ruin by him. But to shew him that he was not about Recanting, (as his Agents would have perswaded him) he wrote also against his *Healing Question*, in a Preface before his *Holy Common-wealth*. And the speedy turn of Affairs ty'd up his Hands from Executing his Wrath upon him.

When King *Charles* came in, he was question'd with others by the Parliament, but seem'd to have his Life secur'd. But being bro't to the Bar, he spake so boldly in Justifying the *Parliament's Cause*, and what he had done, that it exasperated the King, and made him resolve upon his Death. When he came to *Tower-Hill* to die, and would have spoken to the People, he began so resolutely, as caus'd the Officers to sound the Trumpets and beat the Drums, to hinder him from speaking. No Man could die with greater Appearance

of a Gallant Resolution, and Fearlessness than he did, tho' before suppos'd a Timorous Mm. Insomuch, that the manner of his Death procur'd him

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more Applause than all the Actions of his Life. And when he was dead, his intended Speech was printed, and afterwards his Opinions more plainly express'd by his Friends than himself.

SEEKERS.

Another Sect that then rose up were the Seekers. They taught, That the Scriptures were uncertain; That present Miracles were necessary to Faith; That our Ministry is null, and without Authority; And our Worship and Ordinances unnecessary or vain. The true Church, Ministry, Scripture, and Ordinances being lost, for which they were seeking. The Papists hatcht and actuated this Sect. Some of them were real Papists, and others infidels. However, they clos'd with the Vanists, and shelter'd themselves under them, as if they had bin the very same.

RANTERS.

Another Sect were call'd *Ranters*. They made it their Business, as the former, to set up the *Light of Nature*, under the name of *Christ in Men*, and to dishonour and cry down the Church, Scriptures, Ministry, Worship and Ordinances; and call'd Men to hearken to Christ within them. But withal, they conjoyn'd a cursed Doctrine of *Libertinism*, which bro't them to abominable Filthiness of Life. They taught, as the *Familists*, *That God regardeth not the Actions of the outward Man, but of the Heart: And to the Pure, all things are Pure, even things forbidden.* And so as allow'd by God, they spoke most hideous words of Blasphemy, and many of them committed Whoredoms commonly: Insomuch, That a Matron of great Note for Sobriety, being perverted by these People, turn'd so shameless a Whore, that she was Carted in the Streets of *London*. There could never Sect arise in the World, that was a louder Warning to Professors of Religion, to be *humble, fearful and watchful*. Never could the World be told more loudly, Whither the Spiritual Pride of ungrounded Novices in Religion tendeth, and whither they may be carry'd in the Stream of Sects and Passions. Often would they vent the most Horrid Oaths, Curses and Blasphemy, as the Effect of Knowledge, in a Fanatick Strain, which they

would father upon the Spirit of God. But the horrid Villanies of this Sect, did not only speedily extinguish it, but also did as much as any thing ever
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did to disgrace all *Sectaries*, and to restore the Credit of the Ministry, and of sober Christians. So that the Devil and the Jesuites quickly found that this way serv'd not their turn, and therefore they suddainly took another, and turn'd themselves into

QUAKERS.

Quakers, who were but the *Ranters* revers'd: turn'd from horrid *Profaneness and Blasphemy*, to a Life of extream Austerity. Their Doctrines were mostly the same with the *Ranters*. They make the Light which every Man hath within him a sufficient Rule; and consequently the Scripture and Ministry are set light by. They speak much for the Dwelling and Workings of the Spirit in us, but little of Justification, Pardon of Sin, and Reconciliation with God thro' Jesus Christ. They pretend their Dependance on the Spirit's Conduct against set times of Prayer, and against Sacraments, Scripture, and Ministry. They will not have the Scriptures call'd the Word of God. Their Principal Zeal lieth in railing at Ministers as *Hirelings*, *Deceivers* and *False Prophets*, and in refusing to Swear before a Magistrate, &c. At first they us'd to fall into Trembling; and sometimes Vomiting in their Meetings, and pretended to be violently Acted by the Spirit: But now that is ceased, they only meet, and he that pretendeth to be moved by the Spirit, Speaketh; and sometimes they say nothing; but sit an Hour or more in Silence, and then depart. One while several of them went Naked, thro' many chief Towns and Cities of the Land, as a Prophetical Act. Some of them having famish'd and drown'd themselves in Melancholly, others have undertaken by the Power of the Spirit to raise them; as *Susan Pierson* did at *Claims* near *Worcester*, where they took a Man out of his Grave, who had so made himself away, and commanded him to Arise and Live; but to their Shame. Their Chief Leader *James Nayler*, acted the Part of Christ at *Bristol*; according to much of the History of the Gospel, and was long laid in *Bridewel* for it, and his Tongue bor'd as a Blasphemer by the Parliament. Many *Franciscan* Fryars, and other Papists have bin prov'd to be disguis'd Speakers in their Assemblies. But *William Penn*, their Modern Leader, hath undertaken the Reforming the Sect, and set up a kind of Ministry among them.

BEHMENISTS

The *Behmenists* are another Sect, whose Opinions were much like the former; they being for the Sufficiency of the Light of Nature, and a Dependence on Revelatlons, &c. but they were fewer in number, and of much greater Meekness than the rest. Their Doctrine is to be seen in *Jacob Behmen's* Books, by one that hath nothing else to do, but to bestow a great deal of time to know, that his bombast Words do signify nothing more, than before was easily known by Common and Familiar Terms. Dr. *Pordage* and his Family were of this Sect, who liv'd together in Community, and pretended to hold visible and sensible Communion with Angels, whom they sometimes saw and sometimes smelt. And they profess'd to wait for such a Coming Down of the Holy Ghost upon them, as should send them out as his Missionaries, to unite and reconcile, and heal the Churches; and do Wonders in the World.

GIBBON, GELL, PARKER, & WITH BIDDLE.

Another Sectmaster was Dr. *Gibbon*, who had taken a great deal of Pains to beat out a *Scheme of Theology*, which he went about the Country to make *Proselytes*. This Scheme of his he recommended as containing the only Terms and Method to resolve all Doubts whatever in Divinity, and unite all Christians thro' the World. His Frame was the Contrivance of a Strong Head Piece, and was Secretly and Cunningly fitted to usher in a Socinian Popery, or a mixture of Popery, and half Socinianism. There were many more Sectmakers: As Dr. *Gell*, well known by a Printed Volume in *Folio*: And one Mr. *Parker*, who got an Interest in the Earl of *Pembroke*, and wrote a Book against the *Assemblies Confession*, in which he taketh up most of the popish Doctrines, and riseth up against them with Papal Pride and Contempt, but owneth not the Pope himself, but headeth his Body of Doctrine with the Spirit, as the Papists do with the Pope. Many of there tho' they own'd not themselves to be Papists, did yet with subtle Diligence promote most of the Papal Cause, and get in with the Religious sort, either upon Pretence of *Austerity*, *Mortification*, *Angelical Communion*, or *clearer Light*, Those amongst the *Cromwelians* that he suspected for Papists, were some that began as Strangers among the

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Common Soldiers, and by degrees rose up to some Inferiour Offices, and were most Conversant with the Common Soldiers; but none of the Superiour Officers seem'd such, tho' seduc'd by them. The *Socinians* also, in these Times, made some Increase by the means of one Mr. *Biddle*, some time Schoolmaster in *Gloucester*, who wrote against the *Godhead of the Holy Ghost*, and afterwards of *Christ*. His Followers inclin'd much to meer *Deism*, and *Infidelity*.

MR. *BAXTER'S* CONDUCT AS TO PUBLICK OATHS

To return to Mr. *Baxter*. It was his *Endeavour* to keep his People in *Kedermister* as free from any Concern in the *Publick Changes* as was possible. He kept them from taking the *Covenant*, as fearing it might be a Snare to their Consciences: Nay, he prevented its being much taken in the County, by his keeping the Ministers from offering it to their People; except in the City of *Worcester*, where he had no great Interest. And yet where Persons took it, he could not see *how* they could have a *Dispensation* as to the Obligation of it. He could never judge it seemly for one Believing a *God*, to play fast and loose with a Dreadful Oath, as if the Bonds of *National* and *Personal Vows* were as easily shak'd off as *Sampson's* Cords. When the *Engagement* came out, he Spake and Preach'd against it, and dissuaded Men from taking it. When he first heard of it, being in Company with some Gentlemen of *Worcestershire*, he presently wrote down above 20 Queries against it, intending as many more almost against the *Obligation*, as those were about the *Sense* and *Circumstances*. One that was present got the Copy of them, and shortly after they were publish'd in a Book of Mr. *Henry Hall's* as his own; who was the same Person that was long Imprison'd for writing against *Cromwel*. Some *Episcopal Divines* who wrote for it, thus explain'd it. By the *Common-wealth*, they would mean the sort of Common-wealth that then was in *being Establish'd*, they would take as meant only *de Facto*, and not *de Jure*, and by *without a King*, &c. they meant, altho' there were no King for a time: So that they thus explain'd it; *I will be true to the Government of England, tho' at the present the King and House of Lords are put out of the Exercise of their Power*. Mr. *Baxter* endeavour'd to convince People, that

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this was meer Juggling and Jestings with Matters too great to be jested with: And that as it might be easily known that the Imposters had another Sense, so it was also evident, that the Words in their own obvious usual Sense among Men, were the *Promise* or *Engagement* of a Subject as such to a Form of Government, pretended to be establish'd; and that the Subject's Allegiance or Fidelity to his Rulers, could not be acknowledg'd and given in plainer words: And that by such *Interpretations* and *Stretchings* of *Conscience*, any Treasonable Oath or Promise might be taken; and that no Bonds of Society could signify much with such Interpreters.

HIS DISPUTE WITH MR. *TOMBS*

He had not bin long return'd to *Kederminster* after his leaving the Army, before there was a mighty Contest between him and Mr. *Tombs*. He was his Neighbour at *Bewdly*, which was not above 2 Miles distant; and denying *Infant Baptism*, and having written a Book or two against it, he was not a little desirous of propagating his Opinion, and promoting the Success of his Writings; and he tho't Mr. *Baxter* his Chiefest Hinderer, tho' he never meddled with the Point. Whereupon he constantly attended on his weekly lecture at *Kederminster*, waiting for an Opportunity to fall upon that Controversy in his Conference with him. But he so studiously avoided it, that he knew not how to begin. At length, he urg'd him to give him his Judgment of his Writings, which he really tho't unanswerable. Mr. *Baxter* freely told him, *That they did not satisfy him to be of his mind*; but went no farther with him. Upon this, he forbore attending any longer upon his Lecture, and unavoidably drew him into a Controversy with him, tho' he did all he could to shun it. There came to him 5 or 6 of his Chief Proselytes, as if they were yet unresolv'd, and desired him to give them in Writing the Arguments which satisfy'd him for *Infant Baptism*. He ask'd them, *Whether they came not by Mr. Tombs's Direction?* Which they confess'd. He ask'd them, *Whether they had read the Books of Mr. Cobbet, Mr. Marshal, Mr. Church, and Mr. Blake, for Infant Baptism?* And they told him *No*. He desired them *to read the Books that were already written, before they call'd for*

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more, and then to come to him again, and tell him what they had to say against them. This they would by no means do, but told him, *They must have something*

of his Writing upon that Subject: And that if he refus'd, and they turn'd against Infant-Baptism, they would lay the blame upon him. He ask'd them, Whether they would continue unresolv'd, 'till Mr. Tombs and he had done their Writings, which might be some Years, as it had bin, since Mr. Blake and he had bin engag'd on that Subject, without having bro't the Controversy to an Issue. But no Reasoning would serve their turn, they must have his written Arguments. At last he bid them tell Mr. Tombs, That if they must needs contend, 'twere best to do it in the shortest and most satisfactory way, which he tho't would be by spending one whole Day, in a Dispute at his own Church, where he would attend him, that his People might not remain unsatisfy'd, 'till they saw which had the last Word: And that afterwards they might consider of Writing. Mr. Tombs accepting the Motion, Mr. Baxter went to Bewdley, and held a Dispute in his Church there, upon a Day agreed on, from Nine a Clock in the Morning, 'till Five at Night, in a crowded Congregation. The whole time was spent in managing one Argument, *From Infants Right to Church-Membership, to their Right to Baptism*. This Dispute satisfy'd all the People of Kederminster, and the Country round, who came in to hear it, and Mr. Tombs's own Townsmen, except about 20 whom he had perverted, who gather'd into his Church, which never, as he could learn, encreas'd to above Two and Twenty.

An. 1651.

HIS OPPOSITION TO THE RUMP.

When the Army was going against K. Charles the Second, and the Scots, he wrote Letters to several of the Soldiers to tell them of their Sin, and desired 'em at last to begin to know themselves. Telling them, *That it seem'd strange that they who had so much boasted of Love to all the Godly, and pleaded for tender dealing with them, and condemn'd those who persecuted them, or restrain'd their Liberty, should at last be ready to imbrew their Hands in the Blood of those People, the Piety of many of whom they could not deny*. At the same time the Rump made an Order, *That all Ministers should keep their Days of Humiliation, to Fast and Pray for their Suc*

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cess in Scotland, and their Days of Thanksgiving for their Victories there, upon pain of Sequestration. Mr. Baxter and his Neighbours hereupon expected to be turn'd out. But tho' there was a general Noncompliance in those Parts, all except one escap'd. For his Part, instead of Praying and Preaching for them, when any of the Committee or Soldiers were his Hearers, he labour'd

to help them to understand, what a Crime it was to force Men to pray for the Success of those who were violating their Covenant, and going in such a Cause to kill their Brethren: And what it was to force Men to give God thanks for all their Bloodshed, and to make God's Ministers and Ordinances vile, and serviceable to such Crimes, by forcing Men to run to God upon such Errands of Blood and Ruin: And what it was to be such Hypocrites as to persecute and cast out those that Preach the Gospel, while they pretended the Advancement of the Gospel, and the Liberty of tender Consciences. His own Hearers were satisfy'd with his Doctrine, but the Committee Men look'd sower, but let him alone. And the Soldiers said he was so like to *Love*. that he would never be quiet 'till he was shorter by the Head. Yet none of them meddled with him farther than by the Tongue, nor was he by any of them in all those Times forbidden to Preach one Sermon, excepting only that when once the High-Sheriff had spoken to him to Preach at the Assizes, he afterwards sent him word, as from the Committee, to forbear: Saying, that by Mr. *Moor's* means, (the Independent Preacher at the Colledge at *Worcester*) the Committee told him, That they desired he might forbear Preaching before the Judges, because he Preach'd against the State. But afterward they excus'd it, as done meetly in kindness to him, to prevent his running himself into Danger and Trouble.

When *Cromwel* had got the Ascendant, sober People were divided about their Conduct towards him. He had bro't things to that Pass, that there was no Prospect of any thing but Destruction, if he was not taken for Governour. He made more use of the wild-headed Sectaries, than barely to Fight for him. They at last serv'd him as much by their Heretics, their En

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imity to learning and the Ministry, and their Pernicious Demands, which tended to Confusion, as they had done before by their Valour in the Field. Herein lay much of his Art, that he could conjure up at pleasure some terrible Apparition of *Agitators*, *Levellers*, or such like, who as they affrighted the King from *Hampton-Court*, so were they afterwards as useful in affrighting the People to fly to him for Refuge, that the Hand that wounded them, might heal them. At length he was as forward as any in exclaiming against the Giddiness of there unruly Men, and he pleaded earnestly for Order and Government, and would needs become the Patron of the Ministry, yet so as to secure all others of their Liberty. Some that saw his Designs cry'd out, *We will rather all Perish, and see both Tythes and Universities overthrown, than we will any way submit to such deceitful Usurpation.* Others said, *It is the Providence*

of God, who ever be the Instrument, which bro't us into this Necessity, which we are unable to prevent: And being in it, we are not bound to choose our own Destruction. Necessity therefore requires us to accept of any one to Rule us, that is like to deliver us. But the Generality of the Ministers went the middle way, and their Consciences thus represented the State of their Duty at that time.

THE CONDUCT OF THE MINISTERS TOWARDS CROMWEL WHEN
PROTECTOR.

We acknowledge, that God Almighty hath over-rul'd in all these great Mutations, and hath permitted the Perfidiousness of Men, and their Success. And the Common Good being the end of all just Government, we may not do any thing against it, much left to the Destruction of it, under pretence of resisting an Usurper, or of restoring the Rightful Governour. If the Universities be overthrown, the Fabricks demolish'd, the Lands alienated, the Ministers put down, the Tythes sold or given to the People, to englage them all to be against any Means which tend to a Recovery, what ever we contribute to it, we do against the King and Kingdom, and do but cut his Throat in Kindness. For we full down the House that he may be Master of it, and destroy the Common-wealth that he may be Head of it: And we strengthen his Enemies by our imprudent Passions. But yet we must neither do nor approve of Evil, for any Good End, nor forbear in our Places seasondly to reprehend it. Therefore, it is unlawful for us to Consent to any Govern

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our but the King, or take an Engagement, or Oath of Allegiance to them: But it is not unlawful to submit to them, by living quietly in our Place, and to make use of the Courts of Justice establish'd by Law, yea, and to demand Protection even from an Usurper. For his stepping into the Ruler's Place, and usurping the Government, obligeth him to do all the Parts of the Governour's Office, while he is there; and warranteth us to demand it, and accept of it from him: But it doth not at all oblige us to Obey him or Consent to his Usurpation: Even as we may demand Justice of a General of Rebels, or a Captain of Thieves; or of Pyrates that shall surprize the Ship that we are in, but we are not bound to consent to his Government, or Formally Obey him; but on the contrary, to disown his Villany, and do all that we can against his Tyranny, which tendeth not to the Hurt of the Society: So here, it is our Duty to keep the State of Things as entire as we can 'till God be pleas'd to restore the King, that he may find it a whole, and not a ruin'd irreparable State.

MR. *BAXTER*'S CARRIAGE TOWARDS HIM.

Agreeable hereto was Mr, *Baxter's* Practise, who seasonably and moderately, by Preaching and Printing, condemn'd the *Usurpation*, and the *Deceit* which was the Means to bring it to pass. He did in open Conference declare *Cromwel*, and his Adherents, to be Guilty of *Treason* and *Rebellion*, aggravated with Perfidiousness and Hypocrisy. But yet he did not think it his Duty to Rave against them in the Pulpit, or to make his Invectives to unseasonably or imprudently as might irritate him to Mischief. And the rather because as he seem'd to keep up his Approbation of a Godly Life in the general, and of all that was Good, except that which the Interest of his Sinful Cause engag'd him to be against; so he perceiv'd it was his Design to do Good in the main, and to promote the Gospel, and the Interest of Godliness, more than any had done before him, except in those Particulars which his own Interest was against. And it was the Principal Means that after he was once got into the Saddle he trusted to for his Establishment, even by doing Good: That the People might love him, or at least be willing to have his Government for that Good, who were against it as it was an Usurpation.

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HIS PREACHING BEFORE HIM, AND CONFERENCE WITH HIM.

He once Preach'd before *Cromwel*, after he was Protector, by means of my Lord *Broghill*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, when he was in Town, upon the Occasion which we shall hear of in the next Chapter. He knew not which way to provoke him better to his Duty, than by Preaching on 1 *Cor.* 1. 10. against the Divisions and Distractions of the Church; shewing how Mischievous a thing it was for Politicians to maintain such Divisions for their own Ends, that they might fish in Troubled Waters, and keep the Church by its Divisions in a State of Weakness, least it should be able to offend them. A while after, *Cromwel* sent to speak with him; and when he came, he had only 3 of his Chief Men with him. He begun a long and tedious Speech to him, of God's Providence in the Change of the Government, and how God had own'd it, and what great things had bin done at Home and Abroad, in the Peace with *Spain* and *Holland*, &c. When he had continu'd speaking thus about an hour, Mr. *Baxter* told him, *It was too great Condescension to acquaint him so fully with all these Matters which were above him: But that the Honest People of the Land took*

their Antient Monarchy to be a Blessing, and not an Evil, and humbly crav'd his Patience that he might ask him, How they had forfeited that Blessing, and unto whom the Forfeiture was made? Upon that Question he was awaken'd into some Passion, and told him, There was no Forfeiture, but God had chang'd it, as pleas'd him: And then he let fly at the Parliament which thwarted him, and especially by Name at 4 or 5 Members which were Mr. Baxter's Chief Acquaintance, whom he presum'd to defend against the Protector's Passion. And thus were 4 or 5 Hours spent, tho' to little purpose.

A few Days after, he sent for him again, to hear his Judgment about *Liberty of Conscience*, which he pretended to be most Zealous for; and almost all the Privy-Council were present. After he had made another flow and tedious Speech, he told him a little of his Judgment: And when two that were present had spun out a great deal more time in Speeching it, so that four or five Hours were spent, he told him, *That if he would be at the labour to read it, he could tell him more*

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of his mind in Writing in two Sheets, than in that way of Speaking in many Days; and that he had a Paper on that Subject by him, written for a Friend, which if he would peruse, and allow for the Change of the person, he would fully know his Sense. He afterwards sent him the Paper, but question'd whether he ever read it. For this was manifest: to such as had any Conversation with him, that what he learn'd must be from himself; he being more dispos'd to Speak many Hours than to Hear one; and little heeding what another said, when he himself had once Spoken.

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CHAP. VII.

HIS GENERAL USEFULNESS IN THE WHOLE COUNTY, WHILE HE REMAIN'D
IN WORCESTER-SHIRE: HIS PUBLICK SERVICE BY HIS PACIFICATOR;
ENDEAVOURS AND OTHER WAYS.

IN the time of the Civil War, and afterwards, the Controversies about Church-Government were in most Men's mouths, and made a great Noise; being hotly agitated by Statesmen and Divines, by Word and Writings; which

made Mr. *Baxter* think it necessary to set himself to the most serious Study of those Points; the result of which was his Settlement in this Judgment: that of the four Contending Parties, the *Erastian*, *Episcopal*, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent*, each had some peculiar Truths which the other overlook'd, or took little notice of, and each their proper Mistakes, which gave Advantage to their Adversaries; tho' all of them had so much Truth in common among them, as would have made these Kingdoms happy, had it bin unanimously and soberly reduc'd to Practice, by prudent and charitable Men.

The *Erastians* he tho't asserted more fully than others the Magistrates Power in Matters of Religion, that all Coercive Power is only in their hands, and that no such Power belongeth to the Pastors or People of the Church. He could not but approve their Holding the Pastoral Power to be only Perswasive, tho' Authoritative and by Divine Appointment: And that Pastors were Officers of God's Institution, who were not only perswade by Sermons or General Speeches, but by Particular Oversight of their Particular Flocks; and could as the Ground of their Perswasions produce God's Commission or Command for what they said and did: But that as Pastors they had no secular or forcing Power; And that unless the Magistrate authoriz'd them as his Officers, they could not touch Mens Bodies or Estates, but had to do with the Conscience only.

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The *Episcopal* Party seem'd to him thus far to have Reason on their side, that there was a *Superiority* in the *Primitive Church* over fix'd Bishops or Pastors, maintain'd by the *Apostles* and *Evangelists*, and other general unfix'd Church Officers: Tho' he tho't it a Question, *whether they were proper Governours, or only over-rul'd them by the Eminence of their Gifts, and Priviledge of Infallibility?* And as to fixed Bishops of particular Churches, Superiour in Degree to *Presbyters*, tho' there is nothing favouring them in Scripture, yet the Reception of them in all the Churches was so early and so general, that he was free to admit them, and resolv'd never to oppose.

As for the *Presbyterians*, he could not but approve of their main Principle: For he found that the Office of *Preaching Presbyters* was allow'd by all: And that this Office did subserviently to Christ participate of the Prophetical, the Priestly, and the Governing Power, he tho't Self-evident. It appear'd to him, both from Scripture, Antiquity, and the Perswasive Nature of Church-Government, that all *Presbyters* were *Church Governours* as well as *Church Teachers*; and that the Association of Pastors and Churches for Agreement, and their Synods in Cases of Necessity are a plain Duty; and ordinary stated

Synods very Convenient, And he found that they who were of this Denomination in the land were Men of eminent learning, Sobriety and Piety; and the Ministers among them contributed much to the keeping up *Religion* in the Land.

As for the *Independents*, he found most of them *zealous*, and many of them *learned, discreet* and *pious*; capable of being very Serviceable in the Church. Searching Scripture and Antiquity, he found that in the beginning a Govern'd Church, and a Stated Worshipping, Church, were all one: That Churches were at first no bigger than our Parishes now: That they were Societies of Christians united for Personal Communion, and not only for Communion by Meetings of Officers and Delegates in Synods, as many Churches in Association be. Also he saw a Commendable Care of serious Holiness and Discipline in many of the *Independent* Churches. And found that some *Episcopal*

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Men (Bp. Usher for one, as he had it from himself) held, *That, every Bishop was independent as to Synods, and Synods not so much for Government as for Concord.*

Other Controversies also in *Religion* were very hotly Agitated, and in all he was willing to keep himself and others from Extreams. As for the *Anabaptist*, (tho' he had written much against them) he found many of them sober, godly People, not differing but in the Point of *Infant-Baptism*. And as to that, consulting Antiquity, he observ'd, That tho' *Infant-Baptism* was held Lawful by the Church, yet some, with *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen*, tho't it most convenient to make no hast; and the rest left the time of Baptism to everyone's Liberty, and forc'd none to be Baptiz'd. So that not only *Constantine, Theodosius*, and such as were Converted at Years of Discretion, but *Augustine* also, and many Children of Christian Parents had their Baptism long deferr'd. Nothing more free than Baptism in the Primitive Times. To some 'twas administred in Infancy, to some at ripe Age, and to some a little before their Death. All the Penalty of a Deley, was the being still numbred with *Catechumens* or *Expectants*.

In the Differences between the *Arminians* and *Anti-Arminians*, he soon perceiv'd it hard to find a Man that discern'd the true State of the several Controversies: And that when unreveal'd Points are laid aside; and the Controversies about Words justly separated from those about Things; the Differences about things which remain'd; were fewer and smaller than most of the Contenders would believe. Nay; he found the Doctrinal Differences with the Papists very much, darkned, and seldom well stated. In the Points

of *Merit, Justification, Assurance of Salvation, Perseverance, Grace, Free-Will, &c;* Misunderstanding was common, and just Distinction and Explication very rare. Upon the whole, he fix'd in this conclusion: That he that would procure the Welfare of the Church, must do his best to promote all the Truth and good which was held by every Part, and to leave out all their Errors and their evil; and not take up all that any Party had espous'd us their own. And indeed there was not a Party in which

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there was not something he dislik'd as Erroneous and, Evil.

Three things he dislik'd in the Erastians. Their Making too light of the power of the Ministry and Church, and of Excommunication: Their Making the Articles of the Holy Catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints, too insignificant, by making Church Communion more common to the Impenitent than Christ would have it: And their injuring their Brethren in charging them with claiming, as from God, a Coercive Power over Mens Bodies or Purses, which is what is disclaim'd by all Temperate Christians, who pretend not to any Power of Force, but only to apply God's Word unto Mens Consciences. There were many things which he utterly dislik'd in the Diocesan Party. Their extirpating the true Discipline of Christ, which their Principles and Church State seem to make unpracticable and impossible; while one, Bishop, with his Consistory, had the sole Government of a Thousand or many Hundred Churches, even over many Thousands whose Faces they were never like to see; without setting up any Parochial Government under them: Their turning Parochial Churches into Christian Oratories and Schools, while Pastors have only a Power of Teaching and Worshiping, and not of Governing: Their Altering the Ancient Species of Presbyters and Bishops: Their Exercise of Church Government in a Secular way; and their vexing honest Christians, who esteem'd their Ceremonies unlawful, and silencing able godly Preachers, that durst not Subscribe and Swear Obedience to them, &c. In the Presbyterian way, he dislik'd the Order of Lay Elders, who had no Ordination, nor Power to Preach, nor to Administer Sacraments. Some of them were for binding the Magistrate to Confiscate or imprison Men, meerly because they were Excommunicate and so forcing People to keep in the Church against their Wills, for fear of being undone in the World: Whereas he was fully satisfy'd, That a Man whose Conscience cannot feel a just Excommunication unless it be back'd with Confiscation and Imprisonment, is no fitter to be a Member of a Christian Church in the Communion of Saints than a Corps is to be a Member of a Corporation.

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Some of them he found as much too much against Liberty as others were too much for it, and that they seem'd to think by Votes and Number to do that which Love and Reason should have done. And when the *Independents* said, *A Worshipping Church, and a Govern'd Church, is and must be all one*, and the *Presbyterians* said, *They may be all one, tho' it be not necessary*; yet in their Practise they would have so settled it, that they should no where be all one, but 10 or 12 Worshipping Churches should have made one Govern'd Church. Now tho' 10 or 12 Churches may be better manag'd than a Thousand or many Hundred; and tbo' it were better for the Pastor of each Church to have the Government of his own Flock, in Conjunction with the Presbytery or Synod, than not at all, and so this were vastly preferable to the *Diocesan* Frame; yet it seem'd to prepare the way for it. In the way of the *Independents*, he dislik'd their making too light of Ordination; their having also among them the Office of Lay-Eldership; and their being stricter about the Qualifications of Church Members, than Scripture, Reason, or the Practise of the Universal Church would allow. For if once you go beyond the Evidence of a *serious sober Confession*, as a credible and sufficient Sign of a Title, you will never know where to rest; but the Churches Opinion will be both Rule and Judge, and Men will be let in or kept out, according to the various Latitude of Opinions or Charity, in the several Offers or Members of Churches. He discern'd a great Tendency in this way of theirs, to Divisions and Subdivisions, and the nourishing of Heresies and Sects: And could not at all approve of their making the People, by majority of Votes, to be Church-Governours in *Excommunications, Absolutions, &c.* which Christ hath made Acts of Office; and letting them govern their Governours, and themselves. He also dislik'd their too much exploding Synods, their over-rigidness against the Admission of Christians of other Churches, and their making a Minister to be as no Minister to any but his own Flock. In many of which things, the Moderation of a Synod of *New-England* found out a much better Temper than their Brethren here could light up-

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on. And as for the *Anabaptists*; he knew that they injuriously excluded the Infants of the Faithful from solemn Entrance into the Covenant and Church of God; and as sinfully made. their Opinion a Ground of their *Separation* from the *Churches* and *Communion of their Brethren*; and that among them

grew up the Weeds of many Errours, and that Divisions, Sub-divisions, Reproach of Ministers, Faction, Pride, and Scandalous Practises were fomented in their way.

Having made these Remarks, he for some Years stood still as a Looker-on, and contented himself to wish and pray for Peace, dropping only now and then in Word towards it in his Practical Writings: But at length the Sense of his Duty engag'd him to do his utmost, in a way of Endeavour, to bring all these contending Parties to a Concordant Practise of so much as they were all agreed in; to set all that together which was True and Good amongst them all, and to promote that as far as he was able, rejecting the rest; and to further the reviving *Christian Charity*, which Faction and Disputes had lamentably extinguish'd. And tho' he had no Prospect herein of any great Success, he yet resolv'd to do his best, and leave the Success to God. He wrote several Letters about these matters to Mr. *Anthony Burgess*; Mr. *Richard Vines*, and Mr. *Gataker*, and motion'd the setting up some Regular. Discipline by Agreement among the *London Ministers*, which would make it more generally taking than coming from a private Corner, but was put off with various Excuses. But his, own Circumstances forc'd him to seek for some certain Regular Method of Discipline, &c., among his own People; and he withal apprehended, that if several Ministers could accord together in one way, the People would much more easily submit, than to the way of any Minister that was Singular. As for his own People, they were honest, humble and tractable, engag'd in no Party, and Haters of Schism, which they perceiv'd tended to the ruin of Religion. The Ministers in the Country round him were Pious, Serious, Humble. Men, that were also, disengag'd; which was a great Advantage in his Design. He open'd his Mind to them in a Meeting which he procur'd, after a Lecture at *Worcester*. They

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THE *WORCESTERSHIRE* AGREEMENT FOR CHURCH ORDER AND
CONCORD.

all approv'd of his Motion, and it was their common desire, that he would draw up the Form of an Agreement, that should contain only *So much Church Order and Discipline, as the Episcopal Presbyterian and Independant are agreed in, as belonging to the Pastors of each Particular Church*. For it was intended that nothing should be inserted that anyone should need disown: It not being the aim to dispute each other into a nearer Agreement in Opinions, but first

to agree in the Practise of what was own'd by all. Accordingly he drew up some Articles for common Consent, in order to the reducing the Churches to some Order, the satisfying Ministers in Administring the Sacraments, and stopping the more Religious from Separation, and that without contradicting the Judgment of either of the 3 Parties mention'd. After several Meetings to consider and examine them, and the altering some particular Passages, they were unanimously agreed to, by the Ministers of *Worcestershire*, and several, in the Neighbourhood; who associated for mutual Help and Concord in their Work: Their Names were as follows. Mr. *Andrew Tristram*; Minister of *Bridgnorth*. Mr. *Tho. Baldwin* of *Chadsley*. Mr. *Tho. Baldwin* of *Clent*. Mr. *Joseph Baker* of *Worcester*. Mr. *Henry Oasland* of *Bewdley*. Mr. *William Spicer* of *Stone*; Mr. *Richard Sergeant*, last Minister of *Stone*. Mr. *Wilsby* of *Womborne*. Mr. *John Reynolds* of *Wolverhampton*. Mr. *Joseph Rocke* of *Rowley*. Mr. *Richard Wolley*, of *Salwarp*. Mr. *Giles Walley*. Mr. *Humphrey Waldern* of *Broome*. Mr. *Edward Bouchier* of *Churchhill*. Mr. *Ambrose Sparry* of *Martley*, Mr. *William Kimberley* of *Ridmarley*. Mr. *Benjamin Baxter* of *Upton upon Severn*. Mr. *Dawley* of *Stoke*. Mr. *Stephen Baxter*. Mr. *Thomas Bromwick* of *Kemsey*. Mr. *J. Nott* of *Sheriffhales*. Mr. *George Hopkins* of *Evesham*. Mr. *John Spilsbury* of *Bromsgrove*. And Mr. *Juice* of *Worcester*. All of them Worthy Men, Eminent for Piety, and Moderation, and Ministerial Abilities. Having all agreed in this Association, the propos'd Publickly to their People so much as requir'd their Consent and Practise, and gave every Family a Copy in Print, and a sufficient time to consider and understand it, and then put it in Execution. Mr: *Baxter*

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publish'd the whole, with the Reasons and Explication of the several particulars, in a Book call'd *Christian Concord*.—In their Association they agreed upon a Monthly Meeting at certain Market-Towns, for Conference about such Cases of Discipline as requir'd Consultation and Consent: And they were constantly kept up at *Evesham* and *Kederminster*. At *Kederminster* there was once a Month a Meeting of 3 Justices of the Peace, who liv'd with them, and 3 or 4 Ministers, (for so many they had in the Parish) and 3 or 4 Deacons, and 20 of the Antient and Godly Men of the Congregation, who pretended to no Office as lay-Elders, but only met as Trustees of the whole Church; and were chosen Annually for that purpose. At this Meeting they admonish'd those who remain'd Impenitent in any Scandalous Sin, after more private Admonition before two or three; they with all possible Tenderness perswaded them to Repent, and labour'd to convince them of their Sin and Danger; and pray'd with them if they consented. If they could not be prevail'd

with to Repent, they requir'd them to meet before all the Ministers at the other monthly Meeting, which was always the next Day after this Parochial Meeting. There the Admonitions and Exhortations were renew'd, and in the Ministers of other Parishes labour'd to set it home, that the Offender might not think it was only the Opinion of the Minister of the Place, and that he did it, out of Ill-Will or Partiality. If, the Offender yielded penitently to confess his Sin, and promise Amendment, (more or less publicly according to the Nature of the Scandal) they then joyn'd in Prayer for his true Repentance and Forgiveness, and exhorted him farther to his Duty for the Future. But if he still continu'd obstinately Impenitent, by the Consent of all, he was by the Pastor of the Place to be publicly admonish'd, and pray'd for by that Church, usually 3 severally Days together: And if still he remain'd Impenitent, the Church was requir'd to avoid him, as a Person unfit for their Communion. And the like Method was follow'd, by all the Associated Ministers and Churches.—At the same time the Miisters of *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland* fell also upon

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the same Course, and took much the sane Method for the Exercise of Church Discipline; and corresponded with the Ministers of *Worcestershire* about it: And so also did some other Counties.

THE LORD'S DAY LECTURE IN THE COUNTY.

In these Meetings of the *Worcestershire* Ministers, they study'd how to have the Lectures they set up among them extend to every Place in the County that had need. For when the Parliament purg'd the Ministry, they cast out those who were most Insufficient and Scandalous, as gross Drunkards, and such like; and also some few Civil Men that had bin against them in the War, or set up *Bowing to Altars*, with the like Innovations: But they had left in, near half the Ministers that were not good eno' to do much Service, nor bad eno' to be call out as utterly intolerable. There remain'd a company of weak Preachers, that had no great Skill in Divinity, nor Zeal for Godliness; but preach'd weakly that which was true, and liv'd in no gross notorious Sin; These Men not being cast out, their People greatly heeded Help; for their dark sleepy Preaching did but little good. 'Twas therefore resolv'd, *That some of the abler Ministers should often voluntarily help them.* Mr. *Baxter* procur'd the 30*l*, that was collected at the yearly Feast of the *Londoners* of that, County, for the Support, of such a lecture for one Year, and so the Design was cover'd

under the name of *The Londoners Lecture*; which took off the Offence. They chose 4 Worthy Men, Mr. *Andrew Tristram*, Mr. *Henry Oasland*, Mr. *Thomas Baldwin*, and, Mr. *Jos. Treble*; who undertook to go each Man his Day once a Month, which was every *Lord's-Day* between the four, and to Preach at those places which had most need, twice on the *Lord's-Day*; but to avoid all *Ill Consequences* and *Offence*, they were sometimes to go to abler Mens Congregations, and where ever the came to say somewhat to draw the People, to the Honour and special Regard of their own Pastors; that how weak soever they were, they might see the Design was not to draw away the Hearts of the People from them, but to strengthen their Hands, and help them in their Work. This Ledure did a great deal of Good; and tho' the *Londoners* gave their Assistance but one Year, yet having once set it on foot, they conti
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nu'd it voluntarily, Mr. *Baxter* being as forward as any; and they held on till they were silenc'd; and had the Church Doors shut upon them.

THE WORCESTERSHIRE PETITION.

But it was not eno' to such a Man as Mr. *Baxter* to be useful in the particular County he liv'd in; he was earnest in seeking, and careful in improving, all *Opportunities of General Service*. In the time of the Rump or *Common-wealth*, the *Anabaptists*, *Seekers*, &c. flew so high against Tithes and the Ministry, that it was much fear'd they would have prevail'd at last. Hereupon be drew up a Petition for the Ministry, and got many Thousand Hands to it in *Worcestershire*, on which Account it was printed with the Title of that County's Petition. It Was presented by Mr. *Thomas Foley*, and Col. *John Bridges*, and a kind and promising Answer was given to it, which seem'd to lead to some good Resolutions. The Sectaries greatly rag'd against the Petition, and one wrote a vehement Invective against it, which Mr. *Baxter* answer'd in a Paper call'd *The Defence of the Worcestershire Petition*, a Copy of which he gave to each Parliament Man at the Door: But within a Day or Two after they were dissolv'd.

THE DEBATE ABOUT FUNDAMENTALS.

In the *Instrument* whereby *Oliver* was made Protector, it was declar'd, *That all should have Liberty for the free Exercise of their Religion, who professed Faith in*

God by Jesus Christ. This *Instrument* being examin'd in Parliament when they came to those words, some honest Members affirm'd, *That if they spake de re, and not de nomine, Faith in God by Jesus Christ, could contain no less than the Fundamentals of Religion.* So that it was purpos'd, That all should have a due measure of Liberty, who profess'd the Fundamentals. Hereupon the *Committee* appointed to that Business, were required to nominate certain Divines, to draw up *in terminis* the *Fundamentals of Religion*, to be as a Test in this Toleration. The *Committee* being about fourteen, nam'd every one his Man.

The Lord *Broghill* (afterwards Earl of *Oreery*, and lord-President of *Munster*) nam'd Arch-Bishop *Usher*; who refusing the Service, he nominated Mr. *Baxter* in his Head; upon which he was sent for up to *London*, and drawn into a Difficult Piece of Service;

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in which tho' he could easily foresee he should be hamper'd by the Narrowness of some and the: Shyness of others, he yet freely engag'd. The other Persons employ'd, were Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Reyner*, Dr. *Cheynel*, Dr. *Goodwin*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Sydrach Sympson*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Jacomb*. And he found they had begun; and drawn up some few of the Propositions, which they call'd *Fundamental*; before his Arrival. For his own part, he apprehended, that in stating so Nice a Question as that, *What are your Fundamentals?* Great Care ought to be taken to distinguish between the Sense or Matter, and the Words: That the Sense only is primarily and properly *Fundamental*, and the Words no farther than as they are needful to express that Sense. In reality therefore he took no more to be Essential or Fundamental in Religion, but what is contain'd, in our Baptismal Covenant; *I believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and give up, my self in Covenant to him, renouncing the Flesh, the World, and the Devil.* And as to Words, he took no particular words in the World to be Essentials of our Religion; otherwise, no Man could be sav'd without the language which those words belong to. And, as to Publick Professions upon Admittance to Communion, he tho't thus much might very well suffice: *In general, I do believe all that is contain'd in the Sacred Canonical Scriptures, and particularly I believe all explicitly contain'd in the Antient Creed; and I desire all that is contain'd in the Lord's Prayer, and I resolve upon Obedience to the Ten Commandments, and what ever else I can learn of the Will of God.* And six all other Points, he judg'd it eno' to preserve both Truth and Peace, that Men promise not to preach against them, or contradict them, tho' they do not subscribe them. And therefore he propos'd

the Offering to the Parliament, the *Creed*, *Lord's Prayer*; and *Ten Commandments*, as the essentials or the Fundamentals of Christianity, containing all that is necessary to Salvation. When they objected, *That this might be subscrib'd by a Papist or Socinian*; his Answer was, *That it was so much the better, and the fitter to be the Matter of Concord: But that if they were afraid of Communion with Papists and Socinians, it should not be*

avoided

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avoided by making a New Rule or Test of Faith, which they will not subscribe to, or by forcing others to subscribe to more than they can do, but by calling than to Account, when ever in Preaching or Writing, they contradict or abuse the Truth to which they have subscrib'd. They resolv'd however to hold on in the way they had been, and so all that he had left to do, was to use his Endeavours to prevent their multiplying Fundamentals needlessly. At length this Proposition was bro't in among others under the Head of the Scriptures, *That no Man could know God to Salvation by any other means*. This he asserted was neither Fundamental nor Truth, for that Faith may be wrought by the Teaching of another, without ever knowing that, there is a Scripture. He argu'd the Point, and afterwards gave them his Reasons in Writing: And if he did no other Service among them, at least prevented the running many things so high as might otherwise have bin expected. When after many long Debates, they had printed 20 of their Propositions for the Parliament, that was dissolv'd, and so all came to nothing.

Truth and Peace were the Matter of this Good Man's Pursuit all his Days. He stuck at no Pains that might contribute to either. He resolv'd, to take fitting opportunities of dealing with all the several Parties into which the Nation was unhappily divided, hoping that at least he might help to pave the way for the Success of others, when the happy Juncture should arrive, tho' his Endeavours should prove fruitless and abortive. Mr. *Vines* extolling the Judgment and Learning of Dr. *Ralph Brownrigg*, Bishop of *Excester*, and advising him to choose him as the fittest Man to treat with for Concord with the *Diocesan* Party, he wrote to him, and sent him some Terms of Concord. He return'd him a very kind Letter, professing his Willingness to prosecute that Work, and sending a particular Answer to his Proposals, granted the main Matters which he desired, and which would have united all Parties, if yielded to when the King came in. For he granted, with Bishop *Usher*, that every Presbyter is and must be a Governour, as well as a Teacher, of his own Flock; and that subordinate

Assemblies,

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Assemblies, like Rural Deanries, might be set up in every Market Town, or in certain limited Divisions. And some good Agreement with the Episcopal Party) might have bin even then hop'd for, had not *Oliver*, when he had the Government in his hands, put in among; the Scandalous Ministers, who were thereupon to be Ejected all thro' the Nation, all those who took part with the King against the Parliament: With which they were so exasperated, as to lay aside all tho'ts of Agreement.

A DEBATE CONCERNING THE NECESSITY OF A CLEAR SUCCESSION IN THE
MINISTRY.

Mr. *Martin Johnson*, a Neighbouring Minister at *Womborne*, who tho' *high* in his Principles; was yet a Lover of all honest peaceable Men, and constant at the Meetings, Lectures, and Disputations at *Kedminster*, wrote to Mr. *Baxter* about the *Necessity of Episcopal Ordination*. He in answer to him maintain'd, That there was no absolute Necessity; That a Man might be a true Minister who was ordain'd by Presbyters; and that, in Cases of Necessity, it was a Duty to take Ordination from them. This he oppos'd with Modesty and Judgment for a time, 'till at last being convinc'd, he yielded the Cause.

I'll here subjoyn a short Abstract of the *Arguments* and *Replie*.

Mr. *Johnson* gave Four Reasons why he was for being earnest in pleading for an Uninterrupted Succession in the Ministry, which Reasons he urg'd as Arguments to prove it.

I. He urg'd the *Seriousness of our Divines in their Endeavours to prove, That our Bishops in the Days of K. Edw. 6. and Q. Eliz. were Ordain'd by Bishops, against the Calummies of Sanders, Kellison, Chalmney, and others who warmly asserted an Interruption in the Succession*. The Pains of our Divines in this respect, he tho't might have bin spar'd, if a clear Succession be not needful.

Mr. *Baxter* in Answer told him, 'That he tho't it much more safe, in a Case of this Nature, first to consider the Fact, and prove that there hath bin such a Succession, before the Necessity of it is asserted. However, since he took the other way, he

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would follow. This Argument, he told him from the Reformers, when scann'd, would amount to this; That what ever they tho't necessary to be prov'd against the Papists, was really so: But besides that there is no Consequence in that, where there is an acknowledg'd Fallibility; it is withal observable, that the English Bishops might have other ends in endeavouring to clear the Succession, besides Compliance with a suppos'd Necessity: They might design the Confining their Adversary on his own Grounds; or they might aim at shewing, that tho' the Necessity of a clear Succession were granted, yet they need not grant the Nullity of their Calling. Nay, 'tis evident in Fact, that tho' such high Men as *Mountague* and *Laud*, did joyn with the Papists in pleading for the Necessity of a distinct Succession, yet this was not the way of the True Primitive Fathers of the Church of *England*, who argu'd upon the Succession against the Papists only, *ad Hominem*, as we say, for their more effectual, Conviction and therefore took so much pains to, confute the Fable of the *Nagg's Head Ordination*, that they might prove the Papists Slanderers. And 'tis observable, that such high Men as those mention'd, were nigh upon the matter as zealous against Q. *Elizabeth's* Episcopal Protestants; as against the Papists themselves.

2. Mr. *Johnson's* second Argument was to this purpose. *Without a clear Succession, we that are now Ministers cannot be said to have our Authority from Christ, for we must have it from him either mediately or immediately. To assert an immediate Derivation of Authority from Christ, is extravagant. If we have it mediately from Christ, we must have it by the Mediation of some Person, who at length had it immediately from him. This cannot be, if the Succession be interrupted. If it be said, the Authority is convey'd from Christ, by the Mediation of the written Word*, he answers, *'tis no fit Medium for the conveying such Authority in our Days: And that for this Reason, because it meddles not with any Particular Persons of our Times. For the written Word neither names any Particular Persons, nor lays down any incom*

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municable Adjunct that might distinguish them, nor gives any such general Description which may be personally and particularly ascrib'd to any of them. Were there any such general Description, that could give Authority, it must be in words to the purpose; They that are thus and thus qualify'd, may be Ministers of the Word: Whereas the Scripture only says, They that Preach the Word shall be thus and thus

qualify'd; but supposes the Persons so qualify'd to come by their Authority some other way. For Authority he conceiv'd to be far different, from either Abilities to undergo an Employment, or a willing mind to undertake it, or Conveniency of Habitation for the Discharge of it, or the desire of any Persons inviting a Man to it. A Man may have all these, and yet want Authority. Tho' all these should concur in the Case of a Gentleman, yet is he not a Justice of Peace, 'till his Name be in the Commission from the Supream Magistrate, and he hath taken his Oath as a Stipulation to him on his part, for his faithful Discharge in it: So neither doth a Man, by the Concurrence of all these. Circumstances become an Authoriz'd Minister, 'till Jesus Christ, the Supreme Governour of his Church, shall by the Bishops, as his Deputies, put his Name into the Commission, and take reciprocal Security from him for his faithful Discharge of his Duty.

To this Mr. Baxter reply'd, 'That a Constitution may be from Christ *mediately*, either in respect to a *mediating Person*, or to some *mediating Sign* only: And the *mediating Person* may be either the *total subordinate Cause*, having himself receiv'd the Power from God, and being as from himself to convey it unto Man; or he may be but the *Accidental Cause*; or his Action may be only *conditionally* requisite. *Immediately*, in the absolute Sense, with the exclusion of all Mediating Persons and Signs, no Man ever had any Right communicated, or Duty impos'd by God, unless perhaps the immediate Impress, or supernatural Revelation of the Holy Ghost to some Prophet or Apostle, might be said to do it. God is so absolutely the Fountain of all Power, that no Man can either have or give any Power but derivatively from him, and by his Commission; and the

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general way of Man's giving it, must be by the signification of God's Will; and so far as that can be sufficiently discover'd, there needs no more to the conveyance of Power. Men *mediate* three ways, in the Nomination of the Person. When they have, a Governing Authority over others, they convey, efficiently to inferiour Officers the Power that belongs to their Places. This way of *mediating* is not, always, if at all, necessary or possible in the Church. The Papists own their Pope is authoriz'd, without this way of Efficiency; for none have a Papal Power to convey to him. And it was the old Doctrine, of the Church, (in St. *Cyprian's* time) That all Bishops were equal, and had no Power one over another, but all had their Power directly from Christ. A second way is, when Men that are of equal Authority have the Nomination of the Person. In such a Case there can be no proper Efficiency; for, they

who are the Ordainers, have no particular, Government over those whom they ordain, or the, Churches to whom they ordain them. Their Attic on is only a necessary Prerequisite. The third way (of Mediating is by the meer Election of Inferiours. As to the written Word, that in case of a failing of Ordainers is a sufficient *Mediate Instrument*; Abilities, Willingness, and Opportunity (which are necessary to qualify) concurring. The Constitution of Magistrates, in case of a failure of Ministers, is a farther Medium, distinct from Scripture. When, Ministers fail, Magistrates are the Judges; if both, fail, the People have a Judgment of Discretion, without any Governing Power: Their Judgment of Discretion hath a sufficient Discovery of God's Efficient Constitution, in the law of God, in the Persons Abilities, Willingness, and Opportunity; and the Willingness of the People.

'The Word of God hath not left us at such uncertainty in the Point, as this sort of Arguing, would seem to intimate. For we find God hath, there determin'd that there shall be Ministers: He, hath also determin'd the Nature of their Work and, Power, the Object about which, and the End to which, it is to be employ'd. The Persons are de

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scrib'd from their necessary Qualifications, in the Books of *Timothy* and *Titus*. And all that is now left to be done, is but to judge and determine of the particular Person who is most capable; and so far to be the Medium of his receivinig the Power. This Judging and Determination must be by Signs, from the Persons Qualifications agreeing to the Rule. And God hath made Ecclesiastical Officers the *Ordinary Authoritative Judges* of this Question, *Who is the Qualify'd Person?* So that 'tis not only the Sense of the Word of God in the matter, That *they that Preach shall be thus and thus qualify'd*, but *Men thus and thus qualify'd*, shall be appointed to Preach the Word. And the Obligation in this respect remains, in Force, tho' the way of their Ordination may cease: And in such a Case the Magistrate's *Designation*, or Peoples *Election*, upon the discerning the Qualifications, is a sufficient Nomination of the Person; upon which Nomination the Word of God conveys the Power to him.

'God hath no where oblig'd himself in Scripture to give an Churches the Opportunity of *Regular Ministerial Ordination*: Nay in Fact, in many Places, there hath bin a Moral or Natural Impossibility, of it; as in the *Romish Church*, where there's no Ordination to be had, but upon sinful Terms, by wicked Oaths or Professions: Or in some remote Parts of the World, where there are no Ministers. But suppose such a Case had never bin, 'tis yet possible for there to be such a Case, where a Regular, Ordination should be impracticable;

and therefore, it cannot be an indispensable Duty: Again, the, End why I am oblig'd to seek Ordination rather from an Ecclesiastical Officer than from a Magistrate, &c. is because God hath appointed him for Order sake, as one that ought to be the fittest to do, it, and prevent Intrusions and Abuses. Now where the Regular Ordainers prove insufficient or wicked; this End fails. Thus it was in the tune of the, *Arrian* Defection; and thus 'tis at this Day in the Church of *Rome*. God gives no Men Power to destroy the Church, but to preserve and propagate it. And therefore, when Men will not ordain to the

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Preservation, but to the apparent Destruction of the Church, we are not oblig'd to receive their Ordination.

'That it was never the Will of God that there should be no Ministry at all, longer than Men might be regularly ordain'd, he prov'd by several Reasons. Because the Office of the Ministry is of standing Necessity to the very Being of a Political Church, whereas Ecclesiastical Authoritative Ordination is but necessity to the Well-being of it. And therefore the failing of the latter, causeth not a failing of the former. God hath oft suffer'd his Church to fall into *Disorders* and *Distempers*, when yet he hath preserv'd its Being. Withal, God hath, not inseparably ty'd a necessary certain End, to one only mutable uncertain Mean. The Office of the Ministry, is the necessary certain End of *Regular Ecclesiastical Ordination*; and that is a mutable uncertain Mean. Again, God hath not put it into the Power of Bishop, or other Ordainers, to destroy, his Church for ever, as they might do, if the Ministry were inseparably annex'd to their Authoritative Ordination. Easily might they do it upon that Supposition; for that it is in the Power of their, Wills, whether they will ordain any other to succeed them; and if they should not, the Succession is interrupted, and the Office must fail. It's vain, to say, This is not to be suppos'd, when there is no Promise or Certainty of the contrary: And when 'tis so evident that Ordainers may turn Heretical, and refuse to ordain any but what will be so to; which was the Case in the time of the *Arrians*. And, as for those few that do not turn Hereticks, they, may clog their Ordinations with such Impositions and Engagements, as that Persons fearing God may justly refuse to submit to them. They may so manage Matters, as that the Conscientious must not be ordain'd by them; and consequently they have Power to destroy the Church: Which if it were affirm'd but of the Churches in one Nation, is not true. Again, God hath made it indispensibly necessary

to his People to the World's End, to assemble in solemn Congregations for Publick Wor

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ship: This cannot be without a Ministry; and therefore this must be had, tho' *Authoritative Ecclesiastical Ordination* fail. Such a Failure can never absolve a Country or People from God's Publick Worship; without which Christianity would soon dwindle away. Again, the Law of Nature, and the express unchangeable Written Word agreeing; with it, require Men to do the Office of Ministers, who have a Fitness for it, where time is an undeniable Necessity of their Help; and such a suppos'd Failure, can't give a Dispensation. That there is a Duty in such a Case of Necessity, even on Persons unordain'd, appears hence, in that the Office of the Ministry comprehends the greater Works of Mercy to Mens Souls, and which are most for the Glory of God, of which when there is Ability, Opportunity and Necessity, to be sure Obligation cannot be wanting. In a Place that is Infected, where better, Help is not at hand, a Man of tolerable Skill is bound to give Advice, tho' he be not a Physician. In an unexpected Assault of an Enemy in the Camp, if the Commanders are asleep or absent, the most experienc'd Soldiers may supply their place: In such Cases, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*, the *Common Safety*, as the *highest Law*, universally prevails; and there is the same Reason why *Salus Ecclesiae*, should be *Suprema Lex*; why the *Safety of the Church* should be the *highest Law*, without sticking at Formalities, when the *All* is at Stake. Our Lord hath taught us, that *Ceremonies* and *meer Positives* do give way to *Natural Morals* and *Substantials*; and that when two Duties come together, and cannot both be perform'd, the Greater must be chosen, *Circumcision*, that was so strictly enjoin'd, was dispens'd with for 40 Years together in the Wilderness: How much more under the Gospel would God have Externals and Morals stoop to the Substance? Again, there is a great Parity between *Secular* and *Ecclesiastical Power*. If an Interruption of the Succession in the Ordinary Conveyance of *Civil Power* leave a Nation without any true Power or Authority, then most *Common-wealths*, this of *England* in particular, (where the Line of Succession

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hath bin so oft Interrupted) had bin long ago dissolv'd: But this is a Conclusion evidently Destructive of all Civil Government. Now, there is not a greater Necessity of an uninterrupted, Succession in the Conveyance

of *Ecclesiastical Power*, than there is as to that which is *Secular*: And therefore Mr. *Baxter* put Mr. *Johnson* upon applying what he said of a Minister's receiving his *Ecclesiastical Power mediately or immediately*; and if *mediately*, how by Scripture Mediation, which meddles not with particular Persons; to King *Charles* the Firsts Receipt of his Civil Power or Authority in this Nation; which he tho't would help him to discover how little Strength there was in his Argument. Again, want of Authoritative *Ecclesiastical Ordination*, in Case of Necessity, will no more null the Actions of Church Governours now, than undeniable Usurpation did null the Ministerial Actions of the Priests before Christ's Death. And if their Actions are not null, their Ordinations are not null. That the Priests in our Saviour's time came not In in God's way, is well known, and universally, own'd: And that their Actions were not null, as to others, appears by Christ's teaching Men to submit to them. Now 'tis hard to give a Reason why, there should not be as great a Necessity of an Uninterrupted Succession then, as now. Nay, the Necessity was then on many Accounts greater, because the Priesthood was fix'd in a Family, &c. Again, when God ties his People to Duty, he is ready to, give them the Blessing, which is its end, if they obey. Now God obligeth many to submit to the Ministerial Actions of some that are irregularly ordain'd, nay even of Usurpers: And hath not obliged the People narrowly to pry into a Ministers Call, to whom they belong, as to his just Ordination, if they find him fit for, and faithtul in the the Miniterial Work. Nay, the People cannot, know or judge of the matter of a clear Succession. For if they know their Ministers were Ordain'd, how can they tell how it was as to those that ordain'd them, or as to many other Links of that Chain that must at last derive their Power from

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Christ himself by Personal Succession. Again, if the Administrations even of Usurpers were null, (and so the Ordination of such) then innocent Persons and Churches would suffer, nay be ruin'd, meerly thro' other Mens Faults. If the Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, or the Vice-Roy of *Naples* were dead, and one should so counterfeit the King's Hand and Seal, as that the Nobles and People could not discern it, and should annex this to a Grant for the Place and shew it to the People, and claim the Power by it; if this Man continue the Exercise of this Power for a Year, before the King displace him, or the Deceit be discover'd, all his Actions must be valid as to the Benefit of the *Common-wealth*, tho' they are Treasonable to himself: And he conveys Power from the King to Inferiour Officers, who yet never receiv'd any himself.

And so 'tis in the Case of Ministers. Again, the Ordination of the Magistrates serv'd the turn in case of a Failure in the Regular Way, before Christ's time, and therefore it, may do so still. Thus *Solomon* put out *Abiathar*, & put in *Zadok* into the High Priesthood: And the Power of Magistrates in Church Matters was no Ceremony, or Temporary thing. Once more, when any Officers of the Temple were discover'd to have no just Title, and thereupon were put out, yet none of their Actions, while they were in place, were censur'd null. This appears from *Ezra* 2. 62. *Nehem.* 7. 64,65. and 13. 29,30. and if so, their Ordination was not null: Nor can it be, upon a like Supposition, in our Times.

Further; The Individual Person to be the Subject of the *Ministerial Power*, may be determin'd of ordinarily (or sometimes at least) by the Peoples Election, and then be presented to the Ministers for Ordination; if so, then may the very same Person, being determin'd of by the People, be presented to God immediately for his Ordination, in case there be no Ordainers to be had. We see the People had a Vote at first in the choice of Church Officers, *Acts* 6. 3. If they were to choose Deacons so and so qualify'd, and then present them to the Apostles, then were they competent Discerners of the Qualificati

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ons. And in the Case of Ministers, several Councils have decreed Ordinations invalid, without the Peoples Election; yea? if they were but affrighted., and over-aw'd, and did not act freely, The Scripture is sufficient for the whole of the Affair of settling Ministers, except the Nominations of the Individual: Now in case there be no Ordainer, a right qualify'd Man chosen only by the People, is justly nominated as the Individual, and the Word of God gives Authority to that Individual Person, so nominated or determin'd of. For when ever two Parties are made *Con-causes*, (as here, *Ministers* as *Ordainers*, and *People* as *Choosers*) or are to concur in, Determinations, when one Party faileth, the Power and Duty is solely in the other. Again, if the Word so far describes the Persons to receive the Power, as that a Bishop can nominate the Persons by the help of that Description, then others also may nominate them by the help of that Description. For others may be able to see, what a Bishop can see, and in Case of Necessity at least may do it. The Word meddles with none of the Individuals, which the Bishops determine of, and yet conveys the Power when the Bishop hath determin'd of the Person to receive it. And 'tis the like, when in Case of Necessity the Person to receive the Power is another way determin'd of. The *Law of God* is to be conceived of in this Form: *I do Authorize the persons, that shall be justly determin'd of, according to*

this Description. And because *Ministerial Determinations* are the ordinary regular way with the Peoples Consent, it is *q. d. Ordinarily I do Authorize the Persons, whom Ecclesiastical Power shall determine of, according to this Description.* So that it is God, by his Law, that gives the Power. Again; If the People may, by their Judgment of Discretion, discern whether a Bishop have Ordain'd them one agreeable to the *Scripture Description*, they may also discern whether a Man be agreeable to it, tho' unordain'd. If not, then must they receive an Heretick or Infidel without Tryal, if Ordain'd their Bishop; which is not true, for they are bound to reject such a one. If they are not to *Eat* with such a one; much less are

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they to take him for their Minister or Bishop. Again; the Case may be so plain who the Person is, that God would have, as that there may be *no room for Controversy about it.* As when a Person hath all the visible Qualifications of Abilities, *Piety*, and a *Righteous Conversation*; a *Will to the Work*; *Opportunity* for it, by Liberty from Secular Power, and Vacancy from other Engagements, &c. When the, Peoples Hearts are mov'd towards him; and there is no Competitour, or not so many but all may be chosen: When all there concur, there is no Controversy who should be the Man. But then where these things do concur, Persons must seek an orderly admission where it is possible, and not be their own Judges of their Fitness, where there are other, Judges of God's Appointment. But if they are wanting, or so dispos'd as that they'll approve of none, but upon Terms of their own devising, a Formality or Point of Order is not to be preferr'd before the saving of Mens Souls, and the Publick Good and Safety of the Church. Again; If in case of the want of a lawful Magistrate, the People may determine of an Individul Person, whom *God*, shall Authorize, tho' the Scripture name no Individual of this Age, then they may do so also with regard to the Ministry. If this ben't allow'd as to Secular Government, we should scarce have any Magistrates in the World but by a Violent *Injustice*, which is far worse than *Popular Election.* Now the *Scripture* meddles no more with *Individuals for Magistracy* than far *Ministry.*

Mr. *Johnson* at first view complain'd, *That he could not see that Mr. Baxter, by this Reply, had answer'd his Second Argument, wherein lay the Strength of his Cause;* but upon more mature Consideration, he acknowledg'd to him, *That they had suggested that which enabled him to answer it himself, and given him full satisfaction. For that he had convinc'd him, that tho' the Succession of Ordination might be interrupted, yet we may draw our Authority from Christ by the Mediation*

of the written Word, or indeed by the very Law of Nature, which obliges all Men to do what Good they can when they have op

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portunity, and there is a Necessity of their Help. And that therefore he did not doubt but a Man might have a sufficient Discovery of the Will of Christ calling him out to Duty, and by Consequence giving him sufficient Authority for that Work, tho' he might want the Regular Entrance into it.

3. Mr. Johnson's third Argument was taken from *the Encouragement it would give to the Invaders and Intruders upon the Ministerial Office, to own that a clear Succession was not necessary.*

To this Mr. Baxter reply'd: 'That what ever Encouragement such Persons might take, there was no, just Encouragement given them. The best things, as *God's Mercifulness, Christs Satisfaction, the Preaching of Free Grace, &c.* may be Occasions of encouraging Men in Sin, but are not therefore to be disown'd. Because *a clear Succession is not necessary*, it doth not presently follow, that Intruders are to be embrac'd; for they despise or neglect God's Order. If God bid them go and work in his Vineyard, but for Order's sake go in at *this Door*, he that will not go in at *this Door* is a disobedient Servant, and not, to be own'd 'till he reform. But if God himself do, nail up *this Door*, there needs no express Dispensation for not going in at it. And it no way follows, that because Necessity may be pleaded where 'tis not real, it may not be therefore pleaded where it is so. Tho' many Men may be guided by Fancy, and run before they are sent, yet other ways must be found to stop them, besides a Supposition, the Consequences whereof are so fatal. But what ever Liberty any take without a Warrant, that Man must have a very hard Heart that would leave such a Nation as this, much more all the World, to the apparent Danger of *Everlasting Damnation*, and God's publick Worship to be utterly cast out, if it should be prov'd, *That the Succession of Legitimate Ordination is interrupted.*

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4. Mr. Johnson's fourth Argument was taken from *the Necessity or Imposition of Hands in Ordination, which Imposition of Hands could not be had by him that should come immediately into the Ministry, after a suppos'd Interruption in the Succession.*

To this Mr. *Baxter* reply'd: That he did not take *Imposition of Hands* to be absolutely essential to *Ordination*. He mentions a Bishop of *Worcester* in his time, so Lame of the Gout that he could not move, his Hand to a Man's Head; and yet never heard a Nullity suspected in his Ordination. He says, *That Imposition of Hands is required, and a proper means necessary not to the Being, but the Well-being of Ordination.* He asks him, If because the Holy Ghost hath reveal'd it to be the Will of Christ, that a Bishop, have Faithful Children, and keep them in Subjection with all Gravity, it therefore follows that it is Essential to a Bishop to have Children? How, interrupted must this make the Succession! Or because 'tis the Will of Christ, a Christian should, not speak an Idle Word, doth it therefore follow that he that speaks an Idle Word is not a Christian, Things must not be carry'd too far. There must be Necessity of Ordination without *Imposition of Hands*. A Man cast into remote Parts of the world, and, there plainly call'd to the Office of the Ministry, if he must Travel over Land and Sea for Ordination, his Life may be gone, or most of it spent, while he is seeking Authority to use it for his Master. If a few only of the Ordainers were left in a Country, or in many Nations, and those Imprison'd, or forced to hide themselves, they might ordain by an Instrument under their hands, when they could not do it by *Imposition of Hands*. But belief, it is very easy to suppose how Ordination by *Imposition of Hands* may be kept up, tho' an *Episcopal Succession* should be interrupted. And withal, the Necessity of *Imposition of Hands* in Ordination, is much less clear than the Necessity of Ordination it self, canvass'd under the second Argument. Upon the whole he told him, his main Strength lay here; *That*

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Christ or his *Apostles* have mention'd no other way of conveying Ministerial Power but by Ordination and *Imposition of Hands*, and therefore there is no other way, and this is necessary to the Being of the Office. Now, we may as strongly argue for any Mode or Convenient Circumstance so requir'd or us'd. As *Christ* or his *Apostles* mention no way of Ordination, but with Prayer conjunct, or but with *Imposition of Hands* on the bare Head, or but in the *Syriack*, *Hebrew*, *Greek* or, *Latin Tongues*, or but on a Man that is *Vigilant*, *Sober*, and of good Behavior: And therefore there is no other way; but this is of absolute Necessity to the Being of the Office. But as this is no good Arguing, no more is the other. It is as bad as if one had thus argu'd with the *Israelites* in the Wilderness; God hath mention'd no other way of Covenant Engagement, or Church Entrance, but by Circumcision; and therefore there is no other, but this is necessary to a

Church State and an Interest in the Covenant. No Divines but acknowledge some Cases must be judg'd, and some Laws interpreted, kat' ôpieÖkeian, which yet is but according to the True Sense of the Law, as Christ taught the Pharisees in the Case of, *David*, the Priests, and his Disciples rubbing the Ears of Corn.

'As it seems *Matthias* and the other Apostles were ordain'd without Imposition of Hands, so *Gregory Thaumaturgus* was ordain'd by *Phædimus*, both against his will, and when he was distant three Days Journey. *Gregory Nyssen* mentions it, in his *Orat. L de Vit. Thaumat*; and tells us, *That when Gregory avoided the Hands of the Bishop, he by Prayer and solemn Words set him apart, tho' absent, to the Priesthood.* *Nyssen* speaks of it as true Ordination, and the Form us'd shews that it was Constituting him in Office as Bishop of *Neocæsaria*.

'And it really was an Authoritative Consecration to God as a Bishop, and a Constituting him over that Church by Prayer, and solemn Words of Consecration.

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Their Debate ran upon many other Particulars, less momentous than these, which are therefore omitted.

HIS TREATING WITH THE ANABAPTISTS.

WITH THE INDEPENDENTS.

At another time, he was dealing with the *Anabaptists* in order to Peace, and that upon this Occasion. Mr. *Lamb* and Mr. *Allen*, two very sober Men, were Pastors of an Anabaptist separated Church in *London*. Mr. *Lamb's* Wife, who was a good understanding Woman, wrote Mr. *Baxter* word, *That her Husband was under some Disturbance in his Mind, not with any reference to Infant Baptism, but about Separation upon the account of it; and that a Letter from him upon that Subject would be very seasonable.* Hereupon Mr. *Baxter* wrote to him and prov'd, by several Arguments, *That tho' he should continue in his Opinion about Infant Baptism, yet he ought not to make it a Reason of denying Communion with his Brethren of another mind:* His Arguments so wrought upon him, as to satisfy him. Afterwards, he propounded the same Considerations to Mr. *Allen*, who was also satisfy'd: And thereupon they with joynt Consent dissolv'd their Church, and were very Zealous for the Reduction of their Brethren

of the *Anabaptists* way, and to that end they had a Meeting with divers of the most moderate Pastors of the Re-baptiz'd Churches: Mr. *Baxter* sent them Terms, on which they might have Peace and Communion with their Brethren; and they consulted about them, and were in a likely way of Agreement, had not the Broils of the Army, and the Confusion attending the pulling down of *Richard Cromwel* prevented it.

He treated also with Mr. *Philip Nye* about an Agreement with the *Independents*: Two things Mr. *Nye* demanded as Necessary Concessions in case of an Union. *That they might have Liberty to take Church Members out of other Parishes: And that they might have all Church Power within themselves in their several Congregations.* Both which were comply'd with in Mr. *Baxter's* Proposals in a measure. According to which, they were to be Members of Constant Associations, and meet in Synods, tho' not as subject to their Government, yet

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in order to Concord; And before they took Members from other Churches, it was to be debated in these Assemblies, *Whether there Was sufficient Cause for a Removal.* But the greatest Difference was upon the Point of *Ordination.* For whereas 'twas offer'd, *That in case any of their Pastors remov'd or dy'd, if the succeeding Pastor were ordain'd, either by any remaining Pastor of that Church, or by any Pastors of other Churches, their own or others, they should be own'd to Pastors:* It was requir'd they should be acknowledg'd as Pastors, tho' never ordain'd by any Pastor of their own Church, or any other. Which put a Stop to the Proceeding. A little before King *Charles's* Return, some Papers pass'd between him and Dr. *Hammond*, about an Agreement with the *Episcopal* Party, which went thro' the Hands of Sir *Ralph Clare.* He propos'd, In order to a Brotherly Agreement, That Private Christians might have Liberty to manage the Concerns of Religion as they pleas'd, in their Family, without Molestation; Profaneness might be universally Discountenanc'd and Punish'd; That great Care might be taken as to the Abilities and Piety of the Pastors of the Church; That no Pastors be forc'd on the Flocks without their Consent; That the Ministers be urg'd to Personal Catechizations; That there be an open Profession of faith and Holiness, upon the passing out of the State of Infant into that of Adult Church Members; That Symbolical Mystical Ceremonies be not forc'd upon Persons against their Consciences, or a Form of Prayer so impos'd, as to restrain a Freedom of Praying according to the

Variety of Circumstances and Occasions; That the Pastors of each Parish Church have Liberty to hear Accusations of Heresy or Scandal, publicly to admonish Offenders upon Occasion, and call them to Repentance, to absolve the Penitent and reject the Impenitent: That the Neighbouring Pastors associating for Union and Communion, may hold Monthly Synods in every Market Town, having a stated President; that all Pastors be here Respon-

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sible for their Conduct, and the more weighty Affairs of Particular Churches here decided: That every Quarter there be a Synod of all the Pastors of each County, with a stated President; to receive Appeals, without destroying the Power of Particular Pastors, or lesser Synods; and that no President ordain, deprive, suspend, or excommunicate, without the Consent of the Synod: That National Councils consist of the Presidents of both the Diocesan and Inferiour Synods; or else of the Diocesan, and two, but of each County, freely chosen by the major Vote of all the Pastors: That no Subscription be requir'd of the Pastors, but to the Holy Scriptures, and the Antient Creeds, and to the Necessary Articles of Faith and Practise express'd in Scripture Terms, and to the Renunciation of all Heresies contrary thereto: That no Pastor be displac'd unless for Insufficiency; Negligence or Scandal, committed within 2 Years before the Accusation. And that Persons Excommunicate might not be punish'd upon that Account with Corporal Punishments, unless it be by Disfranchising.—Dr. *Hammond*, in his Reply, cast all the Alterations or Abatements upon King and Parliament, without any particular Promises of Endeavours to accomplish them: Tho' his Death, which was just upon the King's coming in, was a Great and General loss; it being highly probable that his Piety, and Wisdom, and Interest, might have had a considerable Influence for the better, had it pleas'd God to spare his life.

HIS DISPUTES WITH THE PAPISTS.

Besides all these, and a great many more Endeavours of his for Peace among Protestants, he was often engag'd against the Papists. He first wrote three Disputations against them: One to prove *the Protestant Religion safe*; another to shew *their Religion unsafe*, and a third to prove, *that they overthrew the Faith by the ill Resolution of their Faith*. He next wrote *A Winding-Sheet for Popery*, containing a Summary of Moderate and Effectual Reasons against their Religion. And afterwards publish'd his *Key for Catholicks*, to open the *Jugling*

of the *Jesuits*, and satisfy all that are but truly willing to understand, whether the Cause of the *Roman* or *Reformed Churches* be of God,

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Besides which, he manag'd some particular Debates with several Romanists, as *W. Johnson*, alias *Terres*, and others. And let but all this be added to his Laborious Diligence among his own particular flock: And his many Practical Writings that he publish'd, and it will amaze any Man to conceive, how one of so much Weakness, who was constantly follow'd with divers Infirmities, should be capable of so much Service: But an Heart full of Love to God, and flaming with Zeal for his Honour, carry'd him thro' all, and made him for Vigour and Activity the Wonder of his Age.

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CHAP. VIII.

The Transactions in order to the Healing pass'd Breaches, after King Charles his Restauration. The Savoy Conference; and Silencing Two Thousand Ministers quickly after it.

An. 1660.

THE TREATMENT OF THE PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS AT COURT.

WHEN the King was receiv'd with the general Acclamations of his People, the Expectations of Men were various, according to their several Interests and Inducements. Some plain and moderate *Episcopal* Men tho't of *Reconciliation* and *Union* with the *Presbyterians*. The more Politick Part of them knew that all their Ancient Power, and Honour, and Revenues would be restor'd to them, and none suffer'd to share with them, but such as were entirely of their mind and Way. But many of the *Presbyterians* were in great Hopes of Favour.* To cherish which Hopes, Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Ash*, Dr. *Spurstow*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Clje*, Mr. *B.1.'1:ter*, &c. to the number of 10 or 12 of them,,-ere made the King's Chaplains in Ordinary: Tho' none of them ever Preach'd, except Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Spurstow*, and Mr. *Woodbridge*, each once a piece. By this Means they had easy access to his Majesty; and intending

to improve it to the Common Good, waited upon him with my Lord *Manchester*, recommending to his serious Consideration, the Union of his Subjects in Religious Matters, which if he would please to interpose, he had now a most Happy Juncture for effecting;

and

* *Besides Particular promises from Men in Power, they had an Assurance from King Charles himself, in his Declaration from Breda, to all his Loving Subjects, April 4. 1660. in which were these words: We do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences, and that no Man shall be disquieted, or call'd in question for Differences of Opinion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom.*

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and begging that only things necessary might be the Terms of Union; that the true Exercise of Church Discipline might be allow'd; and that the faithful Ministers that would Exercise it might not be cast out, nor unworthy Men obtruded on the People. The King declar'd himself highly pleas'd with their Inclinations to Agreement, and resolv'd to do his part towards the promoting of it: But told them, *That this Agreement could not be expected to be compass'd by bringing one Party over to the other, but by abating something on both sides, and meeting in the midway. That if it were not effected it should be long of themselves, and not of him:* Nay, *That he was resolv'd to compass Union, and that he would draw the two distant Parties together, himself, &c.* And thereupon he desir'd them, *To offer him some Proposals in order to an Agreement about Church Government, which being the main Difference, if it could be amicably adjusted, there would be little danger of differing in other things.* And withal, he desired them to set down the most that they could yield to. They told them, *They were but few, and had no Commission from their Brethren to express their minds; and therefore begg'd leave to acquaint their Brethren in the Country, that they might know their Sense.* The King said, *That would be too long, and make too much Noise, and therefore he had rather have the Proposals from them, who might take such as were in the City with them as they tho't good.* Hereupon they declar'd, *That they could not pretend to speak for, or oblige others; and that therefore what they did, must signify but the Minds of so many Men as were present.* The King told them, *It should be so taken; and that he intended not to call an Assembly of the other Party, but would bring a few, such as he tho't meet: And that if he tho't good to advice with a few on each side, for his own satisfaction, none had cause to be offended at it.* They also begg'd of the King, *That at the same time that they offer'd their Concessions to his Majesty, the Brethren on the other side might also bring in theirs, containing the utmost that they could abate and yield on their side, in order to Concord; that so when both were*

seen and compar'd together, a Judgment might be the better form'd, as to the Probability of Success. And the King promis'd them it should be so.

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THEIR PROPOSALS TO THE KING, ABOUT CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

After this, the Ministers met from Day to Day at *Sion Colledge*, to Consult openly with any of their Brethren that would join with them; that none might say they were excluded. Many of the City Ministers came to them; and many Country Ministers, who were then in Town, join'd also with them; as Dr. *Worth*, (afterwards a Bishop in *Ireland*) Mr. *Fulwood*, afterwards Arch-Deacon of *Totness* and others; but Mr. *Matthew Newcomen* was the most constant. In about 3 Weeks time, they agreed to a Paper of Proposals, (which was drawn up for the most Part by Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reignolds* and Dr. *Worth*) in which, "after an Humble Address to His Majesty, and 4 Preliminary Requests, viz. *That serious Godliness might be Countenanc'd; a Learned and Pious Minister in each Parish encourag'd; that a Personal Publick owning the Baptismal Covenant might precede an admission to the Lord's Table; and that the Lords Day might be strictly Sanctifi'd:* They offer to allow of the True Antient Primitive Presidency in the Church with a due mixture of *Presbyters*, in order to the avoiding the Corruptions, Partiality, Tyranny and other Evils, which are incident to the Administration of a single Person, The things which they Principally blam'd in the *English Frame*, were the *great Extent of the Bishops Diocess, their Deputing Commissarys, Chancellors, and Officials to Act in their stead; their assuming the sole Power of Ordination and Jurisdiction; and acting so Arbitrarily in Visitation Articles;* bringing in New Ceremonies, and suspending Ministers at Pleasure: And for Reforming these Evils they propos'd, that *Bishop-Ushers Reduction of Episcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government receiv'd in the Antient Church,* should be the Ground-Work of an Accommodation; and that *Suffragans* should be chosen by the respective Synods; the Associations be of a moderate Extent, the Ministers be under no Oath, or Promises of Obedience to the Bishops, as being Responsible for any Transgression of the Law; and that the Bishops Govern not by Will and Pleasure, but according to Rules Canons and Constitutions that should be Ratifi'd and Establish'd by Act of Parliament.—

“As

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“As to the *Liturgy*, they own’d the Lawfulness of a prescribed Form of Publick Worship; but desir’d, that some Learned and Pious, and Moderate Divines of both sorts, might be employ’d either to Compile a New *Liturgy*, or to Reform the Old, adding some other Varying Forms in Scripture Phrase, to be us’d at the Ministers Choice.—As to the *Ceremonies* they Humbly Represented, that the Worship of God was perfect: without them, that God hath Declar’d himself in Matters of Worship a Jealous God, that the Reform’d Churches abroad, most of them rejected the Ceremonies that were retain’d here; that here in *England*, they had ever since the Reformation bin Matter of Contention and Dispute; that they had occasion’d the silencing of many Pious and Useful Ministers, and given rise to many Separations from the Church: That they were at best but indifferent, and in their own Nature Mutable and therefore they begg’d, that Kneeling at the Sacrament might not be imposed and that the surplice, and the Cross in Baptism, and the Bowing at the Name of *Jesus* rather than *Christ* or *Emanuel* might be abolish’d, and that Care might be taken to prevent future Innovations contrary to Law; that so the Publick Worship might be free, not only from Blame but Suspicion.

Quickly after the Kings Return, many Hundrred worthy Ministers were displac’d, and cast out of their Charges because they were in Sequestrations where others had bin cast out by the Parliament. The Ministers waiting upon his Majesty with their Proposals, signify’d their full Satisfaction that all such should be Cast out, as were in any Benifice belonging formerly to one that was not grosly Insufficient or Debauch’d: but humbly begg’d that all who had succeeded *scandalous Persons*, might hold their Places, They further desire’d, that the Broad Seal might be revok’d which had bin granted

to

** Many of these after their being turn’d out of the sequestrations, there soon settled again in other vacant Places, whence they were afterwards ejected by the Act of Uniformity, and as for such as were not so soon provided for, they had without much difficulty quickly got Livings or Lectureships, if that Act had not incapacitated them; on which Account it is much the same thing, as if that Act had first displac’d them.*

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to several, for those Livings that had bin formerly sequestred, where the Old Incumbents were since Dead; by which Grants many worthy Possessors were ejected, tho’ there were none before that could pretend any Right: And that his Majesty would be pleas’d to Publish his Pleasure that no Oath or Subscriptions, nor no Renunciation of Orders might be requir’d of any,

till it was seen what was the issue of the desired Agreement. The King treated them very Respectfully, and renew'd his Professions of his earnest desires of an Accommodation of the Differences, told them he was well pleas'd that they were for a Liturgy, and yielded to the Essence of Episcopacy, and promis'd them that the Places where the Old Incumbents were Dead, should according to their Desire, be confirm'd to the Possessors.

THE ANSWER OF THE EPISCOPAL DIVINES.

Whereas it had bin, promis'd them by his Majesty, that they should meet with some Divines of the other side, and see their Proposals, it much disappointed them to find none of them appear. But, they were fearful of giving Disgust, by Expostulating or Complaining. After some time of waiting for the Condescensions and Compliances of the Episcopal Divines in Order to Peace, they at length receiv'd a biting Answer by way of Reflection on the Proposals they had made to his Majesty. In this their Answer, they Declare as to their *Preliminary Requests*, "that they don't perceive any further Security can be given, than is provided by the Laws of the Realm already establish'd. As for private Religious Liberty that they are free to it, so a gap be not open'd to Sectarys for private Conventicles, for the Consequences of which none can be responsible to the State: That they are for a Godly Minister in each Parish, but know not what is meant by his *residing in his Cure*,* nor how far that Word may be extended, nor what farther Provision can be made

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* *These Gentlemen it seems were of Arch-Bishop Whitgift's Mind, who in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, tells her the Church must fall, if the Bill against Pluralities (then brought into the House of Commons) should take Place. See Fullers Church History, Book 9, Pag. 191.*

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for it. As for *Confirmation*, and the keeping Scandalous Persons from Communion, they tho't the Church had sufficiently provided: And as for the *Observation of the Lord's Day*, they declare the Laws of the Land were stricter than the Laws of any Foreign Reformed Church whatsoever. As to *Church Government*, they declare for the former Hierarchy without any Alteration; and invidiously insinuate, That their Reflections on the Consequences of a single Person's Administration in the Church was as applicable to the Civil State. The *Extent of Diocesses*, they declare suitable eno' to the Bishop's Office: And the *Administration of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* by Chancellours, &c. Regular in the main. Bp. *Usher's Reduction*, they reject as Inconsistent with

Two other of his Discourses, and as being at best but a Heap of private Conceptions. The *Liturgy* they applaud as unexceptionable, and think it can't be said to be too Rigorously impos'd, when Ministers are not deny'd the Exercise of their Gifts in Praying before and after Sermon. Which sort of Praying, they declare however, is but the continuance of a Custom of no great Authority, and grown into Common Use by Sustenance only, without any other Foundation in the Laws and Canons. The revising the *Liturgy* nevertheless they yield to, if His Majesty thinks fit. As for the *Ceremonies*, they could not part with one; not being able to think that the Satisfaction of some private Persons, was to be laid in the Ballance against the Publick Peace, and Uniformity of the Church. Nay, were any Abatements made, they are satisfy'd, unquiet Spirits would but be thereby encourag'd to make further Demands.

Bishop *Usher's Model of Government* being the Scheme which the *Presbyterian* Ministers now presented to the King, I shall here annex a Copy of it, that every one may know what it was particularly that the Bishops refus'd.

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THE REDUCTION OF EPISCOPACY UNTO THE FORM OF SYNODICAL GOVERNMENT RECEIV'D IN THE ANTIEN T CHURCH, PROPOS'D IN THE YEAR 1641, AS AN EXPEDIENT FOR THE PREVENTION OF THOSE TROUBLES WHICH AFTERWARDS DID ARISE, ABOUT THE MATTER OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

EPISCOPAL AND PRESBYTERIAN GOVERNMENT CONJOYN'D.

BY the Order of the Church of *England*, all *Presbyters* are charg'd to (a) Minister the Doctrine and Sacraments and the Discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Realm hath receiv'd the same. And that we might the better understand what the Lord had commanded therein, the Exhortation of St. *Paul* to the Elders (b) of the Church of *Ephesus*, is appointed to be read unto them at the time of their Ordination: *Take heed unto your selves, and to all the Flock among whom the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers to* rule the Congregation of God, which he hath purchased with his Blood.*

Of the many Elders who in common thus Rul'd the Church of *Ephesus*, there was one President whom our Saviour in his Epistle to the Church, in a peculiar manner, stileth *the (c) Angel of the Church* of *Ephesus*. And *Ignatius*, in another Epistle written about twelve Yens after to the same Church, calleth the *Bishop* thereof. Betwixt which Bishop and the Presbytery of that Church, what an Harmonious Consent there was in the ordering the Church Government, the same *Ignatius* doth fully there declare. By the *Presbytery* (with *St. Paul (d)*) understanding the Company of the rest of the *Presbyter*, or Elders, who then had a Hand not only in the Delivery of the Doctrine and Sacraments, but also in the Administration of the Discipline of Christ. For further Proof whereof, we have that known Testimony of *Tertullian* in his gene

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- (a) *The Form of ordering Priests.*
 (b) *Ibid. Acts 20.17,18.*
 (c) *Revel. 2.1.*
 (d) *1 Tim. 4.14.*

* *poimanein, so taken Matt. 2. 6. and Rev. 12. 5. and 19. 15.*

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ral Apology for Christians. In *(e)* the Church are us'd *Exhortations, Chastisements, and Divine Censures*; for Judgment is given with great Advice, as among those who are certain they are in the Sight of God, and it is the Chiefest foreshewing of the Judgment which is to come, if any Man hath so Offended that he be banish'd from the Communion of Prayer, and of the Assembly, and of all Holy Fellowship.

(e) Ibidem etiam Exhortationes, Castigationes, & Censuræ Diviniæ, nam & judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumq; futuri Judicii Prejudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a Communione Orarionis, & Conventus, & omnis Sancti Cummertii relegatur. Præsident probatiquique Seniores. Honorem istum non precio, sed Testimonio adepti. Tert. Apol. Cap. 39.

The Presidents that bear Rule therein, are certain approv'd Elders who have obtain'd this Honour, not by Reward, but by good Report. Who were no other (as he himself elsewhere intimateth) than those *(f)* from whose Hands they us'd to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

(f) Nec dealiorum manibus quam Præsidentium sumimus. Idem de Corona Militis, Cap. 3.

For with the Bishop, who was the Chief President (and therefore stil'd by the same *Tertullian* in another place *Summus (g) Sacerdos* for distinction sake) the rest of the Dispensors of the Word and Sacraments were joyn'd in the common Government of the Church. And therefore, in Matters of Ecclesiastical Judicature, *Comelius* Bishop of *Rome* us'd the receiv'd Form of *(h)* gathering, together the *Presbytery*.

(g) Dandi quidem Baptismi habet jus Summus Sacerdos qui est Episcopus, de hinc Presbyteri & Diaconi. Idem. de Baptismo Cap. 17. (h) Omni Actu ad me perlato placuit contrahi Presbyterium. Cornel. apud Cyprianum. Epis. 46. 1.

Of what Persons that did consist, *Cyprian* sufficiently declareth, when he wish'd him to read his Letters to (i) the flourishing Clergy that there did reside, or Rule with him.

(i) Florentissimo illi Clero, secum Præsidenti, Cyprian. Ep. 55. ad. Cornel.

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The Presence of the Clergy being tho't to be so requisite in Matters of Episcopal Audience, that in the 4th Council of *Carthage* it was concluded (k) that the Bishop might hear no Man's Cause without the Presence of the Clergy, which we find also to be inserted in the Canons of *Egbert* (l), who was Archbishop of *York* in the *Saxon* Times, and afterwards into the Body of the (m) Canon Law it self.

(k) Ut Epis. copus nullus Causam audiat absq; Præsentia Clericorum Suorum; alioquin irrita erit sententia Episcopi nisi Clericorum Præsentiâ confirmetur. Concil. Carthag. 4. cap. 23. (l) Excerptiones Egberti. cap. 43. (m) 15. Qu. 7. cap. Nullus.

True it is, that in our Church this kind of *Presbyterian* Government hath bin long disus'd,—yet seeing it still professeth that every Pastor hath a Right to Rule the Church (from whence the name of *Rector* also was given at first to him) and to administer the Discipline of Christ, as well as to dispense the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the Restraint of the Exercise of that Right proceedeth only from the Custom now receiv'd in this Realm: No Man can doubt, but by another Law of the Land, this Hindrance may be well remov'd. And how easily this Antient form of Government by the united Suffrages of the Clergy might be reviv'd again, and with what little shew of Alteration the Synodical Conventions of the Pastors of every Parish might be accorded with the Presidency of the Bishops of each Diocess and Province, the Indifferent Reader may quickly perceive by the perusal of the ensuing Propositions.

I.

THE PAROCHIAL GOVERNMENT ANSWERABLE TO THE CHURCH SESSION IN SCOTLAND.

In every Parish the Rector, or the Incumbent Pastor, together with the Church-Warden and Sidemen, may every Week take notice of such as live scandalously in that Congregation; who are to receive such several Admonitions

and Reproofs, as the Quality of their Offence shall deserve; and if by this means they cannot be reclaim'd, they may be presented unto the next Monthly Synod, and in the mean time he debarr'd by the Pastor from access unto the Lord's Table.

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II.

THE MONTHLY SYNOD ANSWERABLE TO THE SCOTTISH PRESBYTERY OR
ECCLESIASTICAL MEETING.

Whereas by a Statute in the 26. of *Hen.* 8. (reviv'd in the 1st of *Q. Eliz.*) Suffragans are appointed to be erected in 26 several Places of this Kingdom, the number of them might very well be conform'd unto the number of the several Rural Deanries, into which every Diocess is subdivided; which being done, the Suffragan (supplying the place of those who in the Antient Church were call'd *Chorepiscopi*) might every Month assemble a Synod of all the Rectors, or Incumbent Pastors, within the Precinct, and according to the major part of their Voices conclude all Matters that should be bro't into Debate before them. To this Synod the Rector and Church-Wardens might present such Impenitent Persons, as by Admonition and suspension from the Sacrament would not be reform'd, who, if they would still remain Contumacious and Incurable, the Sentence of Excommunication might be decreed against them by the Synod, and accordingly be Executed in the Parish where they liv'd. Hitherto also all things that concern'd the Parochial Ministers might be refer'd, whether they did touch their Doctrine or their Conversation: Asalso the Censure of all New Opinions, Heresies and Schisms, which did arise within that Circuit, with Liberty of Appeal if need so require unto the Diocesan Synod.

III.

DIOCESAN SYNODS ANSWERABLE TO THE PROVINCIAL SYNODS IN
SCOTLAND.

The Diocesan Synod might be held once or twice in the Year, as it should be tho't most convenient; therein all the Suffragans, and the rest of the Rectors or Incumbent Pastors, *or a certain Select Number out of every Deanry within that Diocess* might meet; with whose Consent, or the major part of them, all things might be concluded by the Bishop or* Superintendent,

* Eposkot(c)ntej, *i.e.* Superintendentes, unde & nomen Episcopi tractum est. *Hieron. Epist. 85. ad Evagrium.*

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ent, (call him which you will) or in his Absence by one of the Suffragans, whom he should depute in his stead to be Moderator of that Assembly. Here all Matters of greater Moment might be taken into Consideration, and the Orders of the Monthly Synods revis'd, and (if need be) reform'd. And if here also any Matter of Difficulty could not receive a full Determination, it might be refer'd to the next Provincial or National Synod.

IV.

THE PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL SYNOD, ANSWERABLE TO THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY IN SCOTLAND.

The Provincial Synod might consist of all the Bishops and Suffragans, and such of the Clergy as should be Elected out of every Diocess within the Province. The Primate of either Province, might be the Moderator of this Meeting, (or in his room some one of the Bishops appointed by him) and all Matters be order'd therein by common Consent, as in the former Assemblies. This Synod might be held every third Year, and if the Parliament do then sit, both the Primates and Provincial Synods of the Land might joyn, together, and make up a National Council; wherein all Appeals from Inferiour Synods might be receiv'd) *all* their Acts examin'd, and *all* Ecclesiastical Constitutions which concern the State of the Church of the whole Nation establish'd.

THE KING'S DECLARATION CONCERNING ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

Shortly after, instead of the *Diocesans Concessions*, the Ministers were told that the King would put all that he tho't meet to grant them into the Form of a Declaration, and they should See it before it was Publish'd, and have Liberty to give Notice of what they dislik'd, as not Consistent with the desir'd Concord; a Copy of the said Declaration was accordingly sent them by the Lord Chancellor. Having perus'd it, they drew up a Petition to the King, and join'd thereto some Remarks on the Declaration: But being deliver'd to the Lord Chancellor, he drop'd it, and never call'd them to Present it to the King; but desired the Particulars of what Alterations they would insist on: They deliver'd him a Breviate of the Parti

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culars as he desir'd, which he took time to Consider off. And after all, a Day was appointed for his Majesty to Peruse the Declaration as the Lord Chancellor had drawn it up, and to allow what he lik'd, and alter the rest, upon the hearing of both sides. At the time appointed, the King came to the Lord Chancellor's, with the Dukes of *Albermarle* and *Ormond*; the E. of *Manchester*, the E. of *Anglesea*, and Lord *Hollis*, &c. and Dr. *Sheldon* Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Morley* Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. *Hinchman* Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Cosins* Bishop of *Durham*, Dr. *Gauden* Bishop of *Exeter*, Dr. *Hackett*, Dr. *Barwick*, and Dr. *Gunning*, &c. on one side: On the other Part stood Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Ash*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Spurstow*, Mr. *Baxter*, and some others. The Business of the Day was not to Dispute, but as the Lord Chancellor read over the Declaration, each Party was to speak to what they disliked, and the King to Determine how it should be as he liked himself. There were various altercations about Prelacy and Reordination, and the Particulars of the Declaration; and when the whole was Perus'd, the Lord Chancellor drew out another Paper, intimating that the King had also bin Petition'd by the *Independents* and *Anabaptists* for Liberty, and therefore he Read an Additional Part of the Declaration, to this purpose, that *others also bin permitted to Meet for Religious Worship, so be it, they do it not to the disturbance of the Peace; and that no Justice of Peace or Officer disturb them.* This being design'd to secure Liberty to the *Popish*, there was a general silence upon the Reading it; the Bishops tho't it a nice Point, and therefore said nothing, The *Presbyterians* were afraid to speak against it, least all the Sects and Parties should look upon them as the Causers of their Sufferings; and

they should be represented as grosly Parial, in desiring Liberty themselves, while they would have no others have it with them. At length, Mr. *Baxter* fearing their silence might be misinterpreted, spake to this Purpose. *That Dr. Gunning a little before speaking against Sects, had nam'd the Papists and Socinians, that for their Parts, they did not desire Favour to themselves alone; and rigorous Severity against none: But as they Humbly thank'd his Ma*

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jesty for his declar'd indulgence to themselves, so they distinguish'd the tolerable Party from the intolerable: For the former, they humbly crav'd just Lenity and Favour: But for the latter, such as the 2 sorts mention'd, for their Parts they could not make their Toleration their Request. To which his Majesty said, that there were Laws sufficient against the Papists: And Mr. *Baxter* reply'd, that they understood the Question to be, whether those Laws should be executed or not; upon which the Matter was drop'd. But before the breaking up of the Meeting, the King, having Determin'd what he would have stand in the Declaration as to the Sense of it, nam'd 4 Divines to Determine of any Words in the Alterations, if there were any Difference; viz. Bp. *Morley*, Bp. *Hinchman*, Dr. *Reignolds* and Mr. *Calamy*: And if they disagreed, the E. of *Anglesea*, and the Lord *Hollis* were to decide them. And at length it came out so amended, with such a Pastoral peswasive Power of Governing left to the Ministers with the Rural Deans, as that it was fitted to be an Instrument of Concord and Peace, if settled by a Law; and so the Division might have been heal'd, upon the Alteration of the Liturgy, as the Declaration promis'd. Several of the Ministers were offer'd Preferments: Mr. *Calamy* had the Bishoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* offer'd him, Dr. *Reignolds* the Bishoprick of *Norwich*, and Mr. *Baxter* that of *Hereford*, Dr. *Manton* was offer'd the Deanry of *Rochester*, Dr. *Bates* the Deanry of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and Mr. *Edward Bowlas* the Deanry of *York*, but all refus'd, on the Account of the uncertainty of the Continuance of the Terms in the Declaration, except Dr. *Reignolds*, who declar'd when he accepted the Bishoprick of *Norwich*, that he did it upon the Terms hid down in the Declaration, and not as Episcopacy stood before in *England*; and that he would no longer hold or exercise it, than he could do it on those Terms.

In the Declaration which was dated *October 25, 1660*. The King thus Expresses himself, *When we were in Holland, we were attended by many Grave and Learned Ministers from hence, who were look'd upon as the most Able and*

Principal Assertors of Presbyterian Opinions, with whom we had as much Conference, as the

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multitude of Affair which were then upon us, would permit us to have: And to our great Satisfaction and Comfort, found them persons full of Affection to us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and State; and neither Enemies (as they have bin given out to be) of Episcopacy or Liturgy; but modestly to desire such Alteration in either, as without shaking Foundations, might best allay the present Distempers, which the indisposition of times, and the tenderness of some Mens Consciences had contracted. For the better doing whereof, we intended upon our first arrival in these Kingdoms, to call a Synod of Divines: And in the mean time Publish'd in our Declaration from Breda a Liberty to tender Consciences. We need not profess the high Esteem and Affection we have for the Church of England, as it is establish'd by Law. Nor do we think that Reverence in the least Degree diminish'd by our Condescensions, not Peremptorily, to insist upon some Particulars of Ceremonies, which however introduc'd by the Piety, Devotion, and Order of former times, may not be so agreeable to the present; but may even lessen that Piety and Devotion for the Improvement whereof they might be first introduc'd, and Consequently may well be dispen'd with.—And we have not the least doubt, but the present Bishops will think the present Concessions now made by us, to allay the present Distempers, very Just and Reasonable, and will very cheerfully Conform themselves thereunto,—Of these Concessions, this was the Substance: “The King declar'd his Resolution to promote the Power of Godliness, to encourage the Exercises of Religion both in Publick and in Private, to take Care that the Lords Day should be apply'd to Holy Exercises, without unnecessary Divertisements; and that insufficient, negligent, and scandalous Ministers, should not he permitted in the Church. That no Bishops should Ordain, or Exercise any Part of Jurisdiction, which appertains to the Censures of the Church, without the Advice and Assistance of the Presbyters, and neither do, nor impose any thing, but what was According to the known Laws of the Land; that Chancellors, Commissaries, and Officials should be excluded from Acts of Jurisdiction, the Power of the Pastors in their several Congregations restor'd, and a Liberty granted to all the Ministers to As

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semble Monthly, for the Exercise of the Pastoral Perswasive Power, to the promoting of Knowledge and Godliness in their Flocks. That the Ministers

should be freed from the Subscription requir'd by the Canon, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience, and receive Ordination, Institution and Induction, and Exercise their Function, and enjoy the Profits of their Livings, without being oblig'd to it: And that the Use of the Ceremonies would be dispens'd with, where they were scrupled. These Concessions were so highly pleasing, that an Address of Thanks was drawn up, and sign'd by many of the Ministers in and about *London*; which Address was Graciously receiv'd.

But after all, this Declaration had no Effect, save only a Years suspension of the Law that afterwards took *Place*. At a distance in the Country some Men were so violent, that they indicted Ministers at the Assizes and Sessions, notwithstanding the Declaration, taking it for no suspension of the Law. But upon Application to the King and the Lord Chancellor on their behalf, they were generally deliver'd. But as to the Matter of Church Government, none of the Concessions in the Declaration, were put in Execution.

THE CONFERENCE AT THE SAVOY.

However it being promis'd in the Declaration, that the Liturgy should be review'd, and reform'd, and New Terms drawn up in Scripture phrase, suited to the several Parts of Worship, that Men might use which of them they pleas'd, a Commission was at length granted to certain Persons nominated to meet for that purpose; the Commissioners on one side, were the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Chichester, Sarum, Worcester, Lincoln, Peterborough, Chester, Carlisle, and Exceter; and on the other side, Dr. Reignolds now Bishop of Norwich. Dr. Tuckny, Dr. Conant, Dr. Spurstow, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Mamon, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Case, Mr. Clark, Mr. Newcomen: The Assistants on one side were Dr. Earles, Dr. Heylin, Dr. Hacket, Dr. Barwick, Dr. Gunning, Dr. Pierson, Dr. Pierce, Dr. Sparrow, and Mr.

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* *Many Particular Instances of this kind, may be seen in the Conformist's 4th Plea for the Nonconformists.*

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Thordike; and on the other side, Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Rawlinson*, Mr. *Cooper*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Dr. *Collins*, Mr. *Woodbridge*, and Dr. *Drake*.

The *Savoy*, and the Bishop of *London's* Lodgings there, was appointed as the Place of Meeting. When they were met there, the Bishop of *London* told the Ministers; *That they, and not the Bishops, had bin Seekers of the Conference, being desirous of Alterations in the Liturgy: And that, therefore, there was nothing to be done 'till they had bro't in all that they had to say against it in Writing, and all the Additional Forms and Alterations which they desired.* The Ministers mov'd for an *Amicable Conference*, according to the Commission, as thinking it more likely to contribute to Dispatch, and to the Answering the Great End: whereas, Writing would be a tedious endless Business, and prevent that Familiarity and Acquaintance with each others Minds, which might facilitate Concord. But the Bishop of *London* absolutely insisted upon it, *That nothing should be done 'till all Exceptions, Alterations and Additions, were bro't in at once.* And after some Debate, it was agreed, *That they should bring all their Exceptions at one time, and all their Additions at another time.* Exceptions were accordingly drawn up by Dr. *Reignolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Clark*, Dr. *Jacomb*, &c. and in some time offer'd to the Bishops.

PROPOSALS ABOUT THE LITURGY.

In this Paper they propos'd, "That the *Prayers* and *Materials* of the Liturgy might have nothing in them *doubtful*, or *question'd* amongst Pious, Learned, and Orthodox Persons. That as the *Reformers* at first so compos'd the Liturgy, as might be most likely to win upon the *Papists*, and draw them into to their Church Communion by varying as little as well they could from the *Romish Forms* before in use; so it might, according to the same Rule of Prudence, be then so compos'd, as to gain upon the Judgments and Affection of all those, who in the *Substantials* of the *Protestant Religion* are of the same Perswasion. That the *Repetitions* and *Responsals* of Clerk and People might be omitted. That the *Petitions* of the *Litany* might be cast into One Solemn Prayer

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Prayer, to be offer'd up by the Minister, and not so as that the Precatory Part should be utter'd only by the People. That there be nothing in the *Liturgy* countenancing the Observation of *Lent* as a *Religious Fast*. That the Religious Observation of *Saints Days* be omitted, That the *Liturgy* be not so impos'd, as totally to exclude the Gift of Prayer in any part of Publick Worship. That the New Translation of the Scriptures be us'd instead of the Old Version, which in many places is justly exceptionable. That *Apocryphal Lessons* might

be omitted. That the Minister be not requir'd to Rehearse the *Liturgy* at the *Communion Table*. That the word *Priest* and *Curate* throughout the Book be turn'd into that of *Minister*, and *Sunday* into *Lord's-Day*. That Obsolete Words be chang'd into Words generally receiv'd, and better understood, That no Portions of the *Old-Testament*, or of the Book of the *Acts*, be stil'd or read as Epistles, That the Phrase which supposes all in Communion to be Regenerated (while due Care is not taken about the Exercise of Discipline) might be Reformed; And that the Petitions in the Prayers might have a more orderly Connexion, and the Forms be of it more competent length, which would be more to Edification, and tend to gain the Reverence of the People. That the *Liturgy* might be so contriv'd, as to comprehend the Sum of all such Sins as are ordinarily to be confess'd in Prayer by the Church, and of such Petitions and Thanksgivings as are ordinarily to be put up to God; and the Catechism annex'd, might summarily comprehend all such Doctrines as are necessary to be believ'd, and these explicitly set down: That Ceremonies might not be impos'd by the *Liturgy*, but left at Liberty. After which General Proposals, a great many particular *Exceptions* were added as to the several Parts of the *Liturgy*, and Passages in it.

The drawing up of the *Additions* or *New Forms* was undertaken by Mr. *Baxter* alone, who stil'd it, *The Reformed Liturgy*, which when read by the Ministers was generally approved of.

During

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During this Interval, the *Convocation* was chosen, which was Politickly deferr'd till now*. Had it bin call'd when the King came in, the Inferiour Clergy would have bin against the *Diocesans*. But afterwards many Hundreds were turn'd out, that the old Sequestred Ministers, how meanly soever qualify'd, might come in. And the Opinion of Reordination being set on foot, all those Ministers, who for 20 Years together, while Bishops were laid aside, had bin Ordain'd without *Diocesans*, were in many Countries deny'd any Voices in the Election of Clerks for the *Convocation*. By which Means, and a great many Ministers Scruples, who tho't it Unlawful to have any thing to do in choosing such a kind of Assembly, the *Diocesan Party* wholly carry'd it in the Choice. The Election was in *London*, *May* 2. 1661, Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Baxter* were chosen by a majority of 3 Voices. But the Bishop of *London*, having the Power of choosing 2 out of 4. or 4 out of 6, that and chosen by the Ministers in a certain Circuit, was so kind as to excuse them by pitching on others: And so the City of *London* had no Clerk in the *Convocation*.†

May the 4th, the Paper of *Exceptions* was given in at a Meeting with the Bishops. May the 7th, there was a Meeting at *Sion-Colledge* of the Ministers of *London*, for the Choice of a President and Assistants for the new Year. Some of the *Presbyterians* upon a Pettish Scruple absenting themselves, the Dio

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† *Dr. Allen of Huntingdon-shire* Clerk in this Convocation, earnestly labour'd with *Dr. Sheldon* then Bishop of *London*, (afterwards Arch-Bishop) that they might so Reform the Liturgy, as that no Sober Man might make Exception: But was wish'd to forbear; for that what should be, was concluded on, or resolv'd.—See Conformists Plea for the Nonconformists, Part I. pag. 31; So very Nice and Exact were the High Party, that this would not yield so much as to forbear the Lessons of the Apocrypha: Insomuch that after if long tugg at the Convocation-House about that Matter, It good Doctor came out at last with great Joy, that they had carry'd it for Bell and the Dragon.

* The Author of the Conformists Plea for the Nonconformists, says, Great Pains and Care were used to frame this Convocation to the Mind of the High Prelatical Party; keeping some out, and getting others in, by very undue Proceedings. Part I. Pag. 37.

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cesan Party carry'd it, and got the Possession and Rule of the Colledge. May the 8th, the *New Parliament* and Convocation sat down, being constituted of Men fitted and devoted to the *Diocesan* Interest. May the 22th, by Order of Parliament, the *National Vow* and *Covenant* was burnt in the Street, by the Hands of the Common Hangman.

A *Petition* was by the Common Consent of the Ministers drawn up, to be presented to the Bishops at the same time with the *Reformed Liturgy*; which were both presented accordingly. In this *Petition* they, with great Humility and Earnestness, begg'd their *Abating their impositions* in order to the Peace of the Church; and very pathetically urg'd many *moving Arguments* to induce them to a Compliance; and in the end they address themselves to them in these words. *Grant us but the Freedom which Christ and his Apostles left unto the Churches: Use necessary things as necessary, and unnecessary things as unnecessary; and charitably bear with the infirmities of the Weak, and tolerate the Tolerable while they live peaceably, and then you will know when you have done, and for the Intolerable, we beg not your Toleration, &c.*

The Bishops, after some delay, sent them a Paper of Reasonings against their *Exceptions*, without any Abatements or Alterations at all, that are worth the naming. An Answer to which was also drawn up.

At last the Commission being near upon expiring, and there being but 10 Days left, the Ministers sent to the Bishops to desire some Peronal Conference upon the Subject Matter of the Papers; which was yielded to: And at the Meeting the Answer to their last Paper was deliver'd them. And the Ministers

earnestly press'd them to spend the little time that was remaining, in such Pacifying Conference as tended to the Ends mention'd in the King's Declaration and Commission: And told them, That such Disputes as they by their Treatment had engag'd them in, were not the thing desir'd, or what most conduc'd to those Ends. There is some Reason to think, that the Generality of the Bishops and Doctors who were present at these Meetings, did not read the *Reformed Li*

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turgy, or *The Reply of the Ministers to their Reasons against the Exceptions they had had given in.* For they were hastily put up, and carry'd away without Particular Perusal, unless in Private; which may be doubted of as to most of them, (except their particular Answerers) because that when in the last Disputation Mr. *Baxter* drew out the short Preface to their Reply, (which was written by Mr. *Calamy*, to enumerate in the beginning before their Eyes, many of the grossest Corruptions which they stiffly defended, and refus'd to reform) the Company seem'd asham'd and was silent, by which he perceiv'd they had not read it. Nay, the Chief of them confess'd, when they bid him read that Preface, that they knew of no such thing. So that it seems, before they knew what was in them, they resolv'd to reject the Papers of the Ministers, right or wrong, and to deliver them up to their Contradictors. When they came to Debates, the Ministers desir'd the Bishops to give their Animadversions on the Additions and Alterations of the Liturgy. And that they would declare what they allow'd or disallow'd in them, that they might have the Use of them, according to the Words in the King's Declaration and Commission. But they would not by any Importunity be prevail'd with to debate that Matter, or give their Opinions about those Papers. Being rejected there, it was mov'd, That they would go over the Particulars excepted against, and declare how much they could abate, and what Alterations they could yield to. But they declard, They had nothing to say upon that Head, 'till a Necessity of an Alteration in the General was prov'd, which it had not as yet bin: They would yield to all that was prov'd Necessary, but look'd upon none as Necessary. The Ministers urg'd them again and again with the words of the King's Declaration and Commission. They told them the Ends express'd were, *For the Removal of all Exceptions, and Occasions of Exceptions, and Differences from amongst our good Subjects; and for giving Satisfaction to tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of Peace and Unity in the Churches:* And that the

Means were, *To make such reasonable and necessary Alterations and Amendments, as shall be agreed upon to*

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be Needful and Expedient for the giving Satisfaction to tender Consciences, &c. which supposeth that some Alterations must be made. The Bishops insisted on two words, *Necessary Alterations*, and *such as should be agreed on*. They told them, The word *Necessary* referr'd to the Ends express'd; *the Satisfying tender Consciences, &c.* and was join'd with *Expedient*: And that it was strange, that when the King had so long and publicly Determin'd of the *End*, and call'd them to Consult of the *means* they should at last presume to Contradict him, and Determine the *End it self* unnecessary, and Consequently no means necessary: And that therefore all their Meetings had bin but trifling. And that when they were call'd to *agree* on such necessary means, if they would take Advantage of the Word, *to agree on nothing*, that so all endeavours might be frustrated for want of their Agreement, God and the World. would judge between them, who it was that frustrated the King's Commission, and the hopes of a divided Bleeding Church. They reply'd, they must prove Alterations *necessary*: The Ministers answered, they were *necessary* to Peace and Unity, which without them would not be attain'd. Which they would by no means yield.

This was to draw on a Dispute, before the end of which, the time of the Commission was like to expire; they told the Bishops, that that Method could not possibly tend to any Accommodation; and that to keep off from Personal Conference, till within a few Days of the Expiration of the Commission, and then to resolve to do nothing but wrangle out the time in a Dispute, as if they were between Jest and Earnest in the Schools, was too Visibly in the sight of all the World, to Defeat the King's Commission, and the Expectations of many Thousands, who long'd for Unity and Peace. But nothing else would be yielded to, and so a Dispute was agreed on, to Argue the Necessity, or no Necessity of Altering the Liturgy.

After this was agreed on, many Hours were spent in settling the Order of the Disputation. The Ministers offered to Oppose one half of the time, if they would do it the other half of the time, that so the Disputation might be on equal Terms: They refus'd it; and an

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swer'd, that it belong'd to them only to Argue, who were the Accusers, and not at all to them who were on the Defence. The Ministers reply'd, that they were the Defenders against their Impositions: For thus was the Case; They Commanded them to do such and such things, or else they should be Excommunicated, silenc'd, imprison'd and undone: Against this they defended themselves, by calling upon them to shew their Authority from God, for such Impositions. They call'd upon them therefore, to prove that God had Authoriz'd them to any such thing; and told them, *That if they refus'd they gave up their Cause.* At last, (after 2 Days Debate about the Matter) Dr. *Pierson* alone undertook that he would Dispute on their side, when the Ministers had discharged the Opponents Province; which was accepted. Three of a Party were chosen on each side to manage the Dispute. The Bishops chose, Dr. *Pierson*, Dr. *Gunning*, and Dr. *Sparrow*; the Ministers chose, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Baxter*: And they met to Dispute accordingly. But there were so many Speakers, and so many Interruptions, and so many little Personal Brangles, that it was to very little Purpose.

SINFUL IMPOSITIONS IN THE CHURCH.

At length *Bishop Cosins* produces a Paper as from a Considerable Person, containing a Method to end the Controversie. The main Thing in this Paper, was, *a Motion to put the Complainers upon Distinguishing between the things they Charg'd as Sinful, and those which they Oppos'd as Inexpedient only.* The 3 Disputants on the Ministers side, were desir'd to draw up an Answer to it against the next Morning; and they did so, and deliver'd it, but it was in their own Names only. Eight things they in this their Reply charg'd as flatly Sinful, and contrary to the Word of God, *That no Minister be admitted to Baptize without the prescribed Use of the Transient Image of the Cross: That no Minister be permitted to Read or Pray, or Exercise the other Part of his Office, that dare not Wear a Surplice. That none be admitted to Communion in the Lords Supper, that dare not receive it Kneeling; and that all Ministers be enjoined to deny it to such. That Ministers be forc'd to Pronounce all Baptiz'd Infants Regenerate by the Holy Ghost, whether Children of Christians or not. That Mi*

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nister be forc'd to deliver the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, unto the Unfit both in Health and Sickness, and that with Personal Application, putting it into their Hands; And that such are forc'd to receive it, tho' against their own Wills, in the Conscience of their Impenitency: That Ministers be forc'd to Absolve the Unfit, and that in absolute Expressions: That they are forc'd to give Thanks for all whom they Bury, as Brethren whom God hath deliver'd and taken to himself: And that none may be a Preacher, that dare not Subscribe, That there is nothing in the Common-Prayer Book, the Book of Ordination, and the Nine and Thirty Artides, that is contrary to the Word of God. And they undertook to prove as much. After a great deal of wandering Discourse, they came at length to the Dispute, which was manag'd in Writing: The sole Argument handled was *The Sinfulness of enjoyning Ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not Kneel*; and it was drawn out to a considerable Length.

The most remarkable things in this Dispute were these Two.

THE DISPUTATION AT THE SAVOY.

First, The warm Debate there was among them as to the Sense of that Noted Text, *Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3. Him that is weak in the Faith receive you, but not to Doubtful Disputations. For One believeth, that he may Eat all things: Another, who is Weak, eateth Herbs. Let not him that Eateth, despise him that Eateth not; And let not him which Eateth not, judge him that Eateth, for God hath receiv'd him.* The Debate about this Text was thus occasion'd: The *Presbyterian Disputants* had argu'd against the enjoyning Ministers to deny the *Communion* to all that dare not receive it Kneeling as a Sinful Imposition, in that it was an enjoyning them to deny the *Communion* to such as the *Holy Ghost* had requir'd them to receive to it: He ving requir'd them to receive to it such as were *Weak in the Faith*, who are charg'd with no greater Fault than *erroneously refusing things Lawful as Unlawful*. And for this they urg'd this Text. The *Bishops Disputants* reply'd, *There was a Difference between things so Lawful as that they may be done, and things Lawful that, are requir'd by a Lawful Power, for both may be call'd such.* The Others

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still urg'd that Text; pleading, *That tho' the Apostle spake there of things Lawful, and not Commanded, yet being himself a Church Governour he commanded them not; nay, requir'd even Church Governours, as well as others, to receive the*

Dissenters and forbear them, and not make such things the Matter of their Censure or Contempt. They answer'd, That that Text was not to the purpose, both because it speaks of things Lawful and not Commanded, whereas the Debate was about things Lawful and also Commanded; and, withal, because the receiving them there mention'd, is not to be understood of immediately receiving them to the Holy Communion. The Presbyterian Disputants answer'd, That tho' it was true the Text apake about things Lawful and not Commanded, yet when they were debating the Lawfulness of a particular Command, (viz. The enjoying Ministers to deny the Communion to such as durst not receive it Kneeling) it was very properly urg'd; because the Text forbids any such Commands of things Lawful, as are not consistent with receiving and forbearing. And they added, That that Text must necessarily take in Receiving Persons to the Holy Communion, because it requires the receiving Men to that Church Communion in the general, and without exception, of which the Communion in the Holy Sacrament is a most Eminent Part. Nay, they further urg'd the Point closely thus. The Text speaks indeed of things Lawful, as such, abstracting from Command: But of things which materially were partly not Commanded, and partly Commanded. It was not Commanded to Eat or not Eat the Meats in question, to keep the Days or not keep them: In these they went against the Law. But to be Weak in the Faith, and erroneously to take things Lawful to be Unlawful, and things Indifferent to be Necessary, and to offend a Brother by the Use of Liberty on the other side, were against the Commands of God. But as for the things about which there was to be a Forbearance; the Text intimates, that they ought not to be commanded by any under a Penalty that is not consistent with that Forbearance; for that no Governours have any Warrant to reject such as are only weak in the Faith: They ought to receive them, and to further their Reception; and cannot do any thing towards their Rejection upon the Account of any such Weakness without flat Sin, without breaking the Law of God, who hath

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requir'd that such persons should not be rejected on the Account of things in themselves Indifferent. For the things spoken of by the Apostle, were not only not Commanded, but forbidden to be Commanded, any farther than may stand with the Reception and Indulgence mentioned. And they bro't the Matter close to the Case before them thus. They of whom St. Paul speaks were to be receiv'd and forborn, altho' they sinn'd in their Weakness, in refusing that as sinful which was not so. So tho' it should be own'd that it were Unwarrantable to refuse Kneeling as flatly sinful, yet were the Scrupulous to be receiv'd and forborn. And that the rather, because they that refuse Kneeling, at worst, break but the Command of Man; whereas they of whom St. Paul speaks broke the Commands of

God, and yet were to be forborn: And then, That the Text was to be understood of Church Communion, they prov'd from the Circumstances of the Words, from Parallel Texts, and from the Testimony of the most celebrated Expositors, *Hammond* and *Grotius*.

Secondly, In the other Part of the Dispute, when the Episcopal Divines were the Opponents, they bro't an Argument of which this was the Major Proposition: *That Command, which commandeth only an Act in it self Lawful, is not Sinful*. This Mr. *Baxter* deny'd. The Opponents back'd it with another Syllogism, of which this was the Major: *That Command, which commandeth an Act in it self Lawful, and no other Act or Circumstance Unlawful, is not Sinful*. This also Mr. *Baxter* deny'd; giving this double Reason: Both because that may be accidentally a Sin which is not so in it self, and may be unlawfully commanded, tho' that Accident be not in the Command: And aso because it may be commanded under an unjust Penalty. The Opponents therefore urg'd farther thus: *that Command which commandeth an Act in it self Lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty's enjoyn'd, nor any Circumstance whence directly, or per Accidens, any Sin is Consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against, is not Sinful*. Mr. *Baxter* still persisted in his Denial, and gave this Reaon: Because the first Act commanded may be accidentally Unlawful, and be

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commanded by an unjust Penalty, tho' no other Act or Circumstance be such. The Opponents therefore once more advanc'd this Proposition: *That Command which commandeth an Act in it self Lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoyn'd, nor any Circumstance whence directly, or per Accidens, any Sin is Consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the Lawfulness of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an Act per Accidens unlawful, nor of commanding an Act under an unjust Penalty*. Which Proposition also he deny'd for the foregoing Reasons: Intimating that such a Command hath not necessarily all things in it requisite to the Lawfulness of a Command, because tho' *no other Act* be commanded, whereby an unjust Penalty is enjoyn'd, yet still the *first Act* may be commanded under an unjust Penalty: And tho' no other Act or Circumstance be commanded, that is a Sin *per Accidens*, yet the *first it self* commanded may be a Sin *per Accident*. It may be *sinful privatively*, by omission of something necessary, some Mode or Circumstance. It may *sinfully restrain*, tho' it *sinfully command* not.

It may be sinful in *Modis*; commanding that *universally*, or *indefinitely*, *particularly*, or *singularly*, that should be otherwise; tho' in the Circumstances (properly so call'd) of the Act, nothing were commanded that is sinful. It may thro' culpable Ignorance be apply'd to *undue Subjects*, who are not *Circumstances*. As if a People that have the Plague be commanded to keep Publick Assemblies for Worship, the Lawgiver being culpably ignorant that they had the Plague, &c. This repeated Denial put them so hard to it, that they could proceed no farther. And being stop'd in Arguing, they have since made it up in unhandsome Reflections. Bp. *Morley* particularly in Print asserted, That this Assertion of Mr. *Baxter's* was not only False, but Destructive of all Authority, Humane and Divine, as not any denying all Power to the Church of making Canons Ecclesiastical for the better Ordering and Governing the Church, but also taking away all Legislative Power from the King and Parliament, and even from God himself. For that no Act can be so good of it self, but it may prove by

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accident a Sin: And if to Command such an Act may be a Sin, then every Command mutt be a Sin. And if to Command be a Sin, then God can command nothing, because he cannot Sin: And Kings, Parliaments and Churches ought not to command any thing, because they ought not to Sin.

Upon this the whole Nation almost was fill'd with Tragical Exclamations against the abominable Assertion of one of the Disputants at the *Savoy*.* As if, because 'twas asserted that things not evil of themselves, may have Accidents so evil as may make it a Sin to him that shall command them, it should therefore follow that nothing may be commanded for fear of those evil Accidents, in Cases where the Commander cannot be chargeable with any hand in them. Whereas 'tis a Truth easily defensible; *That whensoever the Commanding or Forbidding of a thing indifferent is like to occasion more hurt than good, and this may be foreseen, the Commanding or Forbidding it is a Sin.*

He wants Eye-sight that cannot discern that there may be several Accidents, that may make the Imposition even of a Lawful thing Sinful. For to take only the Instance that was under the Consideration of these Disputants: Suppose it ever so Lawful of it self to Kneel in Receiving the Lord's Supper, if it be impos'd by a Penalty that is incomparably beyond the Proportion of the Offence, that Penalty is an Accident of the Command, and maketh it by Accident Sinful in the Commander.

And thus ended the Dispute at the *Savoy*, and all Endeavours for Reconciliation upon the Warrant of the King's Commission. But it may not be amiss to add some Remarks upon the Temper and Carriage of the Commissioners.

Bishop

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** He that would see a distinct Account of this matter, may read Mr. Baxter's Letter to his Beloved People of Kederminster, of the Causes of his being forbidden by the Bishop of Worcester to Preach within his Diocess; with the Bishop's Letter in Answer to it; and some short Animadversions upon the Bishop's Letter. Primed in 1662.*

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HINTS BY WAY OF CHARACTER, OF THE EPISCOPAL COMMISSIONERS.

Bishop *Sheldon** of *London*, (afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*) did not appear often, and engag'd not at all in the Disputation, and yet was well known to have a Principal Hand in disposing of all such Affairs. He Dy'd *An.* 1677.

Arch-Bishop *Frewen* of *York* was a peaceable Man, came not often to the Meeting among them, and spake only at the first opening of the Commission, and then declar'd openly his unacquaintedness with what was design'd, and therefore refer'd himself to Bishop *Sheldon*, as fully instructed by the King. He Dy'd *An.* 1664. Bp. *Morley*† of *Worcester*, afterwards of

** Two Passages concerning him deserves a Remark. The first is related by Dr. Bates in his funeral Sermon for Mr. Baxter; 'tis this: When the Ld. Chamberlain Manchester told the King. While the Act of Uniformity was under debate, That he was afraid the Terms of it were so rigid that many of the Ministers would not comply with it; he reply'd, I am afraid they will. Nay, 'tis credibly reported he should say, Now we know their minds, we'll make them all Knaves if they Conform. Whether his Temper was afterwards any thing cooler, let others judge. It looks a little that way, that when his Nephew, Sir Joseph Sheldon, who was Lord-Mayor of London in 1676, desired his Advice about his Conduct in the Year of his Mayoralty, he should make him no other Answer than this: Consider, Cousin, that as I am Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, so you are Lord-Mayor of London.*

† The Spirit of the Man may be easily judg'd of by any one that will be at the Pains to read his Warm and Passionate invective against Mr. Baxter, and his Account to his People of Kederminster, of the Cause of his Ejectment: In which Invective, among many other things, he with the utmost warmth asserts, That Monarchy cannot consist without Episcopacy: That he, as Bishop of Worcester, was sole and immediate pastor of all the People in his Diocess: And that he who tho' lawfully ordain'd should preach to any Congregation without the Bishops License, came not in by the Door, and therefore was a Thief and a Robber, &c. But that he might afterwards, upon seeing the small Success of the Rigours us'd, grow somewhat more temperate, I have some Reason to believe, from a particular Passage convey'd to me in such a way, as that I have no doubt of the truth of it, which was this: Being consulted by the Mayor of a county Corporation, whose Zeal was far beyond either his Wisdom or his Charity, what method he should take, effectually to root out the Fanaticks in the Year of his Mayoralty; the Bishop now grown old, first preach'd Friendliness to him, by ordering him a Glass of Canary, as oft

as he started his Question in Company; and next admonish'd him when alone, To let those People live quietly, in many of whom he was satisfy'd there was the true Fear of God; and who were not likely to be gain'd by Rigour and Severity.

Winchester,

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Winchester, was a frequent Attendant, and the chief Speaker of all the Bishops, always delivering his Mind with great Earnestness and Zeal, and often interrupting those of the other side in their Discourse. He was a Prime Manager of the whole Affair; and unwilling to yield to any thing that might look like Moderation. He was the longest Liver of any. He Dy'd *An.* 1684.

Bishop *Cosins* of *Durham* met constantly among them, and was for Two Things very remarkable.

First, for his being so excellently vers'd in the *Canons*, *Councils*, and *Fathers*, which he appear'd to remember very readily, when there was occasion for Citations. And

Secondly for his Openness. For as he was of a Rustick Wit and Carriage, so he would endure more Freedom of Discourse, and was more Affable and Familiar than the rest of the Bishops.*

* Dr. Bates in his *Funeral Sermon for Mr. Baxter reports*, That in the Conference at Worcester-House about the King's Declaration, when the Ministers desired that the Bishops should exercise their Church Power with the Counsel and Consent of Presbyters, this Bp. Cosins presently reply'd, If Your Majesty grants this, You will Unbishop Your Bishops,—But remarkable is a Passage in his last Testament, printed both in English and Latin with his *Funeral Sermon and Life*. It deserves transcribing from pag. 126. I take it to be my Duty, and of all my Brethren, especially the Bishops and Ministers of the Church of God, to do our utmost Endeavours, according to the measure of Grace which is given to everyone of us, that at last an End may be put to the Differences of Religion, or at least they may be lessen'd, &c.

Bishop *Hinchman*, then of *Salisbury*, afterwards of *London*, had also a good Insight into *Fathers* and *Councils*: He spake calmly and slowly, and not very often, but was as high in his Principles and Resolutions as any of them: And he with Bp. *Sheldon* and Bp. *Morley*, manag'd all things. Bp. *Sanderson*† of *Lincoln* was there now and then, but spake nor often.

† Mr. Pierce, in his first *Plea*, p. 35. says, That he was severe, and troubled long with a sharp Disease, which might exasperate his mind: And that he had a Roll of Ministers under his Angry Eye, design'd for Discipline; but when he drew nigh to his Latter End, he commanded that Roll to be Burnt, and said he would die in Peace,

His

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His great Learning and Worth are known by his Labours: *Viz.* His *Prelectiones de Obligatione Conscientiæ*, and *De Juramento*; and his Sermons. He was very Old at the time of this *Savoy* Conference, and partly thro' Age, and partly thro' the remaining Exasperation on the account of his Sufferings, was a little Peevish. Afterwards at his Death, he made it his Request, That the Ejected Ministers might be us'd again: But his Request was rejected by them that had outwitted him, as being too late. Bp. *Gauden* was never absent, and often sided with the Ministers, and tho' he had a bitter Pen, he was the only Moderator of all the Bishops, except Bp. *Reignolds*. He meddled not in any Dispute or Point of Learning, but had a calm, fluent, rhetorical Tongue, and if all had bin of his mind, there had bin an Accomodation effected. But when by many Days Conference in the begin ning, the Ministers had got some moderating Concessions from him, (and from Bp. *Cosins* by his Means) the rest came in the end, and broke them all. Bishop *Lucy* of *St. David's*, spake once or twice a few words calmly, and so did Bp. *Nicholson* of *Glocester*, and Bp. *Griffiylths* of *St. Asaph*, tho' no Commissioners. Bp. *King* of *Chichester* did not appear; nor Bp. *Warmer* of *Rochester*, except once or twice, and that without speaking. Bp. *Laney** of *Peterborough* was sometimes there, but did not speak much: Once, however, he spake too much. For Mr. *Baxter* charging the Episcopal Impositions as Sinful, was accus'd of uncharitableness and Boldness, in that he thereby charg'd all the Churches of Christ with Sin. Mr. *Baxter* asserted, That there were many reformed Churches free from such Impositions; but if there were not, he tho't it no Arrogance or Uncharitableness

* Mr. *Pierce*, in his first *Plea*, pag. 35, says, That this Bishop *Laney* was very Moderate in his Government. In his *Prime Visitation* before Bartholomew-Day, he in his Chamber told of some his Clergy what he came about; and as tho' he could wipe his Hands, said, *ek ôgĭ ęllĭ n"mq*, Not I, but the Law. And he could (to use his own Phrase to a Scrupulous Person) look thro' his Fingers, and suffer a Worthy Nonconformist to Preach publicly very near him, for some Years together, after his Remove to another Bishoprick.

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ness to charge all the Church and World with Sin. For that in many things we offend all: And Freedom from Sin, is the Priviledge of the Church Triumphant. Bp. *Laney* hereupon cry'd out, *That Justify'd Persons have no Sin, and are no Sinners; because Justification taketh it away.* The Arguing of which, left him in no small Confusion.

Bp. *Walton* of *Chester*, (the Publisher of the *Polyglot Bible*) was there now and then, but spake but seldom. Bp. *Stern* of *Carlisle*, afterward Arch-Bishop of *York*, was of a most sober, honest, mortify'd Aspect, but wanted Charity. For when Mr. *Baxter* was entreating the Bishops not to cast out so many *in*

the Nation, as scrupled a Ceremony which they confess'd Indifferent, he turn'd to the rest, and noted him for saying *in the Nation: He will not say in the Kingdom*, saith he, *lest he own a King*. Mr. *Baxter* made him no other Reply but this: That half the Charity which became so Grave a Bishop, might have suffic'd to have help'd him to a better Exposition of the word *Nation*, so commonly us'd by Monarchical Writers. And that their Case was sad, if after the taking the Oaths, and being Honour'd by the King with such Testimonies as they had had, they must when treating for Accomodation stand expos'd to such invidious Reflections as Traytors, without the least Ground. So that he declares he was never more deceiv'd by a Man's Face in his Life.

Bp. *Reignolds** spake much the first Day, for bringing the rest to Abatements and Moderation; and afterwards he sate with the rest of the Bishops, and spake now and then a qualifying and softing Word. He was a considerable Man, and of great Integrity; but thro' Mildness, and excess of timerous Reverence to great Men, altogether unfit to contend with them. He Dy'd *An. 1676*.

* *Mr. Pierce in his first Plea, pag. 35. says, That Bp. Reignolds carry'd the wounds of the Church in his Heart and Bowels to his Grave with him; as is well known to many that knew him.*

Dr.

Dr. *Earle*,* who was afterwards Bishop of *Salisbury*, Mr. *Baxter* remembers not to have seen there.

* *Mr. Pierce ibid. gives him this character: That he was a Man could do Good against Evil, Forgive much and of a Charitable Heart; and who Dy'd to the no great Sorrow of them, who reckon'd his Death was Just, for Labouring with all his Might against the Oxford 5 Mile Act, quickly after it.*

Mr. *Thorndike* spake once a few Passionate Words, confuting the Opinion which the Ministers had receiv'd of him from his first Writings, and confirming that which his second and last Writings had given them of him. Dr. *Heylin* and Dr. *Barwick* did not appear. Dr. *Hacket* (afterwards Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*) said little. Neither did Dr. *Sparrow* (afterwards Bishop of *Norwich*) say much: But what he did speak was with Spirit eno' for the Imposing and Dividing Cause.

Dr. *Pier Jon* (afterwards Bishop of *Chester*) disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly, and procur'd himself a great deal of Respect from the Ministers; and a Perswasion, That if he had bin Independent he would have bin for Peace:

And that if all had bin in his Power, it would have gone well. He was the Strength and Honour of the Bishops Cause; but Mr. *Baxter* tho't it dubious, whether he heartily maintain'd it.

Dr. *Gunning* (afterwards Bishop of *Ely*) was their forwardest and greatest Speaker. He stuck at nothing. When Dr. *Bates* urg'd it upon him, that on the same Reasons as they impos'd the Cross and Surplice, they might bring in Holy Water, and Lights, and abundance of such Ceremonies of *Rome*, which we have cast out: He answer'd *Yes*; and so I think we ought to have more and not fewer, if we do well. He seem'd a Man of greater Study and Industry than any of them; was well read in Fathers and Councils, and of a ready Tongue: But so vehement for high imposing Principles, and Church Pomp, and so very eager and fervent in his Discourse, that he often overrun himself. As for the Commissioners on the other side, the next Chapter will give an Account of them.

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At the Close of the last Day it was agreed between them, that nothing should be given in on either Side to the King, as charg'd on the other side, but what should be deliver'd in Writing: And that the Account they should on each side give should be this; that they were all agreed upon the Ends, the Churches Welfare, Unity and Peace, and his Majest'ys Happiness and Contentment; but after all their Debates were disagreed of the Means; and this was the End of the Assembly and Communion.

THE MINISTERS WAIT ON THE KING AFTER THE CONFERENCE.

The Dispute being ended, all the Ministers that were Commissioners met by themselves, and resolv'd to draw up all Account of their Endeavours, and Present it to His Majesty, with a Petition for his promis'd help for those Alterations and Abatements, which they could not procure of the Bishops. They first apply'd themselves to the Lord Chancellor, and crav'd his Favour to procure the King's Declaration yet to be pass'd into an Act, and his Advice how they should proceed. He consented to their giving his Masty an Account of their Proceedings in an Address, and when they had drawn it up, Perus'd it; and after some Alterations it was presented to his Majesty, by Bp. *Reignolds*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Calamy* being at this time indispos'd.—In this Address, after a Particular Account of their Proceedings, they thus express'd themselves.—*And tho' we seem to have labour'd*

in Vain, we shall yet lay this Work of Reconciliation and Peace at the Feet of His Majesty, Beseeching you to Prosecute such a Blessed Resolution till it attain Success. We must needs Believe that when our Majesty took our Consent to a Liturgy, to be a Foundation that would infer our Concord, you meant not that we should have no Concord but by Consenting to this Liturgy, without any considerable Alteration. And when you Comforted us with your Resolution to draw us together, by yielding on both Sides what we could, you meant not that we should be the Boat, and they the Bank that must not stir. And when your Majesty Commanded us by Letters Patents, to Treat about the needful Alterations, we rest assured that it was not your Sence, that tender Consciences were to be fore'd to practise all which they judg'd Unlawful, and not have so much as a Ceremony abated

them:

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them: Or that our Treaty was only to Convert either Part to the Opinion of the others; and that all our Hopes of Concord or Liberty consisted only in Disputting the Bishops into Nonconformity, or coming in every Ceremony to their Minds.—As your Majesty under God, is the Protection whereto your People fly, and as the same Necessities still remain, which drew forth your Gracious Declaration, we most humbly and earnestly Beseech your Majesty, that the Benefits of the said Declaration may be continu'd to your People, and in Particular, that the Additions may be made to the Liturgy, that are therein Expressed.—We shall wait in Hope, that so great a Calamity of your People, as would follow the loss of so many Able Faithful Ministers as rigorous Impositions would cast out, shall never be Recorded in the History of your Reign: But that these Impediments of Concord being forborn, Your Kingdoms may Flourish in Piety and Peace, &c.

But all their entreaties avail'd nothing to ward off one of the greatest Calamities from a sinful Land and People. They fought Peace with the utmost Earnestness, but were generally entertain'd with Reproach. They were all Branded as rigid *Presbyterians*, tho' they never put up one Petition for Presbytery, but pleaded for Primitive Episcopacy. They were represented in the Common Talk of those who tho't it their Interet to be their Adversaries, as the most seditious People in the World, unworthy to be us'd like Men, or to enjoy any Liberty. They could not go Abroad, but they met with daily Reproaches and false Stories rais'd upon them. 'Twas the constant Cry that they were Plotting, or setting the People against the Government. For there were a Multitude of Students at that time who gap'd for Preferment, and many Gentlemen that aim'd at nsing in the World, who quickly found out what was most pleasing to those whose Favour they must rise by, and so set

themselves Industrious to Reviling, Calumniating, and Cruelty against all those whom they perceived to be Odious. And he that can but Convince a Worldly Generation of any thing that is the ready way to their Preferment, shall be sure to have it closely follow'd, and thro'ly done with all their might!

Many

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DIVERS SHAM PLOTS.

Many Worthy Ministers, and sober Gentlemen and others, were imprison'd in Divers Counties throughout the Land, under pretence of Plotting, in the latter part of this Year.* In *November*, one Mr. *Ambrose Sparry* (a Sober Learned Minister that had never own'd the Parliaments Cause or Wars, and was in his Judgment for Moderate Episcopacy) had a wicked Neighbour whom he reprov'd for Adultery,

* He that would pass a Right Judgment concerning the *Act of Uniformity*, ought sedately to consider; both the Scandalous Arts that were us'd for obtaining it, and the bitter Fruits and Consequences which it produc'd. Of the latter, we shall hear eno' in the sequel of this History: But the former are not commonly known or minded. And therefore I'll add some few Hints that are well attested. Captain *Tarrington* (a Man of an establish'd Reputation) did in 1681 publish a full Discovery of the first Presbyterian Sham Plot: In which Discovery he declares he related nothing but what he could prove by Letters, and many living Witnesses; and his Account was never publickly contradicted.—He says, That many, both of the Clergy and Laity, disliking the King's Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, resolv'd to run things to the utmost height: And that some of the Leading Church-Men were heard to say, *They would have an Act so fram'd as would reach every Puritan in the Kingdom: And that if they tho't any of them would so stretch their Consciences as to be comprehended by it, they would insert yet other Conditions and Subscriptions, so as that they should have no Benefit by it.* To pave the way for it, they contrive a *Presbyterian Plot*, which was said in about 36 several Counties. As to *Worcestershire*, he gives a like Account with Mr. *Baxter*, only with the Addition of many Particulars. He says, Several Letters were drawn up and deliver'd by Sir *John P__* to one *Rich. N__* his Neighbour, to convey them to one *Cole of Martley*, who with one *Chum*; brings them again to Sir *John P__* from whom they came, making Affidavit, *That he found the Packet left by a Scotch Pedlar under a Hedge.* In this Packet, when it was open'd, there were found several Letters, discovering a Conspiracy to raise a Rebellion. There were several Letters to the Captain; one from Mr. *Baxter of Kideminster*, intimating, That he had provided a considerable Body of Men well arm'd, which should be ready against the time appointed. And another from Mr. *Sparry*, intimating, He had order'd him 500*l.* lodg'd in a friend's hand. &c. Upon this, the Militia of the County was rais'd immediately, and the City of *Worcester* fill'd with them the very Night after the Packet was open'd. The next Morning the Captain was seiz'd by it Troop of Horse, and bro't Prisoner to *Worcester*; and so also were Mr. *Sparry*, Mr. *Osland*, Mr. *Moor*, and Mr. *Brian*. Ministers; together with some Scores of others; They were all kept those Prisoners for 10 Days by which time the Train'd Bands being

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who bearing him a Grudge, tho't he had now a time to be reveng'd. He (or his Confederates for him) fram'd a letter, as from a Nameless Person, directed to Mr. *Sparry*, *That he and Captain Yarrington should be ready with money and Arms at the time appointed, and that they should acquaint Mr. Osland and Mr. Baxter with it.* This letter he pretended a Man left behind him under a Hedge, who sat down and pull'd

out

weary, most of them were discharg'd paying their Fees. But the Captain, Mr. *Sparry* and the 2 *Oslands*, were still kept close Prisoners in the *George-Inn*, the Dignitaries of the Cathedral taking care, when the Trained Bands retired, to raise 60 Foot Soldiers (who had double Pay, and were call'd the *Clergy Band*) to secure these Criminals. And besides the Sentinals upon each of the Prisoners, they had a Court of Guard at the Town-Hall of *Worcester*. There they perform'd one remarkable Act of Chivalry: A Poor Man coming out of the Country to enquire after the Welfare of Mr. *Henry Osland* his Minister, and speaking to one of the Soldiers, he told him that Mr. *Osland* was a Traytor and a Rebel, &c. The Poor Man stood up for his Minister, and Vindicated him; whereupon he was with great Zeal carried to the Court of Guard. He that then Presided there, (who was no meaner Man than an *Apparitor*) commanded the Old Man to be ty'd Neck and Heels, charg'd him with having a Hand in the Presbyterian Plot, and threaten'd him with severe Usage if he would not confess. The Old Man bore his Wrath with great Patience, and gave him not a word in answer; Upon which the Man in Authority was so enrag'd, that he put lighted Matches between his Fingers, and burnt them to the very Bone, to make him confess. The Man was alive when the Captain wrote his Narrative, he Names him, and says, *That Multitudes were Witnesses of the Fact, to whom he appeal'd.* At length Mrs. *Yarrington* discovering the Sham Intrigue, by the Acknowledgment which the Person employ'd by Sir *J. P.* to carry the Packet to *Cole of Martley*, made to his Brother, she gives Notice of it to her Husband in his Confinement, who immediately enters Actions against those that Imprison'd him. Being at last discharg'd, he comes up to *London*, and prevail'd with the Lord of *Bristol* to acquaint the King, How his Ministers impos'd upon him by such Sham Plots, &c. Upon this the Deputy-Lieutenants were order'd to appear at the *Council-Board*. They endeavour'd to clear themselves, and desired to consult those in the Country. But afterwards Sir *J. W.* (who was one of them) Arrests the Captain for High-Treason, He was again releas'd upon the Earl of *Bristol's* procuring the King's Privy-Seal: And going down into the Country he prosecutes his Prosecutors. But within 6 months, Persons were suborn'd to Swear against him, *That he had spoken Treasonable Words against the King and Government.* For this he was Try'd at the Assizes at *Worcester* before Judge *Twisden*, and upon a full hearing was pre-

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out many Letters, and put all up again except this, and went away. He carry'd the Letter to Sir *John Packington* (who was one that hotly follow'd such Work) who sent Mr. *Sparry*, Mr. *Osland*, and Capt. *Yarrington* to Prison. Mr. *Osland* was suppos'd therefore to have bin bro't in, because he had offended Sir *Ralph Clare*, in being against his Election as Burgess in Parliament for the Town of *Bewdley*, where he liv'd.

sently Acquitted by the Jury. And one of the Witnesses (whom he names) afterwards confess'd he had *5l.* given him for being an Evidence.

This Feigned Plot was on foot in *Oxfordshire*, at the same time. A Stranger came one Evening

to Mr. *Matthew Martin*, the Town-Clerk, with a Letter, and when he had deliver'd it withdrew. As soon as he had open'd and consider'd it, he presently carry'd it to the Mayor: The Letter ran thus. *Mr. Martin, I pray you warn all these Men to be in their Arms on Wednesday next in the Night; you know already where they must meet. There will come to Oxford 200 Men all in their Arms; you know who doth Command them. Dr. Greenwood hath sent to Mr. Combs the Barber, to get his Party of Scholars ready that Night. And I have sent to Mr. Hickman to get his Men ready at the same time. And Dr. Gawin has sent to Mr. Cornish to get his Men ready at the same time, And I have sent to Dr. Connaught to get his men ready. And all the Scholars are to meet in Dr. Rogers's Garden. I pray send the Blunderbusses thither, for I intend to be there my self. And I pray give the Bearer hereof 5*l.* out of the Stock: And I pray remember me to the 6 Men unam'd. Five Counties are to rise that Night without fail. I need write no more to you. The word is, God is the Word, and pray tell them all so.* In this Letter there was a great List of Names included. The Mayor of *Oxford* presently dispatch'd a Messenger with a Letter to the Lord *Falkland*, then Lord Lieutenant of the County: And sent another Letter with the like Account to the Recorder of *Oxford*, one of their Members in Parliament, &c. The next Day two of the Deputy-Lieutenants sent for Mr. *Martin*, and threaten'd at first to commit him: But upon second Thoughts dismiss'd him. And that very Night many of the Militia came into the Town, and kept Guard for 2 Days in the City. So that had not Mr. *Martin* taken so prudent a method, had he tarry'd a Night, the Letter might have been found about him, and *Oxford* had quickly bin as full or fuller of Plotters and Prisoners than *Worcester*.—At the same time Mr. *Andrew Parsons* was us'd with great Severity, and Try'd for preaching Treason in *Shropshire*, and bro't in Guilty: But by so violent a wresting of words, that all the World cry'd out Shame; and the Lord *Newport* interposing, procur'd the King's Pardon for him. See *Conformists 4th plea for the Nonconf.* pag. 30. &c. There was something of a like Sham Plot in *Leicestershire* and *Yorkshire*, Ibid. page. 39, 40. The Great Design aim'd at by all these Methods, was to possess the Parliament, that it

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Many upon this Occasion, especially Mr. *Sparry*, lay long in Prison: And when the Forgery and Injury was detected, they had much difficulty in obtaining a Release, Tho' Mr. *Baxter* was nam'd there, yet he was then in *London*, and had bin so for some time, by which he escap'd; And yet where Men were taken up and Imprison'd in distant Counties, it was said to be for *Baxter's* Plot.

THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY

Notwithstanding all their Discouragements, Mr. *Calamy*, and some other Ministers, still made use of all the Interest they had in Men of Note and Figure, to get the Parliament to pass the King's Declaration into Law, and sometimes the Lord Chancellor and others gave them some Hope, but when it came to the Tryal, they were dis

appointed

was absolutely necessary to make a severe Act against such a *restless* sort of Men, who not contented with the King's Pardon, were always Plotting to disturb the Government. And they reach'd their End. These Plots and Stirrs in several Counties of the Land, were in *October* and *November* 1661. And on the 20th of *November* the King appearing in the House after an

Adjournment, made a Speech wherein are these words.—*I am sorry to find that the General Temper and Affections of the Nation are not so well compos'd as I hop'd they would have bin, after so signal Blessings of God Almighty upon us all, and after so great Indulgence and Condescensions from me towards all Interests; there are many wicked Instruments still as Active as ever, who labour Night and Day to disturbe the Publick Peace, and to make People Jealous of each other: It may be worthy your Care and Vigilance to provide proper Remedies for Diseases of that kind: And if you find new Diseases, you must find New Remedies, &c.* When the House of Commons after this Speech came to their Debates, up stands Sir J. P. one of the Knights for *Worcestershire*, and with open Mouth informs them of a Dangerous Presbyterian Plot on foot; and that many of the Chief Conspirators were now in Prison at *Worcester*, The like Information was given by some Members who serv'd in *Oxfordshire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire*, and other Places. Nay this was the General Cry; this all the Pamphlets printed at that time ran upon. And 'twas in this very Sessions that this Bill of Uniformity pass'd the House. And that the General Cry occasion'd by these Sham Plots much promoted it, will easily be judg'd by any one; that will but be at the Pains to peruse *Yarrington's* Narrative, to which the Reader is refer'd for Satisfaction.

appointed; it was rejeeted.* And so the Declaration did not only Die before it came to Execution, but all Attempts for Union and Peace were at an End. Nay, a Rigorous Act was bro't in for Uniformity, clogged on Design to make the weight of Conformity heavier than ever. Reasoning, Petitions and Entreaties back'd with ever so many weighty Considerations, were disregarded as Vain things. It seem'd to be accounted the One Thing Necessary by those who had gotten the Reins in their Hands; I think so necessary that no Reason must be heard against it, that those call'd *Presbyterians*† must be forc'd to do that which they accounted publick Perjury, or be can out of Trust and Office, both in Church and Commonwealth. While this Act was depending, the Ministers still interposing as they had opportunity, had peremptory Promises given them by some in great Places, that the King would grant that by way of Indulgence, which had bin deny'd them in the way they most desired it; and that Care should be taken before the Act pass'd, that the King should have Power reserv'd to him, to dispense with it as to such as deserv'd well of him at his Restoration, of whom he pleas'd. But at length the Act pass'd the House,* and all their great Friends left them in the lurch. And when afterwards they, upon the utmost Encouragement from Men in Power, had drawn up a Petition to present to his Majesty for Indulgence, they were greivously threaten'd with incurring a Præmunire by

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* *Dr. Bates speaking of this Declaration in his Sermon at Mr. Baxter's Funeral, says, That it granted such a Freedom to Conscientious Ministers that were unsatisfy'd with the Old Conformity that if it had bin observ'd, it had prevented the doleful Division that succeeded afterward. But when there was a Motion made in the House of Commons that it might pass into an Act, it was oppos'd by one of the Secretaries of State, which was reckon'd a sufficient Indication of the Kings Averseness to it.*

† *A Dignitary of the Church of England, a Man of Note and Figure, when a sober Gentleman shew'd some Regret that the Door was so straight, that many sober Ministers could not have Admission, reply'd,*

It was no Pity at all; if we had tho't so many of them would have Conform'd, we would have made it straiter.

* *It's generally said it was carry'd but by very few Votes.*

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so bold an Attempt, tho' they had worded their Petition so Cautelously that it extended not to the Papists.

This Rigorous Act,* when it passed, gave all the Ministers, who could not Conform, no longer time than 'till *Bartholomew Day, August the 24th 1662*. When they were all cast out. When the Day came, it bro't much Gladness to some, and Sorrow to others, and occasion'd many, and those very Different Reflections. Among the rest, there was a Remark made by a Man of Note, which I cannot pass by: *Had all the Ministers (said he) Conform'd, People would have tho't there was nothing in Religion; and that it was only a thing to talk of in the Pulpit, and serve a State Design; while the Ministers turn'd and chang'd any way with the State: But these Men giving up their Livings, and exposing themselves and Families to outward Evils, rather than they would conform to things impos'd, not agreeable (as they apprehended) to the Gospel they preach'd, have convinc'd Men, there is a Reality in Religion, and given a Check to Atheism.*

CHAP.

† *Dr. Bates in his Sermon at Mr. Baxter's Funeral, speaking of this Act says, That the old Clergy from Wrath and Revenge, and the Young Gentry from their servile Compliance with the Court, were very active to carry on and compleat it.*

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CHAP. IX.

A Particular Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Fellows of Colledges, &c. who were Silenced and Ejected by the Act for Uniformity: With the Characters and Works of many of them.

THAT Posterity may be the better able to pass a Judgment on the Act for Uniformity,'tis requisite they should Know who and what sort of Men were thereby cast out of the Church, and laid aside as Useless. For their Satisfaction, I shall hear subjoyn as compleat a List of them, as I was able to procure, after near 40 Years were expir'd since that Act took place, How I got this List, and what Care hath bin taken to make it exact, may be seen in the Preface: And tho' after the strictest Inspection, I can easily conceive there may be several Mistakes; yet this I can say, there are none that are Wilful, none but what shall be Corrected upon Intimation given, be it in a Friendly

or in an Angry Manner. I have indeed taken in such as being turn'd out of Sequestred livings, between the time of King *Charles's* Restauration and the Passing of this *Act*, had obtain'd no other Benefice or Preferment, 'till this Act at once shut the Church Doors upon them, and made them incapable of future Publick Service: And I think I have good Reason for it; in that tho' they were before Ejected, yet it was this Act that silenc'd them, and depriv'd the Church of their Future Labours, as much as if it had first ejected them. I have also added such as were at that time in the Ministry, tho' not yet Benefic'd, who were as much silenc'd by this Act, as those who were ejected by it. I have added the names of some few Schoolmasters whom I could get the Knowledge of, that it may be seen how Punctually the Act was executed, And whereas there are some in the following List, who refusing to Conform

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at first, did afterwards comply, I have put them by themselves; and would have done so by any others who afterwards Conform'd, could the strictest Enquiry have help'd me to Infomation: But if any of this sort (or their friends) thnk it an Injury to their Name and Memory, to be rank'd with *Nonconformists*, after they had comply'd with the National Establishment, upon Notice given, Justice shall be done them, as much as may be to their Satisfaction.

IN THE CITIES OF *LONDON* AND *WESTMINSTER*, AND BORROUGH OF
SOUTHWARK.

Good Old Mr. *Simeon Ash*, from St. *Austins*. He went seasonably to Heaven, at the very time when, he was cast out of the Church, He was bury'd the very Even of *Bartholomew-Day*. He was a Christian of the Primitive Simplicity; and a *Nonconformist* of the Old Stamp. He was Eminent for a Holy Life, a Cheerful Mind, and a Fluent Elegancy in Prayer. He had a Good Estate, and was enclin'd to Entertainments and Liberality; his House was much frequented, and he was universally belov'd. He was Chaplain to the Earl of *Manchester* in the Wars, and fell under the Obloquy of the *Cromwellians* for crossing their Designs. He had a considerable Hand in bringing in King *Charles*. He dy'd as he liv'd, in great Consolation and cheerful Exercise of Faith, molested with no Fears or Doubts. He was one of the *Cornhill* Lecturers. He publish'd his Sermons at the Funerals of Mr. *Whitaker* and Mr. *Gataker*; and hath not left any thing in Print besides, except some Sermons prech'd before the

Parliament; and upon some other particular Occasions. Mr. *Calamy* preach'd his Funeral Sermon, and gave him but his deserved Character.

Mr. *James Nelson*, from St. *Leonards Foster-Lane*: was also one of the Primitive Sincerity. A good Linguist; a zealous excellent Preacher, commonly call'd the *Weeping Prophet*, because his Seriousness oft express'd it self by Tears: Of a most, holy blameless Life; tho' learned, yet greatly averse to Controversies

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sies and Disputes. In almost all things like Mr. *Ash*, except his Natural Temper, and the Influence it had upon his Soul. Both of them were so compos'd of Humility, Piety and Innocence, that no Enemy of Godliness that knew them durst almost say any thing against them. But as one was Cheerful, so the other was from his Youth surpriz'd with Violent Fits of Melancholy once in a few Years, which tho' it did not distract him, yet kept him 'till it was over in a most dispondent Case, and next to Despair. Less than a Year before he dy'd, he fell into a grievous Fit, in which he was so confident of his Gracelessness, that he usually cry'd out, *O not one spark of Grace, not one good Desire or Tho't! I can no more Pray than a Post! if an Angel from Heaven would tell me I have, true Grace, I would not believe him, &c.* And tho' other Ministers could demonstrate his Sincerity to him so as to silence him, he was continually harping on the same String; and was not to be perswaded he was Melancholly. He had bin but a little while recover'd from this Fit before the *Bartholomew Act* came out, which cast him out with his Brethren: And his Heart being troubled with the sad Estate of the Church, the multitude of silenc'd Ministers, and his own Unserviceableness, his Melancholy return'd, and he continu'd to Death. A Sermon was preach'd at his Funeral, *Jan, 1. 1662/3*, by Dr. *Thomas Horton*, who gave him a considerable Character, to which the Reader is referr'd. He printed a few Occasional Discourics in his Life time; and a few Practical Sermons of his have bin publish'd dince his Death.

Mr. *Arthur Jackson* from St. *Faiths*.★ One of unwearied Industry and Diligence: Who Study'd 14 or 16 Hours a Day at the University, and constantly rose at 3 or 4 of the Clock in the Morning, Summer and Winter, to redeem his Time; and held it to the Age of 73. He was Minister of St. *Michaels Woodstreet*, *An. 1624.* when a Pestilential Sickness rag'd in the City, and continu'd all the time of it, discharging all the Offices and Duties of a Faithful Pastor to

his *Flock*; visiting, infected Persons without Fear, tho' to the hazarding of his own Life, for the Good

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* See the Account of his Life & Death prefix'd to his Annotations on Isaiah.

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of Souls in the Service of his MASTER, who preserv'd him from all Infection, when Thousands fell on either hand of him. He was very Successful in his Ministry, and exceeding useful by his profitable and familiar way of Catechizing. He was Fin'd 500l, for refusing to give in Evidence against Mr. *Love*, and committed Prisoner to the Fleet, where he continu'd about 17 Weeks. After the Restauration he (as hath bin hinted in the foregoing History) presented the Bible to His Majesty, in His Triumphal Progress thro' *Cheapside*; and was one of the Commissioners at the *Savoy*: And finding all their Endeavours there fruitless, he, when the severe Act took place, retired to a Private Life. In his last Sickness, he discover'd great Serenity and Composure: And express'd much satisfaction in his Spirit as to his *Nonconformity*; professing *he had many times ask'd God Forgiveness on his Knees, for his complying too much with unwarrantable Impositions in former Times*, He dy'd Aug. 5. 1666. He hath left behind him *Annotations* on several Parts of the *Bible*, in 3 Vol. in 4to.

Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, B.D, from *Aldermanbury*. He was one of those Divines who, *An. 1641*, met by order of Parliament in the *Jerusalem Chamber*, with several Bishops and Doctors, in order to the *Accommodating Ecclesiastical Matters*: in which Meeting, by mutual Concessions, things were bro't into a very Hopeful Posture: But the whole Design was spoil'd by the bringing in to the House the Bill against Bishops, &c. He was afterwards an Active Member of the *Assembly*. He was a great Enemy to the Sectaries, who afterwards grew so Rampant. He was in his Judgment for the *Presbyterian Discipline*; but of known Moderation towards those of other Sentiments. No Minister in the City was more follow'd; nor hath there ever bin a Week-day lecture so frequented as his; which was attended not only by his own Parish, but by other Eminent Citizens, and many Persons of the Greatest Quality, and that constantly. In *Oliver's* time he kept himself as private as he could: But had a considerable Hand in causing things afterwards to return into their Proper Channel. He preach'd before

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fore the Parliament the Day before they voted the King home, and was one of those Divines who were sent over to him into *Holland*, He was reckon'd to have the greatest Interest in Court, City and Country of any of the Ministers, and therefore extreamly caress'd at first: But soon saw whither things were tending. He was very Active in order to an Accomodation, but in vain, He generally had the Chair among the City Ministers in their Meetings, and was much esteem'd for his Prudence and Conduct. He was one of the *Cornhill* Lecturers, He refus'd a Bishoprick because he could not have it upon the Terms of the King's Declaration; but kept his Temper and Moderation after he was ejected. He was Imprison'd in *terrorem* for Preaching Occasionally after *Bartholomew-Day*, but soon releas'd, when it was seen what a Resort of Persons of all Qualities there was to him in *Newgate*; and how generally the Severity was resented. He liv'd to see *London* in Ashes, the sight of which broke his Heart. He was driven thro' the Ruins in a Coach, and seeing the desolate Condition of so flourishing a City, for which he had so great an Affection, his tender Spirit receiv'd such Impressions as he could, never wear off. He went home, and never came out of his Chamber more; but dy'd within a Month. He hath not left much in Print. He was one of the Authors of *Smectymnuus*, which was a Celebrated Book before the Civil War. He had a hand in drawing up the *Vindication of the Presbyterial Government and Ministry*, Printed An. 1650. and the *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici, & Anglicani*; Printed An. 1654. He hath several Sermons in Print, which he Preach'd before the two Houses of Lords and Commons, and the Magistrates of the City: And, at the Funerals of Dr. *Sam. Bolton*, Mr. *Sim. Ash*, &c. Besides which, he publish'd nothing but a Vindication of himself from the Calumnies of Mr. *Burton*; and a small Tract call'd *The Godly Man's Ark, or City of Refuge, in the Day of his Distress*. And since his Death there was *A Treatise of Meditation*; Printed in a Clandestine way: Not by his Son, or from his Manuscript, but from some imperfect Notes taken by an Auditor.

Mr.

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Mr. *Joseph Caryl* from St. *Magnus*. He was a noted Disputant in *Oxford*: And when he came to *London*, was Preacher to the Honourable Society of *Lincolns-Inn*, where he continu'd several Years with Good-liking and Applause. He was a Member of the Assembly of Divines: And in 1653, he was appointed one of the *Triers* for the Approbation of Ministers: and had universally the Charaer of a *Learned Man*. Besides his Fast and Thanksgiving Sermons before

the Parliament, he also publish'd an *Exposition with Practical Observations on the Book of Job*, in 11 Vol. in 4to. (since put into two *Folios*) And had an hand in a Book entitul'd, *An English Greek Lexicon, containing the Derivations and various Significations of all the Words in the New Testament, &c.* Oct. 1661.— And after his Death was publish'd, *The Nature and Principles of Love to the End of the Commandment*; being some of his last Sermons. October 1674. He dy'd in February 1672.

Mr. *Thomas Gouge* from St. *Sepulchres*. He was Son to the Eminent Dr. *Gouge* of *Black-Fryars*. He was a Wonder of Charity, Humility, Sincerity and Moderation. Mr. *Baxter* says, *That he never heard any one, Person, of what Rank, Sort, or Sect soever, speak one word to his Dishonour, or name any Fault that they charg'd on his Life or Doctrine; no not the highest Prelatists themselves, save only that he Conform'd not to their Impositions*: God blessed him with a good Estate, and he liberally us'd it in Works of Charity, which he made indeed the Great Business of his Life. When he had lost much by the Fire, and had settled his Children, and had his Wife taken from him by Death, he had but 150*l.* a Year left, and he gave a Hundred of it to Charitable Uses. It was his daily Work to do all the Good he could, with as great Diligence and Constancy as other Men labour at their Trades. He visited the Poor, and stirr'd up the Rich, in whom he had any Interest, to devote at least the 10th part of their Estates to Works of Charity. When he was between 60 and 70 Years Old, he us'd to Travel into *Wales*, and disperse what Money he could spare himself, or collect from others, among the poor labouring persecuted

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cuted Ministers there. He settled in the Chief Towns of *Wales* a great many Schools, to the number of 3 or 400, for Women to teach Children to Read, having himself undertaken to pay them for many hundred Children. He Preach'd himself in *Wales* 'till they drove him from Place to Place by Persecution. He went constantly to the Parish Churches, and sometimes Communicated with them, and was Authoriz'd by an Old University license to Preach Occasionally, and yet for so doing was, Excommunicate even in *Wales*, even while he was doing all this Good. He procur'd a very fair Impression of the Bible in the *Welsh* Tongue, to the number of 8000, 1000 of which were freely given to the Poor, and the rest sent to the Principal Cities and Towns in *Wales*, to be sold to the Rich at Reasonable Rates, *viz.* at 4 Shillings a Piece well Bound and Clasp'd. He was us'd toe say often with Pleasure, *That he had two Livings, which he would not exchange for two of the*

Greatest in England, meaning Wales, where he us'd to Travel every Year to spread knowledge, Piety, and Charity; and Christ's Hospital, where he us'd freely to Catechize the Poor Children, in order to the well laying the Foundations of Religion in them, in their tender Years. He Dy'd suddainly in the 77th Year of his Age. Without any sickness or Pain or Fear of Death, he was heard to give a Groan in his Sleep and he was gone. Mr. Baxter says, *He never saw him Sad, but Cheerful*. His Funeral Sermon was preach'd by Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, to whose Account of him the Reader is refer'd. In giving his Character, he hath these words among others;—*So that all things consider'd, there have not since the Primitive Times of Christianity, bin many among the Sons of Men, to whom Glorious Character of the Son of God might be better apply'd, that He went about Doing Good*. And he ascribes to him the first Foundation of that Charitable Design of Employing the Poor at Work, which Mr. Thomas Firmin afterwards improv'd, and which met with such General Applause, He hath not left much behind him, His Book stil'd the *Principles of Religion explain'd*, is as valuable as *most* of the kind.—He hath publish'd
also

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also, *A Word to Sinners*; and *A Sermon of Good Works*; both in 8vo.

Mr. Samuel Clark,* from Benet Fink. He had bin an Useful Preacher many Years in the Country, in Cheshire, and Wanrickshire, where he had met with Trouble on the Account of the *Et cætera Oath*, &c. before he came to London: But here he liv'd Comfortably and Usefully, 'till the *Uniformity Act* stop'd his Mouth. He was one of the Commissioners at the Treaty at the Savoy. A Man of great Plainheartedness and Sincerity. The words were but few (but spoken from his Heart, and expressive of the Sense of many) which he us'd to His Majesty when he presented the Address to him, in the Name of the Ministers, Novemb, 16. 1660.—*Your Majesty's Loyal Subjects* (saith he) *the Ministers in and about the City of London, have commanded us humbly to present this their Gratulatory Acknowledgment to Your Royal Majesty, for Your Gracious Condescensions in Your Majesty's late Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs*. For he was abundantly sensible, with many others, that that Declaration would have made the Nation happy. And tho' he was not satisfy'd afterwards to Conform to the Terms requir'd by Law for the Exercise of his Ministry, he yet frequented the Church both as an Hearer and Communicant. He Dy'd Dec. 25. 1682. His Works† that he hath left behind him are many; of which a List is here added: And tho' it must be own'd they are not calculated for the Nice and Curious, yet

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* See his own Account of himself before his last Volume of Lives.

† Sir Works are these.

A Martyrology with the Lives of 22 Divines. Fol. 1651.

The Lives of Sundry Eminent persons in this latter Age. Fol. 1683.

The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History: With Cuts. Fol.

The Marrow of Divinity; containing Sundry Case of Conscience. Fol. 1659. His Examples. Fol, The Life of our Blessed Saviour;—A Discourse against Toleration.—A Sheet in Defence of Tythes.—Some Sermons preach'd on Particular Occasions.—A Description of Germany. The History of Hungary. A Description of the 17 Provinces of the Netherlands.—Lives of our English Warriours.—The Duty of every one that intends to be Sav'd.—An English Dictionary.—A President for Princes.—A Book of Apothegms, &c. &c.

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this cannot be deny'd, that they have bin very Useful to Persons of the Middle Rank; who by the Help of his Industrious Pains, have got much Profitable Knowledge, they could not otherwise have had an opportunity of Gaining.

Mr. *Thomas Case** He was one of the Members of the Assembly of Divines. He was forc'd out of the Diocess of *Norwich* by the Severity of Bp. *Wren*, He afterwards settled in the City at *St. Mary Magdalen Milkstreet*, and was very Laborious and Faithful there in his Ministerial Work. He first set up the *Morning Exercise*, which (to the Benefit of Multitudes) hath bin kept up in this City from Place to Place, ever since, except when the Rigour of the Times prevented it. He was turn'd out of *Milkstreet*, for refusing the Engagement, He was afterwards Lecturer at *Aldermanbury*, and *St. Giles Cripplegate*. He was Imprison'd 6 Months in the Tower, for his Concern with Mr. *Love*. He was afterwards Rector of *St. Giles in the Fields*. In 1660 he was one of the Ministers deputed to wait upon the King at the *Hague*, to Congratulate his Restauration: And in 1661, one of the Commissioners at the *Savoy*. When his Publick Ministry was at an end, he ceased not in Private to be doing all the Good he could. He was one of a quick and warm Spirit; an open plain hearted Men; an hearty Lover of God, Goodness and all Good Men. He was a Scripture Preacher; a Great Man in Prayer; and one that bro't home many Souls to God. He Dy'd *May 30. 1682*, Aged 84 Years. His Funeral Sermon was preach'd by Dr. *Thomas Jacomb*, in which his Character may be seen at large.

Mr.

* His Works are:

Several Sermons preach'd before the Lords and Commons.—Several Sermons at Milkstreet about God's waiting to be Gracious to his People.—Sermons on the Covenant.—And some other Sermons on Particular Occasions.—Imitation of the Saints open'd in Practical Occasions. Qu. 1666. Mount Pisgah Or, a Prospect of Heaven:—Correction, Instruction: Or, A Treatise of Afflictions.—The first

and last Sermons in the Morning Exercise at St. Giles, 1659. And another Sermon on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate.

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Mr. *John Gibbons*, from *Black Fryars*. A very Learned and Judicious Man: Who dy'd, of a Consumption, not long after his being Silenc'd and put Out. I know not that he hath left any thing behind him as a Specimen of his Abilities, except a *Sermon upon the Nature of Justification*, in the Morning Exercise at St. Giles: (which is since Printed by it self) And another about *Checking the first Risings of Sin*, in the Morning Exercise at *Cripplegate*. But he that peruses these will hardly forbear Regret, that no more of his Works should be publish'd.

Mr. *Matthew Pool*,* from St. *Michaels Quern*. Universally acknowledg'd a very Learned Man. He was very Facetious in his Conversation, very True to his Friend, very Strict in his Piety; and Universal in

* *He compil'd the Synopsis Criticorum Bibliorum, in Five Volumes in Folio: Which soure Mr. Wood (who can hardly ever see any thing Tolerable where a despicable Nonconformist had any hand) owns to be Admirable and Useful Books: For which we are bound to Con him Thanks. For he having condescended to speak Favourably, we may well eno' be secure as to other Censurers.—He has also publish'd, The Blasphemer slain with the Sword of the Spirit, Proving the Deity of the Holy Ghost against Biddle, a Tract in Twelves.—A Model for the maintaining of Students of Choice Abilities in the University, and principally in order to the Ministry. Qu. 1658. A Letter to the Lord Charles Fleetwood. Qu. 1659. Quo Warranto: Or, A Moderate Debate about the Preaching of Unordain'd Persons, &c. in Vindication of the Jus Divinum Ministerii, written by the Appointment of the Provincial Assembly at London.—Evangelical Worship; A Sermon before the Lord Mayor, Aug. 26. 1660.—The Nullity of the Romish Faith; Oxon, 1666. Oct.—Dialogues between a Popish Priest and English Protestant, wherein the Principal Points amd Arguments of both Religi- ons are truly Propos'd, and fully Examin'd: Oct. Lond. 1667. And several times after in Twelves. A. Seasonable Apology for Religion, on Mat. 11. 19. Lond. 1673. Qu. &c. There are also some Sermons of his in the Volumes of the Morning Exercise. One upon the Satisfaction of Christ, in that at St. Giles's. Another about the Right Method of Application to the Sick, for their Good, on the Part both of Ministers and People; in that at Cripplegate. Another upon Detraction, in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, And another Against an External Infallible Judge in the Church of God, in that against Popery. He also wrote a Volume of English Annotations on the Holy Scripture, intending to have gone thro' it, if God had spar'd his Life: But he went no farther than the 58th Chapter of Isaiah. Others undertook to Compleat his*

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his Charity. He was one of the Commissioners at the *Savoy* in 1661. He Dy'd at *Amsterdam* in *Holland*, in *October* 1679; leaving behind him (saith *Wood*, the *Oxford Critick*, without any Cavil, at which we may well wonder) the Character of *Clarissimus Criticus & Gasuista*; a Celebrated Critick and Casuist.

Work. But the Oxford Collectour hath mistaken their names. For he mentions Dr. Bates, Dr. Jacomb, Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Vink, and Mr. Alsop, as Persons concern'd in it, without any Ground in the World. He says, He did not doubt but Dr. Owen also had his share in the Work. But the who are to be influenc'd by his Positive Assertions, and much more by his Doubts, are in fair Danger of being bewilder'd. In opposition to his Doubtful one, I'll here add a true List of the Compleaters of that Useful Work. The 59th and 60th chapters of Isaiah, were done by Mr. Jackson of Moulsey. The Notes on the rest of Isaiah, and on Jeremiah, and Lamentations, were drawn up by Dr. Collins. Ezekiel by Mr. Hurst. Daniel by Mr. Cooper. The Minor Prophets by Mr. Hurst. The 4 Evangelists by Dr. Collins. The Acts by Mr. Veal. The Epistle to the Romans by Mr. Mayo. The two Epistles to the Corinthians, and that to the Galatians, by Dr. Collins. That to the Ephesians by Mr. Veal. The Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians, by Mr. Adams. The two Epistles to the Thessalonians, by Mr. Barker. The Epistles to Timothy, Titus and Philemon, by Dr. Collins. That to the Hebrews, by Mr. Obadiah Hughes. The Epistle of James, two Epistles of St. Peter, and the Epistle of St. Jude, by Mr. Veal. The three Epistles of St. John, by Mr. How. And the Book of the Revelation, by Dr. Collins.

Dr. Nathanael Holmes, from *St. Mary Stayning*. A Man well skill'd in the Tongues, particularly the *Hebrew*. His Works are many. The most Noted are, *The Resurrection reveal'd*, Fol. 1654. In which Book, tho' the Author shows himself a *Millenarian*, yet he doth not contend for a carnal, sensual, gross and worldly Liberty to be enjoy'd by the Saints before the General Resurrection, but for a spiritual, purify'd and refin'd Freedom from Sin and Corruption. He afterwards publish'd *Ten Exercitations* in another *Folio*, in Vindication of this Book. And another *Folio*, containing 16 Treatises, with the Title of *His Works*; with several other Tracts. He Dy'd *An.* 1678.

Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, from *Alhallows Bread-street*. Even the Envious *Wood* owns him to have bin a *Learned Man*. He was one of the Assembly of Divines. A Man of great Abilities, very skilful in managing

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Controversies in Divinity. Upon the Invitation of an Honourable Lady, who was the Head of a Noble Family, and was often solicited by Romish Priests to change her Religion, be engag'd two of the ablest Priests they could pick out in a Dispute, in the presence of the Lord and Lady for their Satisfaction: and by silncng them upon the Head of *Transubstantiation*, was instrumental to preserve that whole Family from a Revolt, and keep them stedfast in the Protestant Religion, While he was Master of *Peter-House* in *Cambridge*, he acquitted himself with abundant Honour. He was an excellent Casuist, a dextrous Expositor, and both a Judicious and Moving Preacher. He Dy'd in *September* 1675. Mr. *Jenkyn* preach'd his Funeral Sermon, in which the Reader may meet with his Character at large. He hath extant a few Sermons which he preach'd before the Long Parliament. A Sermon

before the Lord. Mayor, *April* the 7th 1650, against Divisions. And a *Vindication of the Judgment of the Reformed Churches, concerning Ordination, and laying on of Hands, &c.* *Qu.* 1647.

Mr. *William Jenkyn*, from *Christ Church*. A very Affectionate Useful Preacher, and much follow'd. He was several times Imprison'd, and in much Trouble for his *Nonconformity*, and at last dy'd in Prison of *Newgate, Jan.* 19. 1684. at which time there was above 80 Dissenters in the same Prison, on the same Account. He was imprison'd upon the *Oxford Act*: His offer of 40*l.* which was the Penalty fix'd in that Act, being refus'd by Sir *James Edwards* and Sir *James Smith*, 2 of the Aldermen. After 5 months Imprisonment, he petition'd the King for his Delivery; and the Physicians assured His Majesty, *That his Life was endanger'd by his close Confinement*. But no Mercy could be obtained thro' Personal Disgust; tho' the King had bin prevail'd with to release Mr. *Holdcraft* of *Cambridge* from a redious Confinement, not long before.—He hath writtten *An Exposition of the Epistle of Jude*.—*The Busy Bishop: Or, The Visitor Visited; in Answer to John Goodwin's Sion Colledge Visited; Qu.* 1648. And a *Vindication of it from his Reply*. Publishing his Funeral Sermon for Dr. *Seaman*,

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upon occasion of some Reflections in it, there were great Heats. One wrote Animadversions on that Sermon, entitled. *A Vindication of the Conforming Clergy, from the Unjust Aspersions of Heresy, &c.* In a Letter to a Friend. In Answer to which he wrote his *Celeusma, seu Clamor ad Theologos Hierarchie Anglicanæ; Qu.* 1679. Which being answer'd in Latin by Dr. *Grove*; he wrote a Brief Reply in the same Tongue, *An.* 1631. He hath also a Sermon printed in the *Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate*, upon *Improving the Present Season of Grace*. And another in the *Continuation of the Morning Exercise*; about *Bewailing the Sins of the Places where we live*. And a 3d about *Venial Sins*, in the *Morning Exercise* against *Popery*.

Mr. *William Cooper*, from *St. Olave Southwark*. He was a Critical Linguist, no mean Philolopher, a quick Disputant, and well vers'd in *Controversies*: A Learned Expositor, a Celebrated Historian, and a fine Poet, especially in *Latin*. He was Chaplain to the Queen of *Bohemia*, (Mother to the Princess *Sophia* of *Hannover*, on whom the Succession to the Crown of *England* is lately settled by Act of Parliament) for several Years: He continu'd in her Family at the *Hague* from 1644 to 1648. He was greatly respected by that Vertuous Princess, and by the sober part of her Court; had free Conversation

(in clean *Latin*) with the Foreign Envoys that then resorted to her; and became so well vers'd in the Affairs of *Europe*, as to be reckon'd no small Politician. He understood Men as well as Books, and was generally valu'd and respected by such as knew him: And most by them that knew him best.*

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* *I know not that he hath Printed any thing, except 4 Thanksgiving Sermons before the Parliament on Zach. 12. 2, 3, 4. some Sermons in the Morning Exercises. One in that at St. Giles's, on the Covenant of Works. Another in that at Cripplegate, about Giving Thanks in all Things. And a 3d in the Continuation of the Morning Exercise Questions on that Qu. What must we do to keep our selves in the Love of God? A Funeral Sermon for Mr. Christopher Fowler; and some papers of Last-Verses.*

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At the same Place was Silenc'd Mr. *Venning*, who was lecturer; and Mr. *Samuel Smith* Assistant. Mr. *Venning* was sometime of *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*. He was a popular Preacher, and much follow'd.† He Dy'd *March* the 10th 1673. His Funeral Sermon was preach'd by Mr. *Robert Bragg*.

Mr. *Samuel Smith* had before bin cast out of the Sequestred living of *Bodenham* in *Herefordshire*, but was Silenc'd here. He hath since settled at *Windor*, where he is yet living.

Mr. *Zachary Crofton*, from *St. Buttalphs Aldgate*. A quick and warm but upright Man. He not long after King *Charles's* Return had a hot Contest with Bp. *Gauden*, about the Obligation of the National Vow, call'd the *Solemn League and Covenant*. The Bishop was for Cancelling it entirely. Mr. *Crofton* did not plead for it as binding any Man to Rebellion, or to any thing Unlawful, but as Obliging everyone that took it in his Place and Calling to endeavour Reformation; to be against Schism, Popery, Prelacy and Profaneness, and to defend the King. Many Writings pass'd on both sides: But at length they who had the upper hand, (as hath bin usual in the like Case) back'd their Arguments with force, to make them unanswerable. Mr. *Crofton* was sent Prisoner to the Tower; where when he had continu'd long, at a vast Expence and Charge, he sought to get an *Habeus Corpus*: But his Life being threaten'd, he was gladdo let the Motion fall, and at last to Petition for his Liberty, which with some difficulty he obtain'd. But going into his own Country of *Cheshire*, he was there again cast into Prison: And when he procur'd his Liberty, he was forc'd to set up a Grocers Shop to

get

* *He hath left 9 Trearises behind him. (1) A Warning to Backsliders. (2) The Way to Happiness.*

(3) Mercies Memorial. (4) *Canaan's Flowings: Or, Milk and Honey.* (5) *His 43 Orthodox and Miscellaneous Paradoxes.* (6) *The New Command renew'd: Or, Love one another.* (7) *Mysteries and Revelations.* (8) *Things worth thinking on: Or, Helps to Piety.* (9) *Sin the Plague of Plagues: Or, Sinful Sin the worst of Evils.*

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get a Maintenance for his Family, While he was in the Tower, he went to the Chappel Service and Sermon: His Judgment being against Separating from the Parish Churches, notwithstanding their Conformity, so be it he were not put himself to use the Common-Prayer as a Minister, or the Ceremonies. And this occasion'd some that tho't his Course unlawful, to write against it: To which he reply'd with Sharpness, and so divers Writings were publish'd on both sides, about such Communion.

Mr. *Benjamin Needler*, from *St. Margaret Moses* in *Friday-street*: A worthy Divine of *St. John's Colledge* in *Oxford*. After he was ejected, he liv'd and preached privately at *North-Warnborough* in *Hampshire*; where he Dy'd in 1682.*

Mr. *Thomas Lye*,† from *Alhallows Lumbarb-street*. One who was eminently Useful by his excellent Knack of Catechizing Young Ones, whom he by many Artifices entic'd to delight in the getting Knowledge in the best things. Many in and about, this City, to this Day, recount with Pleasure his unusual

* *He hath left behind him*, Expository Notes, with Practical Observations towards the Opening the 5 first Chapters of the Book of *Genesis*; deliver'd by way of Exposition in several Lords-Days Exercises. Oct. And there are several Sermons of his in the Morning Exercises. One in that at *St. Giles's*, upon the Trinity. Another in that at *Cripplegate*, about Discovering and Mortifying Beloved Lusts. And a third in that against Popery of the Use of Images.

† Besides his Childs Delight, with all English Grammar, and a Spelling Book, together with The Grounds of the English Tongue, in Verse, intermix'd with Moral Precepts; and his Explanation of the Assemblies Shorter Catechism; he hath some Sermons in print in the Morning Exercises. One in that at *St. Giles's*, on the Union of Believers with Christ. Another, in that at *Cripplegate*, about Living by Faith on Divine Providence. A 3d in the Supplement, on the Managing of Catechizing by Spiritual Rules. A 4th in that against Popery, on Works of Supererogation. And a 5th in the Continuation, on that Question, What may Gracious Parents best do, for the Conversion of those Children, whose Wickedness is occasion'd by their Sinful Severity or Indulgence.

O 3

Method

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Method of instructing them in the first Principles of Religion, wherein he had a marvellous Dexterity: And I have heard of several that owe their first serious Impressions to his Pains in a Catechetical Way; in which he was not satisfy'd with conveying a little Notional Knowledge, without doing his utmost to set thing, home upon the Heart, according to the Capacity of his

young Auditory, to whom he always discover'd a most tender Affection. He dy'd *June* the 7th 1684.

Mr. *Crodacott* and Mr. *Watkins* both from St. *Saviours Southwark*, where they were joint Pastors, and spread the Gospel very amicably and successfully. The former hath a Sermon in Print, preach'd before the Lord Mayor, &c. at the *Spittle*, April 17. 1655, concerning *The Preferableneß of Heavenly to Earthly Treasures*. The latter hath a Sermon in the Morning Exercise at St. *Giles's*, on the *Misery of Man's Estate by Nature*.

* See Dr. *Annesleys Preface to his Funeral Sermon, for Mr. Whitaker*.

Mr. *Elias Pledger*, from St. *Antholins*. He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise at Cripplegate*, on that Question: *Of the Cause of Inward Trouble, and how a Christian should behave himself when Inward and Outward Troubles meet?*

Dr. *Drake*,* from St. *Peters Cheap*. Mr. *Baxter* says, *He was a Wonder of Humility and Sincerity*. He was one of the Commissioners at the *Savoy*. There is a Sermon of his in the *Morning Exercise at St. Giles's*, on the *Believers Dignity and Duty*. His last Words were these: *Jesus take me, I am ready*.

Mr. *William Whitaker* and Mr. *Torey*—from St. *Mary Magdalen Bermondsey* in *Southwark*. The former was the Son of the famous Mr. *Jeremy Whitaker*: And was a Man of great Calmness, Moderation and Peaceableness; sound in Doctrine, and *exemplary* in Life. While he was at the University, his Piety, Learning, sweetness of Disposition, Candour and Ingenuity were so Eminent, that he was Lov'd and Honour'd of all that knew him. And when he launch
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ed out into the World, he was a Peace Preacher and a Peace Maker, where ever he came. He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise at St. Giles's*, describing the *Mediator of the Covenant of Grace*. And another in that at *Cripplegate*, about *being Compleat in Christ*. He Dy'd in 1673. And Dr. *Annesley*, who was his Particular Friend, preach'd his Funeral Sermon, in which his Character may be seen at large. As for the latter, Mr. *Torey*, he after his Silencing cross'd the Seas, and became Pastour of the English Church at *Middleburgh in Zeeland*, where he liv'd and dy'd in great Respect.

Mr. *Thomas Wadsworth*,* from *Lawrence Poultney*. He was an Able Judicious Man, devoted wholly to God, and to do Good. He was at the time of the

Restoration in the Sequestred Living of *Newington-Butts*, where before he was cast out he Preach'd constantly; and zealously taught all his people also House by House. He gave Bibles to the Poor of his Parish, and expended not only his Time, but, his Estate in *Works of Charity*: When he was turn'd out there, the Lamentation of the People would have melted a Heart that had any Compassion. He afterwards remov'd into the City; and when by the *Bartholomew Act* he was Ejected there also, he for some time (thro' the Peoples Desire and Necessity) Preach'd privately to one Congregation at *Newington*, and another at *Theobalds*, by turns; without taking any Maintenance from either: And afterwards he had a fix'd Congregation in *Southwark*, where he dy'd of the Stone, *October* the 29th 1676. His Diary (which is printed in his Life) shows him to have bin an excellent Christian.

O 4

Mr.

* *He hath left several Treatises behind him. A Discourse of the Immortality of the Soul. A serious Exhortation to an Holy Life. Separation no Schism, &c. And after his Death were publish'd His Remains. Oct. 1680. He hath also some Sermons in the Morning Exercises. One in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, upon the Indispensableness of the Duty of receiving the Lord's Supper. And another in the Morning Exercise against Popery; against the Mass as a Sacrifice, &c. His Life was Printed in Octavo. 1680.*

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Mr. *Thomas Brooks*, from *St. Mary Magdalen Fish-street*. He was a very Affecting Preacher, and Useful to many. And tho' he us'd many homely Phraes, and sometimes too familiar Resemblances, which to Nice Criticks appear Ridiculous; yet he did more Good to Souls than many of the exactest Composers: And let the Wits of the Age pass what Censures they please, *He that winneth Souls is Wise*.

Mr. *Gabriel Sangar*, from *St. Martins in the Fields*. A Grave Peaceable Divine, of great Moderation. He tho't it his Duty, after he was Silenc'd, to abide in the Parish with those of his Ancient Flock who desired him, and to Visit them, especially in the time of Sickness: At which Time and Season many tho't the Help of the Poor Nonconformists needful eno' who were not very fond of their Preaching while they were Well. Once going to visit a Good Woman who sent for him, Dr. *Lamplugh* (who succeeded him in the Parish and was afterwards Bishop of *Excester*) coming after him) ask'd him with some Fierceness, *What Business he had there?* And bid him leave the Room, notwithstanding that he was told, *That he came not without being sent for*. So impossible is it to please some People; who, what ever is pretended, could they have their Will, would not give a jot more Liberty in Private than in Publick. He Dy'd in 1678.

Mr. *Philip Nye*,* from *Bartholomew Exchange*. He was in Orders, and Officiated (tho' 'tis uncertain in what Capacity) at *St. Michaels Cornhill*, An. 1630. In the Year 1633, he cross'd the Seas into *Holland*, that he might be free from Impositions, with which he

* *He hath written a letter from England, to his Brethren in Scotland concerning the Success of Affairs there; Qu. 1643. An Exhortation to the taking of the solemn League and Covenant; 1643. The Excellence and Lawfulness of the solemn League and Covenant, in a speech to the House of Commons; 1643. An Epistolary Discourse about Toleration; 1644. The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Power thereof, according to the Word of God. &c. 1644. Mr. Anthony Sadier examin'd: Or, A Discovery of his Notorious Falshoods, in his Dealing with the Tryers of Ministers. &c. 1654. The Principles of Faith, presented to the Committee of Parliament for Religion; Qu. 1654. Beams of former Light, discovering how evil it is to impose Doubtful and Disputable Forms for Practices upon Ministers, especially under the penalty of Ejection for Nonconformity to the same; 1660. Qu. Case, of great and present Use, &c. Oct. 1677. The*

was

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was dissatisfy'd. He return'd at the beginning of the *Long Parliament*, and by the Earl of *Mandchester's* Favour, became Minister of *Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire*. In 1643, he was one of the Assembly of Divines: Sitting in which he succeeded Dr. *Featly*, in the Rectory of *Acton*. He was one of the Dissenting Brethren in that Assembly. In '53, he was made one of the *Triers of Ministers*. After his Nonconformity, he liv'd privately. He was a Man of uncommon Depth; and seldom, if ever, outreach'd. He Dy'd in *September 1672*.

lawfulness of the Oath of Supremacy, and Power of the King in Ecclesiastical Affairs, with Q. Elizabeth's admonition &c. 1683. Qu. It was then reprinted, and in 1687 being printed again, it was dedicated by Mr. Henry Nye, the Author's Son, to K. James, the 2d. A Vindication of the Dissenters, proving, That their Particular Congregations are not inconsistent with the King's supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs; 1683. Qu. Some Account of the Nature, Constitution and Power of Ecclesiastical Courts: Printed with the former. The Lawfulness of hearing th, Publick Ministers of the Church of England; Qu. 1683. He hath also a Sermon extant, preach'd before the Citizens of London, An. 1659.

Mr. *Lowder* was Ejected from the same Place. He was a Valuable, Worthy Man.

Mr. *Robert Tatnall*, from *St. John Evangelist*. After his Ejection, he set up a Publick School in this City, and bred up many good Scholars; and had several under his Instruction, who are now very useful Persons both in Church and State. He publish'd a Discourse in *Qu.* about *the Fear of Death, or the Sinful Palpitation of the Heart*.

Mr. *Thomas White*, from *St. Brides*, where he was lecturer. One of great Humility and Sincerity: And an Excellent, Practical, Useful Preacher.†

† *He hath Printed, A Method and Instructions for the Art of Divine Meditation. In Twelves.*

Which is one of the best Books we have upon that useful Subject. Observations on the 4th, 5th and 6th Chapters of St. Matthew. Oct. 1658. A Treatise of the Power of Godliness. Twelves 1688. A Manual for Parents, wherein is set down very Particular Directions, in reference to Baptizing, Correcting, &c. He hath also a Sermon in the Morning Exercise at St. Giles's upon Effectual Calling. And another in that at Cripplegate, about the Faith that is necessary in an acceptable Prayer,

Mr.

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Mr. *Thomas Vincent*,* from *St. Mary Magdalen Milk-street*. He was a Worthy, Humble, eminently Pious Man, of *sober* Principles, and great Zeal and Diligence. He continu'd in the City the whole time of the Plague in 1665. The Awfulness of that Desolating Judgment, and the numerous suddain Instances of Mortality than every where obvious, gave a peculiar Edge to the Spirit of the Preacher and his Auditors: So that labouring constantly, and with great fervour, to set in with Divine Providence, he was an Instrument of Good to very Many. Mr. *Wood* says, *He was always held in great Esteem for his Piety, by those of his Perswasion*. Which is more than can be said of many by Persons of any Perswasion: However, as for Mr. *Vincent*, he hath a good Report universally, and carry'd an unstain'd Reputation to his Grave: His eminent Piety and Usefulness being own'd, not only by some of a particular Party, but by all sober Persons, who had the Happiness of being Acquainted with him. And 'tis out of the Power of such *Nibblers* to do any Disservice to his Name or Memory. He dy'd at *Hoxton*, in *October* 1671. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Slater*.

Mr. *Walley*, from *St. Mary White-Chappel*.

Mr. *Ralph Strethill*, from *St. John Zachary*.

Mr. *Thomas Douglass*, from *St. Olave Silver-street*.

Mr. *Fawler*, from *Bridewell*.

Mr.

* *He hath written*, A Spiritual Antidote for a Dying Soul. Oct. 1665. God's Terrible Voice in the City by Plague and Fire. Oct. 1667. A Tract of Christ's certain and suddain Appearance to Judgment. Oct. 1667. An Answer to the Sandy Foundation of *Will. Pen* the Quaker. A Defence of the Trinity, Satisfaction by Christ, and the Justification of Sinners; in *Twelves*. 1667. Wells of Salvation open'd: Or, Words whereby we may be sav'd; with Advice to Young Men; Oct. 1669. An Explanation of the Assemblies shorter Catechism; Oct. 73. The true Christian's Love of the unseen Christ; Oct. 1677. And several Sermons. One in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at *Cripplegate*, on the Blessedness of Forgiveness. Another in that against Popery, or the Wickedness of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, which forbids to Marry. And some other Sermons printed in *Octavo*, &c.

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Mr. *Dyer*, from *Alhallows on the Wall*.

Mr. *Connyer*, from his Lectureship at *St. Antholins*.

Mr. *Loaves*, from his Lectureship at *St. Magnus*.

Mr. *Rutten*, from *St. Mary le Bow*.

Mr. *William Hook*,* from the *Savoy*. A very worthy useful Man. He Dy'd in *March* 1677. Aged Seventy Seven.

Mr. *Haviland*, from *Trinity* Parish.

Mr. *Johnson*, from *Wapping*. I suppose (but am not certain) that this might be Mr. *Francis Johnson*, sometimes Fellow of *All-SSouls*, and afterwards Master of *University Colledge* in *Oxford*: Who Dy'd *October* the 9th 1677. and whose Funeral Sermon was preached by *J. LI.* and Printed by Mr. *Parkhurst* in 1678.

Mr. *John Jackson*, from *St. Bennet Pauls-Wharf*; Son to Mr. *Arthur Jackson*. He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise* at *Cripplegate*, by way of Direction to *Foreign Merchants*, about *keeping up the Life of Religion abroad*.

Mr. *Thomas Parsons*, from *St. Michael Wood-street*. He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise* at *St. Giles's* upon *Saving Faith*.

Mr. *William Wickens*, from the *Poultry*.

Mr. *Samuel Slater*, and Mr. *Richard Kentish*, both from *St. Katharine's Tower*. Both very worthy Men. The former of the two hath a Treatise publish'd, *Of Growth in Grace*, in several Sermons. *Oct.* 1671.

Mr. *Arthur Barham*, from *St. Hellens*.

Mr. *William Adderley*, Lecturer at *St. Sepulchres*. Mr. *Arnold*, Assistant at *St. Giles's Cripplegate*. Mr. *Daniel Batchelour*, from *St. Ann Aldersgate*. Mr. *Nehemiah Benton*, Minister of *St. Bennets Sheerhogg*.

Mr. *William Blackmore*, from *St. Peter's Cornhill*.

Mr. *Haslefoot Bridges*, from *St. Albans Woodstreet*.

Mr.

* *He hath left behind him a Tract, stil'd, The Priviledges of the Saints on Earth, above those in Heaven; Twelves. And a Sermon in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate upon Preparation for the coming of Christ by Death and Judgment.*

Mr. *Fisher*, his Assistant there.

Mr. *Cob*, from *St. Thomas Southwark*, and Mr. *Beerman* Lecturer there.

Mr. *John Biscoe*, and from *St. George's Southwark* Mr. *Henry Jessey*, The former hath publish'd some small Tracts: As *The glorious Mystery of God's Mercy; The Grand Tryal of True Conversion: Or, Sanctifying Grace appearing and acting first and chiefly in the Tho'ts. The Mystery of Free Grace in the Gospel, and of the Gospel in the Law*. He Dy'd *An.* 1679.

Mr. *Georg. Cockayn*, from *Pancras Soper-Lane*.

Mr. *Thmas Dawkes*, from *Queenhith*.

Mr. *Caley*, from *Greys-Inn*, turn'd out before from *Rawley* in *Essex*. He wrote the *Glimpse of Eternity*. *Oct.*

Mr. *Loe*, from the Lectureship at *Aldermanbury*. Mr. *Hutchinson*, Lecturer of *St. Michael Royal*.

Mr. *Humphry*, Lecturer at *St. John Zachary*.

Mr. *Carter*, from *St. Michael Crooked-Lane*; and Mr. *Mallory*, Lecturer there. The latter of whom hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise at Cripplegate*, on the *Conceptions we should form of God in Duty*.

Mr. *John Fuller* from *Ironmonger-Lane*.

Mr. *Samuel Lee*, from *Bishopsgate*. A Man of very considerable Learning; as will be own'd by all that will be at the Pains to read his Latin Tract on the *Revelation, De Excidio Antichristi*. And his Account of the Temple of *Solomon*, in the latter end of the Reign of K. *Charles II.* his Fears of the Return of Popery drove him into *New-England*: And returning from thence in the late War, he was taken Prisoner by the *French*, and carry'd into *France*, where he Dy'd. He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise at Cripplegate*, on the *Means to be us'd towards the Conversion of Carnal Relations*. And another in the *Supplement* to it, about *Secret Prayer*: And another in that against *Papery*, about *Christ's being the Preserver of the visible Church*: And he hath also in Print, *The Triumph of Mercy in the Chariot of Praise; A Discourse of Mortality. The Joy of Faith*; and a *Discourse concerning the Ten Tribes*. All in *Octavo*.

Mr.

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Mr. *Nicolas Lockyer*, from *St. Bennet's Sheerhogg*. Quickly after King *Charles's* Restauration, he was depriv'd of his Provostship of *Eaton-College*, in which he succeeded Mr. *Francis Rouse*. He continu'd Preaching Occasionally 'till he Dy'd; which was in 168..

Mr. *Thomas Wattson*,† from *St. Stephens Walbrook*. One so well known in the City for his Piety and Usefulness, that tho' he was singl'd out by the *Friendly Debate*, he yet carry'd a General Respect from all sober Persons along with him to his Grave. A memorable Passage, which I have from Good Hands, must not be pass'd by. When Mr. *Watson* was in the Pulpit on a Lecture-Day, before the *Bartholomew Act* took place, among other Hearers, there came in that Reverend and Learned Prelate Bishop *Richardson*; who was so pleas'd with his Sermon, but especially, with his Prayer after it, that he follow'd him home to give him Thanks, and earnestly desir'd a Copy of his Prayer. *Alas*, said Mr. *W.* *that is what I cannot give, for I do not use to Pen my Prayers; it was no Study'd thing, but utter'd as God enabled me, from the abundance of my Heart and Affection*, pro re nata. Upon which the Good Bishop went away, wondering that any Man could Pray in that manner *ex tempore*.

Mr. *Edward Pearse*, from *St. Margaret Westminster*. He was a most Affectionate and Useful Preacher; but Dy'd at about 40 Years of Age. He lay for some time declining in a Consumption; and finding himself going off the Stage, when he had done little comparatively of that Service which his Heart was so warmly enclin'd to, he made it the matter of his

Hearty

* *He hath several Sermons extant, which he Preach'd before the Lords and Commons; and more privately upon other Occasions: Some Sermons of*

Sincerity, Oct. Balm for Bleeding England and Ireland, in 20 Sermons; Oct. 1643. Christ's Communion with his Church Militant. Spiritual Inspection: Or, A Review of the Heart. A Memorial of God's Judgments Spiritual and Temporal, &c.

† *He hath publish'd a Discourse on the Beatitudes; Qu. 1660. The Mischief of Sin; the Privilege of such as love God; the Art of Divine Contentment; and the Saints Delight: And some other Octavo's. And since his Death hath bin publish'd his Body of Divinity: Or, Course of Sermons on the whole Assembly's Catechism; in fol.*

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Hearty Prayer to God, *That something of his might be Useful after his Decease*; which Prayer was remarkably answer'd in the signal Success of his little Book, which he stil'd, *The Great Concern, or Preparation for Death*; which Book hath bin Printed one and twenty times. He hath also another Tract extant, stil'd, *The best Match: Or, The Souls Espusal to Christ*, in 12s. And a 3d stil'd, *Beams of Divine Glory: Or, God's Unchangeableness*, In 12s.

Mr. *John After*, from *Alhallows Hony-Lane*.

Mr. *Joseph Church*, from *St. Katharine Coleman*. A Worthy Man, who had many Children, and very little to subsist on, and had considerable Offers if he would have Conform'd; but rather chose to remain a Poor Nonconformist, than hazard the Peace of his Conscience.

Mr. *John Sheffield*, from *St. Swithins*. He hath written some Practical Treatises; as, *A good Conscience the strongest Hold. The Sun of Righteousness shining upon the Sons of Unrighteousness, &c.* And a Sermon at *St. Giles's Morning Exercise*, on the *Nature and Necessity of Holiness*. And another in that at *Cripplegate*, on the *Consistency and Inconsistency of Relapses, with Grace*.

Mr. *John Sympton*, from his Lectureship at *Buttolph Bishopsgate*.

Mr. *William Taylor*,* from *St. Stephens Coleman-street*. He succeeded Mr. *John Goodwin*,

* *He hath a Sermon in the Morning Exercise at St. Giles's, on Christ's Exaltation.*

Mr. *John Wells*, from *St. Olaves Jewry*. He wrote *The Practical Sabbatarian, or Sabbath Holiness crown'd with Happiness*;† *Qu. 1668*. He Did in *June 1676*. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Watson*.

† *He hath also a Sermon in the Morning Exertise at St. Giles's, on the Fall of Man; and another in the Supplement to the Morn. Ex. at Cripplegate, on Singing of Psalms.*

Mr. *Seth Wood*, from *St. Leonard's Eastcheap*; when he had before bin cast out of *Westminster-Abbey*.

Mr.

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Mr. *John Rowe*. He was the Son of that Excellent and Worthy Perron Mr. *John Rowe* of *Crediton*, whose Life is publish'd, and affords great Memorandums of Christian Piety, Industry, Constancy and Courage. His Father sent him to *New-Inn-Hall* in *Oxford* for Education, where be continu'd 'till the University became a Garrison, and then was transplanted to *Cambridge*, but return'd afterwards to *Oxford*, when things were settled, and was prefer'd to a Fellowship in *Corpus Christi Colledge*. His first Publick Employment in the Gospel was at *Witney* in *Oxfordshire*, where he Preach'd a Lecture with great Advantage to the Souls of his Hearers, and good Acceptance. Here there fell out a remarkable Providence, which he mightily Improv'd for the Conviction of many. Some Dissolute Persons (who could not then have the Liberty of a fixed Stage) came to the Town to Act a Play, and had an upper Room for their purpose in a Private House; where they were Acting before as many Spectators as the place would bear, on a Market Day. The Room being overcharg'd, first gave a terrible Crack, and then fell down. 4 or 5 Children and Younger People were kill'd outright. 10 or 12 had their Arms or Legs broken; and about 50 more were Bruised or Wounded. Mr. *Rowe*, upon this Occasion. Preach'd, and afterwards Printed, 3 Sermons, in order to the Improvement of so Teaching a Providence; which was so much the more Remarkable, because soe of the Actors in their Speeches, had even Dar'd and Defy'd *Death*; and in that, the *God of Life and Death*. *Wood*, that leaves a Blot upon the Names of most Good Men, could not let this Worthy Person escape. He charges him with *taking great Liberty in speaking against Plays in these Sermons*. And had he not Reason for it? When God's ludgmenrs are abroad, ought he not to endeavour to Teach Men to learn Righteousness? Are Plays, which Dare *Almighty God* and *Death*, as this did, such Innocent Things that they mayn't be touch'd? He afterwards Carps at him for *Preaching the Funeral Sermon of the Lord-President Bradshaw*, and for *Speaking much in his*

Praise.

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Praise. But did he Praise him for his Speech, or Judgment against the King? That he durst not say. And had Pres. *Bradshaw* nothing worth Commendation? Yes certainly; and some of his Chaplains, Dr. ___ and others could aver it. We read of deserved Praises given to *Julian* the Apostate; yea, *Nero* had an Excellent and Memorable *Quinquennium*: And they that will take the pains to read in A. a *Wood*, what he writes in Commendation of many a Bloody and Traitorous Papist, will say, according to the Homely Proverb, *That he knew how to give the Devil his due.*

For some time Mr. *Rowe* was a Preacher in his Native Soyl at *Tiverton*, where he was not without Honour, tho' in his own Country. From thence, upon the Death of Mr. *Strong*, An. 1654, he became Preacher in the Abbey at *Westminster*, and Pastor of the Congregation which Mr. *Strong* had there gather'd, who were many of them Parliament Men, and Persons of Quality residing in *Westminster*; Persons of better Judgment than to choose a Novice, or a Man of Noise and Words, for their Pastor. He was indeed a Man of great Gravity in Conversation, of Strict Piety, of Diligent Researches into the Mysteries of Religion: Not contenting himself with Superficial Notices of Religion, but chiefly commending such as tended to Practise. After the Return of the Ejected Choristers to the Organs and Abbey, there was no farther Place for him there. Yet after that, and the Silencing *Bartholomew Act*, he continu'd Fail and Faithful to the Church, Preaching to them often in *Bartholomew-Close*, or where else the Rigour of the Times would allow them to meet with any Safety. He Dy'd An. 1677. Besides, the Relation of the History of the Providence foremention'd, and the Sermons annex'd, he hath not Printed any thing save some Sermons upon Publick Occasions. And he had also a Hand in his Father's Life.

Mr.

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Mr. *Henry Hurst*, from St. *Matthews Friday-street*. He was noted for a quick, smart, and dextrous Disputant, while he was at *Merton College* in *Oxford*. He was generally Accepted and Respected as a Preacher in this City; he after his Nonconformity became Domestick Chaplain to the Earl of *Anglesey*, with whom he liv'd several Years. Even Mr. *Wood* himself (O strange!) gives him the Character of, *A Learned and Religious Nonconformist*. He Dy'd of an Apoplexy, *April* the 14th 1690.

† *He hath Publish'd several Sermons concerning the Inability of the highest improv'd Natural Man,*

to attain a sufficient and right Knowledge of indwelling sin: Oxon. 1659. Oct. *The Revival of Grace in the Vigour and Fragrancy of it*, Oct. 1678. *And some Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exercise*. One in that at Cripplegate, concerning Religious Vows. Another in that against Popery, on the Exemption of Princes from Subjection to the Pope, and the Non-Exemption of the Clergy, from Subjection to Temporal Princes. A Third in the Continuation of the Morning Exercise. Qu. *Against the Love of being flattered*. And another in the Fourth Volume, on Acts 17. 21.

Dr. Thomas Manton, from Covent-garden. He was first Minister of Culliton in Devon; and afterwards of Stoke-Newington in Middlesex, before he came to Covent-Garden; where he succeeded his Father-in-Law Mr. Sedgwick. He was in great reputation at the time of King Charles's Return; one of the Savoy Commissioners; and very Earnest in his Endeavours to get the Declaration for Ecclesiastical Affairs pass'd into a Law: And had it bin compass'd, would have accepted the Deanry that was offer'd him. He was a man of Great Learning, Judgment and Integrity; and an excellent unwearied Preacher: One of great Temper and Moderation, and respected by all that knew him, whose Spirits were not incurably Canker'd. Dr. Bates, in his Sermon at his Funeral, gives this Account

* Besides some Sermons of his before the Parliament, and upon other publick Occasions we have Extant of his own Publishing, a Practical Commentary or Exposition on the Epistle of St. James. Qu. 1651. All Exposition of the Epistle of St. Jude. Qu. 1652. Smectimnius Redivivus, being an Answer to a Book Entituled, An Humble Remonstrance, 1653. The Saints Triumph over Death: Being a Funeral Sermon on Mr. Chr. Love, 1651. And several Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exercises. One in that at St. Giles, on Man's Impotence to help himself out of the Misery which he is in by Nature. Another in that at Cripplegate, about Distractions in Holy Duties. A Third in the Supplement; about Improving our Baptism. A Fourth in that against Popery, about the sufficiency of the Scrip-

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of

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of him. *A Clear Judgment, Rich Fancy, Strong Memory, and Happy Elocution met in him, and were excellently improv'd by his Diligent Study*. In Preaching he was of that Conspicuous Eminence, that none could detract from him, but from Ignorance or Envy. He abounded in the Work of the Lord; and tho' a very frequent Preacher, yet was always Superiour to others and Equal to himself. Arch-Bishop Usher was wont to say of him, *That he was a Voluminous Preacher*: Not as if he was tedious for length, but because he had the Art of Reducing the Substance of Volumes of Divinity into a narrow Compass. And Mr. Chamock oft represented him as the best Collectour of Sense of the Age. He was no Fomenter of Faction, but Studious of the Publick Tranquility. His Generous Constancy of Mind in resisting the Current of Popular Humour, declar'd his Loyalty to his Divine Master, &c. He was Imprison'd for his Nonconformity, and many ways a Sufferer; and yet kept up a Considerable Interest at Court, and with Men of Note and Figure. The Noble Earl

(afterwards Duke) of *Bedford*, who had for some time bin his Parishioner at *Covent-Garden*, was his Cordial Friend unto his Death; and so also were many other Persons of Considerable Quality. He generally had the Chair in the Meetings of the Dissenting Ministers of the City; who found the Want of his Prudence, Activity and Interest joyn'd together, when he was taken from them. He Dy'd *October* the 18th 1677, leaving behind him the General Reputation of as excellent a Preacher, as this City or Nation hath produc'd.

tures. After his Death, there have bin several Volumes of his Work Published by others. Twenty Sermons on the Psalms, Acts, &c. 1678 Qu. Eighteen Sermons on the 2d Chapter of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians; containing the Description, Growth, and Fall of Antichrist, Oct. 1679, A practical, Exposition on the Lord's Prayer, Oct. 1684. Several Discourses tending to promotee holiness. Oct. 1684. And several Volumes of Sermons in Fol. The first Volume, contains Sermons on the whole 119th Psalm. The Second Volume, contains 27 Sermons on Mat. 25. 45 Sermons on the 17th of St. John; 24 on Rom. 6. 45 on Rom. 8. and 40 on 2 Cor. 5. The Third Volume contains 66 Sermons on Heb. 11. A Treatise of the Life of Faith; A Treatise of Self-Denial, with several Sermons on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, &c. the Fourth Volume, contains Select Sermons on several Texts: And so also doth the Fifth.

Mr.

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Mr. *Pinchback* was his Assistant, and was also ejected with him.

Mr. *Herring*, from *St. Brides*.

Mr. *Hodges*, from the *Tower*.

Mr. *Peter Witham*, from *St. John Baptist*.

Mr. *Woodcock* and Mr. *Thomas Underwood*, both from *St. Andrew Undershaft*.

As for Mr. *Woodcock*,† he had the Universal Reputation of a Learned Man. He was a smart Disputant, and one of great Ability and Readiness in Academical Exercises. In the latter Part of his Life he was Assistant to Dr. *Bates* at *Hackney*.

† *He has a Sermon on Heaven in the Morning Exercise at St. Giles's. Another in the Continuation of Morning Exercise Questions, concerning the saying Amen in Publick Worship: And another in the 4th Volume, on Rom. 14. 1.*

Mr. *Richard Adams*,* from *St. Mildreds Bread-street*. One of an Excellent Spirit; whose Even and Peaceful Course was eminent for *Devotedness* to God, and *Benignity* towards Man. He was generally Respected and Belov'd of all that knew him, while he was Fellow of *Brazen-Nose Colledge* in *Oxford*; and when he settled in *London*, was a very useful Preacher, and an Ornament to his Function. His Humility and Self-Denial were remarkable, in that after he was Ejected for Non-Conformity, he took upon him the Care of a Poor and Small People, and continu'd with them many Years, to the Damage of his own Estate, tho' he had considerable Proposals made to him to Tempt

him to a Removal. He Dy'd *Febr. 7. 1697/8.* Mr. *How* Preach'd his Funeral Sermon; in which the Reader will meet with his Character at Large.

* *He hath left behind him some few Sermons: One in the Morning Exercise at St. Giles's, concerning Hell. Another in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise; on the Duties of Parents and Children. A Third in the Continuation of the Morning Exercise, for the Encouragement and Support of Child-bearing Women. And a Fourth in the Fourth Volume of the Morning Exercise on the Successfulness of the Means of Grace: And also a Sermon at the Funeral of Mr. Henry Hurst, He also wrote the Expositions of the Epistles to the Philippians and the Colossians, in the Supplement to Mr. Pools English Annotations.*

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Mr.

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Mr. *Matthew Barker*, † from *St. Leonard Eastcheap.* One of considerable Learning, great Piety, and universal Candour and Moderation. No Lover of Controversies, but an hearty Promoter of Practical Godliness, without laying stress on little Things; in which He was very sensible others were as much at Liberty to differ from him, as he from them. And this Apprehension discernably govern'd his Practice. One Thing I must mention to his Honour, that he discover'd a peculiar Pleasure in conversing with Younger Ministers that were entering upon Work; would cheerfully hearten and encourage them; use great Freedom with them, without Reserve, and without Regard to any different Sentiments in smaller Matters; and rejoic'd in the Prospect of their serviceableness, when his own Parts visibly declin'd thro' Age.

† *He hath Printed a Book stil'd, Natural Theology, or the Knowledge of God. Oct. And a Discourse on Family Prayer. He hath a Sermon in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, on a Religious Fast. Another in the Continuation, upon uninterrupted Communion with God. And a Third in Volume the fourth, on Mat. 11. 24. He hath also a Sermon or Two in Print, which he Preach'd upon Publick Occasions.*

Dr. *Thomas Jacomb* from *St. Martins Ludgate.* He had been a Fellow of *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and was worthily esteem'd in that flourishing Society. After his Settlement in *London*, his Ministry was both acceptable and useful. His Sermons were Clear, Solid, and Affectionate; and they were also Printed in a fair and lively Character in his Conversation. He was of a staid Mind, and temperate Passions, and moderate in Counsels: In the managing Affairs of Concernment, he was not vehement and confident, not imposing and over-bearing, but receptive of Advice and yielding to Reason. He was full of Compassion, Charity and Benificence. He was a Non-Conformist upon Moderate Principles; much rather desiring to have been comprehended in the National Church, than to have separated from it. He met with Trouble after his Ejection, but the Divine Providence secur'd him of a Screen, by disposing of him into the Family of that Right Honourable, and Eminent

Pious Lady, the Countess Dowager of *Exeter*, Daughter to the Earl of *Bridgewater*: To whose Me

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mory this Acknowledgment is but a Due Debt; that when the Stream ran so strong against many Suffering, Excellent, Faithful Ministers and People, as it did in the Time of King *Charles* the II. this Honourable Lady to the utmost of her Power was a Comfort and Support to them. Her Respects for the Doctor were Peculiar, and her Favours conferr'd upon him were Extraordinary; for which he made the best Return, by his constant Care to promote Religion in her Family. In his Last Sickness, his Pains were very severe, proceeding from a Cancerous Humour, that spread it self in his Joints, and prey'd upon the tenderest Membranes, the most sensible Parts: But so signal was his Patience, that he never spake the least repining Word; glorifying God in his Death as well as in his Life, by his resign'd Submission to God, and admirable Patience even to the Last. He Dy'd at the Countess of *Exeter's*, March 27. 1687.* Leaving behind him an Incomparable Library of the most valuable Books, in all Parts of Learning; which was afterwards Sold by Auction, for Thirteen Hundred Pounds.

** He hath left behind him, a Commentary or Sermons on the whole Eighth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, Qu. A Treatise of Holy Dedication, both personal and Domestick, written after the Fire of London, and recommended to the Citizens after their Return to their Rebuilt Habitations. A Funeral Sermon for Mr. Vines, with an Account of his life and Death. The Life of Mr. William Whitaker. A Funeral Sermon for Mr. Matth. Martin. A Sermon at Paul's, Oct. 26. 1656. And another before the Lord Mayor, &c. at the Spittle, 1657. And two Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exercise. One in that at St. Giles's, on the Covenant of Redemption. Another in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, On Christian contentedness in every State. Mr. Wood the Oxonian adds, That there's no doubt but he did his Share in the Continuation of Pools Annotations; with a Confidence that is usual with him.*

Dr. *Samuel Annesley*, from Sr. *Giles Cripplegate*, a most Sincere, Godly, Humble Man: An *Israelite* indeed. One that may be said to be sanctify'd from the Womb; inasmuch as he was so early under Serious Impressions, that he oft declar'd, *He never knew the Time he was not Converted*. A little after his first Entrance on the Ministry, he was fix'd at *Cliff* in *Kent*, in the room of an Ejected Minister, whose Life and

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Conversation was notoriously Scandalous: The Rude and Ignorant People were upon this Account extremely fond of him, and Prejudic'd against his

Successor, whom they assaulted not long after his first coming among them, with Spits, Forks, and Stones; threatning him with Death: But God steel'd him with such Courage, that he told them, *Let them use them how they would, he was resolv'd to continue with them, till God had fitted them by his Ministry to entertain a better, who should succeed him; but yet solemnly declar'd, that when they became so prepar'd, he would leave the Place.* In a few Years the People were greatly Reform'd, and his Labours had marvellous Success, and to keep his Word he left them; least any seeming Lightness of his might prove a Scandal to his Young Converts. And the 400*l. per. Annum*, which he had there coming in, was no Temptation to him. When he came to the City, he had Two of the largest Auditories to Preach to; which were *Paul's* where he was Lecturer, and *Cripplegate* where he was Rector. He had a Large Soul, and a Flaming Zeal, and his Usefulness was very Extensive. He had the Care of all the Churches upon him; and was the Chief (oft the sole) Instrument in the Education and Subsistence of several Ministers, whose useful labours the Church had otherwise wanted. He was the Main Support of the *Morning Lecture*, for which so many have Cause to be thankful to God; and after the Death of Old Mr. *Case*, he took the Care of it upon himself. Of all Gifts, Salary and Incomes, he always laid aside the Tenths for Charity, even before any Part was spent; and by this Means had a Fund always at Hand, for charitable Uses; besides, what others furnish'd him with for the same Purposes, to whom he was a faithful Almoner. His Nonconformity Created him Troubles; but no inward Uneasiness. God often remarkably appear'd for him, One Died signing a Warrant to apprehend him. He never fear'd any of his Enemies, or their utmost Malice; and nothing that he met with from Men, abated his Cheerfulness. He had uninterrupted Peace in his Spirit, and Assurance of Gods Covenant Love, for the last Thirty Years of his Life. For several Years indeed before that, he

walked

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walked in Darkness, and was Disconsolate; which is no unusual Thing with such as are Converted in their Childhood, whose Change being not so remarkable as that of many others, is therefore the more liable to be question'd: But in his Last Sickness be was full of Comfort. Blessed be God (said he then) *I have been faithful in the Work of the Ministry above 55 Years.* And in 17 Weeks Pain, (which might well be suppos'd peculiarly troublesome to one, that had had such an untinterrupted Course of Health and Ease throughout his whole Life) be never discover'd the least Discontent.* At length he cheerfully resign'd his Soul to God, *December* the 31. 1696. in the

77th Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Daniel Williams*, who hath add'd an Account of his Life and Character.

* *He hath not left much in Print. He Publish'd a Sermon before the House of Commons in 1648. Two Sermons he Preach'd at Pauls about Communion with God, in 1655. A Sermon at Laurence Jury to the Gentlemen Natives of Wiltshire, Nov. 9, 1654. He hath a Sermon in the Morning Exercise at St. Giles's on the Covenant of Grace. He Publish'd the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, in 1661. And hath a Sermon there which begins the whole, upon being universally and exactly Conscientious. He also Publish'd and Prefac'd the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, Anno 1674. And begins it with a Sermon upon Loving God, with all our Hearts, and Souls, and Minds. He hath also a Sermon in the Morning Exercise against Popery, against Popish Pardons and Indulgences. He afterwards Publish'd and prefac'd, the Continuation of Morning Exercise Questions, in 1683. And begins it with a Sermon, shewing how the adherent Vanity of every Condition, is most Effectually abated by Serious Godliness: And in 1690. He Publish'd and Prefac'd the Fourth Volume of Casuistical Morning Exercises; which he begins with a Sermon, shewing How we may give Christ a Satisfactory Account, why we attend upon the Ministry of the Word.*

Dr. *William Bates*, from St. *Dunstons* in the *West*. He was generally reputed one of the best Orators of the Age. Was well Vers'd in the Politer Parts of Learning, which so season'd his Conversation, as to render it highly entertaining to the more sensible Part of Mankind: His Apprehension was quick and clear: His Reasoning Faculty, Acute, Prompt and Expert; so as readily and aptly to produce, and urge closely, the stronger and more pregnant Arguments when he was to use them; and soon to discern the Strength of

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Arguments, if he was to Answer them. His Judgment penetrating and solid, stable and firm. His Wit never Vain or Light, but most facetious and pleasant, by the Ministry of a Fancy, both very vigorous and lively; and most obedient to his Reason; always remote both from Meanness and Enormity. His Memory was admirable, and never fail'd that any one could observe, nor was impair'd to the Last at the Age of 74. His Language was always neat and fine, but unaffected; free from Starch, Lusciousness, or Intricacy. His Method in all his Discourses might be expos'd to the most Critical Censurer, His Stile was inimitably Polite, and yet Easie, and His very Voice was Charming. His Conversation was much coveted by Persons of all Qualities, and that even when those of his Character were persecuted with the utmost Rigours. The Lord Chancellour *Finch*, and his Son the Right Honourable the Earl of *Nottingham*, had a Particular Respect for Him. The late Arch-Bishop *Tillotson* highly valu'd him, and would often even after his Advancement to that High Station, converse Privately with him, with great Freedom and Openness. Our Late Blessed Queen often entertain'd her Self in her Closet with his Writings. And tho' one King made shew of a great Respect to him to serve

his own Purposes, yet He liv'd to see the Nation Happy under another King, who knows how to value Men according to their real Worth; to whom he was highly acceptable. If Interest would have induc'd him to Conformity, He could not have wanted a temptation; for there was none, no not the highest Preferment in the Church, but he might have expected it either if Merits were Regarded, or thro' the Strength of his Interest. He might have been a Dean at King *Charles* his Return, but refus'd. And might afterwards have had any Bishoprick in the Kingdom, would he have Deserted his Cause and Principles. And yet he was not engag'd in the Interest of any Party as such: For He had a Catholick Spirit, and was for an entire Union of all visible Christians, upon moderate Principles and Practices. He was not for farther Impositions than the Nature of Things requir'd; nor for having the Church less free than Christ had left it. And

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yet for Peace and Union's sake, he would have yielded to any Thing but Sin. He was for free Communion of all visible Christians, of whatsoever Perswasion in Extra-Essential Matters if they pleas'd. He vigorously pursu'd the Design of Peace and Union, and an hearty Comprehension, as long as there was any Hope: But at Last saw there was no Hope, till God would give a more suitable Spirit to all concern'd: For that when Principles on all Hands were so easily accommodable, and yet there was found in too many, a remaining insuperable Reluctancy to the Thing it self, God must work the Cure and not Man. But his Moderation was great to the Last; being exceedingly cherish'd by this Apprehension which had been deeply inwrought into the Temper of his Mind; that the Things wherein only it could be possible for truly good Men to differ, must be but Trifles, in Companion of the much greater Things, wherein it was impossible for them not to Agree. His Piety was very Conspicuous, and his Private Conversation was so instructive, so quickning, in Reference to what lay within the Confines of Religion and Godliness, that no Man of ordinary Capacity could hear his usual, and most familiar Discourses, but either with great Negligence, or great Advantage. In his Common Discourse with his Friends, tho' he was far from excluding Things of common Humane Concernment, he yet still Discover'd a Temper of Mind most intent upon Divine Things. He did not look with a flight or careless Eye upon the Affairs of the Publick, but did consider and speak of them as a Man of Prospect and Large Tho't, with much Prudence and Temper, both as lying under the Conduct of Divine Providence, and as relating to the Interest of Religion. For the latter Part of his Life His Residence

was at *Hackney*, where also he exercis'd his Ministry with great Success. And he there left this for a better Life, *Anno* 1699. His Works have since his Death been Printed all together in a large Folio; and he Publish'd nothing but what is there Collected, except it be the Lives of several Eminent Persons in *Latin*; which being valuable, and yet scarce and difficult to come by, he put them together in one Volume, which is Enti

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tuled', *Batesii Vitæ Selectæ*. There hath also been a Posthumous Piece of his Publish'd since his Death, in *Octavo*, being some Sermons on the Saints Everlasting Rest. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *How*, who hath given his Character at Large.

Mr. *George Griffyth* from the *Charter-House*; and a Week- Day Lecture at *St. Bartholomew Exchange*.

Mr. *Robert Bragg*, from *Alhallows the Great*. (a)

Mr. *Peter Vink*, B. D. from *St. Katharine Creed Church*, (b)

Mr. *Onesiphorus Rood*, from the *New Chappel in Westminster*.

Mr. *Thomas Doolittle*, from *St. Alphage*, (c)

Who are all of them yet Living.

(a) *I know not that he hath Printed any Thing, besides his Funeral Sermon for Mr. Venning.* (b) *He hath some Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exercise. One in that at St. Giles's upon Original Sin. Another upon the Grounds of the Separation of the Protestants from the Church of Rome, in that against Popery. Another upon the Worth of the Soul, in the Continuation of Morning Exercise Questions. And another, upon Gospel Grace as the best Motive to Holiness, in the Fourth Volume.* (c) *He hath several Tracts Extant. One upon the Sacrament of the Lords Last Supper. A Discourse upon the Sufferings of Christ. The Young Man's Instructor, and the Old Mans Remembrancer. Liberty to Captives. The Spiritual Antidote. The Mourners Directory. An Explication of the Assemblies Catechism, &c. He hath also some Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exercise. One in that at Cripplegate, by way of Direction to such as are not able to discern their own Spiritual Condition. Another in the Supplement concerning the Management of the Duty of Family Prayer. A Third in that against Popery, upon the Novelty of the Romish Religion; which is the Last in that Volume, And a Fourth in the Continuation of the Morning Exercise Questions, upon eying Eternity, so as that it may have its due Influence upon us in all that we do.*

There was two of the *London Ministers*, who at first left their Livings, but Conform'd afterwards; who were Mr. *Thomas Wills* of *St. Buttolph Bishopgate*; and Mr. *Samuel Smith* of *Grace-Church*; the latter of whom dy'd Ordinary of *Newgate*.

There were several Ministers in and about the City, who Preach'd only Occasionally, having no settl'd Place, who were made Incapable of any Settlement

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by the Act for Uniformity, for want of Conforming: Such as Mr. *Joseph Yeates*, Mr. *Brunhal*, (who hath a Sermon in the Mornng Exercise at *Cripplegate*, on the *Discovery and Cure of Hypocrisy*) Mr. *Bruce*, Mr. *Collens*, Mr. *Disney*, Mr. *Forster*, Mr. *May*, Mr. *Moor*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Symons*, Mr. *Thomas*, Mr. *Watts*, Mr. *yawe*, and Mr. *Job. Royle*. To these we may add Mr. *John Goodnin*, who having bin turn'd out by the Parliament, had a Private Meeting in *Coleman-street* Parish, at the time of King *Charles's* Restauration, and not being satisfy'd with the Terms of the Uniformity Act, liv'd and dy'd a Nonconformist. He was a Man by himself; was against every Man, and had every Man almost against him. He was very warm and eager whatsoever he engag'd in. He had a clear Head, a fluent Tongue, a penetrating Spirit, and a marvellous Faculty in Descanting on Scripture; and with all his Faults must be own'd to have bin a considerable Man, by those who will take the Pains to peruse his Writings.*

There were also several others, who came to the City from several Parts, who not being Ejected out of any particular place at *Bartholomew-Day*, would be wholly pass'd by, if not mention'd here. The Principal of these was Dr. *John Owen*, a Great Man, and generally respected as a Scholar, a Gentleman, and a Divine. He was cast out of his Deanry of *Christ Church* in *Oxford*, in 1659, not long after *Richard's* being made Protector; and liv'd privately afterwards at *Stadham* 'till he came to *London*. Mr. *Wood*, the *Oxonian*, after some Reflections that are as Black as the Vapours of the Infernal Cell, where they were

forg'd,

* *The Principal of them are these: Redemption Redeem'd; Fol. The Divine Authority of the Scriptures; Qu. Imputatio Fidei: Or, A Treatise of Justification; Qu. An Exposition on the 9th Chapter of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans; Qu. Of being fill'd with the Spirit; Qu. The Pagan's Debt and Dowry. His Catechism, or Principal Heads of the Christian Religion. The Saint's Interest in God, open'd in several Sermons. His Return of Mercies, or Saints Advantage by Losses. Catabaptism: Or, New Baptism waxing Old, and ready to Vanish; &c. Besides which he published many other Controversial Tracts and Pamphlets, upon matters disputed in those Days.*

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for'd, thinks fit to own, *That the Doctor was a Person well skill'd in the Tongues, Rabbinical Learning, Jewish Rites and Customs; That he had a great Command of his English Pen, and was one of the most Genteel and Fairest Writers, that appear'd against the Church of England.* But even this was more than poor *Sam. Parker* would allow him; who notwithstanding the Difference in Age; Standing and Reputation, whether with more Petulance or seeming Gravity may well be question'd, assaults him with the *Ferula* in his *Ecclesiastical Policy*,

and its Continuation; and treats him with that Contempt and Scorn that would be nauseated in a *Regent Master* towards a *Puny Freshman*. But such as were not Blinded with Prejudice, have freely own'd the Eminency of the Doctor's Learning and Abilities. He was a Man of Universal Reading; and he had digested it. He was especially Conversant in those Scicnces that are Assistant to Divinity; and Master of them in an Unusual Degree. He was reckon'd the Brightest Ornament of the University of *Oxford*, and for several Years successively was Vice-Chancellour there. When laid aside here, he had tho'ts of going into *New-England*, where he was invited to the Government of their University; but he was stopp'd by particular Orders from King *Charles*. He was also invited to be a Professour of Divinity in the United Provinces, but refus'd. He liv'd the latter Part of his Life in great Reputation, in and about the City of *London*; where he had a Considerable Congregation, and was much respected by many Persons of Note and Eminence.* He Dy'd

* *His Works are these. In Folio. An Exposition on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in 4 Vol. Discourses of the Work of the Spirit. &c. which Book was Answered by Dr. Claget, in a Treatise which he stil'd, A Discourse concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit, &c. The Doctrine of the Saints Perseverance, explain'd and confirm'd, against Joh. Goodwin's Redemption Redem'd.—In Quarto. 1. The Doctrine of Justification by Faith. &c. on which there are some Animadversions, in a Postscript of Mr. Th. Hotchkis to his Discourse Concerning imputed Righteousness. 2. The Glorious Mystery of the Person of Christ, God and Man. 3. The Grace and Duty of being Spiritually-minded. 4. A Display of the Errors of the Arminians. 5. Death of Deaths in the Death of Christ. 6. Vindiciæ Evangelicæ; Or, The Mystery of the Gospel Vindicated, and Socinianism explain'd, &c. in Answer to John Biddle. 7.*

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on *St. Bartholomew-Day 1683. Wood* says he did very unwillingly lay down his Head and Die: Which he reports as confidently as if he had bin with him in his last Hours. But the best of it is, no One that knew the Man will take his Word. He that can part with this Life with as chearful a Hope of a better as

Theologoumena, sive: de Natura Ortu, Progressu, & Studio veræ Theologiæ Libri 6. *a very Learned Book, much valu'd in Foreign Parts. 8. An Exposition of the 130th Psalm: Wherein there is as good an Exemplification of the Doctrine of Repentance, as is any where to be met with. 9. An Enquiry into the true Nature, Power and communion of Evangelical Churches; with the true Nature of a Gospel Church, and its Government: In 2 Parts. 10. The Duty of Pastor and People. 11. The Church of Rome no safe Guide. 12. A Vindication of the Nonconformists from the Charge of Schism, in Answer to Stillingfleet.—Octavo's. 1. Of Communion with God, Father, Son and Spirit: which was written against by Dr. Sherlock: Meditations and Discourses on the Glory of Christ in his Person and Office: With the Difference between Faith and Sight. 3. Of the Work of the Holy Spirit in Prayer. 4. Of Evangelical Love, Church Peace and Unity. 5. Of the Dominion of Sin and Grace. 6. A Brief Instruction in the Worship of God. 7. Evidences of the Faith of God's Elect, &c. 8. The Nature of Apostacy from the Profession of the Gospel. 9. The Principles of the Doctrine of Christ unfolded. 10. Animadversions on Fiat Lux. Which Book was written by John Vincent Lane, a Franciscan Fryer. 11. A Vindication*

of those Animadversions. 12. *A Discovery of the true Nature of Schism.* 13. *A Review of the true Nature of Schism, with a Vindication of Congregational Churches.* 14. *A Defence of Cotton against Cawdrey.* 15. *The true Nature and Power of Temptations.* 16. *Diatribæ de Justicia Divina.* 17. *Of the Mortification of Sin in Believers.* 18. *Of the Sabbath, and the Divine Institution of the Lord's Day.* 19. *A Brief Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity; and of the Person and Satisfaction of Christ.* 20. *Of the Divine Original of the Scriptures.* 21. *The Reason of Faith.* 22. *The Ways, Cause and Means of understanding the Mind of God in the Scriptures.* 23. *The Nature of Indwelling Sin.* 24. *Truth and Innocence vindicated; in a Survey of a Discourse, concerning Ecclesiastical policy. A Vindication of his Treatise of Communion with God, from the Exceptions of Dr. Sherleck.* 26. *Discourses of the Holy Spirit, by way of Addition to his Folio.* 27. *A Testimony to the Goodness and Severity of God in his Dealing with Sinful Churches and Nations.* 28. *A Guide to Church Fellowship and Order, according to the Gospel Institution.* 29. *Eshcol: or Rules of Direction for the Walking of the Saints in Fellowship, according to the Order of the Gospel.* 30. *A Primmer for Children, &c.* Besides all which, he published several Sermons, which he Preach'd upon Publick Occasions, An. 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 56, 58. And he hath also a Sermon about receiving Reproof, in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate. And

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the Doctor did, will receive no Damage from any such *Revilers*. He hath left behind him a great many Valuable Writings; and his Name will be precious when *the Memory of the Wicked shall rot*.

another in that against Popery, upon the Testimony of the Church; as evidencing the Scripture to be the Word of God. And another in the Cont. of the Morn. Exc. Qu. upon the practical Love of Truth, as the best Preservative against Popery.

Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, first of *Emanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Fellow of *New Colledge* in *Oxford*. From thence he went into *Ireland*, where he liv'd in the Family of *Henry Cromwel*, and that with abundant Respect; at which time he was us'd to Preach on Lords-Days, in the Afternoon, in the City of *Dublin*; and have all the Gentry and Persons of Quality in the City for his Auditors. This continu'd 'till King *Charles's* Restoration; a little after which, he return'd into *England*, and spent 15 Years in and about *London*, following his Studies without any fixed sealed Employment; taking now and then a turn beyond the Seas, into *France* or *Holland*. At length he became Pastor of a Congregation in *London*, and was much admired as a Preacher by the more Judicious Part of Mankind; but not Popular or much follow'd, because of his Disadvantageous Way of Reading with the help of a Glass. He was a very Considerable Scholar and an Eminent Divine. His Natural Parts were Excellent; for he had a Strong Reason, a Great Judgment, and a Curious Fancy (which rarely meet) joyn'd together. His Improvements, by Diligence and Industry, were unusual. There was no Part of Learning of any moment, which he had not a good Insight into. And his Love was as large

as his Knowledge; for his Benevolence was Universal, and his Love took in whatsoever Person or Thing had any thing Lovely in it.

He Publish'd nothing whilst he liv'd, but a Sermon of the *Sinfulneß and Cure of Tho'ts*, in the Supplement to the *Morning Exercise at Cripplegate*: But various thing's of his were Printed after his Death, in 2 Vol. in *Folio*; which are valu'd by all that are Judges of Good Sense or Divinity. They are indeed no other

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than his Ordinary Performances, his Usual Sermons in his Common Course; and they were Transcrib'd from his Notes; and cannot therefore but want that Perfection and Beauty, they would have had if he had himself sent them to the Press. And yet (to speak modestly) they are not equall'd by many, but exceeded by few if any. His Preaching was mostly Practical, yet Rational and Argumentative, to his Hearers Understandings as well as Affections; and where Controversies came in his way, he shew'd great Acuteness and Judgment in discussing and determining them, and no less Skill in applying them to Practise*. There is also besides the Two *Folio's* an *Octavo*, publish'd by the same Persons, containing some of his Sermons, *On our Natural Enmity against God, &c.* which are of a Piece with the others. He Dy'd July the 27th 1630, Aged Fifty Two. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *John Johnson*, who had bin his Fellow Collegiate at *Oxford*.

Mr. *Edward Veal*. He was first of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, and afterwards Fellow of *Trinity-Colledge* near *Dublin*. Coming into *England*, he became a Nonconformist, settled in *London*, and is yet living. He hath some Sermons extant in the Volumes of the *Morning Exercise*. One in the *Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate*, on the *Spiritual Knowledge that ought to be fought for by those who desire to be sav'd*: Another in that against Popery, against the *Meritoriousness of the Good Works of Believers*. A 3d in the *Continuation of the Morning Exercise*; Qu. on the *Experiencing it in our selves, and Evidencing it to others, That serious Godliness is more than a Fancy*. And a 4th in the 4th Vol. on the *Danger of a Death-Bed Repentance*.

Mr. *Edward West*. A Man of Good Learning, and an Excellent, Profitable, Useful Preacher. He hath a Sermon in the *Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate*, on the *Government of the Tongue*. And another in that against Popery, on the *Doctrine of Purgatory*. He Dy'd Jan. the 30th 1675, in the 41th Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Cole*. After his Death was publish'd *His Le*

* See the Character and Account of him, given by Mr. Adams and Mr. Veal, in their Preface to his Discourse of Divine Providence

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gacy; being a valuable Discourse on the *Perfect Man*, in *Oct.* grounded on *Psal.* 37.37.

To these we may add Mr. *Grismes*, Mr. *White*, (who was Household Chaplain to *Oliver Cromwel*) Mr. *Cave*, Mr. *Wavel*, and several others.

In the University of Oxford.

Joshua Cross, LL. D. Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge*, and Natural Philosophy Reader of the University. He was turn'd out by the Commissioners appointed by King *Charles*, for the Regulation of the University, quickly after his Restoration: And afterwards liv'd privately in *Oxford*, where he Dy'd *May 9th* 1676.

Daniel Greenwood D. D. He was Principal of *Brazen-Nose-Colledge*, and had bin Vice-Chancellor of the University. He also was turn'd out by the King's Commissioners: and the *Uniformity Act* coming out quickly after, he liv'd privately 'till his Death, which was on *Jan. 29.* 1673.

Henry Langley, D. D. Master of *Pembroke-Colledge*. Being ejected by the Visitors at the Restoration, he retired and liv'd Privately. After the *Act for Uniformity*, he had several in his House, whom he included in Academical Learning; and often Preach'd in private Meetings in *Abingdon* in *Berkshire*, living at *Tubney*, a place not far from that Town. He Dy'd *Sept. 10th* 1679.

Mr. *Francis Howell*. He was Moral Philosophy Reader to the University, and Principal of *Jesus Colledge*: but turn'd out by King *Charles's* Commissioners. He afterwards liv'd in or near *London*, Preaching Occasionally in private. He Dy'd at *Bethnal Green*, in *March* 1679.

Mr. *Thankful Owen*, President of *St. John's Colledge*. Ejected by the Commissioners in 1660. After which he retired to *London*, where he Preach'd privately, and was much respected. He Dy'd at his House in *Hatton Garden*, *April* the 1st 1681: He was preparing for the Press, and had almost finish'd, a Book entitul'd, *Imago Imaginis*: The Design of which was to shew, That, *Rome Papal* was an Image of *Rome Pagan*.

Mr.

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Mr. *Ralph Button*, Canon of *Christ Church*, and Oratour to the University. He was an Excellent Schohr; a most humble Man, of a plain sincere Heart.

He was a great Sufferer for Nonconformity. Besides a great Loss in his Estate, he was about 6 Months in Goal, for teaching Privately 2 Knights Sons, near *Brentford*, who perswaded him to it. He Dy'd at *Islington* (where he was a Tutor to Young Men in his own House) in *October*, 1680.

Thomas Goodwin, D.D.* who in the common Register at *Oxford* is said to be in *Scriptis in re Theologicâ quamplurimis orbi notus*; was one of those who fled into Holland in the Days of King *Charles* the 1st. to avoid the Censures of Episcopal Consistories; where remaining 'till the beginning of the Long Parliament, he return'd, and became one of the Assembly of Divines: But disliking their Proceedings, he left them, and about the same Time had Preferment conferr'd upon him. He was one of the Favourites of *Oliver Cromwell*. He fix'd him President of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*: And appointed him one of the Triers of Ministers, &c, He was remov'd from his Presidentship quickly after the Kings return in 1660. and afterwards retir'd to *London*, where he continu'd the Exercise of his Ministry, as long as he liv'd. He was a very Considerable scholar, and an Eminent Divine; and had a very Happy Faculty in Descanting upon Scripture, so as to bring forth surprizing Remarks, which yet generally tended to Illustration. He Dy'd *Febr.* 2nd. 1679. Aged 80 Years. He that would see his Character at large, may Consult the Preface to the first Volume of his Works in *Folio*; Written by Mr. *Thankful Owen*, and Mr. *Barron*.

* Besides several Occasional Sermons, He in his Life-time Publish'd several Tracts: As the Child of Light walking in darkness. Return of the Prayers. The trial of a Christians Growth. The vanity of Tho'ts. The Aggravations of Sin Christ set forth. The Heart of Christ in Heaven towards Sinners on Earth. Patience and its Perfect Work under sudden and sore Trials. After his death, Mr. Tho. Owen, and Mr. Barron, Publish'd a Treatise of his concerning the Punishment of Sin in Hell. Which was the Fore-runner of 4 Folio's of his Works, that have since appear'd in the World.

Mr. *Thomaj Cole*. He was bred at *WestmindterSchool*, and thence Elected Student of *Christ Church* in *Oxford*. In Fifty Six, he became Principal of *St. Mary's Hall*, but was Ejected thence by the King's Commissioners

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in 1660. He afterwards instructed Youth in his House near *Nettlebed* in *Oxfordshire*, and from thence came to *London*, and took the Charge of a Congregation in the City. He was a Man of Good Learning, and of a Genteel Spirit. He Printed a Discourse of Regeneration, Faith and Repentance, preach'd at the Merchants Lecture in *Broad-street*, *Oct.* 1689. A Sermon at the Funeral of Mr. *Edw. West*, &c. And hath some Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exercise; one in the Supplement to that at *Cripplegate*, shewing

how we may Steer an even Course between Presumption and Despair. Another, in the Continuation of the Morning Exercise Questions, shewing How the well Discharge of our present Duty may give us Assurance of help from God, for the well Discharge of all future Duties. And a Third in the Fourth Volume, shewing how difficult a Thing 'tis to believe, &c.

Henry Wilkinson Sen. D.D.† He was a Noted Preacher in *Oxford*, in the Year 1638. He was one of the Assembly of Divines, and while they were sitting, Rector or St. *Dunstons* in the *West*: Going afterwards to *Oxford* with the Parliamentary Visitors, He was made Canon of *Chrill-Church*, Senior Fellow of *Magdalen* Colledge, and *Margarets* Professour of the University. He was Ejected by King *Charles's* Commissioners, and then retir'd to the City of *London*, where he was in 62 again ejected from his Lectureship in *Alhallows Lombardstreet*. He liv'd in the latter Part of his Life at *Clapham*, where he kept an open Meeting after King *Charles's* Indulgence in 1671. He Dy'd there in the Month of *June*, 1675. Even Mr. *Wood* owns him to have been a good Scholar, a close Student, and an excellent Preacher, and it appears to have been so much against the Grain, when conspicuous Merit forc'd from him any such Acknowledgment concerning a Poor Nonconformist, that I think in such a Case any Man may take his Word.

† He hath several sermons in print, which he Preach'd before the Long Parliament, and upon other Publick Occasions. He hath also a Sermon in the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, concerning our Danger in things lawful. Another in the Supplement to it, about doing all things in the Name of Christ. And a Third in that against Popery; Proving the Pope to be Antichrist, or the Man of sin.

Henry

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Henry Wilkinson Junior,* D.D. commonly call'd *Dean Harry* to distinguish him from the former. A celebrated Tutor in *Magdalen* Hall, of which he was afterwards Principal, till he was cast out by the *Bartholomew* Act in 1662. Upon which leaving *Oxford* he Preach'd in Private, first at *Buckminster* in *Leicester-shire*, then at *Gosfield* in *Essex*, next at *Sybil Henningham*, in the same County; and lastly at *Great Connard* near *Sudbury* in *Suffolk*; where he Dy'd, *May* 13. 1690. Mr. *Wood* gives him this Character: *That he was Courteous in Speech and Carriage, Communicative of his Knowledge, generous and charitable to the Poor; and so Publick Spirited* (a rare Thing in a *Presbyterian*) *that he always minded the common Goal, more than his own Concerns.* And this is a rare Thing indeed among all Parties; the more's the Pity. Had they to whom King *Charles* left the Direction of Ecclesiastical Matters been of that Mind, the *Savoy* Conference had not been so fruitless; nor had so many Hundreds of Worthy Men been driven out of the Church, who were willing to do any

Thing their Consciences could comply with, to have continu'd in a Capacity of Publick Service: And they who will look over the Account given by Mr. *Baxter*, of the forwardness of the Ministers to make considerable Advances, upon any Proposals for a Comprehension; and the backwardness that hath still appear'd on the other side, will be led to apprehend, that there are *others* in the World besides the *Presbyterians*, among whom it is a *rare Thing* to find the *common Good* preferr'd above their own *Concerns*. A baser Reflection can't well be made on any one than *Wood* drops on this Worthy Person. *He has* (says he) *a zealous Man in the way*

* *He Publish'd Conciones tres apud Academicos Oxonii nuper habitæ.* Oxon. 1654. Oct. *Brevis Tractatus de Jure Divino Diei Dominici.* Ib. 1654. Oct.

Conciones Sex ad Academicos Oxonienses. Ib. 1658. Oct.

De Impotentia Liberi Arbitrii ad honum Spirituale. *Epistolarum.*

Decas Oratio habita in Schola Moralis Philosophiæ Oxon. 1658. Oct. *Conciones 2æ apud Oxon.* *Nuper habitæ* 1659. *Concio de Brevitate Opportuni Temporis Oxon. habita ad Bac. die Cinerum.* 7. Mar. 1659.

Several English Sermons. One at the Funeral of Mrs. Margaret Corbet. Three Decads of Sermons lately Preach'd in the University in St. Mary's Church in Oxon. 1660. *Several Sermons concerning Gods Allsufficiency and Christ's preciousness,* London, 1681. Oct. *Caralocus Librorum in Bibl. Aul. Magd Oxon.* 1661. Oct. *the Doctrine of Contentment briefly explain'd and practically Apply'd in a Treatise on 1 Tim. 6. 8.* London; 1671. Oct. *Character of a Sincere Heart,* 1674. Oct.

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he profess'd, but oversway'd more by the Principles of Education than Reason. Had he met with any such Aspersion on a *Laudensian* Prelate, he would not have fail'd to have represented it as horribly Censorious. For that Man who takes a Course that he doth not appear to himself to have Reason for is a Brute; and he that will expose himself to Suffering, when without any Damage to his Conscience he might have escap'd it, and been at ease is a Fool. And therefore any Man would have Tho't he might have spar'd that Censure upon the Dr. when he in the same Breath tells the World, That *he suffer'd for his Nonconformity by Imprisonments, Mults, and Loss of his Goods and Books.* For these are not such desirable Things as that any Man of Sense could be fond of them, or run the hazard of them, if he doth not seem to himself to have *Reason* to justify his Practice.

His Prælectiones Morales, which he read in the Moral Philosophy School, while he was publick Reader of that Lecture, are yet preserv'd, in Magdalen Hall Library.

Christopher Rogers, D.D. Principal of New-Inn Hall.

Edmund Stanton, D.D. Son of Sir Francis Stanton. He was Minister of Kingston upon Thames in Surrey, and one of the Assembly of Divines. In*

1648. He was made President of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, whence he was Ejected by the Commissioners in 1660. after which he retir'd into *Hertfordshire*, where he (without any Cure of Souls) Preach'd occasionally at *Rickmansworth*, till the Uniformity Act disabled him: After which he retir'd to a little Village in that County call'd *Bovingden*, where he liv'd retir'dly, but Preach'd constantly; being afraid that his Lord should come and find him Idle. Often would he ride to *St. Albans* where he was useful to many; and once or twice a Year to *London* and *Kingston*, and seeing he could, not Preach in a Church to many, he would Preach in a Chamber to a few. In his last Sickness, when he found his End drew near, he thus express'd himself to a

See Mr. Richard Mayo's *Account of his Life and Death*. printed in Octavo. 1673.

* He publish'd several Sermons before the Lords and Commons: A Sermon at the Funeral of Mrs. Elizabeth Wilkinson, &c. And after his Death came out, his Dialogue between a Minister and a Stranger; and a treatise of Christian Conference; which are both bound, up with Mr. Mayo's Account of his Life and Death.

Friend

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Friend who stood by Him: *I neither fear Death, nor desire Life, but am willing to be at God's disposal*. He Dy'd July the 14th. 1671. Mr. Mayo in his Printed Life, among other Passages, tells this remarkable Story of him: That Preaching once at *Warborough* not far from *Oxford*, one in the Congregation was so affected with his first Prayer, that he sent to his House (which was near) and told his Wife, that she should make her ready and come to Church, for there was one in the Pulpit that Pray'd like an Angel, so as he never heard the like. The Woman hasten'd away with her Husband; and God so orderd it, that that Sermon prov'd a means of her Conversion, and she prov'd afterwards a serious and eminent Christian.

Mr. *Theophilus Gale*,* M.A. His Father was Dr. *Theoph. Gale*, Prebendary of *Excester*. He was Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Oxford*, and a frequent Preacher in the University. At King *Charles's* Restauration, he was cast out of his Fellowship, and afterwards Travell'd into Foreign Parts, as Tutor to the Sons of *Philip* Lord *Wharton*. Returning into *England*, he settled at *London*, and was Assistant to Mr. *John Rowe*. Even Mr. *Wood* owns him to have bin a Man of great Reading, an exact Philological, and

* He hath written, *The Court of the Gentiles, in 4 Parts: Or, a Discourse touching the Original of Humane Literature, both in Philosophy and Philosophy from the Jewish Church. Of the Vanity of Pagan Philosophy; and of Reform'd Philosophy: In 2 Vol. in Qu. an Elaborate Work. There is a Laudable Account of the 2 first Parts of it in the Philosophical Transactions, Num. 74. P. 2231. An. 1671. And ill-natur'd Mr. Wood sticks*

not to pass this favourable Censure; That this Work shews the Author to have bin Well-read in, and Conversant with, the Writings of the Farhers, the Old Philosophers, and those that have given any Account of them or their Works: As also to have bin a Good Metaphysician and School Divine.

The true Idea of Jansenism, both Historick and Dogmatick, Oct. with a large Preface of Dr. Owen's. Theophilie: Or, A Discourse of the Saints Amity with God in Christ, Oct. The Anatomy of Infidelity: Or, An Explication of the Nature, Causes, Aggravations and punishment of Unbelief, Oct; A Discourse of the Coming of Christ, and the Influence of the Expectation of it, Oct. Idea Theologiæ tam Contemplatiæ quam Activæ ad formam S. Scripturæ delineata; London. 1673. in Twelves. Philosophia Generalis in duas Panes, disteminata; una de Ortu & Progressu Philosophiæ, &c. Altera, 1. De Minorum Gentium

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Philosopher

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Philosopher; a Learned and Industious Person: No Man, I suppose, will offer to gainsay it, when he hath bin so free as to grant it. He Dy'd in his Prime An. 1678, Aged about 49. He left all his Real and Personal Estate for the Education and Benefit of poor young Scholars, to be manag'd by his Nonconforming Brethrcn for their Use. He left his Library to the Colledge in *New-England*, except the Philosophical Part ot it, which he reserv'd for the Use of Young Students here at home.

Philosophiâ. 2. De 9 Habitibus Intellectualibus 3. De Philosophiæ Objecto; London. 1676. Oct. Ars Sciendi; five Logica novâ Methodo disposita, & Novis Præceptis aucta; London. 1682. Oct. Which is Clauberg's Logick, and Ars Cogirandi, digested into one volume, with some Alterations and Enlargements. A Summary of the two Covenants: Prefix'd to Mr. Strong's Discourse on the same subject, He hath also a Sermon in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, on the Inconsistency of the Love of the World with the Love of God.

Mr. *John Millward*, M.A. Fellow of *Corpus Christi Colledge*. There is a Sermon of his in the *Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate*, on *Loving our Neighbour* as our selves.

Mr. *Thomas Riley*, Fellow of *Pembroke Colledge*.

Mr. *Robert Wood*, Fellow of *Lincoln-Colledge*: Who was afterwards Teacher of the Children in the Blew Coat Hospital of *Christ-Church* in *London*, in the Art of Mathematicks and navigation.

Mr. *Thomas Adams*, M.A. Fellow of *Brazen-Nose Colledge*. A frequent Preacher in private Meetings in *London*, after his Ejection. He was Brotber to Mr. *Richard Adams* (of whom mention hath bin made among the City Ministers) a very Worthy Man.†

Mr. *John Johnson*, M.A. Fellow of *New-Colledge*: Who preach'd and publish'd a Funeral Sermon for Mr. *Stephen Chamock*.

Mr.

† He hath written: *Protestant Union: Or, Principles of Religion, to which English Protestants agree,*

in 2 Sheets. And the Main Principles of Christian Religion in 107 short Articles or Aphorisms; confirm'd by the Consonant Doctrine recorded in the Articles and Homilies of the Church of England; Lond. 1675. Oct.

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Mr. *Henry Cornish*, B.D. who might have bin created Dottor of Divinity, but refus'd. As freely as *Wood* refleas upon him for a *Pulin,g Preacher* at *Oxford*, there were many Scholars who were very Thankful to God and him for his publick Sermons there, after that City was surrendred to the Parliament. He was *Canon* of *Christ Church*, but displac'd by King *Charles's* Commissioners. He afterwards liv'd with that Pious Knight Sir *Philip Harcourt*, of *Stanton-Harcourt* in *Oxfordshire*, Preaching Occasionally about the Country. In 1690. He settled at *Bicester*, a Market Town in the same County. *Wood* spits his Venom very freely; saying, *Such was the Poor Spirit of the Person, that being about 80 Years Old, he preach'd there in a Barn for Profit sake to silly Women, and other obstinate People.* But I, who had the Happiness of being at that time well acquainted with him, can attest, *That he was a Man of a very Generous and Publick Spirit.* I never yet met with more Sincerity, more Eminent Piety, more Cordial Love to God and Man, than was discernible in him. It was the *Good of Souls*, and the *Service of Master* he aim'd at. As for Profit, he was above it: He had an Estate of his own. Neither was his Income from his People great. And as for them, I found them as Intelligent, Well-temper'd, Judicious and Loving a People as a Minister need desire to live amongst. The Good Old Gentleman was as tender of them as their Common Father; and they carry'd it with the Respect and Tenderness of Children to him: And Vital Religion exceedingly flourish'd amongst them. He left this for a Better Life Dec. 18. 1698, in the Eighty Ninth Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by a Worthy Conforming Clergy-man Mr. *John Olyffe* Rector of *Duntan* in the County of *Bucks*. In which he declares he had always observ'd in him, *A great Kindness and Benignity of Disposition, joy'n'd with an unassembled Integrity and Uprightness, whereby he plainly discover'd that he wish'd well to all Men, and rejoyc'd in all Mens Welfare and Happiness, and was glad when he could any ways promote it. He had a great Calmness in his own Temper, but was foward and fervent in Spirit in the Service of his God. And his long and continu'd La*

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bour in it, even to Extream Old Age, is a great Instance of his Delight in it, of his Pious Zeal for the promoting of Religion, and his Earnest Desire of the Eternal Welfare of Men. He was one of Eminent Piety, of exact Walking, of an Healing Spirit, and full of Love to God and good Men of different Denominations. He was

not for a Wrangling or Disputative Divinity, which tends to Gender Strife, but for plain Practical Godliness in in Life and Power, &c. This Worthy Man's Candour occasion'd the Publishing of a Pamphlet, full of Angry Reflections, when yet the Truth of his Character was frankly own'd and could not be deny'd. Mr. *Olyffe* made a very Handsom and Ingenuous Reply, in a Preface to his Sermon, which had it not bin for those Reflections, had not seen the Light. However both the Sermon and Reflections on it contain a full Vindication of the Memory of Mr. *Cornish*, from the Ill-natur'd Insinuations of *Ant. a Wood*.

Mr. *John Troughton*,* Fellow of *St. John's Colledge*. After his Ejection he retir'd to *Bicester*, where he privately read Academical Learning: And after the Indulgence in 1671, he us'd often to Preach in *Oxford*; and yet *Wood* has a good Word for him, at which we may well be surpriz'd. He says, *That tho' he had bin. Blind, which was occasion'd by the Small Pox when he was Four rears Old*; yet he was a good School Divine and Metaphysician, and was much commended while in the University for his Disputations. And that he was respected by, and maintain'd an Amicable Correspondence with some of the Conformable Clergy, because of his great Knowledge and Moderation. He Dy'd at *Oxford Aug. 20. 1681, Aged 44.*

Mr.

* *He hath written and publish'd, Lutherus Redivivus: Or, The Protestant Doctrine of Justification by Faith only vindicated, &c. in two Parts, 2 Vol. Oct. A Letter to a Friend touching God's Providence about Sinful Actions; in Answer to a Letter intituled, The Reconcilableness of God's Prescience, &c. Lond. 1678. Popery the Grand Apostacy: Being the Substance of some Sermons on 2 Thess. 2. from ver. 1. to 12. An Apology for the Nonconformists, shewing their Reasons both for their not Conforming, and for their Preaching publicly, tho' forbidden by Law. With an Answer to Dr. Stillingfleet's Sermon, and his Defence of it, Qu. 1681.*

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Mr. *Humphry Gunter*: Cast out from his Fellowship in *Magdalen-Colledge*.

Mr. *Henry Hickman*, B.D. Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge*, and a Celebrated Preacher in *Oxford*. A Smart Disputant, and a Man of Excellent General learning.† He Dy'd Minister of the *English Church at Leyden in Holland*.

† *He hath written several learned Tracts. A Justification of the fathers and Schoomen, shewing that they are not self-condemn'd for denying the Positivity of Sin: Against Mr. Thomas Pierce, Oct. 1659. Laudensium Apostasia: shewing that many Divines are fallen off from the Doctrine receiv'd in the Church of England, Qu. 1660. Apologia pro Ministris in Anglia vulgo Nonconformistis, An. 1662. Aug. 24. die Bartholomæo ditto, ejectis, &c. Twelves, 1664. Bonasus Vapulans: Or, Some Castigations given to Mr. John Durel, Oct. 1672. Animadversions on Dr. Heylin's Quinquarticular History, Oct. 1673. The Believers Duty towards the Spirit: Oct. 1655. &c. &c. &c.*

Mr. *Poynter*, Canon of *Christ Church*.

Mr. *William Segary*, Student there: And Mr. *William Woodward*, Ditto: And Mr. *Stafford*.

Mr. *Edward Terry*, Fellow of *University-Colledge*.

Mr. *Cooper*, Mr. *Porter*, Mr. *Ashurst*, Mr. *Philips*, Mr. *Crittendone*, all Fellows of *Magdalen Colledge*: And Mr. *Kentish*, Chaplain there.

Mr. *Hand* and Mr. *Stoughton*, Fellows of *New Colledge*.

Mr. *Whitaker*, Fellow of *St. John's*.

Mr. *Conoway* and Mr. *Sprint* of *Magdalen-Hall*.

Mr. *John Singleton*, M.A. was turn'd out of his Students Place in *Christ Church* by the Commissioners in 1660, when he had continu'd there 8 Years.*

* He spent many Years in the City of *Coventry*, but is now in the City of *London* Pastor of a Congregation. He hath a Sermon in the Continuation of the Morn. Exerc. Qu. on the best way to prepare to meet God in the Way of his Judgments or Mercies.

Mr. *Thomas Cawton*,† Son of Mr. *Thomas Cawton*, who was Minister of *St. Bartholomeus* behind the *Roy*

All that he hath extant is, *Dissertatio de usu Linguae Hebraicae in Philosophia Theoretica*, printed at *Utrecht*. The Life and Death of his Father Mr. *Thomas Cawton*; Oct. 1662. *Balaam's Wish*: Or, *The vanity of desiring without endeavouring to obtain the Death of the Upright*; 1675, Oct.

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al Exchange, and was forc'd to fly into *Holland* for his Concern in that call'd *Love's Plot*. He was Educated in the *Hebrew*, *Syriack* and *Arabick* Tongues, at *Rotterdam* under Mr. *Robert Sherringham*. He was afterwards settled in the University of *Utrecht*, where he spent 3 Years in *Academical Learning*, and then came into *England* and was admitted into *Merton-Colledge*, where he was much esteem'd and respected for his admirable Knowledge in the *Oriental Tongues*. The Measures taken in 1662, oblig'd him to leave the University; at which time he settled in the City of *Westminster*, where he kept up *Private Meetings* as long as he liv'd. He Dy'd *April* the 10. 1677, Aged about 40, and had two *Funeral Sermons* Preach'd for him: One by Mr. *Hurst*, and another by Mr. *Nathanael Vincent*: Which are both Publish'd; to which the Reader is referr'd for his Particular Character.

Mr. *John Thompson*, M.A.* Native of *Dorchester*, was Student of *Christ Church* at the Return of King *Charles*. He had spent 9 Years in *Oxford*, and was well esteem'd for Learning and Vertue by his Contemporaries. He was as willing to have kept his Place as others, if he could but with a safe Conscience have Conform'd. He Study'd the Points in Debate with great Deliberation,

Convers'd freely with such as were most likely to add to his Light, and seriously look'd up for Direction, and upon the whole could not be satisfy'd to comply with what was requir'd of him, for fear of offending God. Thereupon he quitted the University, and all Hope of Preferment, and return'd to *Dorchester*, and apply'd himself Diligently to the Study of Divinity: After some time marrying the Daughter of Worthy Mr. *Ben*, the ejected Minister of that Place, he often Preach'd for him among his People with great Acceptance, *An.* 1670. Upon the Call of a Congregation in *Bristol*, he remov'd to that City with his Family, where he laid out himself in the Discharge of his Ministerial Work, Preaching stately thrice a Week; and was Harmless and Unblameable in his Conversation; none being able to lay any thing to his Charge but his Nonconformity. In the Year 1674/5 he was Apprehended upon the

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* See the *Bristol Narrative: Or a Just Account of the Imprisonment & Death of J. Thompson, a Conventing preacher there: and the Reply to it, both printed in 1675.* Qu.

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Corporation Act, and carry'd before the Mayor, at whose House he found the Bishop of the Diocess, and several Justices, who treated him roughly, &c. which he bore with great Meekness. Refusing to take the *Oxford Oath*, he was Committed to Goal. He was Committed *Febr.* 10th, and about the 25th of the same Month, began to be Indispos'd. Consulting a Physician, he seeing a Feaver coming on, advised to Endeavours in order to a Removal into a Convenient Chamber; that where he was, being annoy'd by a nasty Jakes, besides other Inconveniencies. Hereupon a Person of Quality went to the Sheriffs, offer'd a Bond of 500*l.* for Security if his Removal might be allow'd of, into a more Commodious Place, during the Continuance of his Sickness; There was Application also to the Bishop, but no Removal could he obtain'd. Being forc'd there to lie Languishing, he wanted not for any Convenience or Help the Place would afford, but continu'd 'till *March* the 4th, and then expir'd. He was Chearful in his Sickness, and very well Satisfy'd in his Sufferings and the Caude of them. He declar'd, *That he from his Heart forgave his Enemies; and that he should rejoice to meet those in Heaven, who had treated him as if he were not fit to live on Earth.* A little before he dy'd he thus express'd himself: *As for my Bonds, I bless God for them: And if I had known when I came in that I should Die here, I would have done no otherwise than I have done. The time will come when I shall be freed from the Aspersion of Faction.* He Breath'd his Last while Mr. *Weeks* (who was Minister of another Congregation

in the City of *Bristol*, and then his Fellow Prisoner) was by Prayer commending his Soul into the Hands of Jesus Christ.

Neither must I forget that Excellent Person *John Conant* D.D. Rector of *Excester-Colledge*, who having bin one of the Commissioners at the *Savoy*, left his Place in 1662, and continu'd a Nonconformist Seven Years or thereabouts, and at last Conform'd, and became a Minister in *Northampton*; who Publish'd nothing in his Life-time, but hath some Sermons that have bin Publish'd since his Death. If any others

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here mention'd Conform'd afterwards as the Doctor did, I should be glad to know it.

In the University of Cambridge.

Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*,* Master of *St. John's-Colledge*, and Regius Professor of Divinity. He was Born in *Lincolnshire*, and bred in *Emanuel Colledge* in this University, ofwhich he became Fellow. He left *Cambridge* upon the Invitation of the People of *Boston* in his Native Country, among whom he exercised his Ministry with great Pains and Eminent Success. At length, *An.* 1643, he was sent for up to *London* to the Assembly of Divines, of which he was a Considerable and Active Member. Some few Years after, he was again restor'd to the University, being chosen Master of *Emanuel*, from whence in some time he remov'd to *St. John's*, and afterwards succeeded Dr. *Arrowsmith* in the Professors Chair. After King *Charles's* Restauration, he was one of the Commissioners at the *Savoy*, and was out of hope of any Accomodation, when he saw how things went there. Before the time for the Conference was expir'd, he receiv'd a Royal Letter (a Copy of which may be seen in Mr. *Pierce's* 4th *Plea far the Nonconformists*, pag. 37.) sign'd by Secretary *Nicholas*, dated *Jun.* 1. which gave him a *Supersedeas* from his Publick Employment, promising him 100*l.* per Annum during Life, to be paid by his Successour. The Good Doctor tho't it would be fruitless to contend with the Court in that Juncture, and that it would not be long that he could keep his Place, as things were then manag'd, and thereupon resign'd: And had the Annuity promis'd punctually

paid

* He Publish'd himself some small Pieces: As *Death disarm'd: Or, The Grave swallow'd up in Victory*, 1654. *Balm of Gilead for the Wounds of England appli'd in a Sermon*, 1654. *A Good Day well improv'd*, in 5 *Sermons*, 1656. And after his Death were publish'd *Forty Sermons of his, upon several Occasions*; *Qu.* 1676. And his *Prælectiones Theologicæ; containing all his Theological Lectures*

and Exercises, while he continu'd in his Publick Employment in the University; Qu. 1679.

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paid him by Dr. *Gunning*, who succeeded him, as long as he liv'd. He spent the rest of his Days in Solitude and Retirement; and hath left behind him the Character of an *Eminently Pious and Learned Man, a true Friend, an Indefatigable Student, a Candid Disputant: and an Earnest Promoter of Truth and Godliness.*

Mr. *William Moses*, Master of *Pembroke-Hall* Mr. *William Dell*, Master of *Caius-Colledge*.

Mr. *John Sadler*, Master of *Magdalen-Colledge*.

John Bond, LL. D. Mailer of *Trinity-Hall*.

Mr. *John Fido*, Fellow of *Trinity-Colledge*.

Mr. *Joseph Hill*,* B.D. was many Years' Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge*, of which Society he was a great Ornament, and was much esteem'd for his Learning and very great Diligence in Educating of his Pupils, which were more Numerous than those of any Fellow in the Colledge, *An. 1659*. He was Senior Proctor of the University; in which Office he effectually prevented and repress'd all open Immoralities. He kept the Act of Batchellour of Divinity, at a Publick Commencement in the Year 1660. After which he resign'd his Fellowship, and remov'd to *London*, where he Preach'd (I think at *Alhallows Berking*) 'till 1662; when he Travell'd beyond Sea; and after having resided some Years in *Holland*, he was chosen Minister of the *English Church* at *Middleburgh*: Which Station he lost for writing a Defence of the *Zeelanders* Choice to submit rather to the Crown of *England* than to that of *France*. Returning afterwards into *England*, he might have had good Ecclesiastick Preferment, had he bin willing to have Conform'd: But not being satisfy'd in that he accepted a Call to be Minister of the *English Church* at *Rotterdam*, where he is yet living.

Mr. *Thomas More*, M.A. Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge*.

Mr. *James Ellingworth*, B.D. Fellow of *Emanuel Colledge*.

Mr. *George Duncombe*, M.A. Fellow of *King's*. Mr. *Reyner*, of *Emanuel*. Mr. *Robert Brinsley*, M.A. of the same. Mr. *Edward Hulse*, M.A. of the same; since an Eminent Physician in the City of *London*; yet living.

Mr.

* *He hath a Sermon in the Morning at Crippel. upon Moderation.*

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Mr. *John Wood*, M.A. Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge*. Mr. *Henry* in his life gives this Account of him: *That he was a Learned Man, but wanted the Faculty of Communicating: One that feared God, and walked in his Integrity to the last: Had no certain Dwelling-place on Earth, but I trust (saith he) hath one in Heaven.* He Dy'd Sept. 19. 1692, at *Mitton* in *Shropshire*, Aged about 70.

Mr. *Cromwell* and Mr. *Batloe*, both of *Magdalen-Colledge*.

Mr. *Alexander Green*, M.A. Fellow of *Pembroke-Hall*.

Mr. *Henry Sampson*, M.A. Fellow of *Pembroke Hall*. He was Nephew to those two Eminent Linguists Mr. *John* and Mr. *Samuel Vicars*, the joynt Authors of the *Decapla* on the *Psalms*; and Son-in-Law of Dr. *Obadiah Grew* of *Coventry*. He had one of the best livings that was in the Gift of his Colledge, viz. that of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk* bestow'd upon him. Here he was when he publish'd that Correct Edition of the Learned *Theses* of Mr. *Thomas Parker*, entit. *Methodus Divinae Gratiae, &c*, A Golden Book with a Golden Epistle of his own Prefix'd to it: Both of them having a great deal of Weight in a little room. While he continu'd here, he made several Visits to *Coventry*, where he often Preach'd for the Doctor, his Father-in-law, with great. Acceptation, as well as among his own People. In both which Places his Name is as a precious Oyntment, and his Memory had in Honour to this Day. Upon the Restauration of King *Charles*, being oblig'd to leave his People; and not being satisfy'd to Conform, he apply'd himself to the Study of Physick; the rather because he had never bin ordain'd. He visited several Universities famous for Medicine abroad; stay'd first at *Padua*, and then at *Leyden*, for some time. In the latter of which he became well acquainted with that Eminent Person the Lord Chief- Justice St. *John*, who bore a singular Respect to him as long as he liv'd. Having taken his Degree, he return'd home, and settled in the City, where he enter'd himself of the *Colledge of Physicians*, as Honorary Fellow, and Liv'd and Dy'd in Good Repute.

Mr.

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Mr. *Francis Holcraft*, M.A. Fellow of *Clare-Hall*. He was also turn'd out of the *Living* of *Bassingbourn* in *Cambridgshire*, and met with great Trouble, and was long Imprison'd for *Nonconformity*. Mr. *Wildbore* of the same Hall.

Mr. *Barker* of *Katharine Hall*.

Mr. *John Ray*, M.A. Fellow of *Trinity*.

Mr. *Thomas Senior*,* B.D. Fellow of *Trinity*. A great Textuary; indefatigably Industrious, and an Useful Preacher. He resided in the latter Part of his Life at *Hackney*.

* *He hath publish'd a Tract call'd God, the King and Church; Oct. And hat also a Sermon in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, upon the Hearing the Word with Profit.*

Mr. *Joseph Oddy* of *Trinity*, who was also tum'd out of his Living of *Meldred* in *Cambridge-shire*.

Mr. *Samuel Corbin*, M.A. of the same Colledge.

Mr. *Willoughby West*, M.A. Mr. *Edmund More*, Mr. *John Hutchinson*, B.A. Mr. *John Davis*, M.A. Mr. *Robert Ekins*, B.A. Mr. *Crosland*, B.A. Mr. *Alcock*, B.A. Mr. *Hayes*, B.A. Mr. *Samuel Ponder*, B.A. Mr. *Thomas Lock*. All of *Trinity*.

Mr. *Wheeler*, M.A. Fellow of *Caius*-Colledge.. Mr. *Broad gate*, B.D. Mr. *Jonathan Tuckney*, M.A. Mr. *Twine*. Mr. *John Wood*, M.A.

Mr. *Hayworth*. Mr. *Towler*, B.A. Mr. *Windress*, B.A. Mr. *Asden*. Mr. *Mathum*. Mr. *Grandigh*. All of *St. Johns*.

Mr. *Day*, Scholar of *Emanuel*-Colledge.

Mr. *Abraham Clifford*, B.D. Fellow of *Pembroke Hall*.

Mr. *Chapman*, M.A. Fellow of *Bennet*-Colledge.

Mr. *Edmund Hough*, M.A. Fellow of *Jesus*-Colledge.

Dr. *John Pratt*, M.D. Mr. *William Disney*, M.A., and Mr. *John Casle*, M.A. Of *Trinity*.

In

In the County of ESSEX.

COLCHESTER. Mr. *Owen Stockton*, M.A.* a Man of Great Worth. He was a Native of *Chichester*, and fourth Son of his Father, (whose Name he bore) who was a Prebendary of that Cathedral. He was bred up to the City of *Ely*, under Mr. *William Hitches*; and admitted into *Christ's*-Colledge in *Cambridge* An. 1645, and had the Famous Dr. *Henry Moor* for his Tutor. He was afterwards Fellow of *Gonvile* and *Caius*-Colledge; and began the Exercise of his Ministry in some Villages within 10 or 15 Miles off the University, with Good Acceptance and Success. An. 1654, he was Catechist in his Colledge, and soon after fix'd as Stated Preacher in *St. Anne's* Parish in *Cambridge*: And remov'd thence to *Colchester*, where he was chosen by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, to Preach to them on Lords-Days in the Afternoon, and every *Wednesday* Morning: And he of his own

accord Preach'd on the Lords-Day Mornings at St. *James's* Church *gratis*: And here he labour'd Faithfully, Diligently and Successfully, 'till the Law disabled him. He afterwards dwelt 3 Years in his own hired House, and Preach'd to all that came to him, 'till the Year 1665, when the Town was Visited with the Pestilence; at which time others flying, he offer'd the Magistrates to Stay and Preach to them, if they would allow him the Liberty of a Publick Church; which was deny'd him, notwithstanding their Necessities were then great. Hereupon he remov'd to *Chattisham* in *Suffolk*, where he had for some time an Opportunity of the frequent Exercise of his Ministry in Publick. When King *Charles* Publish'd his Declaration for Indulgence, he had a double Call from a Congregation in *Colchester*, and another in *Ipswich*. That he might Answer both as far as he was able, he undertook half the Service of each; and with others, divided his Labours between them as long as he liv'd. Besides his Preaching twice on the Lords-Day, he many times expoun

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* See an Account of his Life & Death, Printed by Th. Parkhurst, in Oct. 1681.

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ded and Catechiz'd the Youth, and Resolv'd Cases of Conscience; he Preach'd also a Lecture on the Week-Day at *Ipswich* once a Fortnight: And scarce a Week pass'd, but he assisted in some other Lecture, or was oblig'd to Preach some Funeral Sermon, or engag'd in private Fasts at Home or Abroad. His Diligence in his Master's Work drew upon him many Enemies, but Divine Providence wonderfully preserv'd him: So that Complaints, Indictments, Convictions, Warrants, Presentments, and Excommunications, touch'd him not; he was never Imprison'd, Apprehended, Distrain'd on, or brought before any Court or Magistrate. He Dy'd in great Peace and Serenity *Sept.* 10. 1680, declaring in his last Sickness his full Satisfaction in his *Nonconformity*, in which nothing influenc'd, him but his Conscience towards God. God blessed him with a good Estate, and he made a good Use of it while he liv'd: And when he dy'd, he left the best and most valuable Part of his well-furnish'd Library to *Gonvil* and *Caius* Colledge in *Cambridge*; and order'd his Executrix to layout 500*l.* in a Purchase of a Freehold Estate, or an Impropriation, to be settled on the said Colledge, for the Maintenance of a Scholar and Fellow for ever: And in case his only Daughter, whom he left behind him, should Die before the Age of 21, he bequeath'd 20*l.* *per Annum* to be settled, on the Colledge in *New-England*, for the Education of a Converted *Indian*, or to any other that would learn the *Indian* Language,

and Preach to that poor People. He was an excellent Christian; a Man mighty in the Scriptures: And he that will be at the Pains to peruse his Private Papers publish'd in his Life, will find, That he most carefully practis'd himself the things which be recommended to others. He was a Man more than ordinarily mortify'd to the Pleasures of the Flesh, and the Vanities of the World. His Conversation was in Heaven: His Delight in the Saints: His Business was Religion: His whole Deportment strictly Conscientious. He was a Lover of Hospitality; a Faithful Friend; an Industrious Peacemaker; a Forgiver of Injuries; an Hearty Mourner in *Israel*; a Man full of Charity: In a Word; One who eminently Recommended Religion to all that

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observ'd him, A Sermon was Preach'd at his Funeral by Mr. *John Fairfax*, M.A. which Sermon is printed at the end of the Account of his Life.†

Dedham. Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*. Dr. *Collins* in his Preface to Mr. *Fairfax's* Sermon which he Preach'd at his Funeral, gives this Account of him: That he had had 30 Years Acquaintance with him, and in that time had bin well acquainted with many Learned and Pious Persons; but that he never knew any that excell'd him, considering him as a *Minister in the Pulpit*, a *Disputant in the Schaols*, and a *desirable Companion*. In the first Capacity, his Gift in Prayer (says he, who must be allow'd by all Men to be a competent Judge) was incomparable. He was a solid, paintul, pathetick and perswasive Preacher. He succeeded that great Man Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*; but their Gifts were very different. Mr. *Rogers* was a grave, severe, solid Divine: His great Gift lay in a peculiar Gesture, Action and Behaviour in the Delivery of what solid Matter he had prepar'd; so as few heard him without Trembling at the Word of God: But Mr. *Newcomen's* Gifts lay almost all ways; and his worst Enemies must say he shew'd as much Art as Piety in his Sermom and Prayers, and all Rehgiou Services. He was a most accomplish'd Scholar and Christian. His Sermon preach'd before the Parliament upon *Nov. 5. 1641*, his *Irenicum*, indeed whatever of his appcar'd to the World, speak him such a one as none can pretend his want of Learning, without bringing their own in question. His Management of the Argument against *the Toleration of the Jews*, (tho' never Printed) made him Admired by all

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† *He publish'd in his Life time a Scriptural Catechism, and a Treatise of Family instruction; 8vo. 1672. A Rebuke to Informers, 4to. Counsel to the Afflicted, 8vo. 1667; which tho' composed particularly upon occasion of the wasting Fire of London, is as valuable and useful a Book as can well be put into*

the Hands of of such as are under any sort of Affliction. He also left behind him fit for the Press, The Cure of the Fear of Death. A Treatise of glorifying God. The Best Interest. And a Warning to Drunkards.

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that heard it. Take him in his ordinary Converse, he was pleasant and facetious, and of extraordinary Humility, Affability, and Courtesie. His whole Conversation was both Pious and Amiable. After he had undertaken the Conduct of the Church of God in *Dedham*, (which was immediately upon the Death of Mr. *Rogers*) he would listen to no Temptation to any other Place, tho' he had both many and great Offers; but continu'd there till 1662. when he was Ejected. He was soon after invited to the Pastoral Charge of the Church at *Leyden* in *Holland*; which he the rather accepted, because he knew he should there have the Publick Liberty of his Ministry, which he preferr'd to any thing in this World. He was there, exceeding acceptable to Dr. *Hoombeck* and the other Professors and Learned Men of those Parts. And he there Died of a Feavor, which prevail'd much in that City, in the Year 1668, or 1669.

There was also silenc'd at *Colchester* and *Dedham*, Mr. *Edmund Warren* and Mr. *George Smith*.

Shalford, near *Braintree*: Mr. *Giles Firmin*. He was a *Native of Suffolk*, Educated at *Cambridge*, under the Tuition of Dr. *Hill*, and afterwards (as I am inform'd) Fellow of *Emanuel Colledge*. He at first apply'd himself to the Study of Physick, and practis'd it afterwards several Years in *New-England*, whither he retir'd with several Pious Persons, who in those Days, left their Native Country, that they might have the Liberty of Acting according to the Light of their Consciences. He was in *New-England* in the Time of those Troubles, which were Created by the *Antinomians*, (under the Conduct of Mrs. *Hutchinson*) a Particular Account whereof is given by Mr. *Weld*, who was Assistant to the Famous Mr. *Elliot*, in his Historical Narrative, He was at the Synod that was held by those Churches upon that Occasion, and afterwards wrote in Defence of the Ministers. Returning into *England* about the latter End of the Civil Wars, He suffer'd Shipwrack on the Coasts of *Spain*. At that very Time when he was in extream Danger of being drown'd, a little Child of his about 4 Years Old, then with her Mother and the rest of

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the Family in *New-England*, lay crying out by Times, all Night, *My Father, my Father*; and could not be satisfy'd, which mov'd them to pray heartily for his Safety. This Passage. being well attested, is related because of its Peculiarity.

Some Time after his coming into *England*, he bro't, over his family, and settled at *Shalford* or *Shawford*, where when he was near upon 40 Years of Age, he was Ordain'd by Mr. *Stephen Marshall*, of *Finchingfield*, and other Ministers. There he continu'd a painful Labourer, in the Work of the Ministry, till he was turn'd out with others of his Brethren. After his Ejectment the Church Doors were shut up for several Weeks, my Months; and God had no Publick Worship there, because he could not conform to the Ceremonies. And he Complains, it was so also in several other Places; in his Question between the *Conformist* and *Nonconformist* truly Stated, and briefly Discuss'd; In Answer to Dr. *Falkner*, Page 29. Some time after he retir'd to *Redgwell*, another Country Village about 7 or 8 Miles distant, where he continu'd till his Death.

He practis'd Physick for many Years, and yet was still a Constant and Laborious Preacher; both on the Lord's Days, and on Week Days too; saving that once a Month there was a Sermon in the Church, at which Time he was an Auditor there. And he held on thus, in the hottest Part of King *Charles's* Reign, having large Meetings, when to many other Meetings were suppress'd. He had one considerable Advantage above his Brethren, which was the Favour and Respect which the Neighbouring Gentry, and Justices of Peace had for him, on the Account of their using him as a Physician. He was extremely, respected indeed by all: For there were none but he was ready to serve them; and of those whom he took the Care off, he was tender, and yet would take but little, tho' the Physick was of his own preparing. The Poor applying themselves to him, had often both Advice and Physick too for nothing; and of those who were more able, he took but very moderate Fees: Whereby he lost the Opportunity of getting an Estate, which had been a very easie Thing.

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He was a Man of a strong Constitution of Body, and liv'd in much Health, till above Fourscore. There appear'd little Decay of Parts or Vigour in him, to what is usual in Persons of such an Age. He lay but a little while Sick; being taken Ill on the Lord's Day Night, after he had Preached Twice: And the *Saturday* following he Dy'd, in *April* 1697. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and a General Scholar: For besides his Skill in Physick and Chyrurgery, and other Sciences subservient both to them and Divinity, he was eminent for the Oriental Tongues, well read in the Fathers, Schoolmen, and Church History, and the Controversies with *Papists*, *Socinians*, *Armenians*, &c. Tho' he was one of eminent Holiness and Zeal for God's Glory, and most sincere

and plain-hearted in the whole Course of his Conversation, yet he was exercis'd with various Temptations, and was in very perplexing Fears, as to his Spiritual Estate: Which had this Effect upon him, that they made him very Humble and Meek, (tho' naturally a Man of a very great Spirit) and careful in his Preaching; and Writing, as not to encourage Hypocrites, or embolden any in Sin, so neither to Create any causeless Trouble, to truly gracious Persons. And herein lay much of his Excellence. In his Life he had much spiritual Trouble; but in his Death he had much Comfort. Then he told those about him, how he had been Converted when he was a School Boy, by Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*. He went late on a Lecture-day, and Crowded to get in: Mr. *Rogers* taking Notice of his Earnestness, with a Youth or Two more, for Room, with his usual Freedom, cry'd out, Here are some Young ones come for a Christ: Will nothing serve you but you must have a Christ? Then you shall have him, &c. Which Sermon made such an Impression upon him, that he thence Dated his Conversion.

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He was a Man of a Publick Spirit: not Rigid and Morose, but of great Moderation*, He went about doing Good, and therein was his chief Delight. He was a Man of Peace, and his Loss was generally lamented all the Country round.

* *He hath Printed a Treatise of the Schism of the Parochial Congregations in England, and of their Ordination*, Oct. 1658, *The Real Christian, or a Treatise of Effectual Calling*, QIJ. 1673. *The Questions between the Conformist and Nonconformist, truly Stated, and briefly Discuss'd; in Answer to Dr. Falkner, and the Friendly Debate*, Qu. 1618, *And several others*.

Hatfield Broad-Oak. Mr. *John Warren*, M.A.† He was Born Sept. 29. 1621. And bred up in the University of *Oxford*, where he took his Degrees, tho' Mr. *Wood* takes no Notice of him. Mr. *Baxter* says, *He was a Man of great Judgment, and Ministerial Abilities; Moderation, Piety, and Labour*. He came to *London*, in 1642. designing to go beyond Sea, with some Merchants: But meeting occasionally with Sir *Thomas Barrington*, he was to pleas'd with his Converse, that he prevail'd with him to go to *Hatfield* in the beginning of 43, to succeed their Lecturer then lately Dead. There he continu'd till he was forc'd away; and tho' he had Invitation to several more Publick Places, where he might have had far greater worldly Advantage, he refus'd to remove, being extremely Delighted with the Conversation of many Eminent Christians, which that Place was then bless'd with; often saying, *That he would not leave, Hatfield Christians for any Place in England*. When he had been there some

time, the Minister of the place removing into *Norfolk*, the whole Work devolv'd upon him. So that he Preach'd constantly Three Times a Week at home, and took his turn in several other Lectures, which were kept by a Combination of Ministers. There was also a Monthly Meeting of Ministers in those Parts, which he was the first Promoter of, that continu'd many Years, wherein there were Disputations and Latin Sermons, and Determinations which might well have become the Divinity Schools, or have entertain'd an Academical Auditory. After his Ejection, Mr. *Brooksby* was put in his Place, by *Trinity* Colledge in *Cam*

bridge,

† *There is an excellent but faithful Character of him, which was drawn up by an Ingenious and pious Gentleman who was particularly acquainted with him, prefix'd to the 2d Edition, of his Treatise of the Method of Salvation.*

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bridge, which had the Right of Presentation. He was a moderate Man, and Mr. *Warren's* good Friend. He went to Church to hear him; and afterwards instructed some few that repair'd to him, in his own House: And there was a good Correspondence between them. He afterwards remov'd to *Stortford*, where he continu'd his useful Labours, till both his Strength and Intellectuals fail'd him: And he there Exchang'd this for a better Life, in *September*, 1696. He was a General Scholar, had a great quickness of Apprehension, and clearness of Tho't; a large and retentive Memory; a solid and sound Judgment. He was an indefatigable Student, and had an insight into almost all Parts of useful Learning. He was an excellent Preacher, His Stile was easie and plain, but clean and neat, His Words proper and significant. His Exhortations and Motives both convincing and affecting. He had an excellent Delivery, and all the Advantages of Elocution, He was an admirable Expositor. A mighty Man in Prayer, and an excellent Casuist. He was of a very Publick Spirit: A very close Walker with God. A very humble Man. His Conversation was always profitable. He had a perfect Good-will to all Mankind, he seem'd made up of Love and Sweetness, Kindness and Amity, Tenderness and Compassion. Tho' he was driven from his Habitation as a Disturber of the Peace, and cited to the spiritual Courts, and put to the trouble and charge of attending, them, he was not at all exasperated: He never spake of his Treatment with any Heat or Passion, or made the least Reflection on the Persons concern'd in it; and if others at any Time did it in his Hearing, he seem'd uneasie under it, and discourag'd them from it: He heartily forgave them, and beg'd Forgiveness of God for them. He was very charitable to Man; and very submissive to the Will of God in all his Exercises. In short,

he was a great Man, a general Scholar, an admirable Christian, a Mirrour of Holiness: And a Pattern both to Ministers and Christians, Living and Dying. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Henry Lukin*, where the Reader will find a farther Account of him. He was very back

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ward to Publish any Thing in his Life Time: But since his Death, a Manuscript of his hath been Printed, Entit. *The Method of Salvation*: Oct. 1697.

Henham: Mr. *Ely*, who liv'd afterwards at *Bishops Stortford*: He was a great Critick in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and the Oriental Tongues; and one of great Worth, but humble and modest to a Fault.

Felstead: Mr. *Nath. Ranew*. He was of *Emanuel Collidge* in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Minister of *Little East-Cheap* in *London*, whence he remov'd into *Essex*. After his Ejection at *Felstead*, he retir'd to *Billerecay*, here he Preach'd constantly, in the latter Part of his Life: And there he Dy'd, *Anno* 1672. Aged about 72. He was a Judicious Divine, and a good Historian, which made his Conversation very pleasant and diverting. He was well belov'd by the late Earl and Countess of *Warwick*, who allow'd him 20*l.* *Per Annum*, during Life. The Old Earl of *Radnor*. (sometime Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*) had a great Respect for him, and admitted him to an intimate Acquaintance with him, and indeed he was generally esteem'd and valu'd.

Boreham: Mr. *John Oakes*. He was invited into the City upon the Death of Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, whom he succeeded in his Congregation, He was one of a very chearful Spirit, of a sweet even Temper, of unaffected Piety. and great Charity and Candour: and of an Exemplary Life and Conversation. He was suddenly seiz'd by a Divine Arrest in his Pulpit, and silenc'd by his great Master, in the midst of his Work, in *December* 1688. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Slater*. He was succeeded by Mr. *Daniel Williams*.

Barnystone, or *Bandone*: Mr. *John Beadle*, M.A. He Printed the Journal or Diary of a thankful Christian, *Oct.* 1656.

Morton: Mr. *Edward Calamy*, M.A. Eldest Son of Mr. *Calamy* of *Aldermanbury*. After his Ejectment he retir'd to *London*, where he for some years kept a Meeting in his own house in *Aldermanbury*. When King *Charles* put forth his Declaration for Indulgence, he set up a Publick Meeting in *Curriers-Hall* near *Cripplegate*. He continu'd his Labours there, as long as the Times

would

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would permit. And when the Laws against the Poor *Dissenters* were rigorously put in Execution, he met his People privately as he could. And tho' he did it usually every Lords Day, and sometimes Twice in a Day, and at other Times several Times in a Week, yet so favourable was Providence to him, that he was never once disturb'd in the Time of Divine Worship; nor was he ever apprehended, or carry'd before a Magistrate, tho' Warrants were often out against him. He was several Years in the Crown Office; with several others of his Brethren, which was both troublesome and chargeable. He was a Man of Peace, and of a very Candid. Spirit. Could not be charg'd by any that knew him, of being a *Nonconformist*, either out of Humor or for Gain: Abhorr'd a close and narrow Spirit, which affects the confining Religion to a Party; was much rather for a Comprehension, than a perpetuated Separation; and was ready to do good to all as he had opportunity, tho' such a Lover of Privacy and Retirement, that he was for passing thro' the World, with as little Observation as might be: And therefore was not upon any Occasion to be perswaded to appear in Print. He Dy'd of a Consumption, in *May* 1685.

High Laver: Mr. *Samuel Borset*. Aftr his Ejection in *Essex* for Nonconformity, he settled at *Maidstone* in *Kent*, where he was very useful and much belov'd. Being driven thence by the Rigours of King *Charles* his Reign, he retir'd into the City. He there succeded Mr. *Calamy* in his Congregation after his Decease; was an useful profitable Preacher, and exemplary Liver. For several of the latter Years of his Life, he was disabled from his Work by manifold Infirmities; and confin'd very much to his Chamber. During this his Confinement, it pleas'd God he was sorely exercis'd in his Spirit, and sometimes extreamly depress'd with Fears as to his future Estate. Once in Particular I remember having been for some Nights depriv'd of his Rest, he was like one Distracted, his Discourse was extravagant, he gave up all Hopes, Tho't his Case desperate, and apprehended Hell was already begun in the Horrors of his Soul: But God mercifully affording him his wonted Sleep,

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he was in a few Days again Reviv'd; and sensibly found the Difference between a Natural Disorder and a Grounded Despair. And when his End drew near God gave him abundant Comfort, so that he parted with this Life, with chearful Hopes of a better.

Witham: Mr. *Walton*. This I take to be him who afterwards turn'd Schoolmaster, and had a flourishing School, first at *Bishops-Hall*, and afterwards at *Bednal-Green*, near *London*.

Little Laver: Mr. *Whiston*,* who was also turn'd out at *Maidstone* in *Kent*: But which was first, I am uncertain. Stanborn: Mr. *Henry Haven* Coggeshall: Mr. *John Sams*. Ridgwell: Mr. *Daniel Ray*. Brayntree: Mr. *John Agur*, or *Augur*. Topesfield: Mr. *John Overhead*. Chelmsford: Mr. *Mark Mott*. Springfield: Mr. *John Reve*. Shenfield: Mr. *George Bownes*, or *Bound*. Hemingham-Castle: Mr. *Brewer*. Magdalen Laver: Mr. *Harvy*. Stysteed: Mr. *Clark*. Ryvenghal: Mr. *George Lisle*. Terling: Mr. *John Stalham*. Kelvedon: Mr. *Chandler*. Maldon: Mr. *Horrocks*, or *Horrex*. Halsteed: Mr. *William Sparrow*. Great Baddo: Mr. *Christopher Wragge*. Little Baddow: Mr. *Thomas Gilson*. Great or Little Waltham: Mr. *John Harrison*. High Ongar: Mr. *John Lavender*, a Man of extraordinary Piety: Who Pray'd like an Angel. Southweld: Mr. *Rathband*. Chipping Ongar: Mr. *John Larkin*. Ingerstone: Mr. *John Willis*. Dunmow: Mr. *John Smith*. Burbrook: Mr. *Isaac Grandorge*. Steple Bumsted: Mr. *Edward Sims*. Great Yeldam: Mr. *John Chadasley*. Prittlewell: Mr. *Thomas Peck*, M.A. who hath a Funeral Sermon extant on the *Inseparable Union between Christ and a Believer*. Takely: Mr. *Smal*. Elsenham: Mr. *George Willson*. Finchingfield: Mr. *Hugh Glover*. Bursted: Mr. *Bridges*. Stansted: Mr. *Robert Abbot*. Hornchurch: Mr. *Wells*. Quendon: Mr. *Clifford*. Arkisden: Mr. *Pepys*. Wickham St. Paul: Mr. *John Deeresly*. Shelley: Mr. *Fitch*. Fingringhoo: Mr. *Grigg*. Boxted: Mr. *Lax*. Thaxted: Mr. *Perkins*.

Chissell:

* He hath Printed a Valuable Book, entit. *An Essay to Revive the Primitive Doctrine and Practise of Infant Baptism*; Oct. 1676.

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Chissell: Mr. *Willet*. High Roding: Mr. *Hill*. Low-Layton: Mr. *Anderton*, Upmynster: Mr. *Hawkes*. Calne Engane: Mr. *John Clark*. Pentlow: Mr. *Esday*. Gestlingthorp: Mr. *Davis*. Lawford: Mr. *William Milner*. Okeley: Mr. *John Hubbard*. Little Brumley: Mr. *Candler*. Wyley: Mr. *Dowel*. Boxted: Mr. *Carr*. Copford: Mr. *Hampson*, or *Thompson*. Markestay: Mr. *Rand*. Great Tay: Mr. *Green*. Panfeld and Wigboro: Mr. *George Purchas*. Inworth: Mr. *Robert Dod*. Fering: Mr. *Constable*. Wickham: Mr. *Billio*: His Living was worth 120*l. per Annum*: He was a Plain, Zealous, Practical Preacher: and his Ministry was bless'd to the Conversion of many Souls: He Preach'd constantly, in the most Difficult Times, 'till his Death. Pedmershe: Mr. *Blakely*. Thoydon Gamon: Mr. *Chandler*. Wethersfield: Mr. *John Cole*. Alphamston: Mr. *Brinsley*.

Whit Calne: Mr. *Bigley*, Great Bentley: Mr. *Beard*, Castle Heveningham: Mr. *Smith*. Clavering: Mr. *John Moor*. Little Leighes: Mr. *Benson*. High Easton, or Easter: Mr. *Martin Holbridge*. Ranasden, or Ramsden-Fellowes: Mr. *Clapton*. Dandbury: Mr. *Man*. Hadleigh in the Hundreds: Mr. *Boole*, or *Pool*. Great Wakering: Mr. *Christopher Scott*. Sea-Church or Hackwell: Mr. *Josiah Church*. Ratendon: Mr. *William Clapton*. Little Hastingbury: Mr. *Willson*. Stebbing: Mr. *Sam. Bantoft*; and Mr. *Angel*. Ashildon: Mr. *Fisher*. Stow Maries: Mr. *Maulden*. Norton: Mr. *Hubbard*. Erles Colne: Mr. *Ralph Josseline*. Stapleford Taweney. Mr. *Lewis Calandrine*. Chickney: Mr. *Archer*. Great Paringdon: Mr. *Bastwick*. Ugle: Mr. *Lucas*. White Roding: Mr. *Brand* and Mr. *Sandford*, Nasing: Mr. *Browne*, Fordham: Mr. *Bulkley*. South Okingdon: Mr. *Barnaby*. Coupers Sale, or Cowpers Hall: Mr. *Francis Chandler*. Lynfell: Mr. *Clark*. Water Belcham: Mr. *Dearsly*. Hempsted: Mr. *Tho. Ellis*. Stanford Rivers: Mr. *Elliston*. Hockley: Mr. *Farnworth*. Norton: Mr. *Ferris*. Braintree: Mr. *Frier*. Runwell: Mr. *Green*. Childerdiche: Mr. *Harvy*. Patswick: Mr. *Ralph Hill*. Wansted: Mr. *Hoare*. Black Chappel: Mr. *Holbitch*. Wrettle: Mr. *Holmes*. Inworth: Mr. *Jenkins*, Witham: Mr. *Thomas Ludgatter*. Radwinter: Mr. *Moxom*. Little

Wareley:

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Wareley: Mr. *Powell*. Upminster: Mr. *Robotham*. Eastwood: Mr. *Sachaverall*. Stock: Mr. *Martin Simpson*. Sandon: Mr. *Sam. Smith*. Black Notley: Mr. *Sparrowhead*. Orin Belcham, or Poles Belcham: Mr. *Thomas*, Copford: Mr. *Robert Thompson*. Stapleford Tawney: Mr. *Ward*. Littlebury: Mr. *Waters*. Theydon Mount: Dr. *Wells*. Shobury: Mr. *Watson*. Roding Abbey: Mr. *Wood*. Cranham: Mr. *Yardley*.

Besides these, there were several also Ejected, whose Places are uncertain: As Mr. *Cardinal*, Mr. *Green*, and Mr. *Keitly*, who was somewhere near *London*. And we may add to them Mr, *Laskin*,* an Eminent Divine, who was in *France* three Years together, about that time, when the rest of the Ministers were turned out: Who is yet Living in this County, whom no Temptation hath bin able to induce to Conform.

Of those who were Nonconformists at first in this County, I can hear of but three that Conform'd, viz. Mr. *Harper* of *Epping*; Mr. *Howel* of *Wickford*, or *Wickshow*, and Mr. *Latham* of *Orset*. If there were any more I should be glad of Intelligence.

In the County of SUFFOLK.

Kediton, or Ketton: Mr. Samuel Fairclough Senior. † He was Born at *Haveril* (where his Father was Minister) *April 29. 1594.* He came Originally from *Lancashire*, where the Family is Antient, He was Train'd up in School Learning by the Famous *Mr.*

Robotham

* Besides his *Funeral Sermon for Mr. Warren, he hath Printed several Valuable Tracts: As, An Introduction to the Holy scriptures; Oct. 1699. The Chief Interest of Man; Or, A Discourse of Religion; Twelves 1665. The Life of Faith; with the General Use of Faith; Oct. 1660. The Interest of the Spirit in Prayer; Oct. 1674. A Remedy against Spiritual Trouble; Twelves 1694. The Practise of Godliness, &c.*

† See the *Narrative of his life and Death, drawn up by his Son, inserted in the Last Volume of Clark's lives.*

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Robotham, under whom he was so Industrious, that he sent him at Fourteen to the University, with this Character, *That he was the best Scholar he had ever sent forth in the Thirty Years time he had bin a Master.* He receiv'd serious Impressions upon his Heart betimes, under the Ministry of *Mr. Samuel Ward*, then Lecturer of *Haveril*. Being sent to *Cambridge*, he was put under the Tuition of *Mr. Berry* of *Queen's-Colledge*, When he had spent Two Years in the Colledge in hard Study, and made a good Improvement for his time, by the Recommendation of *Dr. Tyndal* the Master, he became Sub-Tutor to *Spencer Lord Compton*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Northampton*, who was sent thither for his Education; *Dr. Towers*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Peterborourh*, being the Head Tutor; He became an intimate Acquaintance of *Dr. Preston, Mr. Davenant*, afterward Master of his Colledge, *Mr. Hildersham, Mr. Perkins*, and many others who were Eminent for Piety and Learning. When he was but Batchelor of Arts standing, but accomplish'd in the Arts and Sciences of *Logick, Rhetorick, Ethicks, Physicks* and *Metaphysicks*, beyond the common Rate, the Earl of *Northampton* offer'd him the Priviledge of Travelling with his Son into *France* and *Italy*: He was much enclin'd to it, but wav'd it, out of Obedience to his Mother. After some time, he retir'd from the Colledge into the Family of *Mr. Richard Bladerby*, of *Ashen* in *Essex*, an Eminent Divine, greatly skill'd in the Hebrew Tongue, and reputed one of the Holiest Men on Earth. With him he perfected his Studies in all Parts of Humane Literature and Divinity: And in the mean, time he Preach'd about Occasionally in the most noted Towns of *Essex*: and *Suffolk*, with great Acceptance. At length he was fix'd at the Town of *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, as their Lecturer: the Magistrates allowing him *50l, per An.*, and the People of the Town as much. But his Popularity, stirr'd up Envy: Bp. *Harsnett* frown'd

upon him for his Neglecting the Sign of the Cross, and he was cited, before his Chancellour, and met with so many other Difficulties, that he desired the Magistrates to dismiss him; which they at length yielded to, tho' not without some Respect. After this he fix'd

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in a smaller Lecture at *Clarre* in *Suffolk*: Where he had not bin long, before Sir *Nathanael Barnardiston*, (that Ornament of his Country for Piety and integrity) who was his frequent Auditor, sent him, without his at all seeking for it, the Presentation of the Living of *Barnardiston*, become Vacant by the Death of the Incumbent: With a Promise under his hand, if he accepted that for the present, he should have any of the greater Livings he had in his Gift, which he lik'd best, upon a Vacancy. Accepting it, he Preached twice every Lords-Day, once upon every Festival Day, and once a Month a Preparation Sermon for the Lord's Supper. He Catechiz'd Young and Old; Visited all in his Parish once a Month, enquiring into the State of their Souls, and Counselling and Directing them as there was Occasion. While he was thus employ'd in doing Good, the Devil rais'd him a Troublsome Opposition. Preaching one Lord's Day at *Sudbury*, on occasion of the Sicknes of the Minister of one of the Parishes there, and repeating in the Evening his Sermons in the Family, the Minister of the other Parish exhibited Articles against him as a Factious Man in the Star-Chamber: Upon which he was conven'd before the *Lords of the High Commission*, and forc'd to attend upon them at times for two Years together; so that his Fees and Journies together swallow'd up the whole Profit of his Living. At length, the Matter being refer'd to his Diocesan and Ordinary at *Norwich*, a good Number of Jacobusses procur'd a certain Lady of that City to gain such a Certificate from the Bishop, as obtain'd a full Discharge. Some time after, Dr. *Gibson* the Incumbent of *Ketton* dying, Sir *Nathanael* his Patron, sent him the Presentation of that Living also; and procur'd him Institution into it from the Bishop, without his Personal Attendance upon the Bishop, taking the Oath of Canonical Obedience, or Subscribing the 3 Articles. In this Place he continu'd near 35 Years, Preaching four times a Week; twice on the Lord's Day, a Thursday Lecture, (which was attended by all the Ministers for many Miles compass) and a Sermon on the Saturday Evening in his own House; and all the Country round flock'd to him. When

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he first came to this Place, he found it Ignorant and Profane, not so much as One Family in Twenty calling upon the Name of the Lord; but when he had bin there; some time, so great was the Alteration, that there was not a Family in Twenty but profess'd Godliness, but their Governours offer'd up to God their Morning and Evening Sacrifice. Great at that time was the Advantage of that Town: Magistracy and Ministry join'd both together, and concurr'd to all things for the Promoting of true Piety and Godliness. Mr. *Fairclough* and his Patron Acted by Concert. Both join'd together to promote Catechizing; both endeavour'd to hinder the visibly Prophane from approaching the Lord's Table. When the Book of Sports came out; and other Innovations were bro't in, he was for his Neglect often Cited to Appearance before the Arch-Deacon and Commisary at *Bury*; but he was disabled from Riding by a Weakness occasion'd by a Fall, which was his Excuse for his not appearing. Whereupon the Commissary adjourn'd the Court to the Parsonage House of *Ketton*, and tho' it was fear'd he would have bin Suspended, yet when it came to, there was little more done than the taking Cognizance of his Bodily Lameness: He had Liberty left to go on in his Work as before. He was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, but got himself excus'd from attending. He absolutely refus'd the Engagement. He was offer'd the Mastership of *Trinity-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, but shunn'd it, that he might not be drawn out of his Beloved Privacy and Retirement, When the Times turn'd, he could not be satisfy'd to turn with them. This was his fix'd Determination, *That he would not do what he apprehended a Sin, to gain ever so much Good, or avoid ever so much Mischiefs*: And by this Means he was assur'd he should not suffer as an Evil-Doer, but only as a Person that was afraid to do Evil. He was no Enemy of Episcopacy, but desirous of Bp. *Usher's* Reduction: But could not declare an Assent and Consent, where he knew his Heart would not have gone along with his lips. For the Peace of his Conscience, he left a Living of 200*l. per Annum*, a Pleasant Parsonage House, a fine Glebe, a great Auditory, a loving Peo

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ple, and a kind Neighbourhood. Dr. *Tillotson*, who was afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, was by the Patron presented to the Living, upon his Ejection: And it was no small Ease to Mr. *Fairclough*, that a Man of that Worth did succeed him.

The *Oxford Act*, which forc'd him upon a *Separation from his former People*, did rather grieve him more than the Loss of his Living. But hereupon he had the Comfort of living for some time in the same House, with two or his Sons and two of his Sons in Law, who were Ministers, and had left their Livings, who being scatter'd before in 5 several Counties, were bro't together in the time of this Storm. Father and Sons Preach'd by turns in the Family, the Neighbours coming in. When they had continu'd thus 4 or 5 Years; the Badness of the Air, and some other Reasons, caus'd them to disperse: And the Father went and liv'd with his youngest Son, who was a Conforming Minister at *Kennet* in *Cambridgeshire*. Here he went every Lord's Day to Church, and Preach'd in the Evening to the Family. After he had bin there some time, he remov'd to the Habitations of his Daughters, successively, and spent the residue of his Life; in Solitude and Sacred Exercises, patiently waiting in Expectation of his Change, which he at last chearfully welcom'd, when he was 84 Years of Age. A Conforming Clergy-man gives him this Character: *That he was a Boanerges in the Pulpit, an Admirable Preacher both very Judicious and Moving; a Man of great Gravity, temper'd with a surprizing Sweetness. Very exact in Family Discipline. He was mighty in the Scriptures, Fervent in Spirit, Serving the Lord Night and Day with incessant Prayer. He was one of a most exact and solid Judgment, and an excellent Peacemaker, of great Temper and Toleration as to the Differences among us.* One Consulting him about Conformity, he told him, *He must excuse him from giving him a Positive Resolution; but that if a Man liv'd Holily, and walk'd Humbly with God, he should ever love him, notwithstanding his Conformity: But if he were Proud, Contentious and Prophane, he could never think well of him for his Nonconformity.* After his Withdrawment from *Ketton*, he was always Chearful and complain'd of

nothing

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nothing but the. Prophaneness and Inquiry of the Times and Divisions of the Church of God. And Lov'd all that had any Thing of Goodness in them, &c. He that would see a fuller Account of him, is referr'd to the Narrative of his Life, where he will meet with uncommon Evidences of unaffect'd Piety, several remarkable Answers to his Prayers, observable Instances of the Success of his Ministry; with sundry other Particularities, arguing him to have been a great Man, an emment Saint, one highly Favour'd of God, and so singular a Blessing to the Age, as cannot but Create some regret in a tender Spirit, that so valuable a Person should be laid aside, as useless. Among other Things, this is remarkable, that he and his, parted with above a 1000*l. per Annum*, upon their Nonconformity.

Hunston: Mr. James Waller. He was a very Faithful, Worthy, and Industrious Servant of Jesus Christ. He remembred God, from the Days of his Youth. Was Dedicated betimes by his Parents to the Ministry. Was throughly instructed in Grammar Learning, and had the Advantage of a good Education in *Cambridge* when soundness of Faith, and Purity of Worship were the Glory of it. After five or six Years Study there, he was settled at *Hunston*, and soon after solemnly Ordain'd by Fasting and Prayer, and Imposition of Hands, to the Work of the Ministry. After Four or Five Years Labour there with good Acceptance, he fell with his Brethren at the Fatal *Bartholomew*. After which time tho' debarr'd of Residence with them, he ordinarily visited his People every Week; and as Liberty was granted exercis'd his Ministry with them, as also in several other Places; nor was he left by God without witness, being acknowkdg'd by many to be their Spiritual Father. He was well instructed for the Kingdom of God: His Judgment was Solid: His Counsel Wise and Faithful: His Language Full and Significant: His Conversation Grave and Serious: His Reason reign'd, and kept the Throne in his Soul; subduing all his Passions to a due Order. It was said by an intimate Brother in the Ministry who had been acquainted with him more than Forty Years, that he

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never

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never saw him in any inordinate Passion. His Charity was very Large towards those who were otherwise minded. He utterly abhorr'd the censorious Temper of many Professors, and the impaling Religion within their own Party. To the Needy he was always kind; tho' it was not much of his own that he had to distribute, yet he did them many good Offices as Occasion offer'd. Humility was his Clothing. He had a very low Esteem of himself; and by that was enabled to bear the low Esteem of others. God gives not all his Gifts to any, but to everyone as it Pleases him. One thing was desir'd in this excellent Person, and that was a free and familiar delivering himself to Vulgar Hearers, while he gave abundant Satisfaction to the more Judicious. His Name is Worthy of an honourable Memorial, as a Man a Scholar, a Christian, and a Minister. He left few more Solid, Substantial, Practical, Pertinent, and Soul-searching Ministers behind him in all those Parts. He Dy'd at his House at *Rattlesden in Suffolk, Anno 1697*. And his Funeral Sermon was Preach'd at *Hunston Church* by Mr. *John Fairfax*.

Ousden: Mr. John Meadows. He was a Holy Person in all manner of Conversation. Constantly careful to please God, and preserve the Peace of his own Conscience. Always Jealous of his own Heart, and on every Occasion diligent to try it. He serv'd God with great Pains, and comfortable Success

while in his Publick Ministry: Was very Cautious in admitting to the Sacrament, and as Cautious in refusing. Was a diligent Visitor and Instructor of his Flock. He ever maintain'd a Catholick Charity for all *Protestants*. He greatly bewail'd the Divisions of the Church, and the Intemperate Heats of Men of all Perswasions. He liv'd in occasional Communion with the Church of *England*, yet could not desert the Duty of his Office. Such was the Integrity of his Life, and such his Moderation as to the Circumstantial of Religion, that his Enemies could only Object. his Nonconformity as his Crime. He was really a Pattern of true Religion, of Christian Candour, and of generous Charity; of an unblemish'd Conversation, Of great Humility, Of Gospel Simplicity

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plicity, and quiet Department in the Church of Christ. Was an hearty Friend, a courteous Neighbour, an indulgent Husband, a tender Father, a kind Master, a practical and moving Preacher. He Preach'd freely, he Liv'd exemplarily, he Dy'd comfortably, and was Bury'd honourably.

Worlington: Mr. *John Salkeld*. He was a Person of great Piety, and a solid Judgment. Of ready Parts, good learning, and facetious Conversation. For sometime Fellow of *Queen's Colledge* in *Cambridge*, afterwards fix'd in this Living, of above an Hundred Pounds *per Annum*: And tho' turn'd out by Man, tho't not himself dismiss'd by God, and therefore did not desert his Ministry. Sometimes exercising it in Private, and for some Years by Connivance in a Puhlick Church, till some Seditious Words were sworn against him by one *E.S.* viz. that he should say? *Popery was coming into our Nation a great Pace, and no Care taken to prevent it.* Whereas many Hundreds of his Hearers besides, could testifie, that his Words were, *That the Parliament said* (as, they actually did) *That Popery was coming into our Nation a great Pace, and no Care taken to prevent it.* However it being positively sworn against him that these were his Words, He was presently Fin'd a Hundred Pound, and committe'd to the Common Prison, in *St. Edmunds Bury*, till the Fine should be Paid: Which he refusing, suffer'd Three Years Imprisonment, and then by the Intercession of the Lord *Dover* with King *James*, was Discharg'd *Anno* 1686. And his Fine was afterwards remitted, by his Present Majesty King *William*. During this long and close Imprisonment; he was very helpful to his Fellow. Prisoners, both as a Minister, and as a chearful Christian. But tho' his Table was daily furnish'd by his *Bury* Friends, yet his Estate was much weaken'd, and his healthful Constitution was almost ruin'd by this Confinement. After he had his Liberty, he continu'd his Ministry, in *Walsham in the Willows*, for many

Years together, tho' under great bodily Infirmities: and there finish'd his Course, on *Decem.* 26. 1699, in the 77th Year of his Age.

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Barking:

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Barking: Mr. *John Fairfax*. The Son of an eminently Pious and Faithful Mininer of Jesus Christ. Very happy in a Religious and Liberal Education, train'd up in the Schools, and Fellow of C. C. C. Blessed with an early Conversion to God in the 11th. Year of his Age. His Living was worth 120*l.* *per Annum*. And while he was in it, he was generally Respected. He was discharg'd from his Service there, by the Act of Uniformity. He was a Person of a clear Head, strong Reason, deep Judgment, quick Fancy, retentive Memory, undaunted Courage; and of a great natural Acumen to whatsoever he apply'd himself. An excellent Scholar, a smart Disputant, and Eloquent Orator. Much esteem'd by all Men of Moderation and Candour: Nor could any deny his Worth besides himself, or any other so well express it. His Gift in Prayer was extraordinary, especially upon peculiar Occasions. He had a great Aptness in Speech, variety of Words, pertinency of Matter, and a fervency of Spirit, to bring all forth. He was a great Enemy to all New and Upstart Notions in Religion. He had a most attracting and captivating Power in his, Preaching. His Words were as Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver. He was to his Hearers as a very Lovely Song, of one that had a pleasant Voice. He sought out for acceptable Words, and God made them powerful. He was a Scribe, throughly instructed to the Kingdom of Heaven. A Promptuary of all Spiritual Stores. Having a Body of Divinity always in his Head, and the Power of it within his Heart. He would spend and be spent in his Lord's Work. He abhorr'd trifling either in his Study or Pulpit. He lov'd to Engrave his Sermons on his own Heart by Meditation, and to Imprint them on the Memories of his Hearers by Method. He ever dislik'd all crude and undigested Expressions in the Pulpit; and would always advise Young Ministers to Study before they spake, and by no Means to allow themselves in a loose and careless way at first.

He stately Preach'd Seven Times in a Fortnight for many Years together, besides Occasional Sermons which were not few. He often ventur'd into the Pulpit when many of his Hearers could scarce ex

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pect him alive out of it; and he: ordinJrily found relief by it as to his bodily disorder, and therefore call'd Preaching his Remedy. He was much delighted

in his Work, Tho' he made it his Business, yet it was his Pleasure, to Preach the Gospel: Yea so much was his Heart set upon this Work, that he was actually Preaching to his Family and Friends about him, when a Dying, 'till his Speech began to falter. He was the Happy Instrument of Converting many Souls. He never courted Preferment, nor would accept it, when it would have tempted him from the Poor People of his first Love. He had Bonds and Afflictions every where abiding him: But tho' his Persecutions, and Sufferings, and Imprisonments were many, yet whenever he could have Opportunity, he never forsook his Work for fear of Men: Resolving that Christ should be magnify'd in his Body, whether by Doing, or by Suffering.

Having continu'd many Years in the Lord's Harvest, and done great Service there, He with much chearfulness resign'd up his Soul to Christ, at his House in *Barking*, Aug. 11th, 1700. in the 77th Year of his Age; with the Apostles Words; *I have fought the good Fight of Faith, I have finished my Course, I have kept the Faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord the Righteous Judge will give me at that Day.** More of his Character may be seen in his Funeral Sermon, Preach'd by Mr. *Bury* of St. *Edmunds-Bury*, which is shortly expected.

* *He hath Printed the Life of Mr. Owen Stockton with his Funeral Sermon, Oct. 1681. And Primitiæ Synagoge: A Sermon Preach'd at Ipswich at the opening of a New Erected Meeting House. But as for his Sermon upon the Death of Mr. Newcomen, 'twas Printed by Mr. Collings, against his Consent.*

Hemingston: Mr. *Tobias Leg*, A Ministers Son, Bred up at *Glasgow* in Scotland. He took his Degrees there, and returning into *England* was admitted *ad Idem*, at *Cambridge*, where he for some time resided. Fixing at *Hemingston*, he had the general Reputation of a worthy ingenuous Man; and in a Time of Tryal kept his Conscience void of Offence, towards God,

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and towards Man. In a divided Nation, he follow'd no Party for Humour or Fear, or Worldly Advantage. When he was silenc'd by the *Bartholomew* Act; his People who lamented their Loss, were Witnesses for him of his faithful Preaching and Holy Life. He was forc'd by the Corporation Act to choose another Settlement, where for above 20 Years he Preach'd in his own House almost every Lord's Day, not receiving or desiring one Penny for his Labour, tho' he had a large Family of Children, to maintain. He refus'd not occasional Communion with the Church of *England* to show his Charity; and liv'd in great Friendship with the Minister of his Parish, He met with

that General Love and Respect, that when other Ministers suffer'd Imprisonment and Loss of Goods, he was conniv'd at, and the worst of Men were asham'd to appear against him. When Providence open'd a wider Door, he embrac'd all opportunities for Preaching Publickly; and was an Instrument of good to many. He had a great Affliction in the latter End of his Life, which he bore with an invincible Patience. At length after a long Confinement by the Gout, he surrendred his Soul to God in the 77th Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *John Fairfax*.

Ipswich: Mr. *Gouge*. Mr. *Benjamin Brunning*, Jun. Mr. *Philip Candler*, Jun. Mr. *Edward Sherman*. Who was a judicious able Preacher, but exceeding Modest. After his Ejection he became Schoolmaster at *Dedham*, and so continu'd till he Dy'd: And Mr. *Stoneham*,

St. Edmunds-Bury: Mr. *Nicholas Claget*. Mr. *Slater*. And Mr. *Taylor*.

Mr. *Clagget*, M.A. was a Native of *Canterbury*, a Student in *Merton Colledge* in *Oxford*, and afterwards of *Magdalen Hall*. An able Moderator in Philosophy, First Vicar of *Melbourne* in *Derbyshire*, and then Rector of *St. Mary's* in *Bury*. A Man of good Worth, and Temper,* and a very useful Preacher. He Dy'd *Sept. 12, 1663*. Dr. *William Clagget*, a celebrated Author was his Son.

* He hath Publish'd a Book, Entit. *The Abuses of God's Grace, discover'd in the Kinds, Causes, &c. Propos'd as a seasonable Check to the Wanton Libertinism of the Age*. Oxon. 1659. Qu.

Mr.

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Mr. *Slater*; who was vigorously oppos'd; by some that acted by way of Anticipation, before the Act for Uniformity pass'd. He and Mr. *Clagget*, were troubled at the first Assizes after King *Charles's* Restauration, for not reading the Book of *Common-Prayer*. Some time after, he remov'd to the City of *London*, where he is yet Living, Pastour of a Considerable Congregation.*

* He hath several Things in Print Semons preach'd at the Funerals of Mr. *John Reynolds*, Mr. *Fincher*, and Mr. *Day*. A *Thanksgiving Sermon on the Discovery of the Horrid Plot*. A *Discourse of Family Religion in Eighteen Sermons*, Oct. Of *Family Prayer*, in 12's. And a *Discourse of the Preciousness of Gods Tho'ts towards his People*, in Oct. Lately Printed.

Sudbury: Mr. *William Folkes*. *Batisford*: Mr. *Tho. Holborough*. *Hundon*: Mr. *Francis Crow*. *Hindereley*: Mr. *Howlett*. *Frostanton*: Mr. *Proud*, or *Pronde*. *Saylehome*: Mr. *Habersham*. *Weybread*: Mr. *Bayes*. *Rombrughe*: Mr. *Benjamin Fairfax*. *St. Margarets*: Mr. *John Strongher*. *Brampton*: Mr. *Bathoe*. *St. Cross*: Mr. *Samuel Petto*. † *Wrentham*: Mr. *Ames*, and Mr. *Thomas King*. *Kushmere* and *Hensted*: Mr. *Spurdange*. *Roydon* and *Covehith*: Mr. *Mayhew*. *Southould*, or *Sowowlde*: Mr. *Woodward*. *Walderswyck*: Mr. *Simonds*. *Dunwich*, *St.*

Peters: Mr. *James Votier*. Walpole: Mr. *Samuel Manning*. Sibton: Mr. *Thomas Danson*, M.A. sometime Fellow of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*. He was also turn'd out of *Sandwich* in *Kent*; but which was the Sequestred Living, and in which he was fix'd after his being Ejected there, I am uncertain. He was a very ready Man: And hath Written several Things.*

† *He hath publish'd the Difference between the Old and New Covenant*, Oct. 1674. Prefac'd by *Dr. Owen*. the *Voice of the Spirit with Roses from Sharon*, Oct. And a *Discourse proving Infant Baptism to be of Christs Appointment*.

* *A Discourse of Predetermination. Three Disputations with Fisher the Quaker at Sandwich*, Anno. 1659. *An Answer to Dr. Sherlock's Discourse concerning the Knowledge of Christ*, &c.

Blighborough: Mr. *S. Smith*. Yoxford: Mr. *Sam. Chapman*. Rendham: Mr. *Davis*. Cranesford: Mr. *Henry King*. Saxmundham: Mr. *Tho. Nuttall*. Lay

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ston: Mr. *Wyncop*. Woodbridge: Mr. *Frederick Woodall*, and Mr. *Cade*. Peasinghall or Pesnall: Mr. *John Mannng*. Waldringfield: Mr. *Tho. Lupton*. Combes: Mr. *Richard Jennings*. Sprowton: Mr. *Joseph Waite*. Stoke by Neyland: Mr. *Thomas Mott*, a very valuable Man. Assington: Mr. *Walker*. Stretford: Mr. *Daniel Wall*. Eyke: Mr. *Barker*. Cleydon: Mr. *Collet*. Barham: Mr. *Jeremy Catlin*. Codenham: Mr. *Matthias Candler*, Sen. Easton Gosbek: Mr. *T. Davis*. Creting: Mr. *Samuel Spring*. Needham: Mr. *Thomas James*. Willsham: Mr. *Nathan Fairfax*. Newton: Mr. *John Wilkinson*. Whatfeld: Mr. *Sam. Blackler*, a very useful Popular Man: Who Preach'd frequently after his Nonconformity in the Churches, and was Conniv'd at. Naughton: Mr. *Sparrow*. Bildeston, or Bilston: Mr. *John Weld*. Barnardiston: Mr. *Wood*. Waldengfield Parva: Mr. *Deersley*. Great Bradley: Mr. *Adrian*. Chelmondston, *al*. Chempton: Mr. *Sanders*. Beckles: Mr. *Clark*. Brightwell: Mr. *Mercer*. Hunnington, or Hinnyton: Mr. *John Page*. Roydon: Mr. *Warren*. Parham: Mr. *Winbourne*. Debenham: Mr. *John King*. Stratford: Mr. *Asty*. Haverill: Mr. *Stephen Scandaret*.* Somerton, or Somerleto: Mr. *Barber*. Hitcham: Mr. *William Burkett*. Westhall: Mr. *Franklyn*, who afterwards came to the City of *London*, and remain'd there all the Time of the Plague, in 1665; when it pleas'd God to make him instrumental for Good to many Souls. He was a great Sufferer for Nonconformity in King *Charles's* Reign, and is yet living. Great Wrattung: Mr. *Mark Mott*. Holton: Mr. *Swaine*.

Several others were also silenc'd in this County: the Places where, are uncertain. As, Mr. *Lawson*, Mr. *Howel*, Mr. *Ellis*, Mr. *Bulkeley*, Mr. *Parr*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Whiting*, Mr. *Otty*, and Mr. *Voice*.

Those of the silenc'd Ministers that afterwards Conform'd, were Mr. *Crossman* of *Sudbury*, Dr. *Isaac Harrison* of *Hadleigh*, Mr. *John Simson* of *Trimley*, Mr. *Roger Young* of *Ipswich*, Mr. *Samuel Hudson* of *Capel*, (the Worthy Author of the Two Discourses concerning *the Essence and Unity of the Catholick Church Visible*;) Mr. *Havil* of *West Creting*, Mr. *Tucker* of *Little Wratting*, Mr. *Ray* of *Stansfield*, Mr. *John Fairdough*

(young

* *Who hath written an Antidote against Quakerism. Qu.*

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(youngest Son of Mr. *Fairclough* of *Ketton*,) Mr. *Thomas* of *Debden*.

In the County of *NORFOLK*.

In the City of *Norwich*, were silenc'd *John Collins*, D.D. of *St. Stephen's*, Mr. *Thomas Allen* of *St. Georges*: Mr. *Benjamin Snowden*. Mr. *Windress* of *St. Faiths*. Mr. *Francis English*.* Mr. *Enoch Wodyard*. Mr. *Richard Brewster*, and Mr. *John Hasibert*.

Dr. *Collings*,† was a Man of great Worth and Reputation. He was Born in *Essex*, and bro't up in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*. One of General Learning, signal Piety, and eminent Ministerial Abilities. A Blessing to the City of *Norwich*, for above Forty Years. One mighty in the Scriptures, an excellent Casuist, an unwearied Preacher, and a Patient Sufferer. He was one of the Commissioner's at the *Savoy*, and very desirous with his Brethren of an Accommodation, but in vain. He had an Interest in many Persons of Note and Figure, notwithstanding his Nonconformity. He was of a very Candid and Peaceable Spirit; and an Admirer of true Goodness,

* *He Publish'd a Treatise entit. the Saints Ebenezer.*

† *His Works are many. A Caveat for old & new prophaneness; about keeping the Festival of our Saviour's Birth, Qu. 1653. Cordials for fainting Souls, or Essaies for Satisfaction of wounded spirits. 3 Vol. 1649. Qu. Five Lessons, Oct. 1650. Vindiciæ Ministerii Evangelici revindicate; against Lay Preachers. Intercourses of Divine Love between Christ and his Church, Qu. 1676. Discourses of the Actual providence of God, Qu. 1678. Par nobile; the Excellent Woman, representing the Lady Howard. Faith and Experience in the Holy Life of Mrs. Mary Simpson. A Modest Plea for the Lords Day as the Christian sabbath, Oct. 1669. A short Discourse against Transubstantiation, 1675. A Word in Season. Defensive Armour against Four of Satan's most Fiery Darts, Oct. 1680. The Weavers Pocket Book, or Weaving Spiritualiz'd, Oct. 1675. Sermons upon the whole first and second Chapter of Canticles. Thirteen Sermons upon several useful Subjects. A Plea for the Nonconformists justifying them from the Charge of Schism, Oct. 1674. A reasonable Account of the Judgment of the Nonconforming Ministers as to Prescribed Forms of Prayer; with a Supplement: In Answer to Dr. Falconer of Liturgies,*

Oct. 1679. *And he had also a Hand in the Supplement to Pool's English Annotations; of which vid. Page 193.*

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wheresoever any of it was discernable. He Dy'd much Lamented in *January*, 1690. in the 67th Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Martin Fynch*.

Mr. *Thomas Allen* was also a valuable and worthy Man.*

As to Mr. *Benjamin Snowden*, He was a Man of a most amiable Temper. Ingenuous Learning illustrated his Mind; Love of God and Man possess'd his Heart: Purity of Doctrine, Neatness of Stile, and Exemplary Holiness, adorn'd and enliven'd his Ministry: Constant Serenity, Sweet Affability, and an unclouded Alacrity shone in his Countenance. Humility and Meekness adorn'd his Life. His whole Conversation spake Quietness and Peace; in every Condition he shew'd a just Æquanimity: And in a Word, he pass'd so inoffensively thro' this World, as scarce to have an Enemy (if he had needed one) to help him towards a Better. *Norwich* gave him his Birth; *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge* his Education; Bishop *Hall* his Orders; the Great Bishop of Souls the Gift of good Acceptance, and that in his own Native City, which enjoy'd and rejoic'd in the Light of his Ministry, first in the Publick Churches, till Black *Bartholomew* hid it (with so many more) under his dark Mantle: Afterwards in Private or less Publick Assemblies, until She Lamented its total Remove to an higher Orb, *April 28. 1696. Ætat. 70.*

Great Yarmouth: Mr. *John Brinsley*, M.A. He was Born at *Ashby de La Zouch* in *Leicestershire*, *An. 1600*. His Father was a Worthy Minister whose Name he bore. His Mother was Sister to Bishop *Hall*, as appears by an Epistle Written to her, (*Decad. 2. Ep. 4.*) He was bro't up by his Father, who took upon him the Care of the Publick Scheol of *Ashby*. He was admitted of *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge* at the Age of Thirteen and an Half; and having resided there about Three or Four Years, waited upon his Reverend Uncle Dr. *Hall* then Dean of *Worcester* as his Amanuensis to the Synod of *Dort*. After his return he continu'd constant in his Studies, and being Elected Scholar of the House, resided there till he took his Degrees. Being Ordain'd, he Preach'd at

Prestons

* He hath Two Treatises in Print, viz. *the Way of the Spirit in bringing Souls to Christ: And the Glory of Christ set forth, with the necessity of Faith in several Sermons.*

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Prestons Rear Chelmsford; and was afterwards call'd to *Yarmouth*. But being Elected by the Town-ship contrary to the good liking of Bishop *Harsnet* of *Norwich*, he met with no small Trouble and Vexation. At his coming to the Town or soon after, the Plague broke out violently, and the Bills of Mortality rose to near a 100 a Week, and yet thro' the goodness of God he was preserved, tho' he constantly attended his Charge. After some time, by the Means of Sir *John Wentworth*, a Door was open'd for the Exercise of his Ministry on the Week Day, at a Country Village in the Island of *Loving-land*. Hither the People of *Yarmouth* and other Places resorted, God blessing his Labours, and making them more than ordinarily Effectual. The Long Parliament coming on, the Town-ship apply'd themselves to his Majesty. for his License for Mr. *Brintley* to Preach again in *Yarmouth*, which he had been debarr'd off; and the King readily granted it: Upon which he wholly devoted himself to the Service of their Souls. He continu'd Industrious and Diligent in his Work till the Fatal *Bartholomew*. And tho' Tempted with the offers of Preferment at the Kings Return, yet he clos'd with none; desiring no higher Honour than to serve his Saviour in the Ministry, in that place where he had been so useful, with a safe Conscience. When the Uniformity Act took Place, he desisted from the Publick Exercise of his Ministry: Tho' he had no Writ of Ease; for his constant Labour in Reading and Writing was the same as formerly.

As for his Carriage, it was highly Civil tho' Grave. His Discourse was facetious, especially in suitable Company. In the Pulpit none had a more Reverend Aspect, and Compos'd to an higher Pitch of Gravity. Nothing dropp'd from him that had the least shew of Levity. He had many Afflictions, (among the rest, he lost Two hopeful Sons, when they were arriv'd to Manhood) which somewhat clouded his Spirit, tho' they never Created any Moroseness, or Sharpness. He was of an even Temper, rarely ruffled into a Passion; scarce ever, unless the Cause of God or Goodness requir'd it. The World was not a little contemn'd by him; far he never sought after more than a Competency to enble him

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to be serviceable in his Work. He was very well skill'd in sacred Criticks; and spent a considerable Part of his Time in studying the Holy Scriptures throughly. And if be handled any difficult Text, He would make it as clear, as the abstruseness of the Subject would permit. In a Word, he liv'd Exemplarily, and by the Assistance of the Almighty, bore up against all the Opposition

he met with in the way of his Duty; and at last with great Calmness, resign'd his Soul to God,* *Jan. 22. 1664/5. Ætat. 65.*

* *He hath Printed sundry Tracts. A Looking Glass for Good Women, Qu. 1645. The Arraignment of the Present Schism, or New Separation in Old England, Qu. 1646. His Bridle for the Times, Qu. 1647. Christ's Mediatorship: And the Mystical Implantation, Oct. 1651. The Mystical Brazen Serpent, or Christ Exalted on the Cross, Oct. 1653. The Saints Communion with Christ, Sacramental, Spiritual, and Celestial, Oct. 1654. Groans for Israel or the Churches Salvation, &c. Oct. 1655. Three Sacred Emblems; and Tears for Jerusalem, Oct. 1656. Gospel Marrow, or the Mystery of Redemption, Oct. 1659. &c.*

At the same Place was silenc'd Mr. *Tookey*; and Mr. *William Bridge*, M.A. who was a Student in *Cambridge* about Thirteen Years, and was there for several Years Fellow of *Emanuel* Colledge. He was a Minister in *Essex* for Five Years, and then call'd to the City of *Norwich* where he settled in the Parish of *St. Georges Tom-land*, where he held on his Ministry for several Years; but was at last silenc'd by Bishop *Wren*, An. 1637. As not being a thorough Conformist. He continu'd in the City, some time after his Suspension, until he was Excommunicated, and the Writ *de Capiendo* came forth against him: Upon which he withdrew into *Holland*. He return'd into *England*, in 1642. in the Time of the Long Parliament, before whom he Prcach'd frequently. He was one of the Dissenting Brethren in the Assembly of Divines. He fix'd at *Yarmouth*, and there continu'd his Labours, till the *Bartholomew* Act took Place.

The *Friendly Debate* was very severe upon him: But how easie had a Retaliation been, could it have been Tho't that the exposing those whose aim it was to do good, had been likely to do any. Service to Religion.

One

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One to whom he was well known, gives this *Account* of him; that he was no mean Scholar, had a Library well furnish'd with Fathers, Schoolmen, Criticks, and most Authors of worth; that he was a very hard Student, and rose at Four a Clock in the Morning Winter and Summer, and continu'd in his Study till Eleven; and that many Souls heartily blssed God for his labours.

One Thing must not be omitted. Tho' he was strictly Congregational, yet he heartily respected his Brethren that had other Sentiments. There is good Proof of this, in his Carriage to his Fellow Minister at *Yarmouth*, Worthy Mr. *Brinsley*, who was of another Stamp and Character. When the Government was in the Hands of those, who openly befriended such as were of Mr. *Bridges* his Perswasion, Mr. *Brinsley* had many Enemies, and was much oppos'd; and there were strenuous Endeavours us'd to get him remov'd, as an Enemy to

the Powers that then were: But Mr. *Bridge* stood up for him, and us'd all his Interest to continue him peaceably in his Place:★ And they Liv'd and Convers'd together very comfortably for many Years. He Dy'd *March* 12. 1670. *Ætat.* 70.

* *One and Twenty of his Tre atises are Collected into 2 Volumes, in Qu. 1657. Besides which, are several Sermons before the Parliament, he hath sundry Tracts Extant. 10 Sermons of Gods return to the Soul. 10 Sermons on Christ and the Covenant. Eight Sermons of Good and Bad Company. Seasonable Truths in Evil Times: the Freeness of the Grace and Love of God to Believers. The sinfulness of Sin and Fulness of Christ. A Word to the Aged. His Remains, &c.*

Feltwell: Mr. John Butler. A Man of a sound Judgment, unblameable Life, and most healthful Constitution. His living was Worth by Repute 200 l. per Annum. After his Ejectment, he for some Years Preach'd but seldom; and was prevail'd with to Travel to Smyrna. At his return he Preach'd oftner: Within some time, more stately at Harwich; whence he remov'd to Ipswich, where he Preach'd occasionally, and in the Country round. He Dy'd Anno 1696. in the 84th Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. Fairfax.

N. Walsham:

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N. Walsham: Mr. *Nat. Mitchel*. Drayton: Mr. *Richard Vin*. Stalham: Mr. *John Lucas*. S. Reppes: Mr. *Edmund Broome*. N. Reppes: Mr. *Edward Corbet*. Hardingham: Mr. *Joseline*. Rowton, or Roughton: Mr. *John Rennolds*, who after his Ejectment came to the City of *London*, where he Liv'd and Dy'd: Being universally esteem'd an *Israelite indeed, in whom was no Guile*. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Slater*. Blecliffe: Mr. *Burrough*. Alby: Mr. *John Longher*.★ Dykeburgh, or Dickleboro: Mr. *Elias Crabtree*. S. Waltham, or Walsham: Mr. *Baker*. Dis: Mr. *More*. Heydon: Mr. *Thomas Newman*. Aldbye: Mr. *John Banister*. Tunsted: Mr. *Grene*. Mounsley: Mr. *Paul Amyraut*. Foulsham: Mr. *Richard Worth*. Barningham: Mr. *Worth*. A Worthy Man, and a great Sufferer for Nonconformity. He was Imprison'd by a Writ *de Excommun. Capiend.* taken out *Nov. 15. 1664.* and continu'd in the Common Goal till *Sept. 5. 1665.* He was afterwards Imprison'd again in the Castle of *Norwich*, and continu'd there full Seven Years with strange Usage.† *Wimundham*, or *Windham*: Mr. *Mony*, and Mr. *Purt*. *New-Buckenham*: Mr. *Nich. Pitt*. *Fomset*: Mr. *Hinton*. *Intwood*: Mr. *Sheffield*, Sen. *Netishead*: Mr. *Burket*. *Blofeld*: Mr. *Marlborough*. *Lopham*: Mr. *Ellis*. *Funwell*, or *Bunwell*: Mr. *Sheppard*. *Trunch*: Mr. *Richard Lawrence*. *Lynn*: Mr. *Home*. *N. Runton*, or *Runtonholme*: Mr. *Charles Sumpter*.

Several were turn'd out in this County, whose Places are uncertain: As, Mr. *John Cory*. Mr. *Bidbank*, Sen. Mr. *Bidbank*, Jun. Mr. *Israel Shipdham*. Mr. *Lane*. Mr. *Smith*. Mr. *Pew*. Mr. *Brewster*. Mr. *Fenwick*. Mr. *Pearch*. Mr. *Pool*. And Two Mr. *Townsend*s.

Of those who were Ejected here, several afterwards Conform'd: As Mr. *John Benton*. Mr. *Lewis* of *Shipdham*. Mr. *Elwood* of *Walcot* and *East-Ruston*. Mr. *Day* of *Hyngham*. Mr. *Durnham* of *Cawstone*. Mr. *Gooch*. Mr. *Sampson*. And Mr. *Newton*.

In

* He hath Printed Sermons on several 5 Subjects. *Precious promises the Portion of over-comers. And a Discourse of the Preciousness of Christ, and of the Preciousness of Faith.*

† See the *Conformists 4th Plea for the Nonconformists*, page 66. where there is a Particular Account of his Treatment.

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In the County of CAMBRIDGE.

Willingham: Mr. *Nathanael Bradshaw*, Son of Mr. *Thomas Bradshaw* of *Bradshaw* in *Lancashire*. Born at *Keddington Hall* in *Suffolk*, May 29. 1619. Dedicated to the Ministry by his Parents from his Birth. Educated at *Felsted School* in *Eire* under Mr. *Wharton*: And early admitted in *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, of which he was afterwards Fellow. He was for some Years very averse to the Work of the Ministry, till God visited him with the Small Pox, and under that Affliction enclin'd his Heart to undertake it. He was a *Boaneige*s; well adapted to the People of *Wirlingham*, whom he found very Profane and Ignorant, but in a little time God was graciously pleas'd to give him numerous Seals to his Ministry among them; and he left many good People, and a Living of between 3 and 400*l. per Annum*, for the Ease and Safety of his Conscience, Aug. 24. 62.

Some Years after he continu'd to Preach in his own and other Families. Then the Providence of God gave him the Liberty of a Pulpit in a small Village, which he us'd with so much Prudence and Moderation, that he was conniv'd at for about Five Years. When that was deny'd him, he Preach'd at *Childerly*; and after that in *London*. But as soon as the Act for Toleration came forth, he return'd to his Old People of *Wirlingham*, and Preach'd amongst them to the last Sabbath of his Life. He was eminent in Perional Holiness. A strict observer of the Sabbath: And a Laborious Catechism in his Family; to whom he constantly expounded the Scripture Morning and Evening. In the latter Part of his Life, he did his Masters Work in great Pain:

And by a Scorbutick Dropsie ended his Pilgrimage, at St. *Ives* in *Huntingdonshire*, Oct. 16. 1690. in the 71st Year of his Age.

Swaffham Pryor: Mr. *Jonathan Jephcot*. Who was Born at *Ansty* Four Miles from *Coventry*, and bred up in the Free-School in that City, whither he went every Morning when a Child; and was there so Early, that his Master for some Years took it for granted he

Boarded

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Boarded in the Town, His Parents were Mean and Low, and Liv'd in a small Farm; were desirous to Educate him for the Ministry, but could Contribute little to it. He however vigorously pursu'd his Learning, and by 17 Years of Age, was an Excellent School Scholar, and a Young Man of extraordinary Sobriety, Seriousness and Industry. He entred himself in the University of *Oxford*, and then taught a School in the Country for a Year, (being recommended by his Master) and when it was expir'd he went to reude at *Oxford*, and maintain'd himself by the Money his School had bro't him in, together with what his Father could allow him: And when it was gone, he went and taught School for more: And thus he held on for some Years, Notwithstanding these Difficulties, he by his Diligence made considerable improvements, and was Tho't competently qualify'd for the Ministry, by all that knew him. His Friends were very earnest for his fixing at *Shilton*, the next Parish to *Ansty*, the Living was about 10*l.* a Year; there was a Vicar in it whom the People were weary off; and as a Testimony of it, they were ready to give him a Years Profits, if keeping still the Title; he would yield to Mr. *Jephcot's* supplying his Place. Upon his Agreeing, Mr. *Jephcot* applies himself to the Bishop of the Diocess; Bisop *Morton* (who was counted very severe in examining Candidates) who examin'd him himself, and while he rejected several, readily ordain'd him first a *Deacon*, and afterwards *Presbyter*. Upon this he fix'd at *Shilton*, Preaching constantly on the Lords Day, and often on Holidays, besides Occasional Sermons: And he went every Day Two Miles to teach School, and all bro't him ill but 20*l.* a Year. This Course he continu'd for a few years; but upon the Death of the Minister of the Neighbouring Parish of *Bulkinton*, (which was a better Living) the Inhabitants were mighty desirous of having Mr. *Jephcot* in his Room. The Living being in the Kings Gift, the People by joint Consent accommodated Mr. *Jephcot* with Two Horses, and a Man to attend upon him in a Journey to *London*, in Order to his getting the Presentation; they drew lip a Writing expressing their Hearty

Consent

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Consent to his fixing amongst them as their Minister, and sent a Letter to Sir *Christopher Yelverton* (who had an Estate in the Town) begging him to use his Interest in the Lord Keeper, in order to the Accomplishment of their Desires Mr. *Jephcot* to gratifie the Peoples earnest Desire undertook a Journey to *London*, and apply'd himself to the Lord Keeper, on whom he was forc'd to wait for Seven Weeks together, and at Last was disappointed; for he gave *Buckington* to one Mr. *Eldred* to whom he had before given the Promise of some such Living when it fell Vacant: But that Mr. *Jephcot* might not wholly loose his Labour, he gave him the Presentation of St. *Mary's* in *Swaffham* in *Cambridgeshire*. When he came to the People there, he found them uneasie because of his being an utter Stranger to them; but after no long Trial of him, they were extreemly pleas'd and thankful that they were so well provided for. He Preach'd Twice on the Lord's Day, Catechiz'd in the Afternoon according to the Canon, and repeated at Night. When the *Book of Sports* came out, He (as I am inform'd) read it according to Order, and then Preach'd for the sanctifying the Day. There were Two Parishes in this Town. When he had been there Some time, the Minister of the other Parish Dy'd, and left his Widow in Debt: Mr. *Jephcot* was Assistant to her all ways possible, an did her much Service, but could not keep her from dying of Grief. He that succeeded in the other Parish, was Ejected as Scandalous in the Time of the Long Parliament, and Mr. *Jephcot* (who was Marry'd some time before) having a growing Family was not able to Live upon his Income in his own Parish, (which was but 30*l. per Annum*) and thereupon apprehending that both Parishes join'd together might make a Competent Maintenance for him that could obtain them, he remov'd to a Free School in *Thurlow* in *Suffolk* offer'd him by Sir *William Soams*, intending to resign his Vicaridge in *Swaffham*, to any Worthy Man that could get the other, whom the People approv'd off. Having thus determin'd, he continu'd Preaching to them for Half a Year, tho' he Liv'd Eight Miles off. In the mean Time the People being

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exceed

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exceeding delirous of his Continuance with them, made such an Interest, as that they got the other Vicaridge United to His; (they are since United by Act of Parliament), and an Augmentation too, which if it had been Paid, would have amounted in all to nigh upon 100*l.* a Year: And they gave him an unanimous Call. Upon this he return'd to them, gave himself wholly to the Work of the Ministry, in which he took extraordinary Pains, both in

Preaching, Repeating, Catechizing and Visiting. Neither were his Labours without Success: He was a means of Converting many, was an Instrument of much Good to several in the Family of *Roger Rant*, Esq; and useful to all the serious People of those Parts: And yet he had a sore Fatigue, thro' the Carnality and Bitterness of some, and the Giddiness of several others. He was troubled with some People that pretended to Visions and Revelations. There was one Woman in the Neighbourhood, who took upon her to foretel that the Day of Judgment would be within so many Months, on such a Day; and an honest Minister (whose Heart was better than his Head) who from thence was call'd *Doomsday Sedgwick*, was seduc'd by her; and as it fell out many were very much affrighted. For the Evening of the Night that was fix'd being very Clear, there arose on a sudden a terrible Tempest of Thunder and Lightning in the Night following: But the Fear thereby Occasion'd was soon over. He was earnestly desirous of contributing to the settling some Christian Discipline in the Church, in order to the promoting Knowledge and Holiness. For the carrying on this Design, he had stated Meetings with the Neighbouring Ministers, in 1656, &c. They Agreed upon many Things with joint Consent, which they were to Practise in their several Parishes; and promis'd to help one another by mutual Advice in any emergent Difficulties. Finding that many would not be at the Pains of Learning the Assemblies Shorter Catechism, they drew up one that was much Shorter, and Printed it for the Use of the most Ignorant in their Parishes. While he continu'd at *Swaffham*, there was an un

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usual Kind of Meteor* appear'd in the Field, in a violent Hot Day, an Account of which is here added in his own Words, out of his own Papers, for the Satisfaction of the Curious.

* *Die Jovis, Maii 21. 1646. Hora 3 a Pomeridianâ, Swaffhamæ Prioris, in Comit. Cantabrigiensi.*

Post aliquod Tonitru sine Pluvia, in Nube, Oppido prædicto, imminente, apparuerunt duæ Luminares Eruptiones lucidæ 5 oblongæ, quarum altera subinde evanuit, altera vero eodem temporis Articulo in Pyramidalem Eumum Crassum & subrubicundum lineatim eructatur, cujus Figura superem acute, infernè quatuor Perticæ Crassa.

Vapor emissus tanto impetu Fundi Supersiciem invasit, ut inde maximo fonitu in resultum rapidissimum retrò ageretur, resiliendo autem Fornacis fumigantis instar præ se tulit.

Pyramide in duas Partes divisâ, vapor hâc descendere, illâ ascendere ad ventriculum nubis videbatur, in uno loco haud sistens, nunc citiore nunc tardiore motu Turbinis instar Circumvolitatus, duos Lapides ab Ortu ad Interitum semihorâ transmigravit. In cujus exitu, Tonitru rapidissimum rursus auditur, cujus fulminatione lineâ perpendiculari terræ incusâ Vapor Priori haud multum dissimilis a solo resiliit, antequam ad nubem pervenisset profus dissipatus. Gutte Pauculæ toto hoc tempore rarissimè descenderunt.

In 1661. the former Incumbent that had been put out, came again into one of the Livings in *Swaffham Prior*, and Mr. *Jephcot* knowing that the other would not be sufficient for the Maintenance of his Family, foreseeing that he should be in danger of having his Conscience straitned by Ecclesiastical Impositions, and finding many in the Place alter'd for the worst, turning with the Tide, and swimming with the Stream, determin'd to remove at the first Opportunity. Soon after, he was by Recommended by Dr. *Tuckney* to the Free School of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, which being offer'd him he readily accepted; and remov'd thither with his Family. Going to Bishop *Sanderson* for a License, he treated him very respectfully, told him, it was Pity a Man of his Worth should be consin'd to the Drudgery of School, and offer'd him his Choice of Two small Livings which he had then to bestow, worth about 60*l.* a Year a Piece. He thank'd his Lordship, but wav'd Acceptance. His main Reason was, because as Things went at that Time; he apprehended he should quick

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ly be turn'd out of a Living; but hop'd he might have been suffer'd to continue in so small a Thing as a School. But when he had been in it about half a Year, and was just settled, he was turn'd out at *Bartholomew Tide*. Many of the Chief of the Town were sensible they should have a great Loss in his quitting the School, and were thereupon Incens'd, against him who had occasion'd his being call'd on to Conform. Some of the New Aldermen urg'd him much to Conform and keep the School; but he told them, *if he could Conform, he would not do it to teach Boys*. Many considerable Persons were desirous of his staying there, after he was cast out: But he rather chose to be near his Friends in *Cambridgeshire*, and therefore settled at *Ousden* near *Bury* in *Suffolk*, being much induc'd to it by the Desire of a very Religious Gentleman Mr. *Mosley*, who Dy'd just upon his coming thither. But he had there the Pleasure of the Conversation of Mr. *Meadows*, the Ejected Minister of the Place. Here it was his Constant Practise to go to Church both Morning and Afternoon on Lords Days, and also to the Sacrammt; and he was commonly one of the first in the Church, tho' he liv'd at a Miles Distance from it: But withal, he kept up a Weekly lecture, among a small Company of honest well-meaning People. In the latter Part of his Life he kept Boarders, whom he train'd up in Learning and Piety.

He much Employ'd himself in writing Letters to several Persons upon a Spiritual Account for the good of their Souls: And indeed his whole Heart seem'd set upon the promoting the Work of Grace in himself and others.

In him it began early, under his Mothers Instruction, when he was but about 5 or 6 Years Old: So that he had the Happiness (which Mr. *Dod* was us'd to say he would Envy, if he envy'd any ones Happiness) of turning to God betimes.

His Abilities for the Ministry were great, and he was very Laborious and Painful in it. And when he was reduc'd to it more retir'd Life, he reap'd what he had been sowing; having as much of the comfortable Presence of God, and settled Assurance of his

Love,

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Love, as can well be suppos'd attainable in this Life. In a tedious and painful Sickness, he was marvellously supported by the Comforts of Gods Spirit, even to his Death; which he seem'd to be above the Fear of Composing himself for it, by the most Devout Addresses upwards, and gracious, and ferious Discourses and Exhortations to those that were about him, as long as his Strength serv'd him to speak. He Dy'd in *Nov.* 1673. *Ætat.* 66.

He was Eminent for his unusual Accuracy in the *Hebrew, Greek, and Latin* Tongues, Philosophy, *etc.* And in some Parts of the Mathematics: And us'd often to Practise Dyalling, Surveying, &c. for his Recreation.

In the City of *Ely*: Mr. *William Sedgwick*, call'd *Doomsday Sedgwick*, upon the Account mention'd before. Those who knew him well, represent him as a Pious Man, with a disorder'd Head.

Sutton: Mr. *Hunt*. Wentworth: Mr. *Burchel*. Little Swaffham: Mr. *Fort*. Crawden: Mr. *King*. Bartlowe: Mr. *Samuel Ball*. Chippenham: Mr. *Parr*. Abbington: Mr. *Isaac King*. Owre: Mr. *Wilson*. East Hatley: Mr. *Richard Kennet*. Stow or Chevely: Mr. *Abraham Wright*. In the Isle of *Ely*: Mr. *Thamas Giles*. Wisbitch: Mr. *Sheldrake*. Fowlmere: Mr. *Hezekiah King*. Litlington: Mr. *Henry Townly*. Mr. *Bindshal*, and Mr. *Negus*, at uncertain Places. I can hear of but one in, this County who afterwards Conform'd, who was Mr. *John Nye*.

In the County of HERTFORD.

Kempton: Mr. *Willson*, who was the Learned Author of the Answer, to *philosophia Scripture Interpres*; and to *Wolzogen*. *Watford*: Mr. *Philip Godwin*.* *Bishops Stonford*: Mr. *John Paine*. *Ware*: Mr. *Young*. *Shenly*: Mr. *Isaac Loess*. *Cheston*: Mr. *William Yates*. *St. Albans*: Mr. *Partridge*, and Mr. *Haworth*. The

* He hath several practical Treatises extant. As *Family Religion reviv'd*. *A Discourse on Family-Prayer*. *The Lords-Day reviv'd*; or a *Discourse concerning its Sanctification*. *Evangelical Communion*; or a *Treatise on the Sacrament*, all in *Octavo*. He hath also Publish'd, the *Mystery of Dreams*, Historically

Disiuss'd, &c.

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Latter was or St. *Peters*; and being desir'd to Preach a Funeral Sermon there after his Ejectment, he was hindred: Whereupon the Congregation went to the Cloysters in the Abbey. In Sermon Time the Soldiers came in to take him; and one of the Hearers interposing to prevent it, was shot to Death. Mr. *Haworth*, was try'd at the Assizes on this Account, and was at Last Deliver'd but Fin'd; while the Soldier escap'd Scot-free.

Hertford: Mr. *Bunwell*. Tharfield: Mr. *Marmaduke Tenant*. Kelshul: Mr. *William Janeway*, who was the Father of that Excellent Person Mr. *John Janeway* of *Kings Colledge* in *Cambridge*, whose Life is Extant in *Octavo*: And of Mr. *James Janeway*, an useful Minister near the City of *London*. Wallington: Mr. *Sherwin*. Cottered: Mr. *Gardiner*. Aldbury: Mr. *Francis Comyn*. Barly: Mr. *Nathanael Ball*. * Ashwell: Mr. *John Crow*. Willion: Mr. *Isaac Bedford*. Gravely: Mr. *Cater*. Harding: Mr. *Nathanael Eles*. Eastwick: Mr. *Goodwin*. Munden Parva: Mr. *Graves*. Langley Abbey: Mr. *King*. Geldesden: Mr. *Mocke*, or *Mockett*. Walden St. Pauls: Mr. *Peachy*. Bernet: Mr. *Shaw*. Baldock; the Lecture: Mr. *Sherwin*. Little Hadham: Mr. *Shingle*. Totteridge: Mr. *Tutty*. Bushy: Mr. *Ward*. Thoreley: Mr. *Edward Warren*. Great Hadham: Mr. *Dan Dyke*.

* *Author of a good Practical Serious Book, Entit. Spiritual Bondage and Freedom, Oct.*

There are several in this County, who were Nonconformists at first, who afterwards Conform'd. As Mr. *Halsey* of *Broxborne*. Dr. *Hicks* of *Hartingford-bury*. who was afterwards Rector of *St. Margarets Patens* in *London*. Mr. *Owen* of *Branfield*. Mr. *Stalleybrasse* of *Essenden*. And Mr. *Thomton* of *Wheathamstead*; and no more that I can hear off.

In the County of MIDDLESEX.

Sheparton: Mr. *John Doddridge*. He was an ingenious Man, and a Scholar; of the University of *Oxon*: An accceptable Preacher, and very peaceable Divine. His Rectory was worth 150*l. per An.*

Acton:

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Acton: Mr. *Elford*. A grave Divine of considerable Parts and Learning; a Moderate Independent. A Guide and Friend unto Dr. *Thomas Manton*, when he first entred into the Ministry. His Living was worth 200*l. per Ann.*

Eling: Mr. *Gilbert*. A *Scottish* Divine of useful Abilities for the Ministry, and of great Zeal against Error and Prophaneness.

Uxbridge: Mr. *Godbolt*. An Aged Divine, of great Sobriety and Moderation.

Finchley: Mr. *Thomas Goulston*. Sometime of *Queens* Colledge in *Cambridge*. A good Scholar, and of great Modesty and Humility: A constant, diligent Preacher, and bless'd with good Success.

Fulham: Mr. *Isaac Knight*. A Godly Man, and of a good Temper: But he wanted Academical learning.

North-Hall: Mr. *Malthurst*. An Antient Divine Contemporary with Mr. *William Pemble*, at *Magdalen* Hall in *Oxford*. A Man of strong Reason, and mighty in the Scriptures: Of great Eloquence and Fervour: Only Defective in Elucution. His Nonconformity cost him 300*l. per Annum*.

Enfield: Mr. *Daniel Manning*. An excellent Schojar and Preacher: Much admir'd and follow'd both for his natural Wit, and good Learning, and serious Godliness. He was educated in *Katherine* Hall in *Cambridge*, and noted there as Eminent in his Improvements for his Time.

Harrow on the Hill: Mr. *Thomas Pakeman*. A Grave, Sound, Pious, Sober, and Peaceable Divine. He was Master of Arts of *Clare* Hall in *Cambridge*.

Willesden: Mr. *Edward Perkins*. A Great Man. A very ready, and well study'd Divine, especially in School Divinity. A great Tutor in *Magdalen* Hall in *Oxon*. And particularly famous for his giving Mr. *John Corbet* his Education, and Direction in his Studies.

Staines: Mr. *Gabriel Price*. An honest plain Preacher, and of a Blameless Life and Conversation.

Kingsbury: Mr. *James Prince*. A Gentleman Born, and of a good Family. In good Repute both for Learning and Piety, but Young when Ejected.

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He is yet Living, Pastor of a Congregation at *Ockingham* in *Berkshire*.

Pinner: Mr. *John Rolls*. A Grave and very Pious Man, and very useful in his Place: Tho' he never administred the Sacraments; being in a Chappel of Ease, belonging to *Harrow on the Hill*.

Hampsteed: Mr. *Sprint*. A Man well reported of both for his Doctrine and Life. He was the Son of the Author of that celebrated Book, *Cassander Anglicanus*.

Stanmore Mag: Mr. *Samuel Standliff*. An Eminent Divine; of no Party: Yet Living, Pastor of a Congregation at *Rotherith*. His Rectory was worth better than 150*l. per Annum*.

Edgworth: Mr. *Swift*. A Pious Man; but led away by the Fifth Monarchy Notions, &c.

Hillingdon: Mr. *Taverner*. A Grave Peaceable Divine, of an unblamed Life; but who chose to live retir'd. His Rectory was reputed worth 100*l. per Annum*.

Sunberry: Mr. *Turner*. A Man of great Sincerity extraordinary Humility, and profitable Labours and Industry: Belov'd by all who knew him. He settled in *London*, after he was Silenc'd; and had a considerable Meeting, first in *Fetter Lane* and afterwards in *Hatton-Garden*.

Hendon: Mr. *Francis Wareham*, of *Bennet Colledge* in *Cambridge*. A Man of great natural Wit, of genteel learning, of great Pleasantness in Conversation, and a very Practical and Profitable Preacher but unsuccessful. His Vicaridge was worth about a 100*l. per Annum*.

Twickenham: Mr. *Thomas Willis*. A good Scholar. Like his Father the famous School-Master of *Twickenham*, A Grave Divine, a Solid Preacher, of a very good Presence, and a Man zealous for Truth and Order in the Churches of Christ: Of great Holiness of life, of a Publick Spirit, and much fervour in his Work, and great usefulness in the County of *Middlesex*.

Hackney:

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Hackney: Dr. *Spurstow*. (a) Who had before been turn'd out from his Master-ship of *Katharine Hall* in *Cambridge*. He was one of the Assembly of Divines; and afterwards one of the Commissioners at the *Savoy*. A Man of great Humility and Meekness; and great Charity, both in giving and forgiving. He always had an innocent and grateful Chearfulness in his Converse, which render'd it very acceptable. He was of a very peaceable Disposition. He was preserv'd in the Pestilential Sickness; but Dy'd not long after.

(a) *He was one of the Authors os Smectymnuus. And hath Publish'd besides, a Treatise on the promises, Oct. 1659. And the Spiritual Chymist in Six Decades of Meditations, Oct. 1666. The Wiles of Satan: In a Discourse on 2 Cor. 2. 11. And some Sermons Preach'd upon Publick Occasions.*

Stepney: Mr. *Greenhil*, and Mr. *Matthew Mead*. Mr. *Gremhil*, (b) was one of the Assembly of Divines; and one of the Dissenting Brethren in that Assembly, But a Worthy Man, and much valu'd.

(b) *He hath left behind him, an Exposition of the prophesie of Ezekiel, in Five Volumes, in Quarto.*

Mr. *Mead*, (c) was a Man of great Prudence, and an excellent useful Preacher. He had a large Congregation after he was Ejected, at *Stepney*; and no Man

was more follow'd when he Preach'd in the City. He Dy'd, Oct. 16. 1699. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *How*; to which the Reader is refer'd for his Character.

(c) *He hath Primed, the Almost Christian try'd and cast, Oct. The good of Early Obedience, Oct; A Sermon to the United Brethren, upon their Agreement. Sermons upon Ezekiel's Wheels. And Funeral Sermons, for Mr. Roswell, and Mr. Cruso, &c.*

Nerrington: Mr. *Bull*. A good Scholar, and very agreeable Preacher. As to what remains, I desire leave to draw a Vail, Requesting such as from his single Instance, give themselves a Liberty to pass their Censure upon others of the same Denomination with him, to take the Pains to peruse a short but excellent Discourse upon *Charity with Reference to others Mens Sins*; which was first Preach'd, and afterwards Printed by Mr. *How*, with whom he was for some time Fellow- Labourer.

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I should here also bring in Mr. *Edward Terry* Rector of *Greenford*, M.A. but that I mention'd him before as Fellow of *University Colledge* in *Oxon*. He was many Years useful there in Instructing and Governing Young Gentlemen and Scholars: And of great many for his many Exercises in the Colledge and Schools; and particularly for his Funeral Oration at the Interment of Dr. *Joshua Hoyle* Master of that Colledge, and *Regius* Professor of Divinity in that University. This Dr. *Hoyle*, was a Member of great Esteem and Honour in the Assembly of Divines, as a Master of all the Ancient learning of the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, and one who reign'd both in his Chair, and in the Pulpit. Mr. *Terry's* Living at *Greenford*, was worth to him better than 200*l. per Ann.* And he was much honour'd for his Work's Sake, and as a Lover of Truth and Peace. He is yet Living.

Hanwell: Mr. *Ambrose*. Paddington: Mr. *Arnhall*, or *Arnold*. Ashford: Mr. *Catch*. Ickenham: Mr. *Nicolas*. Littleton: Mr. *Edmund Taylor*, and Mr. *Sandford*, and Mr. *Goodman*, whose Places are uncertain.

Of those who stood out at first in this County, there were but Three that I can hear of who afterwards Conform'd, *viz.* Mr. *Ezekiel Hopkins*, Lecturer at *Hackney*, an Excellent and Learned Person, afterwards Bishop of *London-Derry* in *Ireland*: Whose Works have since his Death been Printed together in a *Folio*. Mr. *Timothy Hall*, of *Norwood* and *Southam*; who was by King *James II.* prefer'd to the Bishoprick of *Oxon*. for reading his Declaration of Indulgence to *Dissenters*: And Mr. *Rolls* of *Thistleworth* who was driven into Conformity by his Sufferings after his Ejection.

In the County of SURREY.

Lambeth: Mr. *Rawlinson*. A Grave Divine (saith Mr. *Baxter*) of great Ability.

Long Ditton: Mr. *Rich. Byfield*, M.A. He was half Brother to Mr. *Nicholas Byfield* of *Isleworth*, the

Author

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Author of the Commentary on the *Colossians*, and other Things: He was one of the Assembly of Divines; and a Man of great Piety and Zeal. *Adonitam Byfield*, the Scribe of the Assembly, was his Younger Brother. He Dy'd at *Mortclack* (whithcr he retir'd after his Ejectment at *Ditton*) in *Decem.** 1664.

* *He hath left behind him besides Sermons before the Parliament, these Tracts: The Light of Faith, and Way of Holiness, shewing how and what to Believe in all Estates and Conditions, Oct. 1630. The Doctrine of the Sabbath Vindicated, or a confutation of Brerewood's Treatise on that Subject, against his Brother, Mr. Nicolas Byfield, Qu. 1632. The Power of the Christ of God, Qu. 1641. The Gospels Glory without Prejudice to the Law, 1659. The Beginning of the Doctrine of Christ, Tw. 1660. The Real Way to good Works: A Treatise of Charity. 12s.*

Eggham: Mr. *William Rayner*, B. D. An Eminent Divine: Another Member of the Assembly.

Clapham: *John Arthur*, D.D. A very considerable Man, bro't up in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*. He Liv'd and Dy'd a Moderate Nonconformist.

Mortclack: Mr. *David Clarkson*.* B.D. sometime Fellow of *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*. Of whom Dr. *Bates* in his Funeral Sermon for him, gives this Character. *He was a Man of Sincere Godliness and True Holiness, which is the Divine Part of a Minister, with out which all other Accomplishments are not likely to be Effectual for the great End of the Ministry. He was a Conscientious Improver of his Time for acquiring of useful Knowledge, that he might be thrw.ghly furnish'd for the Work of his Divine Calling. When depriv'd of his Publick Ministry, he gave himself wholly to Reading and Meditation, whereby he obtain'd an Eminent Degree of Sacred Knowledge, and was Conversant in the retir'd Parts of*

* *He hath an excellent Discourse against the Romanists Extant, in Qu. Entit. The Practical Divinity of the Papists prov'd Destructive to Christianity and Mens Souls. He hath Two Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exercise: One in that at Cripplegate, on this Quest. What must Christians do, that the Influence of the Ordinances may abide upon them? And another in that against Popery; shewing, How the Doctrine of Justification is dangerously corrupted in the Roman Church. Since his Death have been publish'd a Discourse of his, on Free Grace; another concerning Episcopacy; And a Third concerning Liturgies all in Quarto; And a Volume of his Sermons, in folio.*

Learn

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Learning, in which many who are qualify'd to Preach a profitable Sermon, are unacquainted. Humility and Modesty were his distinctive Characters wherein he excell'd. He was well satisfy'd to serve the Church, and illustrate the Truth, and to remain in his beloved Secrecy. In his Conversation, a comely Gravity mixt with an innocent Pleasantness were attctive 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. In the Dischage of his Sacred Work, his Intellectual Abilities and Holy Affections were very evident. Great was his Solemnity and Reverence in Prayer; and his Preaching was very Instructive and Perswasive. The Matter of his Sermons was clear and deep, and always judiciously deriv'd from the Text. The Language was neither Gaudy and Vain, with light Trimmings; nor rude and neglected, but suitable to the Oracles of God. His Death was unexpected, yet as he declar'd no surprize to him, for he was entirely Resigned to the Will of God; and he desir'd to live no longer than to be serviceable. With Holy Simeon he had Christ in his Arms, and departed in Peace, to see the Salvation of God above. In short (says Mr. Baxter) He was a Divine of extraordinary Worth, for solid Judgment, healing moderate Principles, Acquaintance with the Fathers great Ministerial Abilities, and a Godly Upright Life. Among other Things Mr. Clarkson Tho't it a great Honour to him, to have had an Hand in the Education of so excellent a Person, as Dr. John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, who bore a singular Respect to him as long as he liv'd.

Kingston: Mr. Richard Mayo. A Man of Sincere Godliness. His Labours at Kingston were Crown'd with an abundant Success; and his Name and Memory is precious there to this Day. He had afterwards a large and nourishing Congregation in London, where for many Years he continu'd an Affectionate useful Preacher. He was a great Lover of Peace and Union. He had a great deal of Sweetness in his natural Temper, and in all his Conduct manifested great Sincerity. In his Last Sickness, which was of about Six Weeks continuance, he had great inward Peace and Serenity. His End was like the*

Light

** He hath Publish'd Plain Answer to this Practical Question: What Course may a Christian take to have his heart quicken'd and en-*

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Light of the Evening when the Sun setteth; an Evening without any Clouds. He had this saying to his Worthy Fellow-Labourer; I have had my Infirmities and Failings, but my Heart hath been Right with God as to the Main: And I look for the Mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ to Eternal Life, He Dy'd Sept. 8. 1695. His

Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Nathanael Taylor*, who also succeeded him.

larg'd in the Duty of Secret Prayer. A Sermon in the Morning Exercise against Popery, shewing that the Papists dangerously corrupt Holy Worship, by their sinful Prayers to Saints and Angels. Another in the Continuation of the Practical Morning Exercise, Vol. 3. Shewing what we must do, to prevent and Cure Spiritual pride. And another in the Fourth Volume, shewing from what Fear of Death, the Children of God are delivered by Christ, &c. The Life and Death of Dr. Staunton; Two Conferences; One betwixt a Papist and a Jew: The other between a Protestant and a Jew. In Two Letters. A Letter from Leghorn. A Comment on the Epistle to the Romans, in the Continuation of Pools Annotations. And a Sermon of the Cause and Cure of Strife and Divisions.

Farnham: Mr. *Stileman*. Worplesdon: Mr. *Farewell*. Guildford: Mr. *John Manship*. Purbright: Mr. *Wickham*, West-Horsley: Mr. *John Plot*: Ockley: Mr. *Nowel*, or *Nevil*. Byfleet: Mr. *Scudamore*. Ashted: Mr. *king*. East and West Mouldsey; Mr. *John Jackson*. Ewel: Mr. *Batho*. Hatcham: Mr. *James Fisher*. Merstham: Mr. *William Angel*. Darking: Mr. *Samuel Nabbs*. Culsdon: Mr. *Richard Roberts*. Walton upon Thames: Mr. *David Anderson*. East-Horsley: Mr. *Sampson Caryl*; and Mr. *Glyde Beaumont*; Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Story*, at uncertain Places.

I don't hear of any in this County, who Conform'd after they were once Ejected for Nonconformity.

In the County of KENT.

Maidstone: Mr. *John Grump*. A considerable Divine, and useful Preacher. He hath publish'd the Parable of the Great Supper. Town-Malling: Mr. *Samuel French*. Feversham: Mr. *Nath. Wilmot*. Cranbrook: Mr. *William Goodridg*. Staplehurst:

Mr.

Mr. *Daniel Poyntel*. Barham: Mr. *Barton*. Dover: Mr. *John Davis*, and Mr. *Nathanael Barry*. Chidington, or Denton: Mr. *Thomas Scyliard*.

Canterbury: Mr. *John Durant*. An Excellent Practical Preacher. Mr. *John Player*, Brother to Sir *Thomas Player*, the Chamberlain of *London*.

Mr. *Thomas Ventress* of *St. Margarets*. A Man of great Piety and learning; one of uncommon Prudence: Who so carry'd it in the midst of all the Changes and Alterations he pass'd through, as to keep a clear Conscience, and an unspotted Reputation, and yet was universally respected by all Parties.

Mr. *Taylor* of *St. Alphage*: And Mr. *Beak* of *St. Stephen's*.

Ashford: Mr. *Nicolas Sprigg*. Ilkam: Mr. *John Swan*, who turn'd Physician. Addesham: Mr. *Charles Nicols*. Chart-magn. Mr. *Edward Line*. Chilham: Mr.

Sampson Home. Tcnterden: Mr. *George Haws*. Benenden: Mr. *Joseph Osborne*. Biddenden: Mr. *William Horner*. Gowdherst: Mr. *Edward Bright*. Rolvinden: Mr. *Gyles*. Sandherst: Mr. *Elliston*. Lenham, or Leeds: Mr. *Showel*. Ulcombe: Mr. *William Belcher*. Egerton: Mr. *Palmer*. Loose: Mr. *William Lock*. Hunton: Mr. *Latham*. Birling: Mr. *Thomas Guns*. Linton: Mr. *Nichols*. Langley: Mr. *Tilden*. Barming: Mr. *Nichols*.

Rochester: Mr. *Ackworth*. Ightam: Mr. *Alexander*. Chatham: Mr. *Roswell*. Mr. *Adderley*; and Mr. *Thomas Carter*. Stroude: Mr. *Daniel French*. South Frith: Mr. *Simons*. Gravesend.. Mr. *Sharp*. Deptford: Mr. *Mallory*. Lee: Mr. *Hicocks*. Horsimonden: Mr. *Edward Rawson*. Lamberherst: Mr. *Steed*. Nettledsted: Mr. *Deacon*. Fairelane: Mr. *Darby*. Deale: Mr. *Sillyard*. Godmarsham: Mr. *Robert Ferguson*. Denton: Mr. *Clement Barling*. Alne: Mr. *William Noakes*. Bromley: Mr. *Henry Arnold*. Folkstone: Mr. *Baker*. Hawkerst: Mr. *Bosbel*, or *Bothel*. Raynam: Mr. *Carter*. Challocke: Mr. *Corken*, or *Corker*. Betteshanger: Mr. *Dod*. Spelherst: Mr. *Draper*. Shoram: Mr. *Duke*. Sturmonth: Mr. *Dury*. Woolwich: Mr. *Hawkes*. Lydde: Mr. *Hemmings*. Clyff: Mr. *Henry Holdcroft*. Norborne: Mr. *Lane*. Pensherst: Mr. *Maudett*. Ire-Church: Mr.

Osmanton.

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Osmanton. Eltham: Mr. *Overton*. Hener: Mr. *Petter*. Stone: Mr. *Henry Price*. Waltham; Mr. *Showel*. Smeeth: Mr. *Singleton*. New Church: Mr. *Spencer*. Smardon: Mr. *Vaughan*. Sandwich: Mr. *Webber*. Chatham-Dock: Mr. *Lawrence Wise*.

THANET-Island: St. *Nicolas*: Mr. *William Jacob*, St. *Margaret's*: Mr. *Street*. Monkton: Mr. *Thorowgood*. Mr. *Winkfield*: And Mr. *Johnson*, Mr. *Culmer*.

At uncertain Places: Mr. *Coppin*. Mr. *Williamson*. Mr. *Hoadley*: And Mr. *Rolls*.

Neither must I here omit Mr. *Edmund Trench*.* Who tho' not Benefic'd at the Time: of the Act of Uniformity, was yet worthy of any Living in the County. He was Born October 6. 1643. went at 15 to *Cambridge*, and was plac'd in *Queens Colledge*, under the Tuition of Mr. *Henry Paschall*. Towards the End of 1660. He went to *Oxford* to *Magdalen Hall*. When he had stay'd there about Two Years, and taken a Degree, he went to *Leyden* in *Holland*. In his younger Years he was Loose and Careless, and drawn aside by ill Company. Afterwards, he became an Eminent Instance of serious unaffected Piety. When he determin'd for the Ministry, he was very willing to have Conform'd, but had some Scruples which he could not remove. He sent them to Worthy Dr. *Conant* for Resolution. After half a Years Expectation, the Dr. sent him this Message: *That upon the most serious Tho'ts he could hardly*

satisfie himself, and therefore would never persuade any to Conform while he Liv'd: This with the Licentiousness of *S. Parker*, and some others who had been more zealous *Puritans* than himself, but who upon shetching their Consciences visibly declin'd from their former Seriousness, confirm'd him in his Nonconformity. His Motto was this: In *Simplicity and Godly Sincerity*. He Liv'd and Dy'd a Pattern both to Miniiters and Christians: In Proof whereof, the Reader is referr'd to the Printed Account of his Diary.

I can hear but of one in this County, who afterwards Confonn'd: *viz.* Dr. *Daniel Hays* of *Preston*.

N.B.

* See some Remarkable passages in the *Holy Life and Death* of Mr. Edmund Trench. Oct. 1693

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N. B. There are several turn'd out in this County whom I have omitted, because they were Twice Ejected, and are mention'd elsewhere: As Mr. *Danson* of *Sandwich*: Turn'd out also in *Suffolk*. Mr. *Starr* of *Sandherst*, turn'd out also at *Carlisle* in *Cumberland*. And Mr. *Whiston* in *Essex*; and others elsewhere.

In the County of SUSSEX.

Lewes; St. *Ann's*: Mr. *Edward Newton*. A Worthy Divine; yet Living. St. *Michael*: Mr. *Gualter Postlethwait*. Sedlescomb: Mr. *Edmund Thorp*. An Excellent Scholar. Burwash: Mr. *Thomas Gouldham*. A Man of good Polite Learning, and an acceptable Preacher. Brightling: Mr. *Joseph Bennet*. A Man of great Moderation: Who hazarded his Life by visiting his People in the Time of the Plague, when other Ministers forsook their Charge.

Petworth: Dr. Francis Cheynel.* A noted Member of the University of Oxon. One of the Assembly of Divines. One of considerable Learning, and great Abilities. He lost a very valuable Living, for the sake of his Conscience. After his being silenc'd, he retir'd, to a little Village between Chichester and Midhurst in this County where he had an Estate. There he Dy'd, in September 1665, Wood says, He was little better than Distracted towards the Close of his Life: But by that in his Phraseology, no more perhaps may be intended, than that he was seriously and closely Tho'tful of that other World into which he was passing, which to one of his Compection seem'd little better than Distraction.

* He hath Printed several Sermons before the Lords and Commons, and upon Publick Occasions. *The rise, growth and danger of Socinianism* Qu. 1643. *Chillingworthi Novissima*, Qu. 1643. *Divers*

Letters to Dr. Jasp. Mayne. concerning False Propbets, Qu. 1647. A Copy of some Letters which pass'd at Oxford, between him and Dr. Hammond. A Relation of a Disputation in St. Mary's Church in Oxon between Mr. Cheynell, and Mr. Erbury a Socinian, Qu. 1646. The Divine Trin-unity of the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost, 1650. Qu. A Discussion of Mr. Fry's Tenents, &c. And Socinianism prov'd to be an Unchristian Doctrine.

Mr.

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Mr. *Richard Stretton*, M.A. of *New Colledge* in *Oxon*. Was Assistant to Dr. *Cheynel* at *Petworth*, from the beginning of 1658. till *Michdelmas* 1660. when the Dr. was Ejected, to make room for Dr. *King* Bishop of *Chichester*. Mr. *Stretton* however stay'd and Preach'd there till *November*, having Two Friends (*viz.* Capt. *Taylor*, and Mr. *Bernard*) who were very great with the Bishop, and prevented his sending down any other. The Bishop by them offer'd Mr. *Stretton* a 100*l.* per *Ann.* and the Choice of any *Prebend* he had that was Empty, if he would be his Curate at *Petworth*: But upon his positive Refusal, he sent down another, and upon his Arrival Mr. *Stretton* quitted the Place, and came to *London*, where he the next Day was carry'd by Mr. *Nalton* to the Lord *Fairfax*, who was in want of a Chaplain. He continu'd with him in that Capacity in *Yorkshire*, for 11 Years; till he Dy'd: And afterwards stay'd Six Years at *Leeds*, and then came and fix'd in the City, where he is yet Living Pastor of a Congregation. *Wood* will have it, that he was a Traveller abroad, beyond the Sea; but if Mr. *Stretton* himself may be believ'd, *Lambeth* Ferry-Boat is the greatest Vessel he was ever in. And as for the Account of the *French* Barbarities towards their Prisoners of War which he Fathers upon him, he knows nothing of the Matter, but hath heard it was written by one Captain *Strutton*, of whom he hath no Knowledge. We may Judge from hence of the Credit of Mr. *Wood's* Intelligence.

Mayfield: Mr. *John Maynard*,* M.A. An Eminent and Judicious Divine; a Member of the Assembly: And tho' at his Death he became a Benefactor to *Magdalen* Hall in *Oxon*; where be had a Part of his Education, yet *Wood* has not a good. Word for him.

* Besides some Sermons before the House of Commons, He hath Printed the *Young Mans Remembrancer*, and *Old Man's Monitor*, Oct. 1669. *The Law of God ratify'd by the Gospel of Christ; or the Harmony of the Doctrine of Faith, with the Law of Righteousness*, Oct. 1674.

At the same Place was silenc'd Mr. *Paul D'Aranda*: Who was afterwards Minister of the *French* Church at *Canterbury*.

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Foundington: Mr. *John Ridge*. Downton: Mr. *William Corderoy*. North Chappel: Mr. *John Wood*. Fitleworth: Mr. *John Walwin*. Chichester: Mr. *William Speed*, and Mr. *William Martin*; the former of *St. Pancras*, the latter of *St. Peters*. West-Stoke: Mr. *Thomas Jackson*. A very able Man. Cardford: Mr. *John Beaton*. Little-Horsted: Mr. *Nehemiah Beaton*. A solid Divine and excellent Scholar. Arundel: Mr. *John Goldwire*, Sen. East-Terring: Mr. *John Earl*. Baylsham: Mr. *John Lover*. Wiston: Mr. *James Bricknal*. Hellingale: Mr. *John Stone*. Siddleham: Mr. *William Vousden*. Celsey: Mr. *John Hamper*. Felpham: Mr. *John Goldwire*, Jun. Shipley: Mr. *John Buckley*. Billingham: Mr. *William Willson*. Nuthurst: Mr. *Robert Fish*. Who hath since settled at *Ockley* in *Surrey*. A Pious Man, of good Learning, and great Probity. An affectionate useful Preacher. One of great Self-Denial; who would never leave a poor People, tho' upon considerable Offers. Clapham: Mr. *Samuel Wilmer*. Paghham: Mr. *Tho. Wilmer*. Barlavington: Mr. *Richard Garret*. West-Terring: Mr. *William Pixe*. Lindfield: Mr. *John Stone-Street*. Street: Mr. *Thomas Hallet*. Brighthelmstone: Mr. *Robert Everenden*. Rigger: Mr. *Elias Arnold*. Denton: Mr. *Thomas Grundy*. West-hoadley: Mr. *Thomas Blake*. East-hoadley: Mr. *William Attersol*. Glyne: Mr. *Zachary Smith*. Bucksted: Mr. *Stephen Street*. Radmill: Mr. *Henry Godman*. Who afterwards settled at *Deptford*, near *London*; where he had a considerable Congregation. Framfield: Mr. *John Bushnell*. Who was not only a good Preacher, but had an excellent Mechanical Head, and was more than ordinarily vers'd in the Mathematics. Wartling: Mr. *John Moor*. Rye: Mr. *Thomas Allen*. Marsfield: Mr. *Johnson*. Dichelng: Mr. *Edward Lullam*. West-Grinstead: Mr. *Tredcroft*. East-Grinstead: Mr. *Christopher Snell*. Ovigdeane: Mr. *Daniel Reyner*. East-Deane: Mr. *William Wallace*. Westmiston: Mr. *Nathanael Jones*. Ifield: Mr. *Thomas Safford*. Slynford: Mr. *Matthew Woodman*. South-stoak: Mr. *Henry Staples*. Pert: Mr. *Eldred*. Tangmer: Mr. *Eldridge*. Walberton: Mr. *Henry Jordan*. Fish-

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borne: Mr. *John Abbot*. Kingston: Mr. *Edward Beecher*. Greene: Mr. *Zachary Clifton*. Eartham: Mr. *George Freeman*. Isting: Mr. *Joseph Heyhurst*. Plaistoe: Mr. *Stephen Hughes*. Alstiston: Mr. *Thomas Malchus*. East-Lavnt: Mr. *Robert Parke*. Bignor: Mr. *Thomas Reeves*. Singleton: Mr. *John Simonds*. Wivelsfield: Mr. *John Ollive*. Combes: Mr. *Isaac Wilmer*. Preston: Mr. *Richard Turner*. Wollavington: M. *John Mills*.

Mr. *William Stoughton*. Mr. *John Brett*, M.A. An eminent Schollar, and universally Esteem'd; who afterward turn'd Doctor of Physick. Mr. *John Crouch*. Mr. *Henry Fowles*. Mr. *Stephen Martyn*. Mr. *John Panton*, M.A. who also turn'd Physician. Mr. *William Sandine*. Mr. *Edward Sone*. Mr. *William Stainough*.

If any of these afterwards Conform'd, I should be glad to know it.

IN THE COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON.

Bramshot: Mr. *John Corbet*. A great Man every way. Born and bro't up in the City of *Glocester*, and Student in *Magdalen Hall, Oxon*. He first began his Ministry in his Native City of *Glocester*, and there he Liv'd for some Years, under Dr. *Godfrey Goodman*, a *Papist* Bishop of the *Protestant Church*.^{*} Here he continu'd in the Time of the *Civil-Wars*, of which he was an Observant, but Mournful Spectator. His Account of the Siege of *Glocester*, is reckon'd to give as good an Insight into the Rise and Springs of the War, as any thing Extant in a narrow Compass.

He afterwards remov'd to *Chichester*, and thence to *Bramshot*, a Living of better than 200*l.* a Year, where he was Ejected in 62. He afterwards Liv'd privately in and about *London*; till King *Charles's* Indulgence in 71, at which Time a Part of his Old Flock

^{*} *If this be a scandal, 'tis Matter of Truth; for the Bishop himself own'd it in his Last Testament in Print: Wood in his Account of him gives his very Words; and yet such is the Temper of the Man, as to give a more favourable character of this Bishop Goodman, than of Two such Persons as Bishop Wilkins, and Arch-Bishop Tillotson.*

invited him to *Chichester*, where he continu'd his Labours with great Assiduity and Success. God many Years afflicted him with the Stone, which at last was his Death: And while the Pain was tolerable to Nature he endur'd it, and ceas'd not Preaching, till within a Fortnight of his being brought up to *London* to have been Cut. But before that could be done, he left this for a better Life, Dec. 26. 1680. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Baxter* who gives him this Character. *He was a Man of great clearness and soundness in Religion, and blameless in his Conversation. He was of so great Moderation and Love of Peace, that he hated all that was against it, and would have done any thing for Concord in the Church, except sinning against God, and hazarding Salvation. He was for Catholick Union and Communion of Saints, and for going no further from any Churches or Christians than they force us, or than they go from Christ. he*

was for loving and doing Good to all, and living peaceably with all, as far as was in his Power. Something in Episcopacy, Presbytery and Independency he liked, and some Things he disliked in all. He was true to his Conscience, and valued not the Interest of a Party or Faction. If all the Nonconformists in England had refused, he would have Conformed alone, if the Terms had been reduced to what he thought lawful. He managed his Ministry with Faithfulness and Prudence. He had no worldly Designs to carry on, but was eminent in Self-Denial. He was not apt to speak against those by whom he suffered; nor was he ever pleased with ripping up their Faults. He was very careful to preserve the Reputation of his Brethren, and rejoiced in the Success of their Labours as well as of his own; And a most careful avoider of all Divisions, Contentions, or Offences. 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; as is evident from the little Thing of his, that is Publish'd, call'd Notes for himself, &c. He had good Assurance of his own Sincerity; and yet was not altogether without his mixture of Fears. He had the comfort of sensible growth in Grace. He easily perceived a notable Increase of his Faith, and Holiness, and Heavenliness, and Humility, and Contempt of the World,

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Baxters Judgment in the Quinquarticular Points, and of a Catholick Healing Spirit, with Reference to our Church Controversies. He was Pious, Prudent, and Humble: Had an excellent Gift Prayer, and was a very useful Preacher. But so excessively Modest, as to be under some Awe when his Brethren were present at any of his Performances; tho' they were very much his Inferiours. In the latter Part of his Life he settled at *Salisbury*, where he had a flourishing Congregation. He Dy'd there, some Years since.

Weald: Mr. *Martin Moreland*, M.A. Fellow of *Wadham* Colledge in *Oxford*. Eminent in the University, and afterwards. He was a Man of clear Reason, and great Reading, an accurate, and affectionate Preacher: Moderate in his Principles, charitable in his Temper, serious and remarkably Upright in his Life, and Conversation.

Baddesley: Mr. *Lancaster*. One of eminent skill in the Oriental Languages.

Houghton: Mr. *Thomas Warren*. A noted Man: Whom Mr. *Eyre* of *Salisbury* oppos'd in the Point of Justification. Mr. *Warren* wrote upon the Subject; a Book entit. *Unbelievers no Subjects of Justification*, nor of *Mystical Union to Christ*, Qu. 1654.

Elmhurst: Mr. *John Harmar*,* M.A. brought up in *Winchester* School, and *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxon*. He was Greek Professor at *Oxford*: And even Mr. *Wood* himself gives him this Character, *That he was a*

* *He hath Printed, Praxis Grammatices: Verum & genuinum Declinationum & Conjugationum usum liquido indicans, &c. Oct. 1622. Janua Linguarum: Sive Methodus & ratio Compendiaria & facilis ad omnes Linguas ad Latinam vera maxime aperiens, Qu. 1627. Eclogæ Sententiarum & Similitudinum, e D. Chrysostomo decerp̄tæ: Græc. & Lat. cum Annot. Oct. 1622. Protomartyr Britannus: Seu Elegia Sacra in Conversionem & Martyrium S. Albani, Qu. 1630. Lexicon Etymologicum Græcum, junctim cum Scapula 1637. Fol. Epistola ad D. Lambertum Osbalstonum, Cui intexitur Apologia pro honoratiss. illustrissimoque viro ac Domino, D. Johanne Williams Archiep. Eborac. & Angliæ Primate, Oct. 1649. Oratio Oxoniæ habita, in Schola Publica Linguae Græcæ assignatâ, 15. Kal. Aug. 1650. Oct. Oratio Serenissimi Protectoris Elogium Complectens, Oxoniæ habita 50. Kal. Maii 1654. Qu. Ad Protectorem Carmina de Pace. cum Belgis sancitâ Vindicis Academiæ Oxoniensis; Sive Oratio Apologetica qua Exercitiorum Academicorum in Trimestre vacat. a Crimine vindicatur, Oct, 1662. M. Tullii Ciceronis Vita.*

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especially in his latter Years, and under his Affliction, as the Fruit of Gods correcting Rod: And Dy'd at last in great Serenity and Peace. There's no Occasion for Wonder, that such a Man should fall under the Censure of Mr. Wood. His Commendation, had really been a Disgrace to him.*

* *His Publish'd Writings, are, An Historical Relation of the Military Government of Gloucester, from the beginning of the Civil War between King and Parliament, to the removal of Col. Massie from that Government, to the Command of the Western Forces: Qu. 1645.*

A Vindication of the Magistrates of the City of Gloucester, from the Calumnies of Robert Bacon, Printed in his Relation of his Usage there. To which is added, the Discussion of Ten Questions, tending to the Discovery of close Antinomianism, Qu. 1647. The Interest of England in the Matter of Religion: in Two Parts, 1661. Oct. An admirable Book, where any Man may clearly see the Spirit and Temper, Aim and Design of those call'd Presbyterians, at and after King Charles's Restauration: and the Pleas they made use of to induce to that Lenity which would have made this Nation Happy, and prevented those Calamities we have since been under, many sad Effects whereof, yet remain among us. The Kingdom of God amongst Men, a Tract of the sound State of Religion: To which is added a Discussion of the Point of Church Unity and Schism. Oct. 1679. A Discourse of the Religion of England; asserting that the Reformed Christianity settled in its due Latitude, is the Stability and Advancement of this Kingdom: In Two Parts, Qu. His Self-Employment in Secret, containing Memorials for his own practice, his Evidences upon Self-Examination, and his Tho'ts in his last painful Affliction, in 12s. 1681. And his Remains, containing, A Discourse of the Church, of the Ministry, of Certainty and Infallibility: And the true State of Ancient Episcopacy: A Consideration of the present State of Conformity in the Church of England: A Discourse of Divine Worship: An Exposition of Jonah 2. the four first Verses: An Exposition of John 16. 33. An Enquiry into the Oxford Oath: A Plea for Communion with the Church of England, &c. With a Modest Defence of his Ministerial Nonconformity, and the Exercise of his Ministry, in Answer to the Bishop of Winchester's Charge against him. An Explication of the Decrees and Operations of God, &c. And an Account of the Principles and practises of the Nonconformists; shewing that their Religion is no other than what is profess'd in the Church of England. He had also a considerable Hand in compiling Mr. Rushworth's first Volume of Historical Collections, which is reckon'd a Master-piece of the Kind, by competent Judges of such Writings.

Crundall: Mr. Humphrey Weaver. A good Scholar, who had a good Estate, and a generous Temper, and was a very Publick Spirited Man.

Rockborne: Mr. Haddesley. His Parsonage was worth 200l. per. Annum. He was very much of Mr.

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most excellent Philologist, and a tolerable Latin Poet; and was happy in rendering Greek into Latine, or Latine into English, or English into Greek or Latine, whether in Prose or Verse. He was Ejected after King Charles's Return, and retir'd to *Steveton* in this County; where he Dy'd, *An.* 1670.

ex optimis quibusque Scriptoribus delibata & in Compendium reducta, *Oct.* 1662. Oratio Panegyrica in honor. *Car.* 2. &c. in Angliam. Plaudente Orbe *Britannico*, remigrant. Habita *Ox.* 27. *Maii.* 1660. He also Translated the *Assemblies Shorter Catechism* into Greek and Latin, &c.

In the *Isle of Wight*: *Newport*: Mr. *Robert Touchin*. *Calhourne*: Mr. *Edward Buckler*. *Freshwater*: Mr. *John Creswick*, or *Carswick*: Some time Fellow of *St. Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*. *Week*: Mr. *Thomas Newnham*. *Yaverland*: Mr. *Martin Wells*. *Yarmouth*: Mr. *John Martin*. *West Cowes*: Mr. *Simon Pole*. *Guernsey*: Mr. *Le Marsh*.

East Tidworth: Mr. *Samuel Sprint*. His living was worth at least 120*l.* per *An.* He was Son to the famous Author of *Cassander Anglicanus*, and much of his Judgment in Relation to our Ecclesiastical Controversies. He was an intimate Friend of Mr. *Woodbridge*, and of the same Publick, Healing, Catholick Spirit. A compleat Scholar, a very useful Preacher, and of a very Pious, uniform Conversation. Of wonderful Modesty and Humility; and therefore contented to live in an obscure Corner, tho' he had large Offers elsewhere. He was generally respected by all his Neighbours, and very intimate with many of the Clergy near him. Bishop *Morley* had a peculiar Respect for him and urg'd him to Conformity. Mr. *Sprint* mention'd the Cross in Baptism, as what he could not comply with. To which the Bishop Reply'd; that was honest Mr. *Dod's* Scruple: But gave no other Answer than this; *That the Cross was only a visible Profession of our Believing in a Crucify'd Saviour in Conformity to the Practise of the Primitive Christians, who cross'd themselves; by this Action as by Words, owning them being Christians; but it did not thence appear to Mr. Sprint, that it might lawfully or safely be made a Term of Communion.* He on his Death-bed

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declar'd his full Satisfaction, in the Cause of Nonconformity. He had but a very inconsiderable Allowance from his People whom he Preach'd amongst: But was us'd to say; If the Bottle and Satchel held but out to the Journey's End, it was sufficient. He was exercis'd with a very lingering Sickness, which

carry'd him off, and thro' the whole of it he discover'd great longings to be at rest.

Benstead: Mr. *John Yates*. Headling: Mr. *Samuel Jefferson*. Selborn: Mr. *John Faroll*. Odiham: Mr. *Samuel Touchin*. Hartley Wesper: Mr. *Jennins*. Kingsworthy; Mr. *John Hook*. Wallop: Mr. *Marriot*. Alresford: Mr. *Taylor*. Crawley: Mr. *Samuel Tomlins*. Who I suppose is he that afterwards settled at *Marlborough*. Michelmersh: Mr. *James Terry*. Bishopstoake: Mr. *Cox*. Hursley: Mr. *Walter Marshal*. Southampton: Mr. *John Robinson*. Milbrook: Mr. *Brown*. Longstock: Mr. *Pinkney*. Brokenhurst: Mr. *Robert Tuchin*. Southwick: Mr. *Symonds*. Portsmouth: Mr. *Benjamin Burgess*, and Mr. *Thomas Bragg*. Titchfield: Mr. *Oakes*. Rowner: Mr. *George Whitmarsh*. Upton Gray: Mr. *Noah Webb*; who was also turn'd out at *Chevely* in *Berkshire*. Portsey: Mr. *John Bicknell*. Wablington: Mr. *John Harrison*. Exton: Mr. *John Ridg*. Farlington: Mr. *Robert Leicester*. Hayling: Mr. *John Rowel*. Rumsey: Mr. *John Warren*. Ropley: Mr. *Up John*. Otterborn. Mr. *Web*. Clanfield: Mr. *Dyman*.

Winchester: Dr. *Faithful Tate*, Mr. *Cook*, and Mr. *Th. Gale*.

Overton: Mr. *Kentish*. Heckfield: Mr. *Goss*, Sunburn: Mr. *Jones*, And, Dean: Mr. *Rogers*.

I cannot hear that any of their Conform'd: Or indeed that any who stood out at first in this County, comply'd afterwards, except Mr. *Samuel Ellis* of *Winchester*.

IN THE COUNTY OF DORSET.

Dorchester: Alhallow's Mr. *Benn*, St. Peters and Trinity; Mr. *George Hammond*.
Mr.

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Mr. *Benn** was an eminent Divine, famous in all the *West* of *England*. He was bred up in *Queens* Colledge in *Oxon*, Preacher for sometime at *Okingham* in *Berks*, afterwards Chaplain to the Marchioness of *Northampton*, with whom he Liv'd in *Somersetshire*, whence by the Interest and Endeavours of the celebrated Mr. *John White*, call'd the Patriarch of *Dorchester*, he was remov'd to that Town, where he continu'd in great Respect and Reputation, Rector of *Alhallows*, till the Fatal *Bartholomew*. He was not satisfy'd with his constant labouring at *Alhallows*, but Preach'd besides on a Week Days, to the Prisoners in the Goal, which was in his Parish; and he caus'd a Chapel to be built within the Prison Walls, in good Part at least, at his own Charge. When he was silene'd, he still continu'd among his Ancient People, and Preach'd to them as he could; for which he was often bro't into Trouble, and sometimes

imprison'd. He Dy'd in the latter End of the Year, 1680. After his painful, faithful, and successful Labour in the Vineyard of Christ, for above 50 Years. He was richly furnish'd with all Ministerial Abilities; one of unparallel'd Perseverance in Prayer. For he Pray'd in his Study Seven Times a Day: And it was his constant Custom in his Prayers at those stated Seasons, to give God Thanks for certain Deliverances from Danger, which befel him, *June 5. 1636. Oct. 23. 1643. Aug. 12. 1645.*

* *He hath written an Answer to Mr. Francis Bampfields Letter, in Vindication of the Christian Sabbath against the Jewish; which is printed in Mr. Bampfield's Judgment for the observation of the Jewish Sabbath, Oct. 1672, And after his Death, some Sermons of his were Printed concerning Soul Prosperity, Oct. 1683.*

Mr. *George Hammond*,* M.A. after his being silenc'd, continu'd several Years in the Countrey; but at last settled in *London*, where he is yet Living Pastour of a Congregation.

† *He hath a Sermon in the first Volume of the Morning Exercise, on this Question, How may Private Christians be most helpful to promote the Entertainment of the Gospel? And he hath also Printed a Discourse of Family Worship, Oct. 1694. Which he drew up at the Request of the United Ministers, in and about London.*

Sherborn: Mr. Francis Bampfield, M.A. and Mr. Humphrey Philips.

Mr. *Francis Bampfield* was of a Genteel Family; and Educated in *Wadham Colledge in Oxon*. He was

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Imprison'd for worshipping God in his own Family, quickly after his being Silenc'd:* So soon was his unshaken Loyalty to the King forgotten, and his Zeal against the Parliaments War. Often was he also Imprison'd afterwards; so that he was forc'd out of the Country. When he came to *London* he met with like Usage: And at last Dy'd in *Newgate, Febr. 16. 1683/4*. His Particular Sentiments I pass by:† But think none at all acquainted with his serious Piety, which hath been generally acknowledg'd, can forbear owning, that he deserv'd another sort of Treatment than he met with from the unkind World.

* *A Particular Account of his Treatment at that Time, may be seen in the Conformists 4th Plea for the Nonconformists; Page 44. &c.*

† *He Publish'd his Judgment for the Observation of the Jewish or 7th Day Sabbath, Oct. 1672. And also, All in one: All useful Sciences and profitable Arts, in one Book of Jehovah, &c. Fol. 1677.*

Ower: Mr. *Troit*. Portland: Mr. *John Sprint*. Bridport: Mr. *Eaton*. Holnest: Mr. *John More*. Simondsborow: Mr. *John Hardy*. Buckland Newton: Mr. *John Weekes*. Who was afterward Miniister of a flourishing Congregation in the City of *Bristol*; and as Popular a Preacher as most in *England*. Fordington: Mr. *Joshua Churchill*. Weymouth: Mr. *George Thorne*. Muncton: Mr. *Richard Downe*. Blanford: Mr. *William Allen*. Straford: Mr. *Benjamin Wey*, Fellow of *Corpus Christi* in *Oxon*: And a good Scholar. Calne: Mr. *Christopher Lawrence*. Who had before lost a Living in *Wiltshire* for refusing the Engagement: Which was also the Case of many of the Ejected Ministers, tho' 'tis difficult to get a certain Account of them at so great Distance of Time. Maiden Newton: Mr. *Andrew Bromhall*; or *Bramhill*. Bradpool: Mr. *Sampson*. Lyme: Mr. *Ames Short*, and Mr. *Keckwich*. Hauke-Church: Mr. *John Hodder*. Brodewinsor: Mr. *Penney*, or *Pinney*, a very Ingenious, Polite, and learned Man. Rimpscomb: Mr. *Crane*. Week: Mr. *Dammer*. Lanckton in Purbek: Mr. *John Mitchel*. Warham: Mr. *Chaplain*. Tarrant Hinton: Mr. *Timothy Sacheverell*. Shaston: Mr. *Hallett*. Melberry-bubb: Mr. *Forward*. Hamone: Mr. *Thomas More*. Litchet: Mr. *Thomas Roe*. Morden: Mr. *Edward Bennet*; Bere

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and Kingston: Mr. *Philip Lamb*, who had afterwards a Congregation at *Clapham* in *Surrey*. Stalbridge: Mr. *Richard Shute*. Dorweston: Mr. *Gapen*. Whitchurch: Mr. *Westley*. Wotton-fitz-pain: Mr. *Hussey*. Chardstock: Mr. *John Mills*. Beamister: Mr. *Thomas Crane*. He hath written a Discourse of Providence. Charmister: Mr. *Samuel Hardy*. Who was not turn'd out in 1662, because his Place was a Peculiar, and yet he did not Conform: He afterwards remov'd to *Pool*, (another Exempt Place) where various Methods werc try'd to get him Ejected for want of Conformity, but in Vain: Till there was a special Commission from the King, to Two, Bishops and several Justices of the Peace to eject him. The Bishops refus'd to Act in concert with the Justices in an Ecclesiastical Matter; and so left it to them, who very carefully discharg'd their Commission: He afterwards settled at *Newberry*, where he Dy'd.

Others were can out in this County; whose Places are uncertain: As Mr. *Isaac Clifford*. Mr. *Martyn*. Mr. *Avien*. Mr. *Bartlett*. Mr. *Brice*. Mr. *French*. Mr. *Hopkins*. Mr. *King*. Mr. *Light*. Mr. *Mutall*. Mr. *Ouseley*. Mr. *Prinne*. Mr. *Salaway*. Mr. *Trottle*, Sen. Mr. *Trottle*, Jun.

IN THE COUNTY OF DEVON.

Excester: St. Johns: Mr. *Robert Atkins*. Sidwells: Mr. *Thomas Powel*. St. Mary in the More: Mr. *John Bartlett*. St. Mary Arches: Mr. *Ferdinando Nichols*.^{*} St. Edmunds: Mr. *Thomas Downs*, Mr. *Lewis Stukely*, Mr. *Thomas Mall*, Petrocks: Mr. *Mark Downs*. St. Thomas: Mr. *Hodge*.

Mr. *Thomas Ford*, M.A. bred up in *Oxford* in *Magdalen* Hall: Where he betimes fell under the Dipleasure of Bishop *Laud*, (or a Free Sermon at St. *Mary's*, which cramp't his Preferment. He was first Benefic'd at *Oundle* in *Northamptonshire*; whence retiring to *London*, he was one of the Assembly of Divines. Fixing afterwards in *Excester*, he was In great Esteem; and so continu'd, till the *Bartholomew*

^{*} *He wrote the Life and Death of Mr. Ignatius Jurdain, some time Alderman of the City of Exeter.*

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Act Ejected him.^{*} He still continu'd among his People, and was respected for his Ministerial Worth, by the Generality of sober Men. He Dy'd in *December*, 1676. He was one of great Parts, and of unbyass'd Principles; one and the same in all Times and Changes.

^{*} *He Preach'd some Sermons before the long Parliament, & hath written, a Treatise to prove the Lawfulness of Singing of Psalms, Oct. 1657; And another Discourse Entit. The sinner Condemn'd of himself; Being a Plea for God, against the Ungodly, proving them alone Guilty of their own Destruction, Oct. 1668.*

Dartmouth: Petrocks: Mr. *James Burdwood*. St.

Saviours: Mr. *Allen Geare*: A Man of considerable learning: Who Dy'd about Four Months after *Bartholomew* Day, 1662.

Townstal: Mr. *John Flavel*,[†] Educated in *University* Colledge in *Oxon*. Was ordain'd to the Ministry at *Salisbury*, Oct. 17. 1650. He was at that Time Assistant to Mr. *Walplate* at *Diptford* in *Devon*, and afterwards succeeded in his Rectory. From whence upon an unanimous Call he remov'd to *Dartmouth*, after the Death of Mr. *Hartford*, notwithstanding that *Diptford* was a much more profitable Benefice. Here he continu'd Labouring with Acceptation and Success, till the Act of Uniformity Ejected him. But not thinking his Relation to his People thereupon at an End, he continu'd the Exercise of his Ministry among them as he had Opportunity. Upon the coming forth of the *Oxford* Act he was forc'd to remove, and went to *Slapton* about Five Miles Distance, where: he Preach'd twice every Lord's Day to such as would venture to he his Auditors; and he thence made Private Visits to his Friends

in *Dartmouth*. When King *Charles* granted his Indulgence, he return'd thither, and kept an open Meeting in the Town: And when it was call'd in, he continu'd to Preach more privately. Being at last in great Danger at *Dartmouth*, thro' the Malice of his Enemies, he resolv'd to retire for *London*, where he hop'd for more Safety. He went by Sea, and met with a terrible Storm within Five Leagues off *Portland*, when they were in Danger of being lost, so that Master and

Sea

* See the Account of his Life, prefix'd to his Works in Folio.

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Seamen concluded they must of Necessity be Wreck'd if the Wind did not quickly Change. When Things were in this Posture he call'd all that could be spar'd to Prayer, and recommended himself and them to God; and soon after the Wind chang'd, and he got safe to *London*. There he was in Danger of being taken, at the same Time with Mr. *Jenkins*.

He had not been long here, before he resolv'd to return home, and take his lot. Doing so, he was in a little Time confin'd close Prisoner to his House. After Mr. *Jenkins* his Death, his People gave Mr. *Flavel* a Call to succeed him, and much importun'd him; but he was not to be perswaded to leave *Dartmouth*. Upon King *James's* Liberty in 87, his People there, provided him a large Place, in which it pleas'd God to use him for the good of many. He Preach'd Twice every Lord's Day; a Lecture every *Wednesday*, and on the *Thursday* also before the Sacrament. And he was not only Zealous in the Pulpit, but a sincere, lively Christian in his Closet; as appears from his Diary, Part of which is inserted in his life. He Dy'd *June 26. 1691*. His Funeral Sermon was Prcach'd by Mr. *George Trosse* of *Exeter*. Two Passages concerning him, I cannot omit. The first is this, He freely taught Academical Learning to Four Young Men whom he bred to, the Ministry, and one of them he maintain'd all the while at his own Charge. The other this, That in the Year 1685. which some of the People of *Dartmouth* accompany'd by some of the Magistrates, were Acted by such a Spirit of Madness, as to make up his Effigies, and carry it thro' the Streets in Derision, with the Covenant, and Bill of Exclusion, Pinn'd to it, and Burn it: He in the mean Time retir'd, and offer'd up his most Hearty Prayers to God, for the Town of *Dartmouth*, its Magistrates and Inhabitants: And when the Passages of their Mock-shew were afterwards related to him, He made no other Return, than in the Words of our Saviour: *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do*. His several

Works being Collected together, have since his Death been Printed in Two Folio's

Ply

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Plymouth: Mr. *George Hughes*, B.D. Mr. *Thomas Martyn*: And Mr. *George Horseman*. Mr. *Hughes* was first of *Corpus Christi*, and afterwards of *Pembroke Colledge* in *Oxon*. Entering into the Ministry, he Preach'd for some Time in and near *Oxford*; afterwards he was Lecturer of *Alhallows Bread-street* in *London*, and remov'd thence to *St. Andrews* in *Plymouth*, where he was an Active and Zealous Instrument of much good, till he was Silenc'd in 1662. He continu'd there after he was Ejected, for which he was summon'd to appear by a Lieutenant of the Garrison, as from his Superior. Upon his appearing, an Officer with Two Files of Musqueteers was commanded to convey him and Mr. *Martyn* into *St. Nicolas Island*,* where they remain'd Nine Months. At length his Health being much impair'd, and his Legs black and swoln; (which was occasion'd as is suppos'd by the Saltness of the Air) he was offer'd his liberty, upon Condition of giving Security of a 1000*l.* not to live within Twenty Miles of *Plymouth*, which was accordingly done by his Friends without his Knowledge. Whereupon he retir'd to *Kingsbridge* in *Devonshire*, where he Dy'd in *July*, 1667. He was an eminent Divine, reckon'd the Apostle of the *West*, and below'd of all that knew him, that had any real Value for Religion.†

* *A Particular Account of the Treatment of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Martyn, may be seen in the Conformists Plea for the N.C. 4th Part Page 64.*

† *He hath Printed several Sermons Preach'd at Funerals, and upon other Publick Occasions; and also an Exposition on the Small Prophets, Fol. 1654. Sure-footing in Christianity Examin'd: In Answer to Mr. Sergeant, Oct. 1668, Which Book he wrote when he was Confin'd in the Island St. Nicolas. An Exposition on the Book of Job, Fol. 1669. Aphorisms determining the Doctrine of the Sabbath, Oct. 1670. An Exposition on Genesis, and Part of Exodus, Fol. 1672.*

Mr. *Obadiah Hughes*, Son of this Mr. *George Hughes*, was in no Benefice when the *Bartholomew Act* took Place, and yet was Imprison'd, and difficultly obtain'd his Liberty which was not to be had, without promising not to remain in *Plymouth* Forty Eight Hours; nor to return thither, without leave from the E. of *B.* or his Deputy. He retir'd hereupon to the City of *London*, and is yet Living, Pastor of a Congregation at *Enfield*.

Great

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Great Torrington: Mr. *John How*, M.A. Some time Fellow of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*. Well known by his Works.* And yet Living in the City of *London*.

* His Works are these: *A Treatise of Delighting in God*, Oct. 1674. *The Blessedness of the Righteous: And the Vanity of Man as Mortal*, Oct. 1678. *The Living Temple of God*, Oct. 1675. *The Reconcilableness of Gods Prescience of the Sins of Men, with the Wisdom and Sincerity of his Counsels, Exhortations, and whatsoever other Means he uses to prevent them*, Oct. 1677. *Of Tho'tfulness for the Morrow; with an Appendix concerning the immoderate Desire of Fore-knowing Things to come*, Oct. 1681. *Of Charity in Reference to other Mens Sins of the Improvements of the Name of God in Prayer. Of Self-Dedication, in Tw. Redeemers Tears wept over lost Souls in a Treatise on Luke 19. 41, 42. With an Appendix concerning the Sin against the Holy Ghost. A Sermon directing what we are to do, after a strict Enquiry, whether or no, we truly Love God. The Carnality of Religious Contention, in Two Sermons at the Merchants-Lecture at Broad-street. A Letter to a Person of Quality, who took Offence at Dr. Stillingfleets Sermon about Separation*, Qu. *A Calm and Sober Enquiry concerning the possibility of a Trinity in the God-head. A Letter to a Friend concerning a post-script to the Defence of Dr. Sherlocks Notion of the Trinity in Unity, relating to the Calm and Sober Enquiry upon the same Subject. A View of that Part of the late Considerations address'd to H.H. about the Trinity, which concerns the Sober Enquiry on that Subject. A Funeral Sermon for Mrs. Judith Hammond; another for Mrs. Esther Sampson; another for Mr. Richard Adams; another for Dr. William Bates; another for Mr. Matthew Mead. A Sermon Preach'd to the Societies for Reformation of Manners. A Sermon Preach'd on the Day of Thanksgiving, Dec. 2. 1697. Two Sermons concerning Enmity and Reconciliation to God, Besides which, he hath some Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exercise: One in that at St. Giles, On the Mutableness of the State in which Man was Created. And another in the Continuation of the Morning Exercise Questions; on this Question. What may most hopefully be attempted, to allay Animosities among Christians, that our Divisions may not be our Ruine (which Sermon is recommended to the Serious perusal, of such as would keep the due Mean, between the Establish'd Church and Dissenters.) And he hath lately Written a Discourse of occasional Communion, which may supply the Place of an Appendix to the foregoing Sermon.*

Barnstable: Mr. Nathanael Mather; who after his Ejection was a Minister at *Rotterdam in Holland*; and Dy'd Pastor of a Congregation in *London*.

North Taunton: Mr. Maynard. He was Aged when Ejected, and had been Episcopally Ordained

and

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and yet not long after, his being Silenc'd, was threaten'd to be sent to the Work-House, by Justice G——, See *Conf. 4th Pl.* Page 50.

Kenton: Dr. George Kendal. He was Born at *Corton* in the Parish of *Dawlish*, near *Exon*; he was bred in *Exeter*. Colledge *Oxon*, where he was a Disciple, and a great Admirer of Dr. *Prideaux*. When the Dr. was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, Mr. *Kendal* then B.D. stood fair to succeed him in the Rectory of his Colledge, for he was zealously recommended by King *Charles*; but lost it. *An.* 1647. He became Rector of *Blissland* near *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*. Thence he remov'd to *London*, where he had a Living in *Grace-Church Street*. In 1654. He proceeded Doctor, and upon King *Charles* Return he left the City, and became Rector of *Kenton*, from whence he was Ejected at the Fatal *Bartholomew*. After which he retir'd to *Coston*, the Place of his Birth, and the Seat of his Family, whcre he Dy'd *Aug.* 19. 1663. He left

behind him the General Reputation of a considerable Scholar*, a ready Disputant, and a good Preacher.

* *He hath Written and Publish'd. A Vindication of the Doctrine generally receiv'd in the churches concerning Gods Intentions of special Grace and Favour to his Elect in the Death of Christ, Fol. 1653. Sancti Sanciti: Or the common Doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints, against John Goodwin, Fol. 1654. Fur pro Tribunali, Examen Dialogismi qui incribitur, Fur Prædestinatus, Oxon. Oct. 1657. De Doctrinâ Neo Pelagianâ: Oratio habita in Comitiiis Oxon. July. 9. 1654. Twissii Vita & Victoria, &c.*

Tiverton: Mr. *Theoph. Polwheile*. Bediford: Mr. *John Bartlett*. Shobrooke: Mr. *Thomas Tuscott*. Morchard: Mr. *Robert Snow*. Cherinton: Mr. *Nathanael Durant*. Petrockstowe: Mr. *William Trevithiack*. Poltimore: Mr. *Ambrose Clare*, a great Scholar. Ilsington: Mr. *William Stook*. Holdworthy: Mr. *Humphrey Saunders*. East-Ogwell: Mr. *John Stephens*. Honiton: Mr. *Francis Soreton*: A considerable Man. St. Mary's: Mr. *William Stidson*. Stok-Flemming: Mr. *William Bayley*. Marledon: Mr. *Christopher Jellinger*. Juston or Justow: Mr. *William Clyde*. Anstie: Mr. *John Mauditt*. Ashprington: Mr. *John Burgess*. Newton Bishops: Mr. *William Yeo*. Tot

nes:

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nes: Mr. *Francis Whiddon*. Who Prcach'd occasionally after *Bartholomew Day*, for which he was carry'd up to *London* before the King and Council; and tho' he had nothing done to him; yet was he put to a vast Expence. Ugbrock: Mr. *Nathan. Jacob*. Jacobstowe: Mr. *Peter Osborne*. Kingsbridge: Mr. *John Way*. Newton Ferris: Mr. *John Hill*. Stoke Cannon: Mr. *John Jordan*. Pyworthy: Mr. *Taylor*. Harberton: Mr. *George Mortimer*. Barnstable: the Lecture: Mr. *Jonathan Hanmer*.* *Stokenham*: Mr. *Benjamin Cleveland*. Teyntondrewe: Mr. *Richard Herring*. Maristowe: Mr. *John Herring*. Dean-Prior; or Buckland: Mr. *John Simms*. Rattery: Mr. *John Searle*. Bratton: Mr. *Anthony Palmer*. Kentisbeare: Mr. *Richard Saunders*. The Author of a valuable Treatise concerning Angels, *Qu*. Brixham: Mr. *John Kempster*. Who afterwards retir'd to *London*. Woodley: Mr. *Richard Binmore*. Hatherley: Mr. *Bartholomew Yeo*.

Dittesham: Mr. *Edmund Tucker*. Hucksham: Mr. *Benjamin Berry*. Dunchitdeock: Mr. *Hunt*. Tavestock: Mr. *Larkham*. Northam: Mr. *Antony Downe*. Columpton: Mr. *William Crompton*. Brixton: Mr. *John Quick*. † Who continu'd among his People Preaching Privately after he was Ejected, and met with very severe Treatment, which at last forc'd him to leave the Country. He is yet Living, Pastor of a Congregation in *London*. Taverton: Mr. *John Chishule*. Littleham: Mr. *Jonathan Bowden*. Stoke: Mr. *John Hicks*. Stone-house: Mr. *Walmsly*.

Upton-hellins: Mr. *Lewis Facy*. Worington: Mr. *William Carslake*. Tammerton: Mr. *Wyne*. Rew: Mr. *Edward Parr*. Musbery: Mr. *Richard Farrant*. Dunfford.: Mr. *William Pearse*. Ipplepen.: Mr. *John Noseworthy*. Morton: Mr. *Woolcomb*. Staverton: Mr. *Horsham*. Sowton: Mr. *John Mortimer*. Axminster: Mr. *Barth. Ashwood*. Broad Hembury: Mr. *Bangor*. Fremington: Mr. *John Bartlett*. Buckland Fylly: Mr. *Bowden*. Kennerley: Mr. *Bubear*. Upleman: Mr. *Robert Carryl*. Tallaton: Mr. *Robert Collins*. Exborne: Mr. *Finney*, Sen. West Buckland: Mr. *Josias Gale*. Woodbury: Mr. *Sam. Fowns*. Shute: Mr. *Gill*. Uplyme: Mr. *Goodwin*. Pinhawes: Mr. *Grove*.

X

Loddeswell:

* *Who hath written an ingenious and Learned Disourse concerning Confirmation; and also, a View of Antiquity Oct.*

† *He hath publish'd Synadicon in Gallia Refonnatâ: In 2 Vol. in Fol. A Relation of the Poysoning of a whole Family in Plimouth. A Funeral Sermon for Mr. Faldo, &c.*

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Luddeswell: Mr. *Hind*. Brampford: Mr. *Halles*. Harberton: Mr. *Harderidge*. Saterleigh: Mr. *Lewis Hatch*. Briddistow: Mr. *Knapman*. Little Hempston: Mr. *John Knight*. Moreton: Mr. *John Mills*. Clayhaydon: Mr. *Matthias Pemberton*: Who was aferwards Minister of a Congrcgation at *Marlborough* in *Wilts*. Plympton Maries: Mr. *Pitts*. Ilfarcombe: Mr. *Prince*. Comeranley: Mr. *Taylor*. Wolesworthy: Mr. *Waldron*. Luppit: Mr. *Tho. Wellman*. Collaton: Mr. *John Wilkins*. Plimpton Morris: Mr. *Williams*. East-down: Mr. *John Berry*. Ede: Mr. *Robert Gailard*. Honiton: Mr. *Samuel Hieron*. Woodland: Mr. *Thomas Palk*. Chestowe: Mr. *Elliot*.

At uncertain Places, and not then fix'd, when Silenc'd, Mr. *Watson*, Mr. *Thomas Bridgman*, Mr. *Grundal*, Mr. *Hayward*, Mr. *Salway*, Mr. *Burdwood*, Mr. *Bragg*. And Mr. *Channon*. Mr. *John Hoppin*, M.A. Fellow of *Excester Colledge* in *Oxon*; yet Living in *Excester*. Mr. *Nicolas Sherwil*, M.A. of *Magdalen Colledge Oxon*; afterwards Minister of a Congregation in *Plymouth*. Mr. *John Gidley*, M.A. of *Excester Colledge*, since Minister in *Buckinghamshire*.* *Oliver Paerd*, of *Magdalen Colledge*. Mr. *J. Hanmorc*, Jun. Mr. *George Tross*, yet Living, Pastor of a Congregation in *Exeter*. Mr. *John Gay*, Mr. *John Cudmore*, Mr. *Pope*, Mr. *Moor*, Mr. *John Cowbridge*, and Mr. *Richard Whiteway*, M.A. Fellow of *Exc. Colledge*.

There Conform'd in this County (some within a shorter, and others within a longer Space after *Bartholomew Day*) these Persons following: Mr. *John Tickel* of *Exon*. Mr. *Richard Bickly* of *Denbery*. Mr. *John Law* of *Hinick*. Mr. *Richard Conant* of *Overton*. Mr. *Joshua Bowden* of *Ashburton*. Mr. *Bowden* of *Ashton*. Mr. *Bullhead* of *Kings Ash*. And Mr. *Francis Collins* of *St. Budax*. If

any of those before mention'd Conform'd afterwards, I should be glad to know it.

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IN THE COUNTY OF CORNWALL.

Lanrake: Mr. *Jaspar Hickss*, M.A. A Ministers Son, Born in *Berkshire*, and bred up in *Trinity Colledge* in *Oxon*. He was a good Scholar, and a celebrated Preacher: He was a Member of the Assembly of Divines. Being Ejected in 62, he continu'd in those Parts, and Preach'd as he had Opportunity, meeting with much Trouble and Disturbance. He Dy'd, *Ann.* 1677. *Ætat.* 73.

Milar and Mabe: Mr. *Thomas Tregoss*. † He was Born of an Ancient and Genteel Family, at *St. Ives* near to the Lands End in *Cornwall*. Bred in *Exeter Colledge*, under the Tuition of Mr. *Francis Horwel*; was a Preacher for Two Years in the Place of his Nativity, and in 59 remov'd thence to *Milar*, where he was Ejected in 62. He afterwards Preach'd Twice every Lords Day in his own Family, many of the Neighbours coming in. For this he was Imprison'd Three Months, and yet ceas'd not to Preach to his Fellow Prisoners, till he was Releas'd by Order from the Deputy Lieutenant. *Ann.* 1663, he remov'd into the Parish of *Budock* near *Penrin*, and there held on Preaching privately. There being Preaching but once in a Fortnight at *Mabe* Church, he ventur'd to officiate there. In Publick, rather than the People should be destitute; for which he was again laid up Three Months in *Lanceston* Goal. He was no sooner out, than he Preach'd at *Mabe* Church again, and Imprison'd afresh, in the same Place. He was very chearful in his own Spirit; and exceeding useful to many by his warm Discourses and Admonitions, Cautions and Exhortations, in all the Times of his Confinement. He was a Fourth Time in Custody of the Mareschal of *Bodmin*, as a dangerous and seditious Person: But very unjustly; for it could not be charg'd upon him, that either in his Preaching or Conference he so much as inveigh'd against the Discipline and Liturgy of the Church; much less did he meddle with State Affairs. But in *September* 1667,

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* *He hath Printed some Sermons before the Long Parliament.*

† *See his Life, printed at London, in Oct.1671: with many of his Letters.*

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he was set at liberty by a special Order from the King to the Marcschal. After this, he had numerous Meetings at *Penryn*, and was mighty successful in his Ministry. In 1669. He was sent to the Goal at *Exceter*, for Preaching privately in a House at *Great Torrington*, as he was Travelling in those Parts: But he was soon Bail'd out. From *Midsummer* 1669. to *May* 1670. He Preach'd without Interruption in a Meeting-Place which he hir'd in *Mabe* Parish: Afterwards Informers were troublesome; and many Fines were laid upon him, which Amounted to 220*l*, and yet Providence so ordred Things, as that nothing that he had was seiz'd on. Afterwards keeping to the Statute Number, he Preach'd Five Times every Lords Day, and repeated in the Evening: He Preach'd every *Tuesday* and *Thursday* stately, besides Occasional Exercises: By which labours he soon wore himself away. He Dy'd *Jan.* 18. 1670/1.

He was one of Eminent Piety, and yet (which is remarkable) Dated his Conversion, after he had been some time in the Ministry, nay, and a Sufferer for *Nonconformity* too. He was one whom God signally own'd; not only by his being instrumental in the Conversion of many Souls, but also by remarkable Judgments which befel several that were instrumental in his Troubles: For a Particular Account of which, the Reader is refer'd, to the Printed Narrative of his life.

St. Breage: Mr. *James Innis*, who afterwards liv'd with the Duke of *Lauderdail*.

Blisland: Mr. *Charles Moreton*, a very ingenious Man: Who after his Ejection, came up to *London*, and settled at *Newington Green*, where he was very serviceable in training up Young Men in all sorts of Academical Learning. Many of his Pupils are now very useful Men, both in Church and State. His Fears of the return of *Popery*, induc'd him at last to go to *New-England*, where he Dy'd, a few Years since.

Great Columb: Mr. *Thomas Travers*. *Tintagel*: Mr. *Thomas Hearne*. *Lanteglos*: Mr. *Jonathan Wills*. *Laniyet*: Mr. *Henry Flammack*. *Foye*: Mr. *John Touchin*. *Lanccston*; Mr. *William Oliver*. *Saltash*:

Mr.

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Mr. John Hicks. *Truro*: Mr. *John Tincomb*. *St. Stephens*: Mr. *William Tombes*. *St. Winnow*: Mr. *Thomas Hancock*. *Lanfarllos*: Mr. *Nathanael Tincomb*. *Hillary*: Mr. *Joseph Sherwood*. *Sithney*: Mr. *Roger Flammack*. *Helstone*: Mr. *Robert Jago*, Sen. *Redruth*: Mr. *Thomas Triggs*. *Mawnan*: Mr. *Walter Quarum*. *Penryn*: Mr. *Joseph Allen*. *St. Just*: Mr. *Edward Sheffield*. *St. Anthony*: Mr. *John Cowbridge*. *St. Clements*: Mr. *William Upcot*. *St. Michael*: Mr. *Joseph Halsey*. *Probus*:

Mr. *Richard Batten*. Creed: Mr. *Tobias Bouchier*. St. Issue: Mr. *Stephen Reuel*. Merin, or St. Mellyn: Mr. *Sam. Tapper*. St. Mabyn: Mr. *William Treis*. St. Tudy: Mr. *Nicolas Leverton*. Little Petherick: Mr. *Otho Whitehorn*. Stoke Clymsland: Mr. *John Fathers*. St. Germans: Mr. *Solomon Carswel*, or *Kestle*. St. Mellyn: Mr. *John Lidston*. Blostenim: Mr. *William Vincent*. Gwynap: Mr. *John Langsford*. St. Kewe: Mr. *Philip Harris*. Mullian: Mr. *John Ashwood*. Maugan: Mr. *Sampson Bond*. Mynheniott: Mr. *Sam. Austin*. Burian: Mr. *Joseph Hull*. Roche: Mr. *John Stephens*. Ladock: Mr. *William White*. Mr. *John Nottwel*; and Mr. *Theophilus Tingcombe*.

These Conform'd in this County, after their being Silcnc'd; Mr. *Robert Jago*, Jun. Mr. *Leonard Welstead* of *Pensanse*; Mr. *Nicolas Teage*, or *Tyack*; Mr. *Tho. Nichols* of *Lyskerd*; and Mr. *Thomss Warner*.

IN THE COUNTY OF SOMERSET.

Taunton: Mr. *George Newton*, M.A. and Mr. *Joseph Allen*. Mr. *Newton* was a Ministers Son, a Native of *Devon*, bred up in *Exeter* Colledge. He first began the Exercise of his Ministry at *Hill-Bishops* near *Taunton*, and in Anno 1631, became Vicar of *Taunt. S. Magd.* by the Presentation of Sir *William Portman* and Mr. *Robert Hill*; and there he continu'd till his Ejectment 62. After which, thinking himself oblig'd to continue the Exercise of his Ministry, he was a considerable Sufferer, and imprison'd for several Years. He dy'd June 12th, 1681. *Ætat.* 79. He was a Good Scholar,

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a Man of a very Genteel Spirit, and a very Useful Preacher.†

† *He hath Printed, an Exposition with Notes on John 17. Fol. 1660. The Christians Character Epitomiz'd; a Sermon on Psalm 91. 16. Tw. A Sermon at the Funeral of Mr. Joseph Allein; and an Account of his Life.*

Mr. *Joseph Allein*,* was Born at the *Devizes* in *Wilts*, and gave Evidences of more than ordinary seriousness from Eleven Years of Age. He was first of *Lincoln* Colledge In *Oxon*, and afterwards of *Corpus Christi. Ann.* 1655. He became Assistant to Mr: *Newton* at *Taunton*, and was Ejected with him in 62. He took great Pains to do good to Souls, while he was allow'd the Publick Exercise of his Ministry. He was not contented with Preaching and Catechizing in the Church, but spent several Afternoons in a Week, in visiting the several Families that sate under his Ministry, Instructing, Reproving, Directing, and Cautioning them with great Seriousness and Affection,

according as he found their respective Circumstances requir'd; by which Course he was exceeding useful to many. He did not hastily determine upon Nonconformity; but weigh'd Matters faithfully and impartially, consulting with others, and looking upwards for Direction: And upon the whole, could not give the *Assent* and *Consent*, that was requir'd, or renounce the *Covenant*, with any Satisfaction to his Conscience. But being at the time Time fully perswaded, that the Ejection of the Ministers out of their Places, did not disoblige them from Preaching the Gospel, he resolv'd after he was cast out to go on with his Work in Private, till he should be Imprison'd or Banish'd. He set himself hereupon to his Work with great Vigor. Preaching ordinarily Six or Seven Sermons a Week, and sometimes Ten, and sometimes Fourteen, in the Town of *Taunton*, and the Neighbouring Places; and he continu'd in this Course both Peacably and Successfully from *Bartholomew Day* 62. to *May* 26. 63. When he was carry'd before the Justices, by whom after some rude Affronts, he was committed to *Ilchester* Goal. *Aug.* the 24th, He was Indicted at the Assizes, for a *Rio*

tous,

* See the *Account of his Life*, in *Octavo*, 1677.

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tous, *Routous*, and *Seditious* Assembly. He Pleaded modestly for himself, but was bro't in Guilty by the Jury, and Sentenc'd to Pay a 100 Marks, and to lie in Prison till the Payment. Before which he declar'd in the open Court, *That he was glad, that it had appear'd before his Countrey, that whatsoever he was Charg'd with, he was Guilty of nothing but doing his Duty; and that all that did appear by the Evidence, was only that he had sung a Psalm, and instructed his Family, others being there, and both in his own House: And that if nothing, that had been urg'd would satisfie, he should with all Chearfulness and Thankfulness, accept whatsoever sentence his Lordship should Pronounce upon him, for so good and righteous a Cause.* He was remanded again to Prison (where his Treatment was very indifferent) and he continu'd there it whole Year, wanting but Three Days. At his return from the Prison, he was far more Earnest in his Work than before, till his Weakness disabled him; which growing upon him, hinderd his going into *Wales*, for the spreading of the Gospel, as he intended to have done.

July the 10th. 1665, He was again apprehended for Preaching, and Committed to the Prison of *Ilchester*, with Seven Ministers more, and Forty private Persons; which Imprisonments, with his hard Labours, heighen'd his

Distempers to that, Degree, that he was quickly carry'd off. He Dy'd *Ann.* 1668.

He was a Man of serious, fervent, unaffected Piety; and exemplary in his whole Department. Of a most sweet Temper, and courteous Converse. He was a Man of Courage, and fear'd no Dangers in the way of his Duty. One of a very peaceable Spirit. His Learning was far beyond what could be expected from one that entred upon the Ministry at One and Twenty Years of Age, and Dy'd about Forty Five, and Liv'd, in such Ministerial Labours, and Sufferings. His Intellectuals were good, and solid, his Memory strong, and his Affections lively, and above all his Holiness eminent. He had a good Head, and a better Heart. Another of such Instances of flaming Love to God and all Mankind would do more to recommend real Religion to the

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World,

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World, than the most Pompous *Elogiums* that could be given of it.

In the heighth of his Zeal, he was a Man of great Moderation. Some that have observ'd how long and often he lay in the common Goal, have tho't, sure this must be a violent unpeaceable Zealot: But with little Ground, for his Zeal was really for Peace and Quietness, for Love and all Manner of good Works. He was not us'd to inflame Men against Parties, nor backbite those from whom he differ'd, nor make those odious; who were willing eno' to have made him so: But he fled from one Extream, with Fear and Suspicion of another. He was indeed a Silenc'd Minister among a People that had his Heart, and that had been Bless'd with his fruitful Labours: And his Judgment was, that it is Sacrilege for a Minister Consecrated to God to Alienate himself; and violate that Covenant and Ministerial Dedication, by giving over his Work, while he hath Ability and Opportunity, and the Peoples Souls, a real Necessity. And therefore he chose a long Imprisonment, rather than he would voluntarily cease from his Work as a Minister: But whilst he had Liberty he oft went to the Publick Assemblies, and was a Hearer where he was wont to be a Teacher, and encourag'd the People to do the like. He spake nor Evil of Dignities, nor kindled seditious Principles or Passions in the Peoples Minds, nor disaffected them against Authority, nor aggravated his own Sufferings to exasperate their minds against such as he suffer'd by, tho' they were very considerable: But in patience he possess'd his Soul, rejoic'd in the Honour conferr'd upon him, and in the Good others receiv'd, by his Suffering as well as his Preaching.

Wood the Oxonian fancy'd himself among his Boon Companions, passing away the tedious Minutes of the lingring Glass in its Circular Returns with a wanton Tale, when he compos'd that Farce to which this Good Man's Name is prefix'd (in his *Athenæ Oxoniensis*.) But 'tis no Disgrace at all to any one to be Ridicul'd in such a way, as makes the Actor

infamous

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infamous in the Estimation of all such as have any Relicks, either of Honour or Honesty.*

* *He Publish'd a familiar Explication of the Assemblies shorter Catechism*, Oct. A Call to *Archippus*. Being an Earnest Motive to the Ejected Ministers to continue in their Ministry, Qu. 1664. *An Alarum to the Unconverted; a Book which Multitudes will have Cause for ever to be Thankful for: No Book in the English Tongue, (the Bible excepted) can equal it for the Number that hath been Dispers'd; for there have been 20 Thousand of them Printed and Sold, under the Title of the Call, or Alarum to the Unconverted, in Oct. and 12's. And Fifty Thousand of the same Book have been Sold under the Title of the Sure Guide to Heaven: 30 Thousand of which were at one Impression. His Remains Being a Collection of Sacrament Speeches, Letters, &c. And he hath left behind him imperfect, a Body of Natural Theology under Eight Heads, wherein in a good Latin Style he first laid down the Christian Doctrine, and then added by way of Annotations, the Testimony of the Ancient Philosophers. That piece of it which was most Compleat, and which was Licens'd for the Press, tho' it hath never yet appear'd was thus Entituled: Theologiæ Philorophicæ sive Philosophiæ Theologicæ Specimen: In quo Æterni Dei Providentia Solius Naturæ Lumine comprobatur, validissimis rationum mementis demonstratur, quoad Partes, Species, Objecta, explicatur; contra omnes denique Adversariorum Objectiones firmatur: Ex Aristotele, Platone, Chalcidio, Sallustio, Firmico, Empirico, Jamblico, Antonino, Epicteto Proclo, Simplicio, Cicerone, Seneca, Macrobio, Porphirio, Xenophonte, Galeno, Plutarcho, Plotina, Tyrio, Apuleio, Alcino, aliisque Philosophis, Oratoribus, & Poetis, tum Græcis tum Latinis, ad Atheorum Convictionem, & Orthodoxorum Confirmationem: Elucubratione J.A. Ann. Dom. 1661.*

Bridgewater. Mr. *John Norman*, † M.A. an able Preacher, end of an exemplary Carriage and Converiation. Much respected in all the *Western* Parts. A considerable Sufferer for Nonconformity, and yet he kept his Temper and Moderation.

Batcomb: Mr. *Richard Allen*, M.A. A *Somersetshire* Minister's Son, bred up in *St. Albans* Hall in *Oxon*, a celebrated and useful Preacher in this County; and well known thro' the Nation, by his Pious, Practical Writings.* After his Ejection, he retir'd to

† *Author of the Cases of Conscience*, in Octavo.

* *He hath written, Vindiciæ Pietaris, in Four Parts: A Vindication of Godliness in the greatest strictness and spirituality of it from the Imputations of Folly and Fancy: The Godly Mans Portion and Sanctuary: heaven open'd or a brief and plain Discovery of the Riches of Gods Covenant of Grace: And the World Conquer'd or a Believers Victory over the World*, Oct. *Godly Fear; or the Nature*

From:

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Froom Sehwood, and Preach'd Privately there to the Day of his Death, which was Dec. 22. 1681. Mr. *Richard Jenkins*, M.A. Vicar of the Place, Preach'd a Sermon at his Funeral, and gave him a fair Character; and Mr. *Wood* calls him a *Lukewarm Conformist* for his Pains.

and necessity of Fear, and its usefulness, Oct. 1674. *A Rebuke Backsliders, and a Spurr to Loiterers*, Oct. 1677. *A Companion for Prayer*; 1680. *Instructions about Heart-work*, Oct. 1682. Publish'd by Dr. Annesley.

North Cadbury. Mr. *Samuel Cradock*,* B.D. bred in *Emanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where he was much respected. He left about 300*l. per Annum* for the sake of his Conscience; and the Providence of God made it up to him and his, by means of an old Gentleman of the same Name, with whom he accidentally became Acquainted, who left him a good Estate at his Death, tho' he was really unrelated to him. Fixing in *Suffolk*, where that Estate lay, he kept an Academy in his House for several Years, and was very Useful, by having an Hand in the Education of several Persons of Note and Worth. Mr. *Wood* speaking of Mr. *Cradocks* being incorporated M.A. at *Oxford*, Ann. 1649. (when he was Fellow of *Emanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*) mentions his Books; one of which being Printed in 1679, he says he supposes Mr. *Cradock* was Dead before, because 'twas still in the Title to it, that he was *Late Rector* of *North Cadbury*. He often supposes strange Things when the Poor *Dissenters* are concern'd; but he Discovers little else but Ill-will, and Spleen, and Malice. Mr. *Cradock* is yet living, and Pastor of a Congregation at *Bishops Stortford* in *Hertfordshire*: And if he could but have suppos'd a *Nonconformist* capable of such Writings as those of this Author, he might easily have found out, that the Word *Late* in the Title Page, referr'd to his Ejection for *Nonconformity*.

† *He hath publish'd the Harmony of the Four Evangelists, and their Texts Methodiz'd, &c. Fol. 1668. The Apostolical History, containing the Acts, Labours, Travels, Sermons, &c. of the Apostles, till the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem. Fol. 1672. The History of the Old Testament Methodiz'd, Fol. 1683. Knowledge and Practise: A plain Discourse of the chief Things to be known, believ'd, and done in order to Salvation, Qu. 1673. A Supplement to Knowledge and Practise, Qu. 1679. Which Two last, are lately Reprinted in Folio with additions. An Exposition and Paraphrase of the Revelation, Oct. 1696.*

Mells:

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Mells: Mr. *Richard Fairlough*, M.A. Eldest Son of the Excellent Mr. *Fairlough* of *Suffolk*. He had all the Advantages of Education from his Childhood, which the Pious Care of an Affectionate, Prudent, Learned Father could

give him; and no one could be more receptive of the proper Impressions from an ingenuous Institution. He continu'd 12 Years in *Emanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and for several Years was Fellow there. He went from thence furnisht with an unusual Stock of Rational, Substantial, and Polite Literature. His leaving the Colledge to fix in *Somersetshire* was pretty Remarkable. Dr. *Whitchcot*, who was then Fellow of the same Colledge, being Presented to a living in *Somersetshire*, which was in the Disposition of that Colledge, prevail'd with Mr. *Fairclough*, to bear him Company in a Visit to the People he was to take the Charge of; the Doctor being hastily call'd away, engag'd him to stay behind, and supply for him in his absence. In this Interval, a Gentleman of Note, High Sheriff of the County, sent to Mr. *Fairclough*, to desire him to Preach the *Assize-Sermon*; and that, when thro' some Failure, there was very little time for Preparation: But so great was the Exigence, as that he press'd his Compliance with great importunity, and would indeed take no Denial. He yielded to Necessity, and highly gratify'd the Gentleman, both by the Acceptableness of his Performance it self, and by his freedom for it in such an Exigence. Upon which, hearing a little after, of the Death of the Incumbent of *Mells*, (a Living of about 300*l.* a Year) he told Mr. *Fairclough* he could no otherwise so fitly gratifie him for his Sermon, as by conferring upon him such a living. Mr. *Fairclough* accepted it and fix'd there, and was a *burning and a shining Light*. He was resorted to by all the Country round. His Prayers, Sermons, and other Ministerial Performances, had that strange Pungency, Quickness, and Authority with them at some times; and that Softness, Sweetness and Gentleness at others, as was matter of great Admiration. His Labours were almost incredible. Besides his usual Exercises on the Lord's Day of Praying, Reading the Scriptures, Preaching, Catechising and Administring the Sacraments

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be usually, 5 Days in the Week, betimes in the Morning, appear'd in Publick, Pray'd and Preach'd an Expository Lecture upon some part of the Scriptures in Course, and he had always a Considerable Congregation; nor did he produce any thing in Publick, which did not smell of the Lamp. Besides which, he found time for visiting, not the Sick only, but all the Families within his Charge, in a successive Course; when he would personally and severally converse with everyone that was capable, labouring to understand the present State of their Souls, and applying himself to them in Instructions, Reproofs, Admonitions, Exhortations and Encouragements suitably thereto; and he went thro' all with the greatest Facility and Pleasure imaginable; for

his whole Heart was in his Work. Every Day, for many Years together, he us'd to be up by 3 in the morning, and to be with God, when others slept. Few Men had ever less hindrance from the Body, or more Dominion over it; for a better habited *Mind* and *Body* have rarely dwelt together. No Controversie arose among his Neighbours, within his Notice, which he made it not his Business to get presently compos'd, and his Help and Advice was wont to be fought by Persons of Eminent Rank, and in matters of great Difficulty, for that Purpose: His own love of Peace inclining him, and his great Prudence well enabling him to be exceeding Useful in any such Case. He Preach'd also often at the Lectures settled in other Placcs of the County; and was very Active, and much Respected in the Meeting of the Ministers by way of Association, for the Preservation of Common Order. When the Act of Uniformity came forth, he soon Determin'd upon Nonconformity. He could in nothing Prevaricate with his once settled Judgment, or depart in his Praaise one Ace from it: Yet such was the Candour of his Spirit, That nothing could be more remote from him, than to Pass any hard Censures upon those, that receiv'd that Satisfaction in the scrupled Points, which he could not. In the substantials of Religion no Man more fervently Zealous: About the Circumstantials none more Cool and Temperate. Some Years after he was Ejected at *Mells*, he became a

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stated Preacher in the City of *Bristol*, where he was useful to many. He Dy'd at *London*, July 4. 1682. *usw.* 61. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *How*, who gives him an high *Encomium*, and all that knew him Agree 'twas but his Desert. *He was a Man of a clear distinct Understanding; of a quick, discerning, and penetrating Judgment; and would on a sudden strike thro' knotty Difficulties, into the inward Center of Truth, with such a Felicity, that Things seem'd to offer themselves to him, which are wont to cost others a trouble some search. But his Moral and Holy Excellencies gave him his chief Lustre. A Man cannot Well be suppos'd more under the constant governing Power of Religion than he was; which was the Cause of his Labouring with so much Earnestness, both to Exercise and dissuse it to his uttermost. He was even made up of Life, and Love. Such was the Clearness and Sincerity of his Spirit, so little darkened by an Evil Conscience, that he seem'd to live in the constant Sense of Gods Favour and Acceptance, and had nothing to do, but to serve him with his Might; whence his Spirit was form'd to an habitual Chearfulness, and seem'd to feel within it self a continual Calm. He was of a large and great Soul, comprehensive of the Interests of God, the World, the Church, his Countrey, his Friends, and of the Souls of Men. Ready to his uttermost to serve*

them all.* *Of abundant Compassion towards the Distressed. Of Delight in the Good, and of general Benignity towards all Men. And it was his constant Aim to make the nearest Approaches he could to the Pattern and Fountain of all Goodness, &c.* Considerate Persons cannot but look upon it as an Employment very unacceptable to God, and very unprofitable to the Church, to have an Hand in Silencing such Men as He was.

* *Besides an Abridgment of some of his later Sermons to his Beloved People at Mells, he hath nothing Extant but a Sermon in the Morning Lecture against Popery; on the Dangerous Tendency to the true Peace and Comfort of Souls, of the Papal Doctrine, which denies the possibility of Assurance.*

Chedsey: Mr. Henry Jeanes, M.A. of New Inn in Oxon, where he was a noted and ready Disputant, and a celebrated Preacher. He was first of Beer Crocomb, afterwards of Kingston, and lastly of Chedley, in

this

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this County. He Dy'd in *August* 1662. near the *Fatal Bartholomew*. He was at first Zealous for the Impositions of the Prelatical Party, and fond of the Modish Notions: Till reading the Writers on the *Puritan* side, he found them misrepresented by their Antagonists: and seeing a Strength in their Argument, which he apprehended weak before he had weigh'd them, he heartily fell in with them and strenuously defended their Cause.* *Mr. Wood* so far Condescends as to own; *He was a most excellent Philosopher, a noted Metaphysician, and well-grounded in Polemical Divinity. He was also a Scholastical Man, a Contemner of the World, generous, free-hearted, jolly, witty and facetious.* But then comes a Sting in the Tail, *which Qualities seldom meet in Men of the Presbytenan Perswasion, who generally are Morose, Clownish, and of Sullen, and reserved Natures.* Its a hard Case, (and so esteem'd by any whcn it comes to be their own) for a Body of Men to be branded for the failures of a few: But supposing this ill-natur'd Censure true, as to any Number of those for whom 'tis intended, I'll leave it to any that are Impartial to judge; whether is better, a little Clownishness and Reservedness for want of Breeding, and being acquainted with the World; or a furious Bigottry that will run the hazard of common Ruine, rather than bate two or three indifferent Ceremonies, and a Zeal for absolute Monarchy, to the betraying liberty and Property, and the paving the way for Slavery: Which have been the standing Charactisticks of the Men of the *Laudensian Faction.*

* *He hath written a Treatise concerning a Christians Abstinence from all appearance of Evil, Qu. 1640. Want of Church Government no warrant for a total Omission of the Lord's Supper, Qu. 1650. A Vindication of Dr. Twysse, from the Exceptions of Mr. John Goodwin, Fol. A Reply to Mr.*

Fulwoods *Examination of his Discourse of Church Government, and the Lords Supper. A Mixture of Scholastical with Practical Divinity: In Two Parts*, Qu. 1656. *Together with several Sermons and smaller Tracts.*

Wells: Cornelius Burgess, † D.D. bred in the University of Oxford. *Ann.* 1627, He was Chaplain to King Charles the I. He was afterwards much vex'd in the High Commission Court, for opposing the *Laudensian* Faction. He was one of those who *Ann.* 1641. were appointed to meet in the *Jerusalem Cham*

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† *Besides his Sermons before the Parliament, and upon other*

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ber, where there was an hopeful Attempt for Accommodating the Ecclesiastical Differences: One of the Assembly of Divines; and a frequent Preacher before the Long Parliament. By them he was fix'd in an Evening Lecture at *Pauls*, with a Pension of 400*l. per Annum*. He laid out all he had in Bishops Land, which upon the Kings Restoration was entirely Lost. He retir'd afterwards to his House at *Watford*, where he liv'd privately, and was reduc'd to straits. He Dy'd in *June* 1665.

Publick Occasions, He hath publish'd, *A Chain of Graces drawn out at length for Reformation of Manners*, Tw. 1622. *A New Discovery of Personal Tithes: Or a 10th Part of clear Gain prov'd due, in Conscience*, &c. Oct. 1625. *The Fire of the Sanctuary; or a Tract of Zeal*, Oct. 1625. *The Baptismal Regeneration of Elect Infants*, Qu. 1629. *A Vindication of the Reasons against Bishops Votes in Parliament*, Qu. 1641. *A Vindication of the Sion Colledge Society, against Two Pamphlets*, Qu. 1648. *No Sacrilege or Sin, to Aliene or Purchase the Lands of Bishops and Chapters*, &c.

Ubligh: Mr. William Thomas, M.A. He was of *Brazen-Nose* Colledge in *Oxon*. A good Scholar, and an useful Preacher: Much respected in these Parts. He continu'd among his People after his Ejection: And Dy'd at *Ubley*; *Ann.* 1667. †

† *His Works are these, The Dead speaking: Or the Living Names of Two Deceased Ministers of Christ; viz. Mr. Sam. Oliver Pastor of Wells, and Mr. Sam. Croke, &c.* Qu. 1653. *Railing Rebuked: Or a Defence of the Ministers of the Nation against the Calimnies of Tho. Speed of Bristol, the Quakers Advocate*, Qu. 1656. *The Protestants Practise; or the Compleat Christian: Being a True and perfect Way to the Celestial Canaan*, Tw. 1656. *A Vindication of Scripture and Ministry, in a Rejoinder to Tho. Speed the Quaker*, Qu. 1657. *A Preservative of Piety, in a quiet Reasoning for those Duties of Religion, that are the Means and Helps appointed of God for the Preserving and promoting of Godliness*, Qu. 1662. *An Exposition on Ruth in Tw. The Countreys Sense of London's Sufferings, in the late most lamentable Fire*, Oct. 1667. *Scriptures open'd, and sundry Cases of Conscience resolv'd, in Plain and Practical Asnwers to several Questions, upon the Proverbs of Solomon, Jerem. Lam. Ezek. and Daniel*, Oct. 1675.

Bath: Mr. *Long*, and Mr. *William Green*. Combhay: Mr. *Thomas Creese*.
Beckington: Mr. *John Arthur*. Clutton: Mr. *Alslot*. Stoke, or West Camel:
Mr. *Henry Albin*. Lullington: Mr. *Thompson*. Sta-

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pleton: Mr. *Parker*. Downhead: Mr. *Warren*. Milborne: Mr. *William Hopkins*.
Wivelscomb: Mr. *George Day*. Who after his *Ejection* came to *London*, and
was Pastor of a Congregation at *Ratcliffe*. Ashe: Mr. *Galpin*. Dulverton: Mr.
Henry Berry. Angelsey: Mr. *Musgrave*. Staplegrove: Mr. *John Gardiner*. Wilton:
Mr. *George Bindon*, or *Brindon*. A good Critick and Mathematician. Trull:
Mr. *Benjamin Bury*. Pytimster: Mr. *Tho. Forward*. Creech or Ryston: Mr.
Batt. West Mouckton: Mr. *Robert Drake*. A very considerable Man. Laurence
Liddeard: Mr. *John, Wakely*. Bicknaller: Mr. *Bartholomew Safford*; and Mr.
Thomas Safford. Elworthy: Mr. *John Hill*. A good Critick. Porlock: Mr.
Robinson. Welton: Mr. *Devenish*. Wemdon: Mr. *Adams*. Cryckett: Mr.
Langdale. Chysselborough: Mr. *Hallet*. Comb. St. Nicolas: Mr. *Batchelour*.
Winsham: Mr. *William Ball*. Upton Noble: Mr. *Eman. Harford*. Charfinch:
Mr. *Francis Cross*. Hill Bishop: Mr. *Nath. Charlton*. North Curry: Mr. *Geo.*
Peirce. Crokscombe: Mr. *Whitebourn*. Glastonbury: Mr. *Samuel Winny*.
Afterwards Minister of a Congregation in *Bristol*. Ilmister: Mr. *William Alsop*.
Crickett: Mr. *John Turner*. Bristol: Mr. *Hancock*. Mr. *John Knowles*. Mr. *John*
Paul. Mr. *John Even*. Mr. *Hazard*. Mr. *Farmer*. Mr. *Thomas*. Doulting: Mr.
Gracious Franklyn. Froom: Mr. *John Humphries*. Templecomb: Mr. *John Darby*.
Martock: Mr. *James Stephenson*. Langport: Mr. *Bush*. Higham: Mr. *Kendal*,
or *Randal*. Hethfield: Mr. *Thomas Willis*. Fifehead: Mr. *Fairsowle*. South
Petherton: Mr. *Bennet*. Kingsbury: Mr. *Paine*. Puddimore: Mr. *Wyatt*. Evil:
Mr. *Butler*. Dichiat: Mr. *Tidcomb*. Montecut: Mr. *Oliver*. Shepton Mallet:
Mr. *Calderwood*. Camely: Mr. *Richard Batchelor*. Staple: Mr. *Boobier*. Trent:
Mr. *Brounker*. Daulish: Mr. *Hunt*. Bradon: Mr. *Little John*. Northover: Mr.
Oak. Brumfield: Mr. *Prince*. Whitstanton: Mr. *Smith*. Buckland: Mr. *Stodden*.*

* *He hath Publish'd, The pastors Charge and the Peoples Duty; Preach'd for the most Part at the Assembly of Ministers at Exon, June 7. 1693. in Tw. Gemitus Sanctorum; Or the Saints Groans for a perfect Deliverance from the Body of Sin and Death: Being the Substance of several Sermons, on Rom. 7. 24, 25. Oct. 1702. With some other practical Treatises.*

Blackdon:

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Blackdon: Mr. *Westolee*, or *Westobee*. Somewhere near Chard: Mr. *Wotton*.
And Mr. *Dyer*, and Mr. *Booler*, whose Places are uncertain.

There Conform'd in this County after *Bartholomerw* Day (as I am inform'd) these Perfons following. Mr. *Warr* of *Cheddon*. Mr. *Chadwick* of *Winford*: Of whom Mr. *Baxter* relates this Passage: *That for a long Time he had little but brown Rye Bread and Water, for Himself, his Wife, and many Children: And when his Wife was ready to Lie in, he was to be turn'd out of Door, for not paying his House-rent.* A sore Temptation! Mr. *James Strong* of *Ilmister*. Mr. *John More* of *Auler*. Mr. *John Chewind* of *Wells*, or *Axminster*. Mr. *Charles Darby* of *Mountecut*. Dr. *Martin* of *Evil*, or *Evilton*. Mr. *Tomkins* of *Crookhorn*. And Mr. *Glanvil* of *Taunton*.

IN THE COUNTY OF *WILTS*.

Pewsey: *Humphrey Chambers*,* D.D. A Native of *Somersetsh*. bred up in *University Colledge Oxon*. He was first Rector of *Claverton* in *Somerset*, and then Member of the Assembly of Divines, after which the E. of *Pembroke*, gave him the rich Rectory of *Pewsey*, which he quitted when the Act of Uniformity took Place, and he Dy'd soon after; viz: *September* the 8th. 1662.

Mildenhall: Mr. *Thomas Baylie*,† M.A. A Native of this County, and Fellow of *Magd. Colledge, Oxon*. He was one of the Assembly of Divines; and succeeded Dr. *Morley* at *Mildenhall*, when he was Ejected: He was cast out at the return of the King, and retir'd afterwards to *Marlborough*, where he had

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* *He hath Printed besides Sermons before the Parliament, and upon some other Occasions, a Funeral Sermon for Mr. John Grayle, Minister of Tidworth in Wilts, Qu. 1655. Motives to Peace and Love, Qu. 1649. Animadversions on a Book of Mr. W. Dell: Entit. The Crucify'd and quickned Christian. Qu. 1653. An Apology for the Ministers of the County of Wilts, Qu. 1654. And all Answer to Mr. Walter Bushnel, about the Proceedings of the Commissioners for Ejecting Scandalous Ministers, Qu. 1660.*

† *He hath Publish'd, De Merito Mortis Christi, & modo Convera*

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onis Diatribæ duo, *Oxon*. 1626. *Qu. Concio ad Clerum habita in Templo B. Mariæ, Oxon. July 5. 1622. in Jude ver. 11.*

a Private Congregation. He Dy'd there, *Ann. 1663*.

Brenkorth: *John Harding*, D.D. a learned Man much courted to Conform, but refusing, he lost his Rectory.

Westbury: Mr. *Philip Hunton*,* M.A. A Native of *Hampshire*, and bred up in *Oxford*, at *Wadham Colledge*. He was successively Schoolmaster of *Aburie*

in *Wilts*, Minister of *Devizes*, afterwards of *Hatchburt*, and lastly of *Westbury*. Ann. 1657, he was appointed first Provost of the New Colledge Erected at *Durham*, by *Oliver* the Protector, which with the Academy there being soon Dissolv'd, he retir'd to his Living, and continu'd in it till Ejected with his Brethren on *Bartholomew* Day. He afterwards Preach'd Privately as he had Opportunity, and Dy'd in *July*, 1682. He was a Man of good learning and Abilities.

* *He hath written a Treatise of Monarchy, viz. Concerning Monarchy in General, and the English Monarchy in Particular*, Qu. 1643. *Which Book was answer'd by Dr. Fern, and Sir Robert Filmer.—A Vindication of this Treatise of Monarchy.*—Ant a *Wood Asserts, that* forasmuch as 'tis said in this *Mr. Hunton's* Treatise of Monarchy, That the Sovereignty of *England* is in the Three Estates, viz. King, Lords, and Commons, That Proposition was Condemn'd by the Judgment and Decree of the University of *Oxon*, in their Convocation held, *July 21. 1683*, And the Book it self wherein it is, was publickly Burnt in the School Quadrangle.

New Sarum: Mr. *John Strickland*, B.D. Mr. *William Eyre*. Mr. *Thomas Rashley*. And Mr. *William Troughton*.

Mr. *Strickland* was of an Ancient Genteel Family in *Westmorland*, Educated in *Queens* Colledge *Oxon*. His first Preferment was to be Chaplain to the Earl of *Hertford*. Ann. 1632. Sir *John Horner* presented him to the Rectory of *Pudimore Milton* in *Somerset*. He was one of the Assembly of Divines; and Preach'd often before the Long Parliament. *Wood* says, *He Pray'd several Times blasphemously*. He might as well

have

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have said he us'd to come into his Pulpit naked, and without a Rag of Clothes on. For one is not more ridiculous to those that knew the Man, than the other. He was really a great Divine, and generally Esteem'd. He was eminent for Expounding the Scriptures, and an excellent Casuist. When he was turn'd out of *St. Edmunds* Parish in *Sarum*, on the Fatal *Bartholomew*, he continu'd among his People, and Preach'd to them as he had Opportunity, and suffer'd, many ways for his Nonconformity. He Dy'd in *October*, 1670. I know not of any thing he hath Printed, besides his Sermons before the Parliament.

Mr. *William Eyre*, M.A. of *Magdalen* Hall in *Oxon*. Who held Justification from Eternity, which occasion'd the Contest, between him and Mr. *Woodbridge*, and Mr. *Warren*. He was Silenc'd in 62 for his Nonconformity, and retir'd afterwards to *Milksham* in this County, where he had an Estate. He Dy'd there, in *January* 1669/70.

Mr. *William Troughton*, Preach'd often in Private after he was Silenc'd, at *Salisbury*; and he did the like afterwards at *Bristol*.

Odstoke: Mr. *Joseph Swaffield*. His Living was worth 120*l. per Ann.* He had the Character from Dr. *Whitby* of a Learned Man. He was eminent for his Piety, and a god Preacher. He was one of the Ministers of the Dissenting Congregation in *Salisbury*.

Burbich: Mr. *Thomas Taylor*, a valuable Man. He was offer'd a Living of 400*l.* a Year, by the Bishop of *Salisbury*, if he would Conform, but he rather chose to keep the Peace of his Conscience, in much meaner Circumstances.

Dunhed: Mr. *Peter Ince*. A Solid, Grave, Pious, Able, Worthy Minister. Who after his being Silenc'd, Liv'd with Mr. *Grove* that Ornament of his Country for Learning, and Piety, and Publick Spiritedness. He was a great Sufferer for Nonconformity.

Sutton Mandevil: Mr. *Thomas Rosewell*. A Native of this County, and bred up in *Oxon*. First Minister of *Rhode* in *Somerset*, and then of *Sutton* in *Wilts*. After his being Silenc'd for his Nonconformity, he continu'd for some time Preaching privately in the

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Country, and came to *London* in 1673. In 1674, he was chosen to succeed Mr. *John Janeway*, in his Congregation of *Rotherith*. In 1684. He was Indicted for High Treason, and had very hard Measure, but came off with a great deal of Reputation. The Particulars may be seen in the Sequel of this History. He Dy'd *Feb. 14. 1691/2. Ætat. 62.*

Chiselton: Mr. *John Baker*. *Ramsbury*: Mr. *Henry Dent*. *Caine*: Mr. *Tho. Jones*. *Collingborn Ducts*: Mr. *Dan. Burgess*. *Yatesbury*: Mr. *Nath. Webb*. *Melkesham*: Mr. *Harding*. *Tesunt*: Mr. *John Fipp*. *Ogborn*: Mr. *Barthol. Webb*. *Malmsbury*: Mr. *Simon Gawen*. *Patney*: Mr. *John Massey*. *Chilton*. Mr. *Hownsell*, or *Hownsley*. *Marlborough*: Mr. *William Hughes*. *Newton Tony*: Mr. *Watts*. *Milton*: Mr. *Thomas Ruddy*. *Woodborow*: Mr. *Isaac Chancey*. *Alton*: Mr. *Obadiah Wells*, or *Wills*. *Poulshot*: Mr. *Spinedge*. *Lavington*: Mr. *Nath. White*. *Bishopstrove*: Mr. *Pasey*, or *Parry*. *Box*: Mr. *Pearn*, or *Stern*. *Berwick St. Johns*: Mr. *Compton South*. A very Popular useful Preacher. *Winterburn Mounton*: Mr. *Hubbard*. *Cleeve Pepper*: Mr. *Henry Blake*. *Newton*: Mr. *John Oldham*. *Castle Combe*: Mr. *Benj. Flower*. *Eastongrey*: Mr. *Benj. Jones*. *Broughton*: Mr. *Barcroft*, or *Barret*. *E. Knahil*: Mr. *Samuel Clifford*. *Fifield*: Mr. *Crapon*. *Bremble*: Mr. *James Crump*. *Lurgeshal*: Mr. *Cussey*. *Upton Level*: Mr. *Curle*. *Everley*: Mr. *Eastman*. *Birtford*: Mr. *Edward Falconer*. *Langford*: Mr. *Giles*. *Winterborn Stoks*: Mr. *King*. *Hill Martin*: Mr.

Rowswell. Wotton Rivers: Mr. *Toomar*, or *Tombs*. Ham: Mr. *Wilmar*. Barford: Mr. *John Woodbridge*. Chittern or Chilternes: Mr. *Wyer*. And Mr. *Simms*, whose place is uncertain.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, Mr. *Masters*, Mr. *Matthew Hind* of *Fittleton*: Mr. *Richard Franklin* of *Brumhall*. And Mr. *John Pinkney* of *Bemerton*.

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In the County of BERKS.

Newbury: Mr. *Benjamin, Woodbridge*,* M.A. A great Man every way. He had a worthy Minister for his Father; and for his Grandfather on the Mothers side, the famous Mr. *Robert Parker*; who wrote those celebrated Books, *De signo Crucis; de descensu Christi ad Inferos; & de Politeia Ecclesiasticâ*. He was bred up in *Magdalen Hall* in *Oxon*. From thence he went into *New England*, and was the first Graduate of the Colledge there; the Lasting Glory, as well as the first Fruits of that Acaderny, as Bishop *Usher* was of that of *Dublin*. Returning thence, he succeeded Dr. *Twiss* at *Newberry*, where he had a mighty Reputation, as a Scholar, a Preacher, a Casuist, and a Christian. By his excellent Instruction, and wise Conduct he reduc'd the whole Town to a Sobriety of Opinion in Matters of Religion, and an Unity in Worship; whereas they had before been over-run with strange Opinions, and divided into many Parties. He Preach'd Three Times every Week, and expounded an Hour every Morning, for several Years. After King *Charles's* Return, he was made one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and Preach'd once before him, while he bore that Character. He was one of the Commissioners at the *Savoy*, and very desirous of an Accommodation, and much concern'd to find the Endeavours for it so fruitless. He was offer'd a Canonry of *Windsor*, if he would have Conform'd but refus'd it. He continu'd Preaching privately at *Newberry* after he was Silenc'd; and upon King *Charles's* Indulgence in 1671, more Publickly. He suffer'd many ways for his Nonconformity, and yet was generally Respected by Men that had any Thing of Temper, or were Judges of true and real Worth. He Dy'd at *Inglefield* In *Berks*, Nov. 1. 1684. After he had been Minister in that Town in Publick and Private, near Forty Years. He was an universally Accomplish'd Person. One of clear and strong Reason, and of an exact and Profound Judgement. His Learn

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* *He hath only Three Things extant. A Sermon of Justification. A large Defence of that Sermon*

against Mr. Eyres, Qu. 1656. *A Book that deserves the Perusal of all such as would see the Point of Justification nervously and exactly handled. And Church Members sett in Joint; against Lay Preachers, Qu. 1656.*

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ing was very considerable, and he was a charming Preacher; having a most commanding Voice and Air. His Temper was staid and chearful; and his Behaviour very Genteel and Obliging. He was a Man of great Generosity and of exemplary Moderation: One addicted to no Faction, but of a Catholick Spirit. In short, so eminent was his Usefulness, as to cast no small Reflection on those who had a Hand in silencing and confining him.

Reading: Mr. Christopher Fowler. M.A. bred up in Oxford, where he was for some Time a Preacher after his first Entrance into the Ministry. He mov'd thence to Woodhey near Dunnington Castle in Berks. Some time after, he was Minister of St. Margaret Lothbury in London: Whence he remov'd to Reading, where he was Vicar of St. Maries, and at length Fellow of Eaton Colledge near Windsor. Upon King Charles's return he lost his Fellowship of Eaton; and in 62 was Eject'd from Reading: And afterwards he retir'd to London, and continu'd the Exercise of his Ministry in Private. He Dy'd in Southwark in January 1677/8. His Funeral sermon was Preached by Mr. Cooper, who gives him the Character, of an able, holy, faithful, indefatigable Servant of Christ; who approv'd himself such by painful Studies, by patient Sufferings, by continual prayer and Preaching. He was quick in Apprehension solid in his Notions, clear in his Conceptions, sound in the Faith, strong and demonstrative in Arguing, mighty in Convincing, and zealous for the Truth against all Errours. He had a singular gift in Chronology, not for curious Speculation or Ostentation, but as a Key and Measure to know the Signs of the Times, and the fulfilling of Prophecies relating to the Kingdom of Christ and Anti-Christ; the Exaltation of the one, and the Ruine of the other; wherein he was not rash or peremptory, but sober, walking by Line and Rule, &c.*

* *His Works are, Dæmonitum Meridianum: A Relation of the Proceedings of the Commissioners of Berks, Against John Pordage, late Rector of Bradfield in Berks, Qu. 1655. Dæmonitum Meridianum: The 2d Part Against the Calumnies of the Adherents of the said John Pordage, Wu. 1656. A Sober Answer to an Angry Epistle of Tho. Smith the Quaker of Bristol, Qu. 1656. He hath also several Sermons Extant. One in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, on 2 Pet. 1. 8. And another in the Morning Exercise against Popery, on 1 Thess. 5. 27. Proving that the Scripture ought to be read by the Common People.*

Hundredth:

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Hundreth: Mr. James Baron. B.D. A Native of Plymouth, Educated at Excester Colledge in Oxon. A Man of Good Learning. He was Divinity*

Reader of *Magdalen* Colledge. After King *Charles's* Restauration he retir'd to *London*, and liv'd a Nonconformist, at *Bunhill*. He was one of the Publishers of the Works of Dr. *Goodwin*: And Dy'd *Ann.* 1683.

Okingham: Mr. *Rowland Sredman*, † M.A. Born in *Shropshire*, and Educated at *Oxon*. First Minister of *Hanwell* in *Middlesex*, where he continu'd, till 1660 when he remov'd to *Okingham*, where Two Years after he was Ejected for Nonconformity. After he was Silenc'd, he was Chaplain to *Philip* Lord *Wharton*; with whom he Dy'd, *Sept.* 14. 1673.

Easthamsted: Mr. *John Brice*. *Shinfield*: Mr. *John Bateman*. *Purley*: Mr. *Dan. Reyner*. *Cholsey*: Mr. *Richard Cummin*. *Wallingford*: Mr. *Pinkney*, and Mr. *Ireland*. *Hungerford*: Mr. *John Clark*. *Bray*: Mr. *Thomas Woodward*. *Bradfield*: Mr. *Smith*. *Standford Dingby*: Mr. *Fr. Pordage*. *Little Witnham*: Mr. *West*. *W. Ilsley*: Mr. *John James*, who came afterwards to *London*. *Inkpen*: Mr. *Goff*, who Liv'd afterwards at the *Devizes*, and at *Marlbrough*. *Thatcham*: Mr. *Tho. Voicey*. *Boxford*: Mr. *Hutchins*. *Hamsted Marshal*: Mr. *Rawlins*. *Great Shelford*: Mr. *Barret*. *Bucklebury*: Mr. *Smallwood*. *Chilton*: Mr. *Hugh Baker*. *Blubery*: Mr. *Wyer*. *Burwesket*: Mr. *Twiss*. To whom we may add Mr. *Tho. Cheeseman*; the Place of whose Ejectment I know not. He was Blind from his Childhood; but a good Scholar, and a very useful Preacher.

Of those who were at first Ejected in this County, I hear of no more that Conform'd afterwards than Four, *viz.* Mr. *Samuel Reyner* of *Sunning*; Mr. *William Hughes* of *Hinton*; Mr. *William Lee* of *Wantage*; and Mr. *John Francis* of *East-Isley*.

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* *He hath not Publish'd any Thing of his own besides a little Thing, Entis.* Quæstiones Theologie in Usum Coll. *Magd.* *Oxon.* 1657.

† *He hath publish'd, the Mystical Union of believers with Christ, Oct.* 1668. *Sober singularity"* *Or an Antidote against Infection by the Example of a Multitude,* *Oct.* 1668.

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In the County of *BUCKS.*

Great Kymbels: Mr. *George Swinnock*, * M.A. Born at *Maidstone* in *Kent*, and Educated in *Cambridge*. He remov'd thence to *Oxford*, where he was chosen Fellow of *Baliol* Colledge. After his Ordination, he was first Vicar of *Rickmansworth* in *Hertfordshire*, and afterwards of *Great Kymbel*, where he was Ejected for Nonconformity in 1662. Upon his Ejection, he became Chaplain to *Richard Hamden* of *Great Hamden*, Esq; but upon the coming forth of the

Indulgence in 71, he remov'd to his Native Town of *Maidstone*, where he became Pastor to a considerable Congregation. He Dy'd, *Nov. 10. 1673.* He was a Man of good Abilities; A serious, warm, practical, Useful Preacher.

* He hath Printed; *the Door of Salvation open'd by the Key of Regeneration*, Oct. 1660. *The Christian Mans Calling; or a Treatise of making Religion ones Business*, Qu. 1661. *Heaven and Hell Epitomiz'd*, &c. Qu. 1663. *The Beauty of Magistrates*. Qu. 1660. *A Treatise of the incomparableness of God in his Being, Attributes, Works and Word*, Oct. 1672. *The sinners last Sentence to Eternal Punishment*, Oct. &c.

Chalfont St. Giles: Mr. *Thos. Valentine*, B.D. One of the Assembly of Divines. He hath some Sermons Extant, Preach'd before the long Parliament.

Langley Marsh: Mr. *Nathanael Vincent*, † M.A. The Son of a Pious Minister, Mr. *John Vincent*. He was of such pregnant Parts, as to be admitt'd in the University of *Oxford* at Eleven, and go out Master of Arts, about Eighteen Years of Age. He Preach'd publicly as a Lecturer at *Pulborow* in *Sussex* before Twenty, and at the Age of Twenty One was Ordain'd, and fix'd as Rector of *Langley Marsh*. After his Ejectment, and a few Years spent in a

† He hath Publish'd divers Tracts. *The Conversion of a Sinner and the Day of Grace. Heaven or Hell upon Earth: Or a Discourse concerning Conscience: The Conversion of the Soul. The true Touchstone, shewing both Grace and Nature. A Covert from the Storm. Worthy Walking, Of Christian Love. The Spirit of Prayer. A short Catechism. The good of Affliction. The Cure of Distractions in attending upon God. The Love of the World Cur'd. Funeral Sermons*

Private

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Private Family, he came to the City of *London*, the Year after the Fire, and exercis'd his Ministry in a numerous Congregation in *Southwark*. He Dy'd, *An. 1697.* His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Nath. Taylor*. He was a *serious, humble, godly Man, of sober Principles, and great Zeal and Diligence.*

for Mr. *Cawton*, Mr. *James Janeway*. Mr. *Richard Lawrence*, Mr. *G. Baker*, and Mrs. *Martha Thompson*. And *Three Sermons at the Morning Exercises. One in that against Popery, against Publick Prayer in an unknown Tongue. Another in the Continuation of the Practical Morning Exercise; of Growth in the Knowledge, Estimation, and making use of Christ. And a Third in the fourth Volume of the Morning Exercise of the Imitation of Christ.*

Grendon: Mr. *Samuel Clark*, M.A. Son of Mr. *Samuel Clark* of *Bennet Fink*. He was Educated in *Cambridge*, and for some time Fellow of *Pembroke Colledge*, but lost his Fellowship in *Oliver's* Time for refusing to take the *Engagement*. Afterwards, he and his whole Family were considerable Losers by their Nonconformity: for the Loss of Mr. *Sam. Clark* of *Bennet Fink*; of his Son Mr. *Samuel Clark* of *Grendon*, and his other Son, Mr. *John Clark*, upon their quitting their Livings, amounts together, to 600*l. per Ann.* Some

time after his Ejection he settled at *Wiccomb* in the same County of *Bucks*. There he serv'd God in Patience and great Self-Denial, with peaceable Prudence in an Evil Day; unweariedly seeking the furtherance of his Kingdom, when it was made by many very perilous to do it.* He Dy'd, *Feb. 24. 1700/1. Ætat. 75.* His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Sam. Cox* of *Eling*.

* *His Works are Annotations on the Holy Bible, with parallel Scriptures, Fol. A Survey of the Bible, or Analytical Account of it by Chapter and Verse, Qu. A Brief Concordance of the Holy Bible, 12's. An Abridgement of the Historical Part of Scripture. 12's. The Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures Asserted, Oct. A Treatise of Scandal: Discussing these Three Questions, First, Whether Things indifferent become necessary, when commanded by Authority? Secondly, Whether Things scandalous being enjoined, may lawfully be done? Thirdly, How far forth we are bound in Conscience to obey Humane Laws, &c. An Ordination Sermon, on Acts 13. 2, 3. Qu. Scripture Justification Open'd and Explain'd.*

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* *He hath written a double Watch-word: Or the Duty of Watching, and Watching to Duty; both Echo'd from Rev. 16. 5. and Jer. 50. 4, 5. 1661. Oct.*

He was a Man of very considerable Learning; a good Critick, especially in the Scriptures; a great Textuary, an excellent Preacher; a great Enemy of Superstition and Bigottry; yet zealous for unaffected Piety, and extensive Charity: He was one of great Moderation, both in his Principles and Temper. He liv'd usefully, and in much Esteem. He Dy'd comfortably, and in his last Hours had great Peace and Serenity.

Beaconfield: Mr. *Butler*. Little Marlow: Mr. *Gregory*. Burnham: Mr. *Perkins*. Farnham-Royal: Mr. *Gardiner*. A great Divine, and general Scholar. Cheyneys: Mr. *Agus*, or *Aggus*. Waddosdon: Mr. *Bennet*. Drayton: Mr. *Fleetwood*. Aston-Clinton: Mr. *Gerrard*, and Mr. *Marriot*, or *Marriar*. St. Leonards: Mr. *Geo. Swinho*. Mentmore: Mr. *Stratford*. Newport: Mr. *John Gibbs*. Aylesbury: Mr. *John Luff*. Dunton: Mr. *Rolls*. Hamden: Mr. *John Sanders*. Dynton: Mr. *Shirly*, or *Shirby*. Great Marlow: The Lecture; Mr. *Dan. Sutton*. Hucket: Mr. *John Wilson*. Colebrock: Mr. *Hall*. Wiccomb: Mr. *Geo. Fownes*. Topley: Mr. *Edwards*. Hambleden: Mr. *H. Goodyear* or *Goodere*. Winchington: Mr. *Gilbert*. And Mr. *Reeves*, Mr. *Dyer*, and Mr. *Appleby*, whose Places are uncertain.

Eaton-Colledge: Provost: Mr. *Nicolas Lockyer* (of whom see Page 205.) Vice Provost: Mr. *John Batchelor*. Fellows: *Thomas Goodwin*, D.D. (of whom see Page 225.) Mr. *John Oxenbridge*,* M.A. Upon his being Ejected here, he retir'd to *Berwick upon Tweed*, where he held on his Ministry till Silenc'd at the Fatal *Bartholomew*. After which, he went to the *West Indies*, and settled first at *Syrenham*, and afterwards in *New England*, where he Dy'd at *Boston*, Ann. 1674.

Mr. *John Bunkley*, Mr. *Richard Penwarren*; and Mr. *Paul Hobson*, Chaplain of the Colledge. They were Ejected here, presently after King *Charles* his Return.

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In the County of *BEDFORD*.

Houghton Conquest: Mr. *Sam. Fairclough*: Son of the excellent Mr. *Richard Fairclough* of *Ketton* in *Suffolk*. He was a good Scholar, an excellent Preacher, and one of an admirable Temper. He Dy'd *December* the 31. 1691. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by a Worthy conforming Clergy-man, Mr. *Parkhurst* of *Yoxford* in *Suffolk*. Who gives him this Character; *He was a Man of no common Qualifications, eminent in Parts, in Learning, and in Piety; not of the Laodicean Temper, nor of the Sardinian Complexion, but strictly Holy, and having a Zeal for God and Religion. Great in Wisdom, of much Moderation, Abounding in Charity a Lover of God and Men, full of Faith, and of the Holy Ghost. One that had a clear Head, and a warm Heart; who understood and liv'd the Gospel; a Pattern of Goodness a Blessing to his Acquaintance, and an Ornament to his Family. And in his Sickness, he was exemplary in Patience, and fill'd with Peace. He was a Preacher of Righteousness; a clear, judicious, fervent Preacher. And in the Province he shin'd very openly, while Laws permitted him: And when that Protection fail'd, this Light was unhappily obscur'd from Publick View, Very unhappily, for (says he) it had been a lone worth an Act of Comprehension, to have included this one so valuable a Man.* Let them look to it then, who have had an Hand, either in casting or keeping out of the National Establishment, Men of such a Stamp and Character.

Deane: Mr. *Robert Perrot*. Who after his being Silenc'd came to the City, and Preach'd often Occasionally in and near it; but at length settled at *Maidstone* in *Kent*, where he is yet Living.

Woborn: Mr. *William Blagrove*. *Cranfield*: Mr. *Wheeler*. *Pertenhull*: Mr. *Donn*. *Arlesey*: Mr. *Ashhurst*. *Milton*: Mr. *Hind*. *Rokkesdon*: Mr. *Mabison*, or *Mabuson*. And Mr. *Millington*, Mr. *Milburne*, and Mr. *Willowes*, whose Places are Uncertain. Dr. *Fowler* of *Norhill*, afterwards Conform'd.

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I omit Mr. *Dell* of *Yeldon*, because mention'd before, in the University of *Cambridge*.

In the County of *HUNTINGDON*.

The City of *Peterborough*: Mr. *Willson*. A Man of excellent Ministerial Skill and Ability: Of signal Piety, and Diligence in his Work, and extraordinary Success, doing Good to Multitudes.

Botolph Bridge: Mr. *Simeon King*. An able Scholar, a Man of a solid Judgment, an honest Heart and Life, and addicted to no Extreams.

Bluntsham: Mr. *James Bedford*, B.D. Some time Fellow of *Queens Colledge* in *Oxon*.

Hemingford: Mr. *Houth*. *Huntmton*: Mr. *Sam. Brooks*. *Overton Longvill*: Mr. *Edm. Spincks*. *Hilton*: Mr. *Cooper*. And Mr. *Scott*, Mr. *Gibson*, and Mr. *Negus*, at uncertain Places.

Mr. *Richard Kidder* of *Stranground*, afterwards Conform'd.

In the County of *NORTHAMPTON*.

Aino, or *Anyho*, al. *Ainer*: *Robert Wild*,* D.D. A witty Man, and celebrated for his Poetry. Mr. *Wood* says, he was a fat, jolly, and Boon *Presbyterian*. I have heard him commended by those that knew him, not only for his facetiousness, but also his strict Temperance and Sobriety; the contrary to which seems to be insinuated by that Reflection. He Dy'd at *Oundle*, Ann. 1679.

* *His Works*, are, the *Tragedy of Mr. Christ. Love at Tower-Hill* Iter *Boreale Upon Monck's March from Scotland to London. A Poem upon the Imprisonment of Mr. Edmund Calamy*, in *Newgate. They came out separately, and are Publish'd together with other Poems*, in Oct. 1668. *A Letter to Mr. J.J. upon his Majesties Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, Qu. 1672. *He hath also some Sermons Extant: the Arraignment of a Sinner*, on Rom. 11. 32. Qu. 1656. &c.

Wilbee:

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Wilbee: Mr. *V. Alsop*.* Some time after his Ejectment, he was invited to *Westminster*, where he is yet Living, Pastor of a considerable Congregation. Mr. *Wood* Summons in all the ill Nature he was Master of (in which few could Vye with him) to help him in passing a Censure, on the *Wit* of Mr. *Alsop*. After he had examin'd and sifted him with all imaginable exactness, He passes Sentcnce very magisterially; He excludes him the Colledgc: Declaring, *Him no way qualify'd for any Performance wherein any Thing of Wit was requisite, either by the natural bent of his own Genius, or by any requir'd Improvements*. Certainly Mr. *Alsop* could not well have taken a falser step than to be on the Opposite side to Mr. *Wood*; who with a dash of his Pen, had he but relish'd his Principles, could have convey'd his Name to Posterity

with this Encomium, that he was one of the best Masters of Wit, the Age afforded.

** He hath written the following Things. Antisozzo, in Vindication of some great Truths oppos'd by Mr. William Sherlock, Oct. 1675. Melius Inquirendum; In Answer to Dr. Goodman's Compassionate Enquiry, Oct. 1679. The Mischief of Impositions, in Answer to Dr. Stillingfleets Mischief of Separation, 1680. Duty and Interest United in prayer and Praise for Kings, &c. A Thanksgiving Sermon, on Sept. 8. 1695. Practical Godliness the Ornament of Religion, Oct. 1696. A Sermon to the Societies for Reformation. A Faithful Rebuke to a false Report; with reference to the Differences among the United Ministers in London, Oct. He hath also a Sermon in the Continuation of Morning Exercise. Qu. On the Distance we ought to keep in following the strange Fashions in Apparel, which come up in the Days wherein we Live. And another, in the Fourth Volume of the Morning Exercise, Upon the Fulness of God, which every true Christian ought to Pray and Strive to be fill'd. with, &c.*

Wellingborow: Mr. *Thomas Andrews*. Woolaston: Mr. *Edmund Matthews*. Ashby Oneers: Mr. *Richard Coleston*. Kettering: Mr. *John Maidwell*. Thorp: Dr. *John Cortman*. Desborow: Mr. *Thomas Browning*. Oundle: Mr. *Richard Resberry*. Great Ocleby: Mr. *Thomas Dandy*. Crick: Mr. *Stephen Fowler*. Tanover, or Cottestock: Mr. *Malkinson*. Killesby: Mr. *Worth*. Hisham: Mr. *Hodges*. Norton: Mr. *Allen*. Oldwinckle: Mr. *Whiting*. Fotheringhay: Mr. *Oliver*. Loddington: Mr. *Henry Wills*. Daventry: Mr. *Timothy Dod*. Thrapston: Mr. *Th. Terry*. Barby: Mr. *Thorpe*.

Great

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Great Billing: Mr. *Daniel Cawdrey*.** A very Considerable Man; bred in the University of Cambridge, and one of the Assembly of Divines.*

** He in conjunction with Mr. Herbert Palmer. Wrote an excellent Book Entit. Sabbatum Redivivum, or the Christian Sabbath Vindicated: taking in the whole of that Controversie, which in the latter end of King James the 1st. Reign, and for a great part of King Charles the 1st. time, was so hotly agitated. 'Tis in two Volumes in Qu. the 1st. Printed in 1645. The 2nd. in 1652. He hath also Published, Triplex Diatribe, concerning Superstition, Will Worship, and the Christmas Festival. Dr. Hammond wrote an Answer to it: To whose Answer, Mr. Cawdrey reply'd; in a Book Entit. The Account Audited and Discounted. 1658. &c.*

Buton Latmer: Mr. *John Baynard*. Weedon Mr. *George Martyn*. Great or Little Houghton: Mr. *Tho. Martyn*. Castle Ashby: Mr. *Austin*. Lilford: Mr. *Talents*, Woodford: Mr. *Floyde*, commonly call'd Doctor, because of his Practising Physick: But I know not whether he ever took his Degree. He was a very good Scholar, and an useful Preacher. He liv'd some time after his Ejection for a while at *Ipswich*, in *Suffolk*, where he hath left a good Name behind him.

Ringsted: Mr. *Raymond*. Castor: Mr. *Spinks*. Cranford: Mr. *Searl*. Broughton: Mr. *Bazelr* or *Beesly*. Morton Pynchney: Mr. *Warr*, or *Wear*. Faxton: Mr.

Wills. Creton: Mr. *Richard Hook*. Kellemarsh: Mr. *Sam. Ainsworth*.^{*} Wilford: Mr. *Barton*. Gryndon: Mr. *Sam. Bayes*. Cottesbrook: Mr. *Tho. Burroughs*. Hasseboch: Mr. *Butler*. Potterspury: Mr. *Cooper*. Pantlers Purie: Mr. *Nevil*. Horton: Mr. *Howlett*. Northampton: Mr. *Lewis*. Irlingborough; Mr. *Humph. Lucas*. Twywell: Mr. *John Seaton*, Broughton: Mr. *Prott*, or *Trott*. Warmington: Mr. *Gascoyn*. Barton: Mr. *Kenrick*. Little Addington: Mr. *Sanderson*.[†] At uncertain Places, Mr. *Fuller*, Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Winston*, and Mr. *Vintresse*.

^{*} *He hath a Sermon Extant, which he Preach'd at the Funeral of Mr. Andrew Pern, Minister of Wilby, who was one of the Assembly of Divines. Qu. 1655.*

[†] *I forbear bringing in Mr. Robert Ekins of Archester, for one of the number; because he was mention'd before as Fellow of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge.*

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There Conform'd afterwards in this County; Mr. *Dickenson of Paston*, Mr. *Lionel Goodrick of Overton*, Mr. *John Stanley of Corbey*. Mr. *Elborough*: or *Geddington*. and Mr. *Southwood of Pytchley*.

IN THE COUNTY OF OXON.

Souldern or Souldren: Mr. *Thomas Hodges*.^{*} B.D. Born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonshire*, and bred at *Cambridge*, First of *Emanuel*, and afterwards of *St. John's Colledge*. He died at *Okingham* in *Berks*. 1688.

^{*} *He hath published a Discourse concerning Prayer, Tw. 1656. A scripture Catechism, Confuting the Errors of the times Oct. 1658. And some Sermons Preach'd upon particular Occasions.*

Henley on Thames: Mr. *William Brice*. Chipping-Norton: Mr. *Clark*, and Mr. *Stephen Ford*.[†] The Latter was afterwards Minister of a Congregational Church in *London*.

[†] *He hath several Tracts extant as; the blessedness of being Bountiful, Oct. 1674: A Dialogue concerning these of Infant Baptism. Oct. 1654. Singing of Psalms, a Christian Duty. Oct. 1653. Christians Acquiescence in all the products of providence. 1665.*

Banbury: Mr. *Samuel Wells*. Upper Heyfort: Mr. *John Dod*. Stodham or Stadham: Mr. *John Hartcliffe*. Hampton: Mr. *Birch*, and Mr. *John Osborn*.^{*} M.A. After he was Ejected, he continu'd Preaching about in the County as he had Opportunity, and was at length Imprison'd for several Weeks in *Oxford Castle*. When he got his Liberty, he retir'd to, and liv'd in and about *London*.

* *He hath published the Mystery of the Resurrection on Acts 24. 15. Qu. 1651. And a conference with Rich. Coppin of Westwell near Burford, concerning the Resurrection of the Body.*

Deddington: Mr. *Wyar*. Glimpton: Mr. *Nath. Staniford*. Swerford: Mr. *Smith*. Westcott Barton: Mr. *Bowen*. Sommerton: Mr. *Fennick*. Bloxom: Mr. *Newel*. Woodstock, the Lecture: Mr. *Sam. Bloar*, Who after his being Silenc'd, was Minister of a Con

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gregation at *Northampton*, whence he remov'd to *Abbingdon* in *Beds*, where he dy'd a few Months since. Witney, the Lecture: Mr. *William Gilbert*. Enston: Mr. *Sam. Burnet*. Newinton: Mr. *Edmard Archer*. Ambesden: Mr. *Edward Bagshaw** Whose Treatment was very Severe and Rough, in King *Charles's* time; for he had a tedious Imprisonment in *Southsea* Castle near *Portsmouth*.

* *He hath published, Dissertationes duæ Antifoci nianæ &c. qu. 1657. De Monarchiâ absolutâ Differtatio Politica. Oxon. 1659. Qu. Exercitationes duæ altera Theologica de Presbyteris & Episcopis; altera Academica, de Philosophiâ Veteri, ejusque Usu, una cum duabus Rationibus ejusdem. Argumenti; Qu. 1661. And many other things in English.*

Burcester or Bicester: Mr. *Basnet*. Broughton: Mr. *Coney*. Lillingston Level: Mr. *Hathway*. Hasley: Mr. *Anthony Stephens*. Garsington: Dr. *Ward*.

Mr. *Francis Wells* of *Adderbury*, Conform'd afterwards.

N.B. More shou'd have been let down as ejected in this County, but that they have been mentioned before, under the University of *Oxford*.

IN THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER.

Burton on the Water: Mr. *Antony Palmer*,* M.A. A Native of *Worcestershire*, Educated in *Oxon*, and Fellow for some time of *Baliol* Colledge there. He was cast out by force, by some of the Neighbouring Gentry, before the Act for *Uniformity* was fram'd. He put in a Curate, who also was disturb'd for want of the Common Prayer. He dy'd in or near *London* in *January*, 1678/9.

* *He hath published a Scripture Raile to the Lord's Table; against Mr. Jo. Humphrey's Treatise of Free Admission, Oct. 1654. The Gospel New Creature. Oct. 1658. &c.*

Shipton Moigne: Mr. *Dan. Capel*, M.A. Son of the Eminent Mr. *Richard Capel*; sometime Fellow of *Magd* Colledge in *Oxon*. After which he was successively Minister of *Morton Alderley* and *Shipton*,

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in his own Native County of *Gloucester*. Parting with his Living in 62, for his *Nonconformity*, he Practis'd Physick in the Town of *Stroud*, in the same County, as long as he liv'd.

Gloucester: Mr. *Increase Mather*, M.A. He was Born in *New England*, and when *Nonconformity* was like to be Troublesome, he return'd again to his Native Country, where he is yet Living, President of *Harwarden Colledge* in *Cambridge*.*

* *He hath publish'd, a Discourse concerning the Mystery of Israel's salvation. Oct. 1669. The 1st Principles of New England, concerning the Subject of Baptism and Communion of Churches. Qu. 75. A Brief History of the War with the Indians, in New England, from June 24. 1675 to Aug. 12. 76. Some Important Truths about Conversion. Oct. 74. The Divine Right of Infant Baptism. Qu. 1680. Practical truths, tending to promote Godliness in the puer of it. 82. Diatribe de signo Filii Hominis, & de secundo Mefiæ adventu. Oct. 1682. An Essay for the recording illustrious providences. Oct. 84. A Discourse concerning the Person, Office, and Glory of Christ. Oct. 86. De successu Evangelii apud Indos in Nova Anglia. Epist. ad Cl. Virum, D Joh. Leusdenum. 88. The Wonders of Free Grace. &c.*

Mr. *James Forbes*, who is yet living, Pastor of a Congregation at *Gloucester*.

Winchcomb: Mr. *Helme*, or *Hermes*. *Willersey*: Mr. *Flavel*: Father of Mr. *Flavel* of *Dartmouth*. *Wotton underedge*: Mr. *Bodin*. *Oddington*: Mr. *William Tray*. *Stow on the Wovld*: Mr. *William Beal*. *Tewkesbury*: Mr. *John Wells*. *Weston*: Mr. *Cooper*. *Longborough*: Mr. *William Smith*. *Slaughter*: Mr. *John Keck*. *Notgrave*: Mr. *William Davison*. *Haselton*: Mr. *John Dunce*. *Compton*: Mr. *William Beckett*. *Lemington*: Mr. *Edward Finch*. *Yeonworth*: Mr. *Fisher*. *Ashton Somervil*: Mr. *Wood*. *Cirencester*: Mr. *Alexander Gregory*. *Dunsborn*: Mr. *Edward Fletcher*. *Brimsefeld*: Mr. *Tho. Jennings*. *Beckford* Mr. *Edes*, *Hempsted*. Mr. *Jonathan Smith, Jun.* *Slimbridge*: Mr. *Peter Giulliam*. *Witcomb*: Mr. *Gretorix*. *Longhope*: Mr. *Thomas Smith*. *Westerleygh*: Mr. *Fowler*. *Elberton*: Mr. *Hilton*. *Thornbury*: Mr. *Haines*. *Dirhurst*: Mr. *Francis Harris*.

Dursley: Mr. *Henry Stubbs*, a Grave Divine, wholly given up to the Service of God: Who after his being silenc'd, went about Preaching from

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place to place, with unwearied Labour and great Success; being a plain, moving, fervent Preacher, for the work of Converting impenitent Sinners to God. And yet being settled in Peaceable Principles, he every where repress'd the Spirit of Censoriousness, and unjust Separation, and Preach'd up the Ancient Zeal and Sincerity, with a Spirit suitable thereunto. After he had

Preach'd a while Privately in *London*, he was allow'd the Exercise of his Ministry, in the Parish Church of *Horsely* in *Glocestershire*, where there had for several Years been no Minister, because of the smallness of the Maintenance, which was but *8l. per Annum*. He was a Minister of Christ about 50 Years. and dy'd at *London*, *An. Aetat.* 73. Mr. *Baxter* Preach'd his Funeral Sermon, in which his Character may be seen at Large.

Pocklechurch: Mr. *J. Fox*. Rudford: Mr. *Tho. Sayer*. Olveston: Mr. *H. Heane*. Marshfeild: Mr. *Bramhal*. Frampton: Mr. *Barnsdale*. Kings-Charlton: Mr. *Tho. Harrison*. Cheltonham: Mr. *John Cowper*. Naunton: Mr. *Hoods*. Clapton: Mr. *Tho. Paxford*. Great Rissington: Mr. *Drie*. Westcot: Mr. *Edw. Rogers*. Stowel: Mr. *Tho. Jordan*. Morton: Mr. *Anth. Collier*. Minsterden: Mr. *Will. Murrel*, or *Murres*. Whitmyster: Mr. *Collier*. Leonard Stanley: *Sam. Winney*. Saperton: Mr. *Appleby*. Stroud: Mr. *Butt*. Kempley: Mr. *Paul Frewen*, Barnsley: Mr. *John Lee*. Tormerton: Mr. *Stevenson*. And Mr. *Joshua Head*, Mr. *Joseph Woodward*, and Mr. *Bakewel* or *Blackway*, whose places are uncertain.

There conform'd afterwards in this County, these Persons following: Mr. *Aylway*, Mr. *Fido*, of *Cold Aston*: Mr. *Hall* of *Baverston*. Mr. *Hall* of *Avening*. Mr. *Hem* of *Hampton*. Mr. *Will. Hodges* of *Kings Stanley*. Mr. *Shene* of *Old Sodbury* and M. *Charles Sumner* of *Alveston*.

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IN THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER.

Kings-Norton: Mr. *Tho. Hall*, * B.D. † He was Born in the *City of Worcester*, *An.* 1610. And bred up in *Oxon*, under Dr. *Lushington*. When he was fixt at *Kings Norton* (his Brother Mr. *John Hall*, who was there before him, settling wholly at *Bromsgrove*) he apply'd himself in Earnest to do good to Souls. His Salary was small, (the great Tythes being impropriate) so that had he not kept the Free-School, and continu'd single; he could scarce have subsisted: And yet God owning his Labours in the Place, he would not be perswaded to leave it, tho' Solicited with a Promise of far greater Preferment. In the time of the Civil War, he was often Accus'd, Cursed, Threatned with Death, many times Plunder'd, and five times Imprison'd. He constantly Preach'd twice on the Lord's Day, and kept Lectures abroad, besides his Exposition of Scripture, and Catechizing, and private Admonition, &c. He was, a very hard Student, a considerable Scholar, a well furnish'd Divine: A Man of a

Publick Spirit, intent upon spreading Knowledge. He gave many valuable Books to the Library at *Birmingham*, and perswaded his Brethren to the like: And when he had prevail'd with his Parish to build

* See the Account of his Life and Death, written by Mr. Rich. Moor, annext to Tract of his, Entit. A Pearl in an Oyster-shell Oct. 1675.

† He published several valuable Books. *Apologia pro Ministerio Anglicano*: Francof. 1658. *The Pulpit Guarded*, 4to. *The Schools Guarded*, 4to. *The Schools Guarded; or a Defence of H.L. The Beauty of Holiness*. Oct. 1653. *A Treatise against Long Hair: Wisdom's Conquest*, a Translation of the 13th Book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. 8vo. *Phaeton's Folly: a Translation of the 2d. Book of Ovid's Metamorphosis*. 8vo. *Hornetius Enervatus: or a Treatise against the Millenary's*. Sal Terra: or a Guard to the Ministers, and their Maintenance. An Exposition by Way of Supplement on the 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Chapt. of Amos. *Samaria's Downfall. A Comment, on the 5 last Verses of Hosea* 13. *The Beauty of Magistracy: An Exposition on Psal. 82. A Practical and Polemical Commentary on the 3d. and 4th Chapter of the 2d. Epistle to Timothy*, Fol. 1658. *A Treatise against May Poles. A Scriptural Discourse of the Apostacy of Antichrist*. Qu. 1653.

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a Publick Library, he gave his own Study to it in his Life time. He was of a Free and Liberal Heart: And when outward Comforts fail'd, he liv'd by Faith. In his last sickness, his Stock was reduc'd to 6 Pence but he was easie, and said it was enough; and it prov'd so, with Providential Additions: For before 'twas gone, several seal'd Papers of Mony were sent him by unknown Friends to supply his Occasions. He was of an Holy and Unblameable Life: Very Humble and Easie of Access. His Doors and Ears were open to the Poorest; and the meanest Inhabitant of his Parish should as soon have his Request granted, if in his Power, as the greatest. He was a great lover of Peace; but would in no Case part with Purity to Purchase it. He was a plain, but Fervent and Profitable Preacher: And he Taught by his Life, as well as by his Doctrine. He was a Man of a very Lively and Active Spirit, never cast down with Discouragements: And tho' he was often Menac'd and Imprison'd by Soldiers, and pesterd with Sectarys of all sorts, and at last Ejected and silenc'd, yet he was still the same: As ready for his Duty as ever, when Opportunity offer'd. In a Word, he was profitable in his Life, and Peaceable in his Death. When he was near his end, he thus express'd himself. *I am now going where I shall have rest from Sin and Satan, from all Fear, Weariness, and watching; and from all the Evils and Errours of a wicked World: Even so Come Lord Jesus, for I long for thy coming*. And when the Pangs of Death were upon him, he spake thus: *All the Joy of this Life are nothing, nothing to the Joys I have in Jesus Christ*. He dy'd April, 13. 1665.

Mousley: Mr. *Joseph Cooper*,* †. His Father Mr. *Hugh Cooper*, was a worthy Minister, at *Preston* in

* see the Account of him prefix'd to his Posthumous Piece, Entit. A Prospect of Heavenly Glory.

† He hath but two Pieces extant, viz. *Domus Mosaicæ Clavis*; five *Legis Sepimentum*. Oct. Lond. 1673. A Book that shews the Author to have been a Man of much reading in various Languages, upon various Subjects; a Book that Asserts the Antiquity and Necessity of the Hebrew Points, and was never yet answered: A Book that gaind the Author Reputation amongst Judicious Linguists, whether of his mind or not. And there was a posthumous Piece of his lately Printed, Entit. *MisqskopOa: Or a Prospect of Heavenly Glory, for the Comfort of Sion's Mourners*: Oct. 1700.

Shropshire.

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Shropshire. His Childhood and Youth were Vanity. At the Twentieth Year of his Age, he began to live the Life of a Man, and of a Christian. He fell to his Studies with unwearied Diligence, and in Ten or Twelve Years Time made himself Master of much useful Learning. By Familiar Converse with the best Roman Authors, he acquir'd a good *Latin* Style. He became very well skill'd in the *Greek* Tongue also: But his chief Excellency lay in the *Hebrew* Tongue, in which he was most Exact. He took great Pains to compare Oriental Versions, and the Translation of the 70 with the *Hebrew* Text; and he read the *Maserah*, and other *Jewish* and *Rabbinical* Commetaries, as if they had been in *Latin*. He was a solid convincing Preacher. *Mosely* was a poor Place affording but Twenty Nobles a Year in a dry Rent: But the Inhabitants made it up to him 50l. *per Annum*. Of which he was depriv'd at the Fatal *Bartholomew*. He was no stranger to natural Philosophy, nor the Mathematicks, nor yet to Medicine, in which by his Study and Conversation he had profited much. All his Learning and Usefulness, his Modesty, Humility, and Forbearance to meddle with Things not concerning him, could not keep him out of Prison. Once he lay in *Worcester* Goal for the great Crime of Preaching: And yet had the Courage to Preach the same Day the Law releas'd him. He was instant in his Work, in Season and out of Season, and useful to many Souls. He Dy'd, *Ann.* 1699. *Ætat.* 41. A Worthy Conforming Minister Preaching at his Funeral, gave him this Character. *His Life was a curious Delineation of Religion and Learning; so vertuous and spotless, that Malice it self might be Angry, but had no Cause to be so with him. His Reputation was invulnerable as the Air, and his unexampled Goodness might justly stile him a Match for Antiquity, in its greatest Purity and Severity.* And a special Intimate of his gives this Account of him, that he had, a solid Judgment, a faithful Memory, a quick and happy Fancy, and an unaffected Gravity. *His Presence struck a reverential Awe into the Persons he convers'd with, and his Deportment was so Graceful and Majestick, that here comes Mr. Cooper, hath often charm'd a rude Society into Civil Or*

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der, and compos'd Lewd Persons into an handsome Decorum. His Affability was Candid and Generous, his Language Free and Eloquent, his Charity open-handed, and his Contempt of the World very Conspicuous. In short, he was a general accomplish'd Scholar, no common Linguist, a smart Disputant, a Judicious Philosopher, and an experienc'd Godly Divine. Of his Piety there is a Specimen Publish'd in the Printed Account of him, in a Paper drawn up for his own Use, which is recommended to the Perusal of those, who desire to see spiritual Matters manag'd Seriously and Judiciously.

In the City of Worcester were Silenc'd, Mr. *Joseph Baker*. A Learned Man, of a blameless Life, Preaching constantly, Catechizing the People, and conferring with the several Families (especially before he first admitted them to the Lords Supper) personally. One of extraordinary Prudence, Calmness, Patience, Gravity, and Soundness of Judgment. Neither for Prelacy, Presbytery, nor Independency, as form'd into Parties, but for that which was found in all Parties, and for Concord upon Catholick Terms. The Parish of St. *Andrew*; where he was Minister, had but about 6l. a Year Maintenance, of which he took none, but gave it to a Woman to teach Poor Children to read, Living upon his own, and some small Augmentation granted by the Parliament. Mr. *Simon Moor*. Mr. *Juice*. A sober, grave, serious, peaceable, blameless, able Minister: Yet Living Pastor of a Congregation at *Redding* in *Berks*. Mr. *Fincher*, a zealous, able Preacher of a good life. Who was afterwards Pastor of a Congregation in the City of *London*..

Kemsey: Mr. *Thomas Broomwich*. An Ancient, Reverend, Able Minister, of an upright life. When Bishop *Morley* came to the Town, and Mr. *Collier* of *Blockley* had Conform'd, he was over perswaded to take the Declaration: But before he came to profess his Assent and Consent openly, and fully to Conform, he was cast into great Distress of Conscience, and went no farther. But yet by Preaching, he used that Liberty, that he had so procur'd.

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Upton upon Severn: Mr. *Benjamin Baxter*.* Son to Mr. *George Baxter*, Minister at little *Wenlock* in *Shropshire*. He was a Preacher of extraordinary Skill, especially in Matter and Method, in which few, excell'd him. He Liv'd uprightly to near 57 Years of Age, and suffer'd much by the lowness of his Estate by his Ejection, who before had Liv'd plentifully.

Hardington, or Harrington: Mr. Stephen Baxter: Brother to the former. One of a Solid Understanding, and a calm, peaceable Spirit. After he was Silenc'd, he practis'd Physick.

Evesham: Mr. George Hopkins,† M.A. Son to Mr. *William Hopkins* a Member of the Long Parliament. He was an useful Preacher while he continu'd in his Living, and after his Ejectment, he retir'd to *Dumbleton* in *Glocestershire*, where he Dy'd, *March 25.* 1666. When the *Oxford Oath* came out, he was over perswaded to take it in his own Sence, that he might not be forc'd Five Miles from the People: But he Dy'd just at the Time when he should have had the Benefit of it. He was a very judicious, godly, moderate, peaceable, and upright Man. Even Mr. *Ant.* a *Wood* thinks fit to own, That *besides his Knowledge in Divinity, he was a very good Mathematician, and an Example of great Candour and Moderation.*

Martly: Mr. Ambrose Sparry, who before he fix'd in this Place was Schoolmaster of *Stourbridge.* A sober, peaceable, moderate, humble, godly, judicious Man. His great Prudence, Moderation and Learning, and the chief of *Stourbridge* being his Friends, caus'd the Chancellor to connive at his keeping School there again, after his Ejectment: Tho' he was a while maliciously laid in Goal.

Beawdly: Mr. Henry Oasland. As lively, fervent and moving a Preacher as any in the County: Who Rode about from Place to Place, Preaching fervently, and winning many Souls to God, besides his very great Labours among his own People, publicly, and from House to House. After he was cast out, he still continu'd Preaching up and down privately where he could have Opportunity, with Zeal and

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Diligence

* *He hath some Tracts Extant: viz. Posing Questions put by the Wise Man, Oct. 1664. Nonconformity without Controversie, Oct. 1670.*

† *He hath one Tract Extant, Entit. Salvation from Sin by Jesus Christ; or the Doctrine of Sanctification founded upon Christ; who is both the meritorious and efficient Cause of sanctifying Grace, Oct. 1655.*

Diligence: No Sufferings that he met with, being able to drive him out of his Orthodox and sound Principles.

Stourbridge, or Oldwinford: Mr. Jarvis Bryan: Brother to Dr. *Bryan* of *Coventry.* A most humble, upright, faithful Minister, of a blameless Life, and sound Doctrine.

Stone: Mr. Richard Serjeant. A Man of extraordinary Prudence, Humility, Sincerity, Self-Denial, Patience, and Blamelessness of Life.

Bromsgrove: Mr. *John Spilsbury*. A Man of extraordinary Worth, for Moderation, Peaceableness, Ability, Ministerial Diligence, and an upright Life.

Churchill: Mr. *Edward Boucher*. A Young Man Born in *Kederminster* Parish, of great Humility, Sincerity, Peaceableness, and good Ministerial Parts.

Chadsley: Mr. *Thomas Baldwin*, Sen. A good Scholar, a sober, calm, grave, moderate, peaceable Man, and an extraordinary Preacher: Who upon Mr. *Baxter's* desire continu'd exercising his Ministry in Private among the People of *Kederminster*, after that he was separated from them.

All-Church: Mr. *Richard Moor*,* after his Ejectment, he Preach'd privately at, *Wetherockhill* in the same County. *Witley*: Mr. *Joseph Read*. *Salwarp*: Mr. *Giles Woolly*. *Stoke*: Mr. *Richard Dowley*. *Cropton*: Mr. *William Westmercoat*, *Whitlady Aston*: Mr. *Robert Brown*. *Eckington*: Mr. *Tim. Jordan*. *Rydmerley*: Mr. *Kimberley*. *Hampton-lovet*: Mr. *Freestone*, *Doderhill*: Mr. *Tho. Francis*. *Brodwey*: Mr. *Wall*. *Pepoleton*: Mr. *Woodward*. *Harrington*, or *Hardington*: Mr. *Ward*. *Breedon*: Mr. *Buston*, or *Beeston*: *Tredington*: Mr. *Durham*. *Naunton*: Mr. *Frank*, or *Franks*. And Mr. *Joseph Treble*, whose Place is uncertain.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, these Persons following: Mr. *Thomas Wright* of *Hartlebury*; Mr. *Simon Potter* of *Wolvley*; Mr. *Hyatt*, of *Graston*; and Mr. *Th. Soley* of *Mitton*.

* He hath Published a Tract stil'd A Pearl in an Oyster Shell; precious Treasure in perishing Vessels, in some Sermons: With an Account of the Holy Life and Death of Mr. Thomas Hall.

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IN THE COUNTY OF *HEREFORD*.

Hereford: Mr. *William Voyle*, Mr. *William Low*, Mr. *George Primrose*, and Mr. *Samuel Smith*, Sen. Who were all, joint Pastors, administred the Lords Supper, by turns, and Liv'd in great Peace among themselves, and with great Unanimity carry'd on the Work of the Gospel in that City. *Morton* upon *Lugge*: Mr. *Anth. Collier*. *Selleck*: Mr. *Taylor*. *Whitchurch*, or *Castle Richards*: Mr. *William Woodward*. A great Man. *Ross*: Mr. *Jonathan Smith*.

Lemster: Mr. *John Tombes*,* B.D. Whom all the WorId must own to have been a very considerable Man, and an excellent Scholar, how disenclin'd

* He hath Publish'd many Books Animad versiones in Librum Georgii Bulli, cui Titulum fecit, Harmonia Apostolica: Oct. 1676. Væ Scandalizantium: A Treatise of Scandalizing, Oct. 1641.

Jehovah Jireh: *Gods Providence in delivering the Godly, in Two Thanksgiving Sermons*, Qu. 1643. Fermentum Pharisaeorum: *The Leaven of Pharisaical Will-worship*, Qu. 1643. Anthropolatria. *The Sin of glorying in Men*, Qu. 43. *True Old Light exalted above pretended New Light, against Quakers and Arminians, &c.* Qu. 1660. *Romanism Discuss'd, or an Answer to the Nine first Articles of H. T. His Manual of Controversies*. Qu. 1661. *A Serious consideration of the Oath of the Kings supremacy*, Qu. 1600. *Sepher Sheba: Or the Oath Book, &c. in Twenty Catechetical Lectures*, Qu. 1662. *Saints no Smiters: Against the Fifth Monarchy Men*, Qu. 1664. *Theodulia, or a Defence of hearing the Sermons, and other Teaching of the present Ministers of England*, Oct. 1667. *Emanuel or God-man*, Oct. 1669. *Christ's Commination against Scandalizers. Two Treatises, and an Appendix to them, concerning Infant-Baptism. Containing an Exercitation presented to the Chairman of the Committee of the Assembly of Divines; and Reflections on Mr. Marshals Sermon*, Qu. 1646. *An Apology, or Plea for the Book foregoing*, 4to. 46. *Reflections on a passage in the Epistle Dedicatory, to Mr. Baxter's Saints Everlasting Rest*, 4to. 1650. *An Addition to the Apology for the Two Treatises of Infant-Baptism*, 4to. 52. *The First Part of the Full Review*, 4to. 52. *Refutatio Positionis, ejusque Confirmationis. Pædobaptismum esse Licitum affirmantis, ab H. Savage S. S. Th. D. &c.* 4to. 1653. *The Second Part of the Full Review*. 4to. 1654. *A Plea for Antipædo-baptists in Answer to a Book Entit. The Anabaptists Anatomiz'd, and Silenc'd*, 4to, *the Third Part of the Review*, 4to. 57.

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soever they may be to his Particular Opinions. He Dy'd at *Salisbury*, May 25. 1676.

Felo de se. 20 *Arguments against Infant Baptism*, 4to. 1659. &c.

Weston: Mr. *John Skinner*. Ashton: Mr. *J. Barnston*. Wormbridge: Mr. *Broster*. Aston: Mr. *Farrington*. Little Hereford: Mr. *Garnons*. Lentwardine: Mr. *Hawes*. Allmely: Mr. *Hudson*. Bramyard: Mr. *Johnson*. Briestow: Mr. *Summers*. Marden: Mr. *Tringham*; or *Trincham*. Llanrothal: Mr. *Williams*. Webley: Mr. *Billingsly*. Sappie: Mr. *Malden*.* And Mr. *Boyle*, and Mr. *Wotton*, whose Places are uncertain.

In *Monmouthshire*: Monmouth: Mr. *Nicolas Cary*. Magor: Mr. *Robert Baynes*. Abergavenney: Mr. *Abbot*. Newport: Mr. *Henry Walter*. Treleck: Mr. *Simms*. Tyntarne: Mr. *Milmaye*. Caierwent: Mr. *Rogers*. Caerlion: Mr. *Robinson*. Llanafering: Mr. *Owen Morgan*. Llangattock: Mr. *Robins*. Llanvapley: Mr. *Williams*. Tredonock: Mr. *Walter Prosser*.

In *Glamorganshire*: Rosylly: Mr. *Dan. Higgs*. Llangenyth: Mr. *Sam. Jones*. Coytchurch, Mr. *Henry Nicolls*. Cardiff: Mr. *Benj. Flower*. St. Fagans: Mr. *Edm. Ellis*. Wenvor: Mr. *John French*. St. Andrewes: Mr. *Josh. Miller*. St. Lithams: Mr. *John Powel*. Illston: Mr. *John Miles*. Chetyton: Mr. *Tho. Proude*. S. Mary Church: Mr. *William Thomas*. Llanmadock: Mr. *Morgan Jones*. Llanginor: Mr. *Tho. Joseph*. Glynorrhuge: Mr. *Howel Thomas*. Llantrissant: Mr. *Henry Williams*.

There Conform'd afterwards, Mr. *Evan Griffyths* of *Oxwiche*: Mr. *Pye* of *Bishopston*: Mr. *Rees Davis* of *St. Maries Hill*, and Mr. *Hilliard* of *Newton Nottage*.

In *Carmarthenthire*: *Mydrym*: Mr. *Stephen Hughes*. *Merthyr*: Mr. *James Davis*. *Lbndessillio*: Mr. *David Jones*. *Llannun*: Mr. *Merideth Davis*. *Llangynderum*: Mr. *John Powel*. *Llangellbithen*: Mr. *William Jones*. Mr. *Rice Pruthero*, Mr. *Philip Lewis*, Mr. *Morrice Merideth*, Itinerant Candidates.

In *Pembrookshire*: *Narberth*: Mr. *Tho. Warren*. *Llangone*: Mr. *Peregrine Phillips*. *Llanpeter*: Mr.

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* I omit Mr. Thomas Cole of Brompton Brian, and Mr. Smith of Bodenham, because the former was mention'd before, under the University of Oxford, and the latter under the City of London.

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Christopher Jackson. *Llanstadwel*: Mr. *John Luntley*. *S. Ismaels*: Mr. *Adam Hawkins*. *Tynby*: Mr. *John Carver*. *Pembrook*: Mr. *John Bywater*. And Mr. *Thomas Hughes*; whose Place is uncertain.

There Conform'd afterwards, Mr. *Stephen Young*, and Mr. *David Williams* of *Llanvihangel Penpedo*.

In *Cardiganshire*: *Cadigan*: Mr. *Charles Price*. *Penbryne*: Mr. *Richard Davis*. *Llangynllo*: Mr. *Lewis Price*. *Bangor*: Mr. *John Evans*. *Llandeivrogge*: Mr. *Evan Hughes*. *Llanllohayrne*: Mr. *Roderick Davis*. *Tregaron*: Mr. *John Harris*. *Llanbadarn Vawire*: Mr. *David Jones*. *Iscard*: Mr. *Tho. Evans*. And Mr. *Morgan Howell*, a Candidate.

Mr. *Rice-Powel* of *Llanbeder*, Conform'd afterwards.

In *Brecknockshire*: *Patrisho* Mr. *Elias Harvy*, or *Harry*, *Ketheden*: Mr. *J. Edwards*. And Mr. *David William Probert* at an certain Place.

In *Radnorshire*: Mr. *Swaine*.

In *Montgomeryshire*: *Llandyssill*; Mr. *Martin Grundman*: Who being at *London* at the Time of the Plague, was so Poor that he was not able to remove his Family, and was carry'd off by it. He was a very Holy, Humble, Able Minister.

Bettus: Mr. *Gabriel Jones*. *Aberhasais*: Mr. *Maurice Lloyd*. *Welsh-Pool*: Mr. *Nathanael Ravens*. *Newtown*: Mr. *Hugh Rogers*. Mr. *Henry* describes him as a Man of excellent Converse, and whose peculiar Felicity lay in pleasant and edifying Discourse. Dy'd in March 1679/80.

In *Denbysire*: *Ruthin*: Mr. *Ellis Rowlands*. *Denbigh*: Mr. *William Jones*. *Wrexham*: Mr. *Ambrose Moston*, or *Mostyn*. *Holt*: Mr. *Richard Taylor*. *Llanvaier*: Mr. *Jonathan Roberts*, M.A. He was one of those who in the Year 1681. Assisted in the Conference concerning Nonconformity,* in the Town-Hall

at *Oswestry* in *Shropshire*, before Dr. *William Lloyd*, then Bishop of *St. Asaph*, with Mr. *Philip Henry*, and Mr. *James Owen*. He Dy'd *Sept. 26 1684*. Mr. *Henry* describes him, as a true *Nathanael*, an *Israelite* indeed for Plainness and Integrity; a silent Sufferer for his Nonconformity, for which he quitted a good Living. He was a Learned Man. He

Dy'd

* See Mr; *Henry's Life*, Page 155, &c.

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Dy'd with Comfort in his Nonconformity, and with Confidence of a return of Mercy in God's due Time. The Summer before he Died, he had been at *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and *London*, where he heard and saw that which much Confirm'd him in his Dissent.

IN THE COUNTY OF *SALOP*.

Shrewsbury: St. Chadds Mr. *Bryan*. Julian's: Mr. *Heath*. St. Mary: Mr. *Tallants*.

Mr. *Heath* was an Ancient, Grave Minister, Moderate, Sedate, Quiet, and Religious. He was of *Christ's Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where he was much valu'd for his great Learning, especially in the Oriental Tongues, in which he was one of the greatest Masters of his Age. He was employ'd to Correct the *Syriack*, and *Arabick* of the *Polyglot Bible*, which was sent down to him in Sheets for that Purpose, for which Bishop *Walton* gave him a Copy. He read the Liturgy till *August 24. 1662*. And then was Silenc'd, because he could not come up to the imposed Terms of Conformity. When the Five Mile Act commenc'd, *March 25. 1666*. He remov'd to *Wellington*, and there Dy'd on *May* the 28th following. When he lay upon his Death-bed, Mr. *Lawrence* ask'd him what Reflections he had upon his Nonconformity. *Truly* (said he) *I would not but have done as I did for a Thousand Worlds*. He had great Confidence, that God would provide for his widow and Children, according to Promise.

Mr. *Francis Tallents*: An Ancient Fellow of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and a good Scholar: A godly blameless Divine, most eminent for extraordinary Prudence and Moderation, and Peaceableness towards all. In the Time of the Civil Wars, he Liv'd at *Saumur* in *France*; and after his being Ejected he Travell'd again. His Chronological Tables, which cost him so many Years Labour, are the exactest of the Kind; one of the greatest Performances of the Age in that sort of Learning, and will make his Name famous to Posterity,

Mr.

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Mr. *Brian*, Son to Dr. *Brian*: was a Godly able Preacher, of a Quick and Active Temper, but very Humble.

Wemm: Mr. *Andrew Parsons*. He was Born in *Devonshire*, and was Minister there some Years before the Civil War. Being driven thence to *London*, he became well known to Mr. *Pym*, who sent him down to *Wemm*, when that Town was Garrison'd for the Parliament. There he continu'd in the Exercise of his Ministry till the Year 1660: At the latter end of which he was bro't into Trouble, on the Account of Seditious Words, which were Sworn against him, which were these. *That the Devil was like a King that courted the Soul, and spoke fair till he was gotten into the Throne, and then play'd Pranks.* The Witness depos'd contrary to the Cohærance of his Discourse, that he said, *the King was like the Devil.* He was try'd at *Shrewsbury*, before my Lord *Newport*, Mr. Serjeant *Turner*, and others, *May 28. and 29. 1661.* It was also charg'd upon him that he said, *There was more sin committed now in England in a Month, than was heretofore in Seven Tears: And that there had been more and better Preaching in England for Twenty Years past, than was ever since the Apostles day.* He had Council Assign'd him, who pleaded that the time limited by the Statute on which he was Indicted was Expir'd: The Court yielded it was so, allowing 28 days to a Month, but they would understand it of 10 days to a Month. So he was found Guilty, and Fin'd 200*l.* and order'd to be Imprison'd till it should be paid. This Trial* made a great noise at that time. He continued near 3 Months in Prison, till the Lord *Newport*, without his Knowledge procur'd the King's Pardon for his Fine. His Living was presently Sequestred by the Chancellour of *Litchfield*. Perhaps the greatness of his Parsonage, made him the more Obnoxious. For he told them in open Court, that his Benefice was condemn'd long before, and that 400*l.* was bidden for it by a great Man in the County, &c. One of the Jury when he had consider'd what was done, came afterwards much dejected to Mr. *P.* and told him the Foreman went against the sense of the Major Part. He went also to the Judge, and told him so;

who

* See the Account of Mr. *Parsons* his Sufferings on this Occasion, with suitable Reflections. in Conf. 4. Plea. pag. 32. &c.

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who reply'd he need not trouble himself about that, &c. Mr. *Parsons* retir'd afterwards to *London*, where he dy'd, *October 1. 1684.*

Edgmond: Mr. *Thomas Gilbert*,* B.D. of St. *Edmund's* Hall in *Oxford*. An Ancient Divine: an excellent Scholar; of extraordinary Accuteness, and conciseness of Stile, and a most Scholastical Head. He spent the latter part of his time in a private Life in *Oxon*, where to the last he met with much respect, from Dr. *Hall* Bishop of *Bristol*, Dr. *Bathurst*, Dr. *Jane*, and others, who were fit Judges of his real Worth.

* *I know not that he hath any thing in Print, besides a small Latin Tract, about the Possibility of Pardon without Satisfaction, in Answer to Dr. Owen's Diatribe de Divinâ Justia, &c. And a Brief English Discourse, on the Guilt and Pardon of Sin, and Prayer for that Pardon.* Oct. 1695.

Baschurch: Mr. *Edward Lawrence*.* Who when he was turn'd out, had Eleven strong Arguments against exposing himself to Hardships, and sufferings for Nonconformity, viz. A Wife and Ten Children, but he answered them by his Faith and firm Trust in God. Being ask'd how he meant to maintain them all, he cheerfully reply'd, they must all live upon the 6th of Matthew; *Take no thought for your Life, &c.* And he often sung with his Family, *Psal.* 37. 16. And they were provided for beyond expectation. He was driven from *Whitchurch* by the Violent Prosecution of the Conventicle Act in 1670, When he remov'd to *London*, where he spent the rest of his Days. He dy'd in *November* 1695. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Nath. Vincent*, where his Character may be met with at Large. He was a Solid, Calm, Peaceable, Godly Man, and a good Preacher. Mr. *Baxter* Relates this of him, that he had his Goods taken away for Preaching; in a private House, where but Four Neighbours were present, on pretence that a little Daughter of the House, that came newly from School, and another Child made the Supernumeraries, which put him to a tedious Suit. Mr. *Powis*, an able Lawyer of that Country, who had before carry'd it Soberly and Moderately, being entertain'd against him, was free in his Invectives, call'd him seditious

Fellow

* *He hath Printed several things; As Parents Groans over their wicked Children, Oct. Christ's Power over bodily Diseases.* Oct. 2. &c. And he hath also a Sermon in the Morning Exercise against Popery against Transubstantiation.

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Fellow at the Bar, and discover'd much bitterness, and about a Week or Fortnight after, dy'd almost Suddenly.

Great Bolas: Mr. *Edward Bury*,† Born in *Worcestershire*. An. 1616. At Five Years Old he was Adopted by an Uncle to a fair Estate: But such was the Profaneness of the Family, that when God had touch'd his Heart, he desir'd to be remov'd, professing he could live no longer, where he could have no

more Advantages for his Soul. Hereupon both his Father and Uncle were so disgusted, that he utterly lost their Favour, and all Expectations from them. *Thus (saith he of himself) in the Morning of my Age, I began my suffering: Choosing rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than enjoy the Profits or Pleasures of the World, which are but for a Season.*

He was afterwards kindly receiv'd by another Uncle, in whose Family Religion Flourish'd. He was earnest in pursuit of Learning; spent some Years at *Oxford*; Remov'd thence into a private Family, where he was Chaplain, following his Studies with unwearied Diligence; he was afterwards assistant in a Publick Charge, whence after some time he remov'd to the Rectory of *Great Bolas*, where he continu'd his useful Labours for many Years, and was also in much Peace with all his Neighbours, till once being suspected of desiring the King's Return, his House was search'd, his Goods plunder'd, and his Life threatned and much endanger'd. When the King return'd, and the Act for Uniformity pass'd, he carefully study'd his Duty, and hath thus recorded the Result of his Tho'ts. *I solemnly Profess, in the Presence of the Great God, before whom I must shortly give an Account of my Words and Actions, that in my most impartial Judgement, after all the light that I can get by Reading, Praying, Thinking and Discoursing with above Twenty Judicious and Solid Divines of both persuasions; I look upon it my Duty, not to Conform; and whatever becomes either of myself of Family, as I cannot force my*

† *He hath Printed, the Sours Looking-glass, or a Spiritual Touchstone, whereby true Grace may be discover'd from Counterfeit. 1660. A short Catachism conatining the Fundamental Points of Religion. 1660. An help to Holy Walking or a guide to Glory. 1675. A small Book of Relative Duty. The Husbandman's Companion, Containing an 100 Occasional Meditations. Reflections, &c. 1677. England's Bane, or the deadly danger of Drunkenness. 1677. A Sovereign Antidote against the Fear of Death. 1681. Death improv'd, and immoderate Sorrow for deceased Friends, and Relatives reprov'd, 1675.*

Judg.

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Judgment, so I will not dare to force my Conscience. And many Years after that, he professes, *That he never read, or heard, or suffer'd any thing that could in him any one repenting tho't of his Nonconformity.* And again, says he, *I did and do Believe, as I shall answer before the searcher of all Hearts, that if I had Conform'd upon the Terms injoin'd, I had sinn'd against God: and I do solemnly profess, if ever I can be convinc'd of the contrary, I will Conform still.*

Tho' he was forc'd from his Pulpit, he was loath to leave his beloved People: and being devoted to the Ministry he durst not quit it. He built himself an House in the Parish, with a design of continuing his Endeavours to do good to their Souls; and how apparent soever the danger was, he never

neglected any one Opportunity of Service that offer'd. The *Oxford Act* afterwards drove him from his House, and put him to his Shifts: For tho' he had a Father and Mother, and Ten Brothers and Brothers in Law that had Families, yet he could not reside with any of them, because their Habitations came all within the compass of that Act. But when the times were more quiet, and the King gave liberty to his Dissenting Subjects, he soon procur'd a License for himself, and another for his House, and with great Zeal and Fervency, began to Preach again. He attended with his Family on the Publick Ministry in the Morning, and Preach'd to his Family and Neighbours in the Afternoon, without having the least Salary or Prospect of Emolument from any of his Hearers. He would often say I'll heartily rejoice if it will please God to give me my Liberty to Preach for nothing to my dying Day. He look'd upon his Work to be God's: and the less reward he had from Men, the more he hop'd for at last from the Lord his Master.

June, 14. 1691. Being earnestly desir'd to assist at a private Fast, in a time of exceeding Drought, he comply'd: Another was to Preach, and he was to Preach: But the Meeting being broke up by some Neighbouring Justices of the Peace, it was positively Sworn against him that he Preach'd, and he was Fin'd 20l. But refusing to pay it, they Destrain'd upon him, and took away his Household-Goods, and

Books,

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Books, and the Bed he lay upon, and the Sale of them was Proclaim'd in the Parish-Church, and in Three Market Towns about. But not one Person coming in to make any Purchase, they were return'd, upon this Promise given, that they should be forth coming when requir'd by Lawful Authority. He was afterwards extremely harras'd; and suffer'd great loss in his Estate, by the troubles continually given him by some peevish Men, at Sessions; Assizes, and in the Crown-Office. At last he was again forc'd from his Family upon the *Oxford Act*, and passed from House to House, and from County to County: But in the midst of all his Troubles and Losses, was perswaded that God would return him with Interest, what of this World he had lost for the sake of Christ and his Conscience; which at last he acknowledg'd he had fully done; partly by the Death of some of his Relations, and partly by enabling him Comfortably to dispose of his Children. Some Years before, he dy'd it pleas'd God to deprive him of his Bodily Sight; which tho' in it self, a very bitter Affliction; and especially to one who took such Pleasure in Reading, yet he was never hear'd to speak one repining word against God; but would be often Praising him that so great a Mercy had been contnu'd so long. His

last Affliction was a Mortification in one Foot, which he bore with invincible Patience, saying in the midst, of his utmost Torment; *I am not yet afraid to die*. After many wearisom Nights and Days, he at last Breath'd out his Soul to God, *May, 5. 1700. Ætat. 84.*

W. Felton: Mr. *Samuel Hildersham*: B.D. The only Son of the Famous Mr. *Arthur Hildersham* of *Ashby*, some time Fellow of *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*. Settled Rector of *West-Felton*, An. 1628. And continu'd there till silenc'd by the Act of Uniformity. He was one of the Assembly of Divines: A Father to the Sons of the Prophets in and about *Shropshire*. A Conformist in the Old Times, but resolv'd eno' against the New Conformity: He dy'd in *April 1674*. He was (says Mr. *Baxter*) a Grave, Peaceable, Pious, Learned Divine: (Mr. *Henry* adds)

A a

Loving

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Loving and Charitable; an excellent Preacher, an eminent Expositor, and very much a Gentleman.

Oswestrey: Mr. *Rowland Nevet*, M.A. of *Edmund Hall* in *Oxon*. His Labours at *Oswestrey* were abundant while they were allow'd; and even after he was silenc'd for Nonconformity; he continu'd among his People there to his dying Day; doing what he could, when he might not do what he would. He would say that he tho't the most of his Converting Work was done there, in the first Seven Years of his being in the place. When the Plague among them; he continu'd with his People, and Preached to them; and it was all Opportunity of doing much good. His Conversation from his Youth, was not only blameless, but Holy and Pious. He was exemplary for Family Religion and great Care and Industry in the Education of his Children. He dy'd, *December 8. 1675.*

Whitchurch: Mr. *Thomas Porter*, an Ancient Grave Divine, of great Integrity, blamelessness and Diligence, and so excellent a Preacher in Mr. *Baxter's* Judgment, that he declares he tho't few arriv'd to his Degre; that ever he had heard. He was Born in *Northamptonshire*, and bred in *Cambridge*. He was settled Minister of *Hanmer* in *Flintshire*, long before the Wars, by the means of Sir *John Hanmer* a Pious Gentleman, and great Promoter of Religion in the Parish. Mr. *Porter's* Ministry, was bless'd here with wonderful Acceptance and Success, both in that and the Neighbouring Parishes; and a great Harvest of Souls was gather'd in to Christ. After the War was over, (in the Heat of which he was forc'd to withdraw) he procur'd Mr. *Steel* for *Hanmer*, and remov'd to *Whitchurch*, where he continu'd an Instrument of much good, till the King came in and then he gave way to Dr. *Bernard*, a worthy moderate

Man. He spent the rest of his days in Silence and Affliction; and dy'd at *Salop*, in a good old Age, *June* 19. 1667.

Ludlow: Mr. *Richard Sadler*. He was Born in Worcester, went when young with his Father into *New England*. After the Wars he return'd into *England*, was ordain'd at *Whixal* Chapel, *May* 16. 1648. And remov'd thence to *Ludlow*. Being turn'd

out

out there upon the King's coming in, he spent the rest of his days in Privacy at *Wrexal*, where he dy'd, *Anno* 1675. He was a Man of great Piety and Moderation.

Clun: Mr. *Froysell*. An Ancient Divine, of extraordinary worth, for Judgment, Moderation, Godliness, blameless Living, and excellent Preaching: who with many others, in Poverty, and Sickness, and great suffering, continu'd to preserve the Peace of his Conscience.

Newport: Mr. *John Malden*. A Man of great learning, an excellent Hebrician; one of exemplary Piety, and a solid Preacher. As he liv'd, so he dy'd, very low in his own Eyes; esteeming himself good for nothing, tho' really good for every thing: which was manifestly a prejudice both to his comfort and his Usefulness. He declar'd he was far from Repenting his being a sufferer against Conformity. He dy'd, *May* 23. 1681.

Middle: Mr. *Joshua Richardson*. He was a Holy, Loving, Serious Man, and his Life was clos'd with a happy Death, *September* 1. 1671. Dr. *Fowler* Preach'd his Funeral Sermon at *Whitchurch* on *Dan.* 12. 3. highly praising him for Wisdom, Piety, and Peaceableness.

Edfalion Chappel, near Wem: Mr. *Samuel Taylor*: Tho' in very low Circumstances, yet he quitted his living in 1662; choosing rather to beg his Bread, than to wrong his Conscience. He continued in *Wem* after his being silenc'd, and Preach'd there as his strength and Liberty would permit. He had his House burnt down in the dreadful Fire in that Town, *Anno* 1676. He was a Man of a very tender Spirit; Humble and Low in his own Eyes, of approv'd integrity, and finish'd his Course well, *June* 26. 1695.

Tilstock: Ma. *Zechariah Thomas*. He was ordain'd after the King came in, and Curate to Dr. *Barnard*, but could not continue long with him, because of his Nonconformity. He dy'd *September* 14. 1670. Mr. *Kirkes*, Vicar of *Acton*, Preach'd at his Funeral, and gave him a worthy Character (as he well deserved) for uprightness, Humility, Moderation,

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Prayer, faithfulness in reproving, and Patience under Affliction, &c.

Bridgnorth: Mr. *Andrew Tristram*, A Man of more than ordinary Ability in Preaching and Prayer; of an upright Life. He afterwards turn'd Physician.

Kynersly: Mr. *Thomas Wrght*. A Man of extraordinary Learning, Ability, Moderation, and Peaceableness.

Hales Owen: Mr. *Paston*. A Sober Moderate, Peaceable Minister, of a Godly upright Life.

Avely: Mr. *Lovel*; a retir'd and private, but very prudent and worthy Man.

Morton Chappel: Mr. *Timothy Thomas*. Aston Chappel: Mr. *Titus Thomas*. Cocks-hott Chappel: Mr. *Francis Keeling*. Stanton: Mr. *H. Cruclow*, Rocadine: Mr. *Josh. Barnett*. Stottesdon: Mr. *Reginald Finchlow*. Oswestrey. Mr. *Quarrel*. Hodnet: Mr. *Samuel Champion*. Stoke: Mr. *Adams*. Roddington: Mr. *Andrew Barnet*. Byrrington: Mr. *Bore*, or *Bote*. Gressedge: Mr. *Sam. Smith*. Chetton: Mr. *William Bayly*. Stretton: Mr. *Morris*. North-Clebury: Mr. *Charles Humfreys*. High Areall: Mr. *Rich. Hopkins*. Stanwerdine: Mr. *Hall*. Dawly: Mr. *Rowly*. And Mr. *Philips*. Mr. *Warthington*, Mr. *Porter*, Jun. Mr. *Bruce*, Mr. *Rusbich*, and Mr. *Stone*, at uncertain Places.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, Mr. *Lea* of *Shrewsbury*; Mr. *Haughton*; Mr. *Barkly* of *Westbury*; Mr. *Warter* of *Pousbury*; Mr. *Milward* of *Pouderbach*: and Mr. *Roberts* of *Morton Chappel*.

In the County of STAFFORD.

Tipton: Mr. *Richard Hincks*. A Godly Preacher; a Moderate Independent.

Wolver-hampton: Mr. *John Reynolds*. A Man of more than ordinary Ability for Learning and Preaching: who afterwards turn'd Physician.

Clent: Mr. *Tho. Baldwin*, Jun. A Godly, Calm, sober Preacher, of a blameless Life.

Weford: Mr. *Richard Chantry*.* He was forc'd by the *Oxford Act*, to remove with his Wife and Four Children into another Country, to take a Farm upon a

Rack

* See *Conformists 4th Plea for the Nonconf.* Pag. 49.

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Rack Rent: His Family encreas'd, and he met with several Difficulties, and yet subsisted chearfully.

Wedsbury: Mr. *Will. Fincher*, a Godly Man, and a good Preacher.

Shenston: Mr. *Grace*, An Aged worthy Minister. Upon his Ejectment from his Living on which he liv'd Comfortably, he with his Wife and Eleven Children was reduc'd to Straits. Hoping to get some supplies of Maintenance, he took a Farm of about 30*l. per Annum*. But Preaching in his own House, was a Crime not to be pass't by. He was in a short time apprehended by Two Justices, and with many of his Hearers bound over, which was very Chargeable.* Not long after, he was sent for by a Party of Horse, call'd out of his Bed, and carried Prisoner to *Stafford*: for what he knew not; nor was he ever told. Being unable to bear the Charge of his Imprisonment, he made his Application to the Deputy Lieutenant, and was forc'd to give in Bonds of 100*l.* to appear when called. He was dismiss'd after many hard Speeches, but no Charge laid against him. After all which, he was by the Five Mile Act, Necessitated to remove so far from the Corporation, to a place where he liv'd at great Costs and Charges, separated from his Dear Relations, and his Farm left to the management of Servants, to his unspeakable Loss: Yet this Person was a near Relation, of *A.B. Sh. of Cant.*

Kinver: Mr. *Richard Moreton*. A Man of great Gravity, Calmness, found Principles, of no Faction, an excellent Preacher, of an upright Life. Afterwards an eminent Practitioner of Physick in the City of *London*.

Rowley: Mr. *Joseph Rock*. A very Calm, Humble, Sober, Peaceable, Godly and Blameless Minister, and of very good Abilities.

Swinerton: Mr. *Sound*. An Ancient Divine, of great Learning, Moderation, Judgment, and Calmness of Spirit, and of a Godly upright Life.

Walsall: Mr. *Burdall*. A very Learned, Able and Godly Divine; of more than ordinary Parts.

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Wom

* See *Conform.* 4. Pl. for *Nonconf.* pag. 62.

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Womborn: Mr. *Wilsby*: An Ancient Judicious, Peaceable, Moderate Divine; He liv'd privately after he was silenc'd at *Bremicham*, but was much Troubled by Sir *Robert Holt*.

Draiton-Basset: Mr. *Fox*.* After *Aug.* 24. was put upon a New way to maintain his Wife, and Five small Children, and upon the Advice of Friends, he was encourag'd to settle in a Corporation near to him where by his Pen, and help of Relations, he had a comfortable Livelihood until the *Oxford Act*, which forc'd him to Remove and rent a Farm in *Derbyshire*.

* See *Conf.* 4th Pl. for the *Nonconf.* pag. 49.

Litchfield St. Marys: Mr. *Butler*. St. Chads: Mr. *Miles*. Who suffer'd much by his Nonconformity.†

† *Ibid.* pag. 60.

Burton upon Trent: Mr. *Tho. Bakewell*. Who Preaching about Privately in Fields and Lanes, when he was not allow'd to do it in fitter Places; was follow'd by the Huntsmen with their Dogs, and was many ways a sufferer.*

* *Ibid.* pag. 56.

Kings-Bromley: Mr. *John Mott*. Who was terribly Harrass'd for his Nonconformity, and could not have common Justice done him.†

† *Ibid.* pag. 55.

Sherifhales: Mr. *John Nott*. Afterwards Pastour of a Congregation at *Tame* in *Oxfordshire*.

West-Bromewich: Mr. *Hilton*. Tettenhall: Mr. *Tho. Buxton*. Rowley; Mr. *Will. Turton*. Sedgeley: Mr. *Will. Eccleshall*. Wilenhall: Mr. *Tho. Badland*, afterwards Minister of a Congregation in *Worcester*, Shenston: Mr. *Gamaliel Tunstall*. Colwich: Mr. *John Greensmith*. Stafford: Mr. *Noah Brian*. Hill Ridware: Mr. *Rich. Swinsin*. Armitage: Mr. *Nath. Mansfield*. Alderwas: Mr. *Tho. Bladon*. Barlaston: Mr. *Sam. Hall*. Mair: Mr. *Ralph Hall*. Materfeild: Mr. *Rock*. Clyston: Mr. *George Cross*. Rushall: Mr. *Rich. York*. New-Castle under Line; Dr. *Long*. Stow: Mr. *Ashley*. Seigford: Mr. *Clayton*. Talke: Mr. *Pool*; Weston under Lizard: Mr. *Sampson Newton*. Handbury: Mr. *Bee*. Hintes: Mr. *Brooks*. Barton: Mr. *Byatt*. Eccleshall: Mr. *Cope*. Elford: Mr. *Dowly*. Whitmore: Mr. *Grace-court*. Areley: Mr. *Tho. Orford*. Baswich: Mr. *Southwell*. Bloxwich: Mr. *Toogood*. Broom: Mr. *Humphrey Waldron*,

for₃₅₉

for a Time Assistant to Mr. *Baxter* at *Kederminster*. A Man of good Learning and Utterance. Pelsalle; Mr. *Wilson*. Chebston: Mr. *Woolrich*. Rushton: Mr. *Moxom*. New Chapel: Mr. *Davenport*. And Mr. *Bendy*, Mr. *Thomas Bold*, Mr. *Boyer*, Mr. *Dowly*, Jun. Mr. *Hancock*, Mr. *Nevil*, and Mr. *Redwater*, at uncertain Places.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, Mr. *Becket* of *Harlaston*. Mr. *Dunstal*, Mr. *Jones* of *Lapley*. And Mr. *Matt. Mott* of *Abbots Bromly*.

In the County of WARWICK.

In the City of *Coventry*, *John Bryan*, D.D. *Obadiah Grew*, D.D. and Mr. *Bassnet*; Dr. *Bryan* was an Ancient Learned Divine, of a Quick and Active Temper, very humble, faithful, and of a godly upright Life: Who had so great a fitness to teach and educate Youth, that there went out of his House more Worthy Ministers into the Church of God, than out of many Colledges in the University in that Time. He had Three Sons that were Ministers, who were all Silenc'd.

Dr. *Grew*,* a Man of a very different natural Temper from Dr. *Bryan*, and yet they had no Difference in the Work of God: A Calm, Grave, Sober, Sedate Divine, more retir'd and of less Activity; but Godly, Able, and Faithful in his Ministry. He was invited to succeed the famous Mr. *Richard Vines*, by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Principal Citizens in the Great Parish of St. *Michael*, in which Place, the Soundness of his Doctrine, the Sanctity and Prudence of his Conversation, and the Vigilancy and Tenderness of his Care, were of that constant Tepour, that he seem'd to do all that, which St. *Gregory* wrote a whole Book (*De Cura Pastoralis*) to tell us should be done. By which Means he ever obtain'd the Love and Respects of the City of *Coventry*,

* *He hath written and publish'd*, A Sinners Justification by Christ, or the Lord Jesus Christ our Righteousness, Oct. 1670. And Meditations upon our Saviours Parable of the Prodigal Son, being several Sermons on Luke 18, Qu. 1678.

and his Ends for their Good among the Citizens. Two Instances of his Integrity and Courage were very Remarkable. The first was his tree Remonstrating to Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, in Person, when he was at *Coventry*; against the Design for taking off King *Charles*, which was then visibly on foot. And obtaining his Promise to endeavour to prevent it, he put him in Mind of it, by a Letter which he sent up to *London* after him, which he took Care should be convey'd by an Honest Gentleman into his own Hands. The other related to the Rising in *Cheshire*. He was at that Time requir'd to read in the Church on the Lords Day the Proclamation against Sir *G. Booth*, and threatned by *Lamberts* Soldiers then in *Coventry*; with the Loss of his Place if he refus'd: Yet he would not do it.

He was one of great Generosity, of which he gave this Instance among many others: When Mr. *Panton* a Minister of the *Cavalier* P.arty was necessitated to Sell his Library, the Dr. bought some of his Books, and they being afterwards desir'd again, with a Proffer of the Money that was paid for them, the Dr.

return'd the Books, but, refus'd the Money, knowing Mr. *Panton* had more need of it than himself.

After he had for many Years possess'd the Love and Esteem of all Parties, whom he frequently entertain'd with mutual Respects at his House and Table; he Exchang'd this for a better Life; on *Octob. 22. 1689.*

Sutton Coldfield: Mr. Anthony Burgess. * Some time Fellow of Emanuel Colledge in *Cambridge.* One of the Assembly of Divines, and generally respected among them. A man of eminent Learning and Piety. he left a Living of near 300*l. per Annum.* He was comfortable before the Wars, and yet was so

* *He hath many writings Extant. As, Spiritual Refinings, or a Treatise of Grace and Assurance, Fol. 1652. An Exposition on the 17th Chapter of St. John. Fol. 1656. The Doctrine of Original Sin Asserted and Vindicated against its Adversaries, Fol. 1659. A Practical Commentary on the first and Second of Corinthians, 2 Vol. Fol. 1659. The True Doctrine of Justification Asserted, Qu. 1648. Vindiciae Legis: Or a Vindication of the Law and Covenants from the Errors of Papists, Socinians, and Antinomians, Qu. Ec. And several Sermons before the Long Parliament, and upon other Publick Occasions.*

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far from the Nw Conformity, as it was settled upon the Return of King *Charles*, that upon his Death-bed he profess'd great Satisfaction in his Mind, that he had not Conform'd.

Witherbrook: Mr. Swain. He was Apprentice to a Trade in *Coventry*, and afterwards set up for himself. Was in *Coventry* in the Time of the Civil Wars, when so many Worthy Ministers took shelter there, and very Conversant with them. Among the rest with Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Stephens*, and Mr. *Cradock.* They finding him a Man of more than ordinary Knowledge and Piety, perswaded him, laying all other Cares apart, to apply himself to the Ministry, in which they apprehended in a suitable Place he might be very useful. He listen'd to them, was in Time fix'd in *Withybrook*, a Place of about Fifty Families, Six Miles from *Coventry.* He was try'd and approv'd by the *Presbytery* at *Killingworth*, and Ordain'd by Dr. *Grew*, and Dr. *Bryan*, and others in the Parish Church of *Withybrook.* At the Time of his Ordination, he not only made the usual Confession of Faith, but gave such an Account of the Manner and Degrees, in which God wrought a Work of Grace in his Heart, as affected many, and Particularly was influential to the Conversion of a very wicked Woman, who was afterwards a very serious, humble Christian. The Place had been disus'd to Preaching, the People were generally very ignorant and loose, but it pleas'd God to bless his Ministry to the Conversion of many Souls, both in his own Town, and the Neighbourhood, and he had in Six or Seven Years Time; a set of as Judicious, Godly, and Peaceable

Christians about him, as could easily be met with. After he was Silenc'd in 62, he seldom Preach'd publicly, unless in the Time of King *Charles's* Licenses once a Day, but went to Church constantly in the Afternoon. He continu'd to Live in that Neighbourhood, till about 1690. At which Time he Dy'd; excepting that he remov'd for some time at the coming out of the *Oxford* Act. He oft Preach'd on Lord's Day Mornings, to a few of his People at a Time, and none knew but such as were sent too. He spent much of his Time in visiting them at their Houses;

and

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and was very useful to the last: He was a very Modest and Humble Man: Did not despise but highly value other Mens Excellencies and Attainments. He was sensible of his own Defects in not having been bred up to learning, and therefore would not be perswaded to Preach at *Coventry*: And yet God honour'd him with Success, in an extraordinary Measure, and he was Respected by all that knew him, and among the rest, by several Persons of good Quality, as much as if he had been the most Accomplish'd Scholar.

Birmingham, or Bremicham: Mr. *Wills*. A sedate, retir'd, peaceable, able Divine. He was turn'd out in 1660. upon the Claim of the former incumbent.

Stratford upon Avon: Mr. *Bean*. Sutton under Brailes: Mr. *Thomas Whately*. Elinedon: Mr. *Eaton*. Tachbroke: Mr. *Ballard*. Exall: Mr. *Basset*. Pollesworth. Mr. *Bell*. Fillongley: Mr. *Brooks*. Alesley: value 100*l. per Ann.* Mr. *Sam. Brian*. Warwick: Mr. *Butler*. Lower Whetacre: Mr. *Collier*. Fokeshill; Mr. *Tristram Diamond*, Ejected after he had been Minister there Fifty Years. Hatton: Mr. *Fownes*. Hunnyley: Mr. *Hawes*. Cawcott: Mr. *Evanca*. A, worthy Person, but very Melancholy; at the Time of King *Charles* his Restauration. Amongst many of his Fears, this was one, that the World would impute his Distemper to *Bartholomew* Day, and Charge his Disorder upon the loss of his Living. But it pleas'd God before that Day came, he was strangely restor'd: So that both he and his Wife (whose discontent he also much feared) left the Place very chearfully; which was the more remarkable, because they had a numerous Family. Sometime after his Ejectment, he was Imprison'd in WarwickGoal; and thereupon told a Particular Friend of his, that he was never more chearful; in all his Life, than in Prison. So easie is it for God to exceed both the Hopes and the Fears of his Servants.

Riton: Mr. *Herring*. Shuttington: Mr. *Hill*. Kenelworth: Mr. *Maddox*. Burton Dasset: worth 1301*l. per Ann.* Mr. *Mansell*. Roxall: Mr. *Luke Milbourn*. Hampton: Mr. *Packwood*. Bedworth: 100*l. per Ann.* Mr. *Rider*. Willincote: Mr. *South*

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well. Aulcester: Mr. *Titner* or *Tickner*. Witton: Mr. *Wright*. Brincklow: Mr. *Gilpin*. Lemington Hastings: worth 200*l.* *per Ann.* Mr. *Gilbert Waldron*. Who was outed by the Claim of the Sequestred Incumbent. Boreton:, 120*l.* *per Ann.* Mr. *John Worth*. Stoneley: Mr. *John Cooper*. Monks' Kerby: Mr. *Richard Martyn*. And Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Willson*, and Mr. *Samuel Fownes*. Who were stated Preachers, but not absolutely fitt'd.

To these we may Add, Mr. *Shilton*, and Mr. *Jonathan Grew*.

Mr. *Shilton* was not fix'd at that Time when the *Bartholomew* Act took Place, but was design'd for the Parsonage of *Sutton Cofield*, by his Father the Patron, for which he would not Conform. He Liv'd afterwards at *Tamworth*.

Mr. *Jonathan Grew*, was, Born at *Atherston* in this County in 1626. And being the Eldest Son of the Family, might have had a good Estate, but that his Grand-Father and Father (tho' no Ministers) were over-much crush'd by the *High Commission Court*, and *Star-Chamber* for Nonconformity. He was of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*, and for some Years join'd with Dr. *Sampson* in supplying the Living of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*, which is in the Gift of that Colledge. But having an Invitation to be Tutor to Sir *John Hales* of *Coventry* Barrpoet, and his Brother, he clos'd with it. From that City, the Lady *Hales*, remov'd at length with her Family to her Sisters, at *Caucus* Hall, which is about Seven Miles distant. There he was when the Act for Uniformity took Place; and very instrumental in the Refreshment, Comfort, and Establishment, of Worthy Mr. *Evans* Minister of the Place, whose Melancholy had almost over-set him. *Caucus* was a Living (tho' there are scarce above 15 or 16 Houses in the Parish) worth 120*l.* *per Ann.* A very pleasant Seat. This with another Living hard by of 80*l.* *per Ann.* That were in the Gift of the Two Ladies, being Vacant at *Bartholomew* 62, were offer'd to Mr. *Grew*; And to this Bishop *Hacket*, the Bishop of the Diocess added the offer of a Prebend of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; which were no Temptations at all to him, to ha
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zard the Peace of his Conscience. When his Tutorship was dispatch'd, he left the Family, and came to *London*, altogether to seek for a Post of Service, nay for Subsistence. He at length fix'd for some time in a School at *Newington Green*: But remembering his Obligation to the Ministry, he upon an Invitation to St. *Albans*, fix'd there as Pastor of a Congregation: Where he is yet Living.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, Mr. *Langley of Tamworth*. Mr. *Perkins of Maxstock*. Mr. *Wilkinson of Ansty*. And if there were any others, I should be glad to be inform'd,

IN THE COUNTY OF LEICESTER.

Fenny Drayton: Mr. *Nath. Stevens*,* M.A. His Father was Minister of *Staunton Barnwood* in *Wilts*. He was bred in *Oxford*, was a good Scholar, and an useful Preacher. Being Ejected for his Nonconformity in 1662, he continu'd in the Town for some time Preaching privately, but was afterwards so molested, that he was forc'd to remove seven Times for his Peace. At last he fix'd at *Stoke Golding*, where he continu'd the Exercise of his Ministry, as he had Opportunity till he Dy'd, which was in *Febr.* 1677/8.

* He hath printed, *A precept for the Baptism of Infants out of the New Testament*, &c. Qu. 1651. *A Plain and Easie Calculation of the Name, Mark, and Number of the Name of the Beast*, Qu. 1656. *A Threefold Defence of the Doctrine of Original Sin*, Qu. 1658.

Whitwick: Mr. *Bennet*. Who suffer'd much after the Kings Return, before and after his Ejectment: Once he was design'd to be drawn into a Plot; but he so manag'd himself as that he escap'd; but was Imprison'd, and dealt with as a Suspicious Person, without any Reason ever alledg'd.†

† See *Conf.* 4. *Plea for Nonc.* Page 39, 40.

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Loughborow Longborough: Mr. *Broomskill*, and Mr. *Cross*. *Narborow*: Mr. *Matthew Clark*: who is yet living, and Eminent for his Skill in the Oriental languages; for the promoting the Study of which, he hath taken much Pains, and drawn up several Writings, which would (I understand) be Printed for the common Good, were due Encouragement given by Gentlemen and Scholars.

Ibstone: Mr. *Will, Sheffield*; M.A. Bred up in Trinity Colledge in *Cambridge*. In the time of the Civil War, he Preach'd several Years at *Great-Bowden*, in this County. He was offer'd by the Committee of *Leicester*, his choice out of Three Rich Parsonages in the County then Vacant, *viz.* *Lancton*, *Kibworth*, and, *Longborough*. But he chose neither of them, but rather accepted *Ibstone*, upon the Invitation of the Principal Inhabitants, after the Sequestration of Dr. *Luston*. He prefer'd this before either of the others, tho' it was near 50*l.* per Annum, worse than any of them. During his Ministry there, he was greatly

respected and belov'd, not only by his own Parishioners, but by the generality of Ministers and Religious People in the Adjacent Party; of which among many others, there was this observeable Instance, *viz.* that when Dr. *Luston*, the former incumbent was dead, Mr. *Job Grey*, Brother to the Earl of *Kent*, obtain'd the Presentation of *Ibstock* Parsonage from the Lord Keeper: Whereupon several Gentlemen, Ministers, and other Principal Inhabitants in the Neighbourhood, sent up a Petition to Court, Sign'd by above 1000 Hands, begging Mr. *Sheffield* might be continu'd; and accordingly he was Confirm'd in *Ibstock* by a Broad-Seal: Which yet became quickly after useless, when the Act for Uniformity took place, at which time he Resign'd.

One piece of Publick Service he did, which ought not to be forgotten. Mr. *Oates*: An Anabaptist coming into the County, disturb'd several Congregations, and dispers'd publick Challenges, to Dispute with any Minister or Ministers, upon the Point of Baptism. Several Justices of the peace sent to Mr. *Sheffield*, desiring him to accept the Challenge, and Dispute the Point with him, in *Leicester* Castle. He yielded

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to their Desire, and by Agreement. Sir *Tho. Beaumont* was Moderator. At the entrance of the Dispute, Mr. *Sheffield* openly Protested that it was Truth and not Victory he was aiming at and Pursuing; and that therefore if he could not Answer the Arguments that should be bro't against him, or maintain the Points be pretended to defend, against the Opposition that should be made against them, he would frankly acknowledge it before them. He desir'd the same of Mr. *Oats*, who also agreed. The Dispute continu'd Three Hours, and was manag'd with great Fairness, and Temper. At length Mr. *Oates* was Gravel'd with an Argument, and yet loudly call'd on by the People present, either to Answer, or according to his Promise, to confess he could not. Whereupon he frankly confess'd, that he could not at present Answer it. The Justices at the breaking up of the Meeting, oblig'd Mr. *Oates*, to give his Promise, that he would no more disturb the Congregations of that County.

After his being Silenc'd, he went to *Kibworth*, where he had a small Estate; having also in his Eye, the Benefit of the Free-School there, for his Children. He liv'd there Privately 'till his Death, *An.* 1673. His constant Practice on the Lord's Day in this time of his retirement, was this: He went in the Morning with his Family to the Parish Church and Preach'd in his own House in the Afternoon; for the Instruction of his Family, and, such others as were willing to bear him.

Wanlip: Mr. *John Smith*. Leicester: Mr. *Simms*. Gumley: Mr. *Restion* or *Kestin*. Kibworth: Mr. *John Roxley*: Long-Whalton, and Cotes: Mr. *Sam. Shaw*. † Packinton: Mr. *Will. Smith*. Cold Overton: Mr. *Oldershaw*. Raunston, and Hoose: Mr. *Shuttlewood*. Who in 1668, was taken with many others Singing a *Psalm*, by M.B. and Thirty or Forty Horsemen, with Swords drawn, and Pistols cock'd. He was examin'd, Distrain'd upon, Imprison'd, and Treated most rudely. *Gibbons*, who was his great Enemy,

† *He hath published several things. As Immanuel. A Welcome to the Plague. A Treatise of the Love and Lovers of the World. The Vanity of Man. Of the different manners of Men, nd Interlude. And a Funeral Sermon for Mr. Richard Chantrye.*

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and furious Prosecutour, who made it his Business to give him and others in those Parts, Disturbance, was at last overtaken by Divine Vengeance in a remarkable way: For being Drunk at *Lutterworth*, when it was late at Night, he was dissuaded from going home to *Kimcot*, two Miles off; but he Swore he would go home, in spite of all the Devils in Hell. Making an Attempt, he was found dead the next Morning in a shallow run of Water, which did not cover his Body, beewixt *Lutterworth*, and *Misterton*.*

Congerston or Cunston: Mr. *Wright*. A Man of great Piety; and a very useful awakening Preacher: He had a more than common Gift, in Prayer, and was favour'd by God with some Answers of his Prayers, which were not usual and common. He had a great Felicity in Discoursing warmly of Spiritual things, by which God made use of him as an Instrument of good to many.

Witherley: Mr. *Chester*, sometime after his Ejectment be came to *London*, where he contin'ued all the time of the Plague in 55. And was at that time, Instrumental for the good of many Souls. Mr. *Baxter* gives him the Character, of a Man of a very Sober, Calm, Peaceable Spirit, found in Doctrine and Life; and a Grave and Fruitful Preacher. Swebston: Mr. *Watts*, and Mr. *Hudson*, his Assistant. Orton on the Hill: Mr. *Tho. Hill*. Sibston: Mr. *Sam. Doughty*. Hinckley: Mr. *Ledbeater*. Lutterworth: Mr. St. *Nicholas*;* who to the last, (and he liv'd to a good Old Age) was us'd to Stile himself a Student in *St Paul's* Epistles. Cathorp and Cosby: Mr. *Joseph Lee*. Harborough: Mr. *Tho. Lawry*. Blaby: Mr. *Boss*. Shankton: Mr. *Drayton*. Foxton: Mr. *Willson*. Lubenham: Mr. *Hornby*. Theddingworth: Mr. *Green*. Cattle Dunnington: Mr. *Smith*. Over-seale: Mr. *Ford*. Edmond-thorp: Mr. *John Wright*. Houghton: Mr. St. *John Boroughs*, A Man of great Eminence and Worth. Humberstone: Mr. *Adams*. Rearsby: Mr. *Grace*. Great-Bowden: Mr. *The Langdale*. Hungerton: Mr. *Mustan*. Leite: Mr. *Farmer*. Woodhouse: Mr. *Cheshire*. Cleybrook: Mr.

Peirce, Hallaton: Mr. *Boheme*. Kimcote: Mr. *Southwood*. Lubenham; Mr. *Weston*. Thurmaston; Mr. *Paget*.

There

* See conf. 4. Pl. for Nonconf. pag. 81, 82.

* He wrote the *History of Baptism*. Oct. 1671. *The Widows Mite*; Qu. and some other things.

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There Conform'd afterwards in this County: Mr. *Doughty* of *Medburn*: Mr. *Blackerby* of *Lancton*. Mr. *Jenkin* of *North-Kilworth*: And Mr. *Black* of *Saddington*. If there be any more, I should be glad to be inform'd.

In the County of RUTLAND

* See the *Account of his Life*, printed in Oct.

Okeham: Mr. *Benjamin King*: Burley: Mr. *Tho. Perkins*. Langham: Mr. *Will. Draper*. Caldecote: Mr. *Ban* or *Bawne*. Glaiston: Mr. *Tho. Philips*. Preston: Mr. *Gabriel Major*. Barroughdon: Mr. *John Wells*.

Mr. *Richard Levet* of *Ashwel*, afterwards Conform'd.

And this is the place in which I think it properest to make mention of Dr. *Samuel Winter*, who being Ejected from his Provost-ship of *Trinity Colledge*, by *Dublin* in *Ireland*, came afterwards over into *England*, where he liv'd and dy'd a Nonconformist; passing away his time in Privacy and Retirement among his Friends, (not omitting the frequent Exercise of his Ministry) in or about *West-Chester*, at *Coventry*, in *Hertfordshire*, and in this County of *Rutland*, where he pay'd his last Debt to Nature, An. 1666.*

He was born in *Warwickshire*, An. 1603. And from Twelve Years of Age, was discernibly under more than ordinary Religious impressions; and much inclin'd to the Ministry. He was bred up in *Queen's Colledge* in *Cambridge*, under the famous Dr. *Preston*. And when he left that University, he went to *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, where he liv'd for some time under the Ministry of Mr. *John Cotton*. From thence he after sometime remov'd to a small Living call'd *Woodborow*, near *Nottingham*, where his Ministry was Eminently Successful. He had not been there long, before he was call'd to the City of *York*, where he was for sometime a Lecturer, and had great Opportunity for Service, and great Success. The breaking out of the Civil War, forc'd him to remove from thence; and he was quickly invited to *Cottingham* a

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great Town within Three miles of *Hull*, then Destitute of a Minister. Here he continu'd tor about Eight Years, exceeding Industrious and Active for God. He Prcach'd twice every Lord's Day in Publick, Expounded the Chapters which he Read, and Catechiz'd the Younger Persons. In the Evening he repeated his Sermons in his own Family, to which many of the Neighbours Resorted. The Week Days he went from House to House, Instructing the Ignorant, and endeavouring to build up his Parishioners in their most Holy Faith; and Multitudes hold cause to bless God for his Painful Labours.

Anno 1650. The Parliament resolv'd to send Four Commissioners into *Ireland*, to settle that Distracted Kingdom, and ordred Mr. *Winter* to attend them thither. Weighing the matter, and being satisfy'd in the clearness of his Call, he resign'd up his Living, which was worth 400*l. per Annum*, and prepar'd for his Journey and Voyage, casting himself upon Strangers, neither knowing, nor capitulating with them what his Salary should be, for the maintenance of himself and Family. In *Ireland* he was a most laborious Preacher, and exceedingly follow'd. His allowance from the Commissioners, was at 1*st.* but 100*l. per Annum*. But after some time, they made him Provost of *Trinity* Colledge, which was almost desolate and forsaken; but under his Care and Conduct it Flourish'd Again, and became as valuable a Semimry of Learning and Piety, as any in *Christendom*. Here he Commenc'd Dr. in Divinity, having with singular Applause and Approbation, perform'd all needful and usual Acts and Exercises. His being at last forc'd to leave the University and Kingdom, was much to his Damage, the Colledge being indebted to him in a considerable Sum of Mony, which he had disbursed for the common Benefit: Part of which it must be own'd, was after his Death repai'd to his Son.

He had a good Estate, and was a Man universally Respected, and yet was remarkably Humble; Conversing freely with the meanest for their good, and giving them Mony to make his Advice Regarded. He could bear Contradictions from others, and their

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Disadvantageous Reflections without Resentment. His Diligence and Industry was very Exemplary. He was a bard Student to the last; very careful to redeem and improve his time. He was a Man of great Zeal, and fervent Affections. He was a strict Sanctifier of the Lord's Day. Rich in Good Works, and one that devis'd Liberal things. His Candour was great, and his Courteous

Department Remarkable. His Faith and Patience was very signal both in his Life and Death: And his Power and Prevalence in Prayer, was Peculiar, and more than ordinary. Several strange Answers to his Prayers, are mention'd in the Account of his Life, which deserve Observation: But with this Caution; That peculiar Favours are not to be the matter of common Expectation.

In the County of NOTTINGHAM.

Nottingham: St. *Mary's*, Mr. *Jo. Whitlock*; M.A. Mr. *Will. Reynolds*; M.A. And St. *Peters*. Mr. *J. Barret*, M.A.

As to Mr. *Whitlock* and Mr. *Reynolds*: Tho' the one be living and the other dead yet were they so link'd together by an unexampled Friendship, o above Fifty Years Continuance, that a separate account of them can scarce be given, after once they became Acquaimed. Mr. *Will. Reynolds*,* was Born in *Essex*, *Octob.* 28. 1625. He went to *Cambridge* in 1641, and was admitted of *Emanuel* Colledge, under the Tuition of Dr. *Whitchcot*. Mr. *Whitlock*, was also of the same Colledge and had Dr. *Cudworth* for his Tutour. They were Chamber Fellows in the Colledge, and both design'd for the Ministry. Mr. *Reynolds*, for sometime with Regret diverted from those tho'ts, in compliance with his Father, who sent him into *Russia*, to manage his Business in that Country. He left *England* in 1644; and in 1646, upon his Father's Death, return'd again. He expected to find a good Estate, but was Disappointed and Discourag'd; and had thereupon tho'ts of pursuing Merchandize, and was going to Sea, but stop'd by a false Arrest; which was a happy Providence, for the Ship he had agreed to go

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* See the short Account of his Life, Publish'd by Mr. Whitlock. Oct. 1678.

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in, was never heard of more, nor any of the Passengers; and withal, upon further Consideration, he reassum'd his Studys and tho'ts of the Ministry, to the great Benefit of the Church of God, who otherwise had lost an useful Instrument. At the latter end of the Year, Mr. *Whitlock* settling at *Leighton* in *Bedfordshire*, perswaded Mr. *Reynolds* to come and live with him, and prevail'd: After which Conjunction, they liv'd perpetually together, till Death made a Separation; being still under the same Roof, (tho' keeping distinct Houses while both were Married) Studying in the same Room, and writing at the same Table. They had not been long together, before *Okingham* in *Berkshire* being Vacant, they two undertook to supply both *Leiton* and that place by Turns. When *Okingham* was supply'd at the end of half a Year, they

afterwards did the same, between *Leighton* and *Ailesbury*. *An.* 1649, they jointly refus'd to take the *Engagement*; altho' they thereby lost the Augmentation at *Leighton*, which was the only Maintenance there; and expos'd themselves to the Displeasure of those thro' whose Hands the Allowance was to pass that came out of the Impropriation at *Ailesbury*. At length the Providence of God unexpectedly, remov'd them both to *Nottingham*, by a means untho't off. The *Nottingham* Carrier: Mr. *Adrian Cook*, was us'd to go in his way to *London* thro' *Fenny Stratford*, but the way being bad in *Feb.* 1650, he left that Road to go by *Leiton*, where he Lodg'd, which he never did either before or after. Hearing in the Town; that two Ministers liv'd there, who were under Discouragement; because they had refus'd the engagement he Visited them and Discours'd with them; told them that St. *Mary's* in *Nottingham* wanted a fix'd Minister, and press'd them to come and Preach there occasionally; which they told him they some time or other in the approaching Summer, might probably do. When Mr. *Cook* came home to *Nottingham*, he gave an Account of what had pass'd, and all in general that were told of it were very desirous to hear the two Ministers Preach: And thereupon drew upon Invitation to them to come and spend some time in their Town, in order to mutual Tryal and Acquaintance. It was Sign'd by

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Francis Pierpoint Esq; Member of Parliament for the Town, and by several Aldermen and Principal Inhabitants; and carried to *Leighton* by Mr. *Spencer*: one of the Church-Wardens of St. *Mary's*. Going to *Nottingham* upon this Invitation, they were unanimously approv'd, and fix'd. *An.* 1651. They went up to *London*, and were ordain'd by the Classis in *Andrew Undershaft* Church, Dr. *Manton* being Moderator. Going down again, they settled a regular Church Order among them at *Nottingham*, and it continu'd till 1662. they enjoying much Peace and Comfort between themselves, with their People, and the Neighbour Ministers, and there wanted not Encouraging success to their Labours. In the latter end of 1660, they were disturb'd by Indictments for not reading the Common Prayer, and from the Spiritual Court, and Mr. *Reynolds* was Excommunicated, and put to a vast Expence in Journeys to *York* and *London* upon that occasion. At last he procur'd a Prohibition; the Proceedings against him being directly against the Act of Uniformity.

In *October* 62. After their being silenc'd, they remov'd with their Family from *Nottingham*, to *Colwich Hall*, about a Mile off, there they were seiz'd at their Meeting in *Sept.* 1663.* They were again seiz'd in *August* 65. and Imprison'd for about Three Months at the Marshals without any cause assign'd.

When the Five Mile Act took place, they remov'd together to *Therbrook* in *Derbyshire*, where they liv'd two Years, but frequently visited their Friends at *Nottingham*. In 1668, they remov'd to *Mansfield*, where they continu'd 19 Years; in which time they were often at *Nottingham*, by turns Officiating among their People. In *March* 1684/5 going as Freeholders to *Newark* to an Election of Parliament Men for the County, they were seiz'd, and sent Prisoners to *Nottingham* by Eight Justices upon the Five Mile Act: There they continu'd till *July* 1685, when upon the Duke of *Monmouth's* Landing, they with many others, were sent Prisoners to *Hull*. Upon the Liberty given in 1687, they return'd with their Families to *Nottingham* in Peace, much to the Comfort of their People. There they continu'd Labouring toge

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* See *Conform. 4th Plea for Non*, pag. 36, 37.

* *Id. Ibid.* pag 43, 44.

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ther very Comfortably in their Misterial Work, till it pleas'd God by a Fevour to remove Mr. *Reynolds*,* on *February* 26. 1697/8. *Ætat.* 73. Mr. *Barret* Preach'd his Funeral Sermon; in which he gave this short, but full Account of him. *He was a sound lively, practical Preacher; an Holy, Liver, an Exemplory Walker; one that could not live without daily secret Converse with God in the Word and Prayer; and God was with him.*

* *I don't know that he hath printed any thing, besides a Funeral Sermon, for the Honourable Francis Pierepont Esq; Preach'd at St. Mary's in Nottingham. Qu.* 1658.

Mr. *Whitlock*,* is yet living, Pastour of the Congregation at *Nottingham*.

* *He hath Printed the Upright Man and his Happy End: A Funeral Sermon for the Honourable Francis Pierepont Esq; Preach'd at Holm Pierepont, in Nottinghamshire. Qu.* 1658. *The Great Duty and Comfortable Evidence, Keeping our selves from our Iniquity: Being some Sermons on Psal. 18.23. Oct.* 1698. *An Account of the Life of Mr. William Reynolds. Oct.* 1698.

Mr. *Barrett*.† was invited to *St. Peters* in *Nottingham*, upon the Death of Mr. *Rich. Wbitchurch*, *An.* 1656. He met with much Opposition, but was Marvelously screen'd by a special Providence.* He is yet living Joint Pastour with Mr. *Whitlock*, of the Congregation at *Nottingham*.

† *He hath Printed and Publish'd a Treatise on the Covenant of Grace, Oct. The Christian Temper, or a Discourse, on the several Graces that make a compleat Christian. Oct. Two Controversial Treatises against Dr. Stillingfleet, in Defence of the Nonconformists, Qu.* 50 *Querys about Infant Baptism, Collected out of Mr. Baxter's Bach, all.* .

* See Conform. 4th Plaa. for Noncon. pag. 77.

Flintham, and *Sutton*: Mr. *John James*. He was formerly Lecturer at *Newark*; sometime after his being Silenc'd, he came to *London*, and was Pastour at a Congregation in *Wapping*.

Griesley: Mr. *Robert Smalley*. In whom there was the unusual Conjunction, of a very sound Judgement, and lively Affections. He dy'd at *Mansfield*, *Septmber 7. 1670.*

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Bleasbie:

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Bleasbie: Mr. *John Jackson*. *Saunby*: Mr. *Josiah Rick*. *Knesall*: Mr. *Bosworth*. *Claworth*: Mr. *John Cromwet*. In 1674, He remov'd to *Norwich*, but afterwards return'd and dy'd in *Nottinghamshire*, about *April 1684.*

Crumwell: Mr. *Joseph Truman*, B.D. A Native of *Nottinghamshire*, and bred up in *Cambridge*. A Man of great Parts, and close Study; of a Profound Judgment and a tenacious Memory. Very swift in reading Books, and happy in retaining what he Read. For by meet Strength of Memory when he had read a Book once over, he would pertinently and faithfully recite what his Author said. He was a Man of a free and chearful Temper in Conversation: Very Communicative of what he knew; never insulting over any because of the meanness of their Parts or learning, even when he disputed with them; unless he found them intolerably Confident and Conceited: And when in Discourse he had puzzled a Person, thro' the Pregnancey of his Wit he had something or other ready, wherewith to divert the Company, from discerning or pausing on the Weakness of the Person he discours'd with. He spent his Pains at *Cromwel* to very good Purpose, till he was Ejected in 62. He Liv'd afterward at *Mansfield*: and that very much for the Benefit and Pleasure of Mr. *Porter's* Conversation. He was well known to, and much valu'd by Dr. *Tillotson*, and Dr. *Stillingfleet* the Late Worthy Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Worcester*. During his Recess from his Publick Ministry, he commonly attended the Worship in Publick; for his Latitude was Great, and his Temper Candid. He was generally Respected, for he was an excellent Scholar: and a wonderful clear-headed Man. Bishop *Gunning*, lighting on his Book stil'd. *The Great Propitiation*, was so pleas'd with it, that he Charg'd the bookseller to bring him into the Authors Acquaintance, whenever he came to Town. He was well Skill'd in the Statute and Common-Law; and no stranger to the Civil-Law neither he was a good Critick in the Learned Tongues, and particularly in the *Greek*, where his Head would supply the Place of a *Lexicon*. For I have

been told, that he was able upon a sudden in Company, to give an Account of

the

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the several Senses of any *Greek* Word, that should be mention'd; together with some Authorities out of Sacred or Prophane Authors, or both; where the Word had any Thing of more than common Moment depending upon its Sanctification. He was of a most admirable Temper, and great Moderation; and yet was often Indicted, and once Sued to an Out-lawry, which was very chargeable to him. Coming to *London*, he after some short stay, in his return Home, call'd on Mr. *Baxter* at his House at *Totteridge*. In a variety of Discourse among other Particularities, Mr. *Baxter* engag'd him to Write upon *The Covenant of Grace*, which he undertook to do when he came Home.* He stay'd but one Night, and was Ill. He went the next Day to *Sutton* in *Bedfordshire*, where he dy'd suddenly in his Chair. This was as I am Inform'd, in 1671. He Liv'd and Dy'd a Batchelor.

* *He hath but 3 Treatises extant. The great Propitiation, or Christ's Satisfaction, and mans Justification by it. Oct. 1669. An endeavour to Rectifie some prevailing Opinions, Contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of England, Oct. 1671. A Discourse of Natural and Moral Impotency. Oct. 1657.*

Codgrave: Mr. *John Clark*. South Collingham: Mr. *Pindar*. Roulston: Mr. *Thomas Ogle*. Sutton in Ashfield: Mr. *Took*. Sibthorpe and Flintham: Mr. *George Cook*: Alkering: Mr. *Mat. Thompson*.

West Bridgford: Mr. *Samuel Coates*. He was born at *Rawden* in *Guiseley* Parish, in *Yorkshire*, and bro't up under his Uncle Mr. *Coates* of *Nottingham*, maintain'd at *Cambridge* till he took the Degree of M.A. and then he came to *Nottingham*, and was fix'd in the living of *Bridgford*, which is not far from it. Being Ejected in 62, he remov'd to *Wathe* near *Rotheram* in *Yorkshire*, and thence to a House of his own at *Rawden*. He had a good Estate, and Preach'd at *Wath*, at *Rawden*, and at *Idle* Gratis; and us'd often to say that he had not the worth of a pair of Gloves for his Pains: nay instead of gain, he was at a great Charge in Entertaining his Hearers. He was a profound Scholar, a Solid Judicious Divine, and Preach'd Substantial Divinity; but had an unacceptable kind of Stammering in his Delivery. He was a Pious Man, and full of tender Compassion to a Melancholy

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Wife,

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Wife. His Name is Precious in all the Neighbourhood for his Pains, Piety, and Charity. Visiting some Relations in *Derbyshire*, he dy'd suddenly. He went into his Chamber, to prepare for Preaching, fell down in a Palsey Fit, and was found lying along on the Floor, with his Notes and Spectacles in his Hands. He never spake afterward, but dy'd the next day, *An.* 1683. *Ætat.* 69.

Beston: Mr. *Will. Cross.* Southwell: Mr. *James Mowbray.* Calverton: Mr. *John Allot.* Mattersey: Mr. *Will Aspinwall.* Arnold: Mr. *John Crompton.* Thorpe: Mr. *Henry Featly.* Kirton: Mr. *Hebom.* Linby: Mr. *John Leighton.* Thurmpton: Mr. *Ferdinando Pool.* Blodworth: Mr. *Thomas Rose* or *Ross.* Winthorpe: Mr. *Salter.* Hawton: Mr. *Turner.* Ratcliff: Mr. *Pen.* Selston: Mr. *Charles Jackson.* And Mr. *Rose,* and Mr. *Shaw,* whose Places are uncertain.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, those Persons following. Mr. *Daniel Chadwick* of *Tollaston:* Who Conform'd in 1666, when the Five Mile Act took place. Mr. *Flower* of *Staunton.* Mr. *Horn* of *Nutthall.* Mr. *Boole* of *Clifton:* Mr. *Kendal* of *Widmerepoole.* Mr. *Ormston* of *Keyworth.* Mr. *Forth* or *Firth,* of *Fledborough;* and Mr. *Fisher* of *Blith.*

In the County of DARBY.

Bredsall: Mr. *John Hieran.* * His Father was Minister at *Stapenhil* near *Burton* upon *Trent;* there was he Born in *August,* 1608. He had many Providential Deliverances when he was a Child: He was tost by a Cow; he fell out of a Chamber, he fell into *Trent,* and yet received no harm; he was carry'd down the River in the *Trent-Boat* alone, when the Wind was high, and had in all Probability been drown'd in a whirl-Pit, if one that saw him, had not taken the private Boat and Rop'd him. These things he thankfully Recorded when he grew up. He laid a good Foundation in School Learning under Mr. *Whitehead* at *Repton.* He went to *Cambridge,*

and

* See Mr. *Porters,* *Account of his Life;* Qu. 1691.

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and was admitted into *Christ's* Colledge: *May* 2. 1625. Under the Tuition of Mr. *Will. Chappel,* afterwards Bishop of *Cork* and *Ross* in *Ireland;* whom he ever acknowledg'd to have been, a Learned; Painful, Careful, Faithful Tutor. He continu'd in the Colledge till 1628. And then went into *Yorkshire* to, Mr. *Thurncrosse,* an Acquaintance of his Tutors, and, Prebendary of *York,* with whom he liv'd for some time at *Kirkby-Moor-side,* Reading Prayers for

him, and teaching School in the Town. Being bent upon the Ministry, he Address'd himself to the Learned Bishop *Morton* of Coventry, and *Litchfield*, who examin'd and approv'd him, and on *Trinity* Sunday 1630, Ordain'd him both Deacon and Presbyter. After staying with Mr. *Thurcrosse* a Year and Half, he, remov'd to *Eggington*, where he was Houshold Chaplain to Sir *H. Leigh*, and Preach'd at *Newtonsullney*. In 1632, with his Patrons Encouragement and Assurance, he took the Degree of *Master* in *Arts*. While he continu'd in this Family, he also Preach'd a Week-day Lecture at *Bratby*, at the Request of *Catharine* Countess of *Chesterfield*, a Religious Lady. In 1633, he remov'd from hence to *Ashborne*, where he Succeeded Mr. *Taylor*, in his place of Lecturer. Here he was put into the High Commission Court, and Summon'd by a Pursevant to appear at *Lambeth*, much to his Trouble and Charge: And upon the whole, they were but very trifling Matters that were bro't against him. He was forc'd to remove from thence to *Derby* in the time of the Civil War, and was no sooner gone from home, than his House was Plunder'd. From *Derby* he remov'd with his Family in 44. to *Bredsall*, where he continu'd till his Ejectment in 1662.

He was a Learned Man, and always Studious, Well seen in History. Had a sharp Judgment, was a great Master of Method, and had throughly digested his Tutors Method of Preaching. He was very ready in Scripture Chronology: And so Conversant with his Bible, that the sense of its Difficulties, and the Reference of one Scripture to another, were become Familiar to him. He was an excellent Expositor; very Compassionate in dealing with Troubled Souls,

zealous

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zealous for God, and Earnest in every Part of his Work. Besides Preaching Twice every Lords Day; he Expounded the Scripture, and Catechiz'd. He Taught publickly, and from House to House. He assisted in most lectures in those Parts, and himself set up a Monthly one at *Dale Abby*. He back'd his Doctrine, with an Exemplary Life, and was a Pattern to all round about him.

When he was Silenc'd he desir'd Bishop *Hacktt* to allow him to Preach *Gratis* at *Dale Abby*. The Bishop refus'd, unless he Conform'd; and yet there was no care taken to supply the Place with any other. Upon his Ejectment, he remov'd to *Little Eaton*, a Town not far from *Breadsall* that he might be near his beloved People. But was driven thence by the *Oxford* Act, which put him upon moving from Place to Place, till at last he fix'd in *Losco*. His Sufferings did not exasperate him; he kept his Moderation; and would

frequently join in worshipping God in the Publick Churches; and yet was satisfy'd fully in his Nonconformity. Once one ask'd him, *Do you not Repent! What do you Mean*, says he, *the leaving of my Place! No, I am far from that; for I have done nothing therein, but what I have taught you to be your Duty. Rather loose all than Sin against God. And if Breadsall Parsonage was the best Bishoprick in England, I must do again what I have done.* When the Conventicle Act came out, in 1670, which Confin'd the Number of Auditors in Private Meetings to Four, he Preach'd Twice a Day in the biggest Families, with Four Persons only besides; but as many under Sixteen Years of Age, as would come, and then repeated at home at Night. During the Indulgence in 1671, he had full Meetings: But when the Declaration was recall'd, he was more Cautious; and tho' he neither desisted, nor gave out, yet he expos'd not his Hearers. In this his Retirement he was of use to many, who with great Thankfulness adore that Providence which bro't him into those Quarters. He Dy'd there, July 6. 1682. *Ætat.* 73. At which Time he had been an Ordain'd Minister Fifty Years; Preach'd at Sixty Six Churches and Chapels in *Derbyshire* and Thirty out of *Derbyshire*.*

* *He hath publish'd some Sermons on Heads of Divinity And a Discourse of Spiritual Joy, for, the Relief of Melancholy Christians. Some of his Letters are added at the End of his Life, in 4to.*

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In the Time of his Health and Strength, he study'd hard, and made many Collections out of the Books he read. Among other Things, he abridg'd Mr. *Pool's Synopsis* of the Criticks, and added his own Collections. Mr. *Porter* says, That he left under his Hand Two Volumes upon the whole Scripture, in which there are Practical Remarks as well as Critical, Spiritual Glosses, and most pertinent Inferences, in which he is well known to have had a peculiar Excellency. And he that will read those Printed Notes which he hath Publish'd in the Account of his Life, will have before him a Specimen of such Piety as is not Common.

Darby: All Saints: Mr. *Joseph Swetnam*. St. Peters: Mr. *Luke Cranwell*. St. Werburgh's: Mr. *Samuel Beresford*.

Mr. *Joseph Swetnam*. He was not *formally* put out by the Act of Uniformity, and yet *really* he was. For foreseeing the Commencement of that Act at *Bartholomew Day*, he tho't good to make a mixtly voluntary Secession sometime before its taking Place; and so was not, and yet was expell'd by it. He was a

Man very well qualify'd to fill so August a Place as *Alhallows* in *Derby*. A very able Preacher; and great Master of Language.

Mr. *Luke Cranwell*. Born at *Loughborough* in the County of *Leicester*, and Educated in *Christ's* Colledge in *Cambridge*. A knowing, courageous, zealous, and upright Man. He was not very ready in Elocution; but very Scriptural, Solid and Substantial in all his Discourses. His Sermons when look'd over by Writers, or tho't over by Understanding Hearers, we're found to be full of Divinity. He had some competent Skill in Physick before he was Silenc'd, When he was no longer suffer'd to exercise his Ministry publicly, he resolv'd to try what he could do in the other Faculty. He betook himself to serve Bodies, and he grew very judicious and skilful, famous and successful. Hereby he maintain'd Himself, and his Family very comfortably, kept good Hospitality; and he did as readily help his Brethren, and the Poor among his Neighbours without any Desire or Expectation of Fees; as he did the

Rich

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Rich and Greatest. He had a working Head. He understood well what he read, and found out some Magistrals of his own, some happy and effectual Medicines. He was a chearful Man, and to appearance very Strong, but when he began to decline, he ran down speedily. That he might be out of the reach of the *Oxford Act*, he went to *Kegworth* in *Leicestershire* where he Dy'd, Nov. 11. 1683. on the Lord's Day.

Matlock: Mr. *Thomas Shelmerdine*. Born in *Lancashire*, and bred in *Christ's* Colledge in *Cambridge*. He was a diligent Preacher at *Criche* divers Years; where he was encompass'd with many good old Puritans, that Liv'd in that Parish and about it, who strengthen'd his Hands much in his Work. He was a Man very chearful in Converse. A kind Husband to an Holy, but very Melancholy Wife. From *Crich* he remov'd to *Matlock*, where he did the Work of his Place, liv'd peaceably with his Neighbours, and found more Benefit by his Peace, than his Successor did with his Contention. He remov'd thence when he was Silenc'd to a dwelling at *Wicksworth*, where he did not long survive. In his Sickness he would tell his Friends, *he was going to his Preferment*. And Mr. *Porter* relates this Passage; that he thus express'd himself one Day to one that stood by him; *That next to my Hopes of Heaven, I rejoice that I turn'd out of Matlock*.

Barrow: Mr. *Daniel Shelmerdine*. Son of the former. A valuable Man also, and useful Preacher.

Little-Over: Mr. *Samuel Charles*. After his being Silenc'd, he was invited by a Private Conversation to *Hull*, where he was faithful and industrious in

his Work; till the Time of his Death; which (as I am inform'd) was in 1687. He was abundantly satisfy'd in his Nonconformity to the last.

Duffield: Mr. *Roger Morrice*. Who was sometime Chaplain to my Lord *Hollis*, and afterwards to Sir *John Maynard*. He Dy'd lately at *Hoxton* in *Middlesex*, Jan. 17. 1700/1. He hath left behind him a valuable Collection of Manuscripts.

Honor: Mr. *Samuel Wright*. A good Man, and a very able Preacher. He liv'd in much Weakness for

divers

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divers Years after his being Ejected. He could not Preach, as the rest of his more healthful Brethren: But when he did, he Preach'd to very good Purpose.

Langley: Mr. *Robert Seddon*, M.A. Born in *Outwood* in *Prestwich* Parish in *Lancashire*, brought up in *Ringley* School under Mr. *Cole*, and admitted in *Christ's* Colledge in *Cambridge*, Ann. 1647. He continu'd there several Years, and then return'd home. After which he had the Advantage of Living in Mr. *Angiers* Family, and the Benefit of his grave Example, pious Instructions, and useful Converse. From his House he was call'd to the Exercise of the Ministry in *Goiton* Chapel. From thence he remov'd to *Langley*, where he was Silenc'd in 62. He afterwards Preach'd in *Derby*, and up and down the Country. Travelling to *London*, he was taken there Preaching in Mr. *Baxter's* Pulpit, and was Imprison'd; but soon delivered. He had Acquaintance with and Interest in, many Persons of good Quality: And was generally acceptable where-ever he came. At last he fix'd at *Bolton* in his Native Country, where he was a solid and useful Preacher, and with great Zeal and Affection laid out himself in his Masters work. Buying an House there, He gave the People Liberty to build a Chapel on the back-side of it, and a little after Dy'd of a Palsie at his Brothers, Captain *Peter Seddon*, in *March* 1695/6 *Ætat*. 77.

Marston: Mr. *John Bingham*. A Man of much Integrity, Zeal, and Faith; Hearty for God; and in the world of Times and Things kept up his Heart, waiting for, and firmly expecting the Salvation of God.

Hogmston: Mr. *Jonathan Stanisforth*. *Allestree:* Mr. *Timothy Stanisforth*. Two Brothers, Sons of an Ancient Godly Minister. Both good Men, who gave much attendance to reading, and had a good Library. After their Ejection, and the taking Place of the *Oxford* Act, they were driven from Pillar to Post, yet in all Places at Work as they had Opportunity, and that with Success. Many Persons about *Heage*, had Cause to bless God for their Night Labours. They liv'd some Years together, and Dy'd

very

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very near one to another. They made their last remove to an honest but an obscure Family; and from thence took their flight one after another, from an obscure Corner, to a light-some and large Place. They both of them Dy'd with much inward Satisfaction, that they were going to that Heaven which they had chosen, and long labour'd for; They had lively Hopes in their dying Moments.

Sherly: Mr. Samuel Hieron, Brother to *Mr. John Hieron* mention'd before. He made no great Figure in the World, but was an honest Man, and an useful Preacher. He was much belov'd by those amongst whom he labour'd. Few Mens outward Circumstances more press'd their Conformity than his did; yet he follow'd his Conscience, and left a pretty Living, at *Bartholomew Day* 62, and threw himself and all his, into the Hands of Gods Providence And tho' he remov'd from Place to Place, and every where met with hard Penny-worths, yet he found God pitiful and of tender Compassion, and had eno' to carry him to his Journeys End; which he arriv'd at *March* 24. 1687.

Chesterfield: Mr. John Billingsly. * A *Kentish* Man, Born at *Chatham*, Educated in both Umversities. An ingenious Man, strict to his Principles, which he understood well. An accurate, savoury Preacher; an exemplary Walker; a Man elegant in every thing; a diligent Reader, and Observer of what he read, and bery ready with his Pen. He hath left behind him excellent Collections, which are happily fallen into his Sons Hands. His outward bodily Appearance was meant but he had a great Soul, Rich in Grace and Gifts. He left his People at *Chesterfield*, because he could not keep his Place and his Peace, but he kept his Affection to them and Care over them, and hazarded his Health and Liberty to serve them. The Pin of the *Uniformity* Act, driven by Hands that were fit Tools for such mischievous Work, push'd him out of his Pulpit and House; and the Hurricane of the *Oxford* Act drove him from his hired House to *Mansfield*; where he pass'd the Residue of his Sojourning-time in Fear, wrought for the Salvation of others, and wrought out his own, being
ever

*He wrote something Against the Quakers and Printed a Sermon with it, which gives the World a Tast of his Abilities.

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ever very Serious and laborious. But towards his latter End, his Motion was very quick; he made actual Preparation for Death; desir'd his Poor outed Brethren cast into *Mansfield* as he was, to come together a little before: his Departure, to put him into the Hands of God by Prayer: At which Time,

he made a short Confession of his Faith in, and Declaration of his Dependance on the Righteousness of Christ alone, and not long after went with a full Sail into the Kingdom of God, *May* 30. 1683.

Carsington: Mr. *John Oldfield*. Born near *Chesterfield*, and bro't up at *Dronfield* School, at that Time famous. He was a general Scholar. A great Master in the Tongues, and *Mathematicks*. He had a Mechanical Head and Hand, capable of any Thing, he had Opportunity to get insight into. What some might reckon a Reflection upon him, was in the Judgment of wise Men his great Honour, *viz.* That he was a Man of considerable Learning and Worth, and yet beholden to no University: His Living was Worth but about 70*l. per Ann.* He had the offer of *Tamworth*, and was press'd to have remov'd thither, where he would have had a much better Living, but was stopp'd by the Importunity of his People. All that knew him acknowledge him to have been a judicious Divine, a good Casuist, an excellent Preacher, one that was Pertinent and Methodical, Clear in opening his Text, and that spake very close to Conscience from it. He was well acquainted with the inside of Religion. He was of few Words and reserv'd, not at all Talkative: But let anyone give him Occasion, by starting useful Discourse, putting him upon his Knees, or upon Writing or Preaching Work, and they would soon find he wanted neither Words nor Sense. He was a Man of Prayer. One of a very quiet Spirit. The People among whom he labour'd were very Ticklish and Capricious, very hard to be Pleas'd in Ministers, and yet they Center'd in him, and his Name is precious amongst them. This good Man had many Removes after he was Ejected, but God told his Wandrings, and he had Songs in the Houses of his Pilgrimage. He was one of great Moderation; which he tho't himself ob

lig'd

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lig'd to testifie, by going sometimes to Church: As to which some Persons of his Acquaintance being of another Mind, he would often freely and amicably Discourse it with them. And yet he was many ways a Sufferer for his Nonconformity. He for sometime Preach'd once a Fortnight at *Radenuke*, where a Meeting being discover'd by Two Informers, they Swore against him upon Presumption, that he was the Preacher, tho' as it fell out, it was not his Day: However he was Prosecuted with much eagerness. Whereupon Esquire *Spademan* (a worthy Gentleman who was owner of the House where the Meeting; was) and Mr. *Oldfield* made their Appeal, and gave so clear Proof of his being Ten Miles distant at the Time that was Sworn to, that he was Clear'd: And the Inormers being afterwards Prosecuted, were found

Perjur'd. Upon which one of them ran a way, and the other Hood in the Pillory at *Darby*, with this Inscription affix'd, *A Base, Perjur'd Informer*.

He spent the latter, Part, of his Life at *Alfreton*, from whence he took many weary Steps to serve his Master, and was very useful in that Neighbourhood but at last was forc'd by his Infirmities to cease from; his Labours, and departed to his Everlasting Rest, *June 5. 1682. Ætat. 55.**

* *He hath built himself a lasting Monument, in a small piece Entit. The First Last, and the Last First, against Hypocrisie. The substance of some Lectures at Wicksworth. And in his larger Piece about Prayer, which by many judicious Persons both Conformists and Nonconformists, is esteem'd as valuable a Discourse, as any Extant upon the subject.*

After the Act of *Uniformity* pass'd in the beginning of 62, before it took Place in the *August* following, He with all possible Care study'd his Duty, as to the requir'd Compliance; weigh'd Matters fairly in the Ballance; and the Determination which he fix'd on as to his own Practise, was the result of his most mature and deliberate Tho'ts. I the rather Mention this in his Case, because I have had the very Paper which he drew up upon this Occasion. communicated to me in his own Hand Writing.

'Tis

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'Tis in the Form of a *Soliloquy*, to which that of the wise Man is prefix'd, *Eccles. 7. 14. In the Day of Adversity consider.* 'Tis too long to be here inserted: But I shall Transcribe thence a few Passages, that will manifest the seriousness and solemnity of his Spirit upon that Occasion, the impartiality of his Tho'ts, his Fear of doing any Thing in that Critical Juncture which he could not Justifie, and his Concern for Superior Guidance and Conduct, &c.

Consideration (says he) *is the way to Resolution; and, well-grounded Resolution will bulwark and fortifie the Soul, against the impetuous Violence of Man, and make it as the Rock to repel the dashing Waves. To this O my Soul, I now invite thee, &c. Rash Engagements often end in shameful Retreats, and base Tergiversation.* Thou O Fountain of Wisdom, who giveth it Liberally and upbraidest not, to him that asketh, shine in upon my dark Understanding, let thy Spirit of Truth lead me into all Truth, and so direct me in my Consideration; that it may End in Pious Resolution; and what thro' Grace I Purpose, let me by Grace be enabled to perform.

It is not O my Soul a light Matter thou art now employ'd in: Its not thy Food, Clouthing, Maintenance, Family, Wife and Children, that are the main Things considerable in this Enquiry. Forget these, till thou art come up to a Resolution in the main Business. Strip thy self of all these in thy Disquisitions. Imagine thy Self

neither to have a Body to be fed and Cloth'd; nor a Family to be provided for. These must be abstracted from, and be as the small Dust of the Ballance, not at all poizing the Scale, this way or the contrary.

It is O my Soul the Glory of God, the Credit and Advantage of Religion, the good of that poor Flock committed to thy keeping by the Holy Ghost, thy Ministry, thy Conscience, thy Salvation and the Salvation of others, that must cast the Scale, and determine thy Resolutions. And where all cannot be at once promoted (or do at least seem to Cross one another) it is fit the less and more subordinate, should give Place to the greatest. Thy Ministry, thy People, must be singularly dear and precious to Thee; incomparably above Body, Food, Raiment, Wife, Children, and Life it self: But where these seem inconsistent with those higher Things; Gods Glory, Religions Credit and

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Advance

Advancement, the keeping of a good Conscience, the saving of thy self and others, it is fit the latter should take Place. For the other being but Means to these, it is fit they should give Place to their End, which ever is or ought to be more noble than the Means. Nay, my Soul, let it seem no Paradox to Thee, that when the Divine Providence hath so ordered it, that there is an inconsistency between these, the very laying aside the Means shall promote the End. When thou canst no longer continue in thy Work without Dishonour to God, discredit to Religion foregoing thy Integrity, wounding Conscience, spoiling thy Peace, and hazarding the Loss of thy Salvation; in a Word, when the Conditions upon which thou must continue (if thou wilt continue) in thy Employment are sinful, and unwarranted by the Word of God; thou mayst, yea thou must believe, that God will turn thy very Silence, Suspension, Deprivation, and laying aside, to his Glory and the Advancement of the Gospel's Interest. When God will not use Thee in one kind, yet he will in another. A Soul that Desires to serve and honour God, shall never want Opportunity to do it: Nor must thou so limit the Holy One of Israel, as to think he hath but one Way in which he can glorifie himself by Thee. He can do it by thy Silence, as well as by thy Preaching, thy laying aside, as well as continuance in thy Work. Oh put on that Holy indifference (as to the Means, so the End be but attained) which the blessed Apostle expresses, Phil. 1. 20. That Christ might be magnify'd in his Body, whether by Life or by Death. Nor should it seem incredible unto Thee, O my Saul, that he who could make Figs Effectual to Cure a Plague-sore, and Clay and Spittle to open the Eyes of the Blind, should also be able to turn thy Suspension from thy Work, to the Advantage of the Ends of thy Work. Canst thou think God would, or his Church should have lost one Sermon of those his precious silent Ambassadors, Dod, Cleaver, &c. (whose Labours in the Work of the Ministry were far more profitable than thine)

if he could not have glorify'd himself, and advantaged his Church, as much or more by their Suspension from, than Continuance in their Employment. Let God have the disposal of thee, and doubt not but he will use thee for his own Glory, and his Churches Good, his Respect to which is Infinitely greater than thine can be.

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But there is O my Soul, a Scylla and Charybdis in this Voyage thou art making; a Rock, both on one side and the other; and therefore beware, least thou make it a light Matter to be laid aside from thy Work. Examine; Hast thou so faithfully discharg'd thy Duty, as that thou maist take Comfort in the Review of it, when suspended from it? Do not abundance of Failings, Follies, Neglects, Mispent-time, Sinister-ends, base Self-seeking, Unprayerfulness, Idleness, Hypocrisy, &c. present themselves to Thee, when thou beginnest to Review the Course thou hast run? Think how little Service thou hast done for God or his House. How heavy will thy Account be, if to thy Removal from thy Work be added, the stinging Remembrance of Unfaithfulness in it? Hast thou not by thy Miscarriages justly provok'd God to spit in thy Face, and lay Thee aside as a broken Vessel? Is not this Dispensation the Fruit of thy own Sin, as well as (yea more than) of others Malice? Learn O my Soul to put every Cause in its right Order. God is the just Disposer of this Providence: Men tho' acting maliciously and unjustly yet are the Instruments of his Justice; thy Sin justly provoking God, to suffer Men unjustly to lay Thee aside. Neither will the Righteousness of the Cause wherein thou sufferest, excuse thy Unrighteousness, which is the procuring Cause of thy Sufferings. Learn then O my Soul, to justifie God, to be silent towards Men, and to Condemn thy Self. But there's another Rock, against which thou art in danger of Splitting. Take heed O my Soul least that be Charg'd on Gods Providence or Mens Injustice, which is Caus'd by thy own Wilfulness and Obstinacy. If that which thou callest Conscience and Duty, be found. Refractoriness and Sin, thou not only loosest thy Reward, but incurrest the Guilt of thy own Suffering, and thinking to charge others, wilt be found Accessory thy self, to thy own Murder as a Minister. Here then lies the stress of the Consideration thou art upon: whether the Grounds upon which thou first to suffer will bear thee out? Whether thou shall suffer as a Christian for Righteousness Sake? Whether the Cause of Suffering be as weighty, as the Suffering it self is like to be? That if thou findest it otherwise, thou maist (Dum res in integro est) make a timely Retreat. I charge thee O my Soul to lay aside all Prejudices, Præpositions, and Respects to, or Sini

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ster Conceptions of, Men of the one or the other Party Away with carnal Wisdom, leaning upon thy own Understanding. Let the Word of God Umpire, &c. And because (O Blessed Father) the way of Man (to know as well as go it) is not in himself; nor is it in Man that walks to direct his Steps, I again and again implore directing Grace: Lead me O Lord by thy Counsel; make thy Way plain before me; lead me in a plain Path; and into the Land of Uprightness. Let not former Errors be punish'd, in thy leaving me to err in this Thing. Lord shew me thy Way, and thro' Grace I will say it shall be my Way. What can a poor weak Creature say more! Thou knowest Lord the Heart of thy Servant; O dispeI Clouds of Ignorance, Prejudice, Passion; take off all Præponderating Weights and Propensions; cast the Scales which way may be most for thy Glory, thy Churches and my Peoples Good, the Peace of my own Conscience, and the Salvation both of my own and others Souls.

And canst thou (O, my Soul) think of laying down, or being laid aside from thy Ministry upon a light Occasion? Must Matters of Indifferency give thee a Supersedeas? Oh take heed, least if like Jonah thou overrunnest thy Embassie, through Discontent, thou be fetch'd back with a Storm. Poize the Burden, that is to be laid upon Thee; that if thou canst bear it (tho' with some Trouble and Reluctancy) thou maist yet abide in the Vineyard. What if Men be Pharaohs Task-masters, impose such Burdens as thou' maist even Groan under; if they be only Burdens and not Sins, they must be born and not shaken off. Nothing but a Necessity of sinning in the doing, can absolve thee from that Necessity, which is laid upon thee of Preaching the Gospel, and shelter thee from the Influence of that Wo, which is denounc'd against thee, for not Preaching it. The Plain Question then, which lies before thee O my Soul (and in the right Resolution whereof consists the Comfort of Suffering, or the Duty of continuing at thy Work) is, whether the Conditions that are impos'd (without performing which, thou must leave thy Place and Employment) be sinful or no? Sinful, I say, not only in the Imposition of them, but in Submission to them? Whether thou canst without sinning against God, his Church, thy People, thy Con-

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science, and Soul; (all or any of these) submit to the present Conditions of continuing in thy Place and Employment? Here's no Room for comparing Sin with Sin: viz. Whether it be a greater Sin to leave thy Ministry, or perform such a sinful Condition? There is no such perplex'd Case, unless it be made such, wherein thou art necessitated to Sin, or do the leaf Evil, tho' the greatest Good might come of it. Nor is it thy Sin to desist, when thou canst not without Sin go on, but their's

who thrust thee out, by imposing a Necessity of sinning on thee, upon Supposition of thy Continuance in the Ministry. Nor is there any Room to compare Sin with Duty. 'Tis not pretence of doing God the greatest Service, or performing the weightiest Duty, that will excuse the least Sin, tho' that Sin capacitated or gave us the Opportunity for the doing that Duty. Thou wilt have little Thanks (O my Soul) if when thou art charg'd with corrupting Gods Worship, falsifying thy Vows, &c. Thou pretendest a Necessity of it in Order to thy Continuance in the Ministry, &c.

Afterwards he proceeds to the particular Mention, and Consideration of the Conditions of the continu'd Exercise of his Ministry, saving that as to the Book of Common-Prayer with its Amendments, it not being then Extant, he was forc'd to suspend his Tho'ts concerning it. And upon the whole he concludes, that to hold on in the Publick Exercise of his Ministry, to him would be Sin.

I have not taken the Pains to transcribe these Hints, which so plainly discover the Impartiality of Mr. *Oldfield* in his Consideration of the Case of Conformity, as if he were the only Person that could be instanc'd in; (for there were many others of whom 'tis evident, that they acted in this Affair with equal Care and Seriousness:) But because this is the most solemn and express Debate of that Nature, drawn up in Writing, which hath as yet fallen into my Hands. And methinks he that observes that openness to Divine Light, that concern for special Conduct, that readiness to yield to it without reserve, and that unbyass'd Temper of Spirit that breaths in these Strains, should hardly be able to suppose that such an one, could be so far left of God, in a Matter so momentous, as to take a Course in which he could not be

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able to approve himself to him, whose Aid he so earnestly desir'd, and was so ready to yield to. Withal, I cannot but apprehend that the sober Consideration of this single Instance, may convince some on both sides of no small Mistake, in their Determination as to their own Conduct in this weighty Affair; in which such as proceed hastily, do often upon second Tho'ts find Cause to charge themselves with Rashness; which is not to be avoided, unless some such Method as this be taken. For where Self-Interest is deeply concern'd, and Affections are probably pre-engag'd, 'tis not fit to run immediately into Argument and Reasoning, but highly necessary, that the Mind be prepar'd to weigh what may be alledg'd on both sides with Impartiality: And particularly, that it be wrought into such a Submissiveness and Self-denial, as shall make it capable of entertaining the Evidence; on that side which is like to be most

disadvantageous. And they may greatly deceive themselves, who presume they are fit Judges upon meer Reasoning, of such a Matter, till they have first bro't their Minds to such a Temper. 'Tis as if a Man, going to use a pair of Scales, should be mightily concern'd about the weights he puts in it, without any Care of the Ballance, whether it be even or deceitful. But whoever, taking such a Method as this in poizing his Spirit, (with an Eye call seriously upward to the Fountain of all Wisdom) before he proceeds to weigh the Merits of the Cause in debate shall have unspeakable Satisfaction upon reflecting afterwards; and on which side soever his Determination falls, he may be easie and undisturb'd, under all the Issues and Consequences of that Determination.

Sandeacree: Mr. *Joseph Moore*. Born at *Nottingham*, and Educated in *St. Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*, when Holy Dr. *Tuckney* was President. He was sober-minded from his Youth. He entred Young into the Ministry; but his Youth was not despicable, being Grave, Serious and Savoury. After his Ejection, he spent the rest of his Time in divers private Families, in Praying, Preaching, and Catechizing. He was a hard Student, a searching Man,

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a pertinent profitable Preacher. He Liv'd well, and Dy'd happily, *Nov*, 27. 1684.

Norton: Mr. *Jeremy Scoales*. He was Born in *Salford* near *Manchester* in *Lancashire*. When he was Ejected from his Living, he remov'd to his Native Place, and Liv'd on his Estate. He was very Industrious in his Masters Work, and Preach'd as he had Opportunity. He was wont to take much Delight in Days of Prayer and Humiliation, in which he was often charg'd by his Brethren with holding out too long; tho' he was usually pertinent and acceptable. He was an upright hearted Man. He Dy'd, *April* 27. 1685. *Ætat*. 56.

Eyam in the *Peak*: Mr. *Stanley*, M. A. He was Born at *Duckmanton* Three Miles from *Chesterfield*. His first Publick Employment was under. Mr. *Cart* at *Hansworth*. For Three Years he was Preacher at *Dore* Chapel, in the Parish of *Dronfield*; and Eight Years after, at the Parochial Chapel of *Ashford* in the Parish of *Bakewell*; whence by those then in Power, he was in 44 Translated to the Rectory of *Eyam*, where he continu'd his Labours till *Bartholomew* Day 62. He was an eminent Preacher; and a very visible and audible Confuter, of those who Adventure to decry free conceived Prayer; saying, there is no such Gift, whereby Persons can suit their Prayers to Divine Providence, and their own and others Particular Cases. When he could not serve his People Publickly, he was helpful to them in Private; especially, when the Pestilence

prevail'd in that Town. He officiated amongst them with great Tenderness and Affection, during that Sore and very Mortal Visitation, which in that little Place cut off 259 grown Persons, and 58 Children. And yet even at that very Time did some who might have been better employ'd, make a Motion to the Lord Lieutenant of the County, Noble Earl (now Duke) of *Devonshire*, to remove him out of Town. Who like himself, made some such Reply as this; *That it was more reasonable, That the whole Countrey should in more than Words testify their Thankfulness to him, who together with his Care of the Town hath taken such Care, as none else did, to prevent the Infection of the Towns adja*

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cent. He Dy'd in 1670. satisfy'd to the last in the Cause of Nonconformity, and rejoicing in his Sufferings on that Account.

Markworth: Mr. Samuel Ogden. A Man of considerable Learning. A solid substantial Practical Preacher: One of an exemplary Conversation, and a very tender Conscience. He was far from being rigid in his Separation; and yet not being able to Conform fully, he suffer'd much many ways as a Nonconformist: But so inoffensive was his Carriage under all, that he was at last made Master of a Publick School, for which he was singularly well qualify'd.

Glossoppe: Mr. William Bagshaw. The Apostle of the *Peak*, where he is yet Living, having a good Estate, and a large Heart, which when join'd together are great Blessings.

Rawston: Mr. William Smith, Lecturer. A Man of great Worth.

Pentridge: Mr. Robert Porter. * Born in *Nottinghamshire*, and bred in *Cambridge*. His Parts were great and quick, his Fancy very Rich and Pregnant, and his Wit rendred him the Desire and Pleasure of Gentlemen in Conversation. And after God had touch'd his Heart, which was quickly after his coming from *Cambridge*, he betook himself to severe Studies and a strict Conversation. His Proficiency was considerable. Few Men better understood their Bible than he. His Judgment was solid, and his Eloquence natural, and greatly Scriptural. The People he settled amongst were Poor, but his Labours were great, and very prosperous among them. His Hated Income was not above 15*l. per Ann.* But being greatly belov'd by the Neighbouring Gentry, and other Persons, they rais'd it to near Fifty. He was invited, and would have been welcome, where he might have had much more, but he refus'd, because he found his Labours prosperous, and Tho't their getting a suitable Supply would be difficult if he should leave them. He was abundant in Prayer and Preaching, and Catechizing; and visiting his Parishioners from House to

House: Insomuch as that if the meanest Person in his Parish were either Sick,
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* *He hath nothing extant, but his Farewel Sermon to his People in a Book call'd, Englands Remembrancer; and an Account of the Life and Character of Mr. Hieron, and other Darbyshire Ministers, Qu.*

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nigh the Hour of Travel, or in any other Difficulty or Strait, he was always ready to Pray with them, or give them a Sermon suited to their Exigencies, in which he had a marvelous Faculty, as to which very few exceeded him. When he was Ejected in 62, he retir'd to *Mansfield* where he spent the rest of his Days. From thence he would often visit his former Charge and Flock, keeping Days of Prayer with, them, &c. And many a dark Night hath he been engag'd in Travelling in dirty and dangerous Ways, on their Account, to show his sincere Regard to their Souls good. At *Mansfield* he attended on the Publick Worship, and kept his Meetings before or after the Publick Service, that he might not interfere. His Latitude was Great: For he went much upon the Principles of the Old Moderate Nonconformists, such as Mr. *John Ball*, &c. Such Love did he conciliate there, thro' the blamelessness and pleasantness of his Conversation, and his Discreet Management of himself as that when others were clapt into Prison, upon that which was call'd the *Lord Russels Plot*, a considerable Person who constantly kept to the Publick, and whose Judgement was fix'd that way, went to the Lord Lieutenant, and offer'd to be bound Body for Body for him, for his good Behaviour, that he might peaceably stay at Home. The offer was accepted; and Mr. *Porter* continu'd in his own House without Suspicion or Disturbance.

An handsome Comprehension with a fit Indulgence would greatly have pleas'd him. He was look'd upon as the greatest Oracle of Blessing in those Parts, and highly valu'd by his Brethren, who us'd to Converse with him upon difficult Cases, and paid a great Deference to his Judgment. He Dy'd at *Mansfield*; Jan. 22. 1689/90. His great Excellency lay in suitable Pathetick Preaching upon all Occasions; and an extraordinary Gift in Prayer; in which Duty he would be particular in his Remembrance of the Church of God, the State of the Nation, and the Cases of his Friends and Relations.

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Brampton: Mr. *Robert More*. Caldwell: Mr. *Nathanael Barton*. Turndicke: Mr. *Thomas Sweetnam*, and Mr. *Edward Buxton*. Dranfield: Mr. *Mosely* or *Maudsley*. Buxton: Mr. *John Jackson*. Bechiff Abbey: Mr. *Bayes*. Blackwell:

Mr. *Sam. Nowel*. Edal Chappel: Mr. *Wright*. Monyash: Mr. *Robert Cook*. Heathfield: Mr. *Higginbottom*. Bakewell: Mr. *Isaac Bacon*. Tiddswel, or Sheldon: Mr. *John Beeby*. Gresley: Mr. *Tho. Ford*. Asford: Mr. *Edward Hollingshead*. Dower: Mr. *James Lawton*. Fairfield in Hope Parish; Mr. *Will. Naden*. Roadnook: Mr. *Oldershaw*. Knyveton: Mr. *Rawlinson*. Afton upon Trent: Mr. *Palmer*. And Mr. *Finch*, Mr. *Firth*, Mr. *Tho. Hill*, and Mr. *John Wood*, at uncertain Places.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, Mr. *Matthews* of *Eclaston*, Mr. *Sutton* of *Crich*, and Mr. *Pool* of *Mugington*.

In the County Palatine of LANCASTER.

Manchester: Mr. *Henry Newcome*, M.A. Mr. *Richardson*, and Mr. *John Wigan*.

Mr. *Newcome* was first Rector of *Gausworth* in *Cheshire*, from whence in 1656, he remov'd to *Manchester* upon an unanimous Invitation to Succeed Mr. *Rich. Hollingworth* Deceas'd. This Removal was not without its difficulty, because he had at the same time a like Invitation from the Town of *Shrewsbury*. He had not been here long, before Sir *George Booth* rais'd the Country for *Charles* the II. in which Affair Mr. *Newcome* was heartily Engag'd, and thence forward continu'd in great Esteem and Friendship with that Honourable Person. He remain'd in his Publick Work till 62, joining with Mr. *Heyrick* in classical Meetings with the rest of the Neighbouring Ministers, and dispensing all Ordinances in that Numerous Congregation; and afterwards Preaching Privately at Home and Abroad, And when he could not Preach, he Wrote many excellent Papers upon several practical Subjects; and dispers'd them among his Hearers, who Contributed

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freely towards his Maintenance, and took great Care of Him and His. The *Oxford* Act forc'd him to, remove into *Ellenbrook* Chappelry; but he return'd as soon as he could with any Safety, to his Family and Flock. He Preach'd privately till the Year 72, and afterwards in a Licens'd Place. And at length the People built him a large stately Chapel on the South side of the Town call'd *Ackers*, which he had not us'd long, before it pleas'd God to remove him by Death: And he was himself the first that was Bury'd in his New Chapel, *September* 20. 1695. Aged about Sixty-Eight.

He was a Person of good Natural Parts, Cultivated by an Extraordinary Industry, which began very early, and continu'd all his Life. Witness the many Volumes left behind him, written with his own Hand. He was Master of a large Stock of solid Learning and Knowledge; always ready for Use, but

never for Ostentation. His Parts and Learning were Admirably set off by a singular Fitness for Friendship and Conversation, in which he was amiable above many. His Temper was Sincere, Candid and Generous. His Discourse Ingenious, Innocent, Facetious, and Instructive. His Deportment Grave, yet Sweet and Obliging. A most Sincere and Inartificial Humility at once bid and adorn'd his other Excellencies. His Moderation was known unto all Men, that ever knew or heard of him. He had both a large Charity and a great Veneration for those that differ'd from him, if they were Men of Worth, and unblameable in their Lives. They can Testify this, that knew what a fair and Amicable Correspondence he maintain'd with many of the Conforming Clergy, to several of whom this good Man's Name was perhaps as Precious, and his Society as Grateful, as if he had been one of their own Stamp. But his Peculiar Excellency was in Preaching. His Sermons were Practical, Plain and Discursive, full of Holy Zeal and Fervour, and an Eloquence without any Labour of his own? not Imitable by the greatest Labour of another. He had a strange way of Insinuating and Winding himself into his Hearers Bosoms, whose only Regret hath been that the Sermon must soon be at

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an end.* An Eminent Divine once hearing him, said, *If I had this Mans Tongue, I could not Scape being proud of it.* Among other Lectures Abroad, in which he assisted, there was one set up by Mr. *Nath. Hilton* of London, in Bolton (where he was Born) at which Mr. *Newcom* took his Turn once a Month for many Years, with Mr. *Baldwin*, Mr. *Pendlebury*, and Mr. *John Walker*.

* *Be hath Printed the Sinners Hope: A Discourse on Ezra. 10. 2. Usurpation Defeated, and David restor'd: A Sermon on the Restauration of King Charles the 2d. The Covenant of Grace effectually Remembred. A Discourse on Psal. 105. 8. with 1 Chr. 16. 15. And an Help to the Duty in, and right Improvement of Sickness. A Discourse on Job 5, 6, 7, 8. and a Discourse about Rash and Sinful Anger, on Prov. 25. 28.*

Mr. *Richardson* Preach'd the Sermon at Six a Clock on Lord's Day Mornings at *Manchester*; and was also Ejected. A Competent Scholar, and a Pious Man. He Preach'd by vertue of a License in 72, at *Chorton*, and was very laborious in his Master's Work, and dy'd in 1680.

Altham: Mr. *Tho. Jollie*. After his Ejection in 62, He was seiz'd at *Healy* by a Lieutenant, and Three Soldiers, and carri'd in a rude manner to their Guard, where he must find Sureties for his Behaviour, and be sent out of the Country.* Accordingly he was sent into *Yorkshire* on the Lord's Day in

extream Rain; but soon sent back by the Marshal, to whom he was Committed, because no reason of it was assign'd. He was afterwards seiz'd in the same manner, and sent to *York*, and after great Expencc and hazard of his Life he was sent home in Peace. He was taken a Third time in 64. and that at a Meeting, and was Committed to *Lancaster* Jail. He was seiz'd again by Order from the Lord Lieutenant and Deputies in 1665. By the Five Mile Act he was separated from Friends and Estate; and put to continual Night Travels. Being taken Preaching a Third time, a Warrant of Banishment was sent out against him; but it miscarri'd, and he escap'd. In 69. He was Imprison'd Six Months in *Lancaster* Jail again for Preaching within Five Miles of *Altham*, where he had been Minister. The same Year he was Sued for 40*l.* upon the Five Mile Act, the Suit costing him about 80*l.*

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* See *Conf. Fourth Pl. for the Nonconf. pag. 57 &c.*

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But the Particularities of his Troubles would be endless; all which he endur'd with great Patience to the last.

Ormskirke: Mr. *Nath. Heywood*;† Educated in *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and afterwards with Mr. *Ed. Gee* of *Eccleston*. He was a Man of great Piety, and an excellent Preacher, but strangely malign'd and oppos'd by some evil Neighbours.* After having liv'd exceeding usefully, and much belov'd, he dy'd, Dec. 16. 1677. *Ætat.* 45.

† Since his Death, there have been some Sermons of his Printed; entit. *Christ Display'd as the choicest Gift, and the best Master*; Oct. 1679.

Denton: Mr. *John Angier*.* And Mr. *Holme*. Mr. *Angier*, was Born at *Dedham* in *Essex*: Educated in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*; and liv'd afterwards with Mr. *John Cotton* at *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*. His first settled Ministerial Work was at *Ringley*. He had Episcopal Ordination from Dr. *Lewis Bayly* the *Welch* Bishop, who put forth the *Practise of Piety*, and he Ordain'd him without Subscription. Mr. *Angier* kept a Nonconformist to the Ceremonies, and therefore had some Adversarys. Dr. *Bridgman* Bishop of *Chester*, liv'd then at *Great Leaver*, not far, from him to whom many Complaints of that kind were brought: Whereupon he sent for Mr. *Angier*, and Expostulated with him, but gave him very good. Words, and Profess'd a great respect to him. The Bishop's Wife was at that time under great Trouble of Conscience, on which Account she frequently Convers'd with Mr. *Angier*, who was an Instrument of much good to her by his Counsels and Prayers. The Bishop, however was forc'd to suspend him; upon the pressing Solicitations of Arch

Bishop *Laud*. After continuing a Year and Half at *Ringley*, he remov'd to *Denton*, in 1632. When the Act of Uniformity took Place, he continu'd in his Publick Station without Conforming. Warrants were now and then Issu'd out to Apprehend him, but the worst Men had no Heart to meddle with him. Sometimes they search'd, but Profess'd they would not see him for a Hundred Founds. Some of the Bishops of *Chester*

would

* *An Account of his Sufferings may be seen; Conf. 4. Pl. for the Nonc. pag. 52.*

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would enquire of his Son, *How doth the Good Old Man Mr. Angier?* Most of the Justices had a great Respect for him, and some were nearly Related to his Wife: And by the special Providence of God, he continu'd Preaching in his Publick Chapel for Seventeen Years after the Silencing Act, in which time he was an Instrument of Good to many. It was the common Saying, he is an Old Man, and cannot live long; let him alone while he lives. He dy'd *Sept. 1. 1677. Aetat. 72.* He was of a Sweet, Moderate, Catholick, Healing Spirit. An Excellent, Casuist. A Man mighty in Prayer. A hard Student. Of an Exact Conversation. Very Affable and Courteous; full of Charity and Good Works. And in general a Pattern of Holiness, Some remarkable Passages of his Diary; and his Judicious Resolution of a few Cases of Conscience, are added at the end of his Printed Life.

Salford: Mr. Richard Holbrook, M.A. Born in *Manchester*, and bro't up in *Trinity Colledge in Cambridge*. When Silenc'd, he apply'd himself to Physick. He was a Man of good Parts, a solid Scholar, and a Pious Man. He dy'd in *July 1676.* Aged about Forty.

Blackley: Mr. Thomas Holland. A Gentleman Born; sometime Minister at *Ringley Chapel*, but Ejected here. When Silenc'd, he remov'd to a House of his own near *Newton Heath*, and liv'd Privately. He dy'd in *1657. Aetat. 57.* He had sore Afflictions in his Body and Estate, and was taken off from his Work some Years before he dy'd, but had been an able and diligent Preacher in the former part of his Life.

Ashton under Line: Mr. John Harrison. He was many Years the Learned, Faithful, Zealous, Labonous Minister of this Place. His Father was a Gentleman of good Quality near *Wigan*, an Eminent Professor of the Puritan Stamp. He was much vex'd in the Days of the former Bishops, and put to great Charges in the Ecclesiastical Courts. He consulted Mr. *Ball of Whitmore*, what he should do to be easie. Mr. *Ball* advis'd him to give them some Mony, for that is it says he they look for. He follow'd his Ad

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vice, and was more quiet afterwards. This worthy Gentleman had several Sons: (Dr. *Peter Harrison* of *Christs Colledge* in *Cambridge*; and afterwards Parson of *Chedle* in *Cheshire*, was one of them) but this Mr. *John Harrison* was the Flower of the Family. He here Exercis'd his Ministry for some time at *Walmsley Chappel*; but when Mr. *Henry Fairfax* quitted the Living of *Ashton*, Sir *George Booth* gave him the Presentation of it. He continu'd in it till 62, and then resign'd. The Lord *Delamere* continu'd his Kindness to him, and offer'd him to put in his Son *Maurice* (who was a Conforming Minister) into his Place: But Mr. *Harrison* fearing his Son might not be fit for that charge, prefer'd the Advantage of his Peoples Souls before the Advancement of his Family, and therefore Conscientiously wav'd it; and rather made use of his Interest on the behalf of Mr. *Ellison*, who was a Man of great worth, and a good Preacher, who enjoy'd he Living of *Ashton* till his Death. Mr. *Harrison* having privately, was his usual Auditour, till he was Banish'd by the *Oxford Act*, at which time he retir'd to *Salford*; whert he had not been long before he was depriv'd of the use of his Limbs, which was reckon'd to be the Consequence of his indefatigable Labours, and Failings, and Night Studys. He went to the *Bath* for relief, and found some Benfiit for the present. He return'd afterwards to *Ashton*, and his Distemper encreas'd, till it put a period to his Life in 1669 *Ætat.* 57. He was an excellent Preacher; and a Man of great Devotion. He constantly kneel'd in his Prayer in the Pulpit, and nothing was visible but his Head. He was eminent for Holiness, Humility, Industry, Zeal for God, and Stedfastness in his Principles. When some Gentlemen of the Episcopal Party, oppos'd the Classis at *Manchester*, and they writ several Papers to each other, the Ministers of that Presbytery appointed Mr. *Harrison* to Answer them, which he did very Largely, and Learnedly.* His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Ellison*, who gave him a great Character; tho' not beyond his Desert. Tho' his Merits were great, his Circumstances were Mean; but his Spirit was always easie.

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* *The Book is entituled*; The Censures of the Church reviv'd *Qu.* 1619.

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Oldham: Mr. *Robert Constantine*. Minister of this, Parish many Years. In 1650, He refus'd the Engagement; whereupon Justice *Ashton* of *Chatterton* vigorously Prosecuted him, so as to force him to remove to *Burstal* in *Yorkshire*, whither he was invited. Upon his remove, he was Succeeded by Mr. *John*

Lake, afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*. But after staying away three or four Years, Mr. *Constantine* return'd, again to *Oldham*; where he was again Ejected in 62. He liv'd privately afterward till 72, when, he took out a License, and Preach'd to a considerable Company at *Greenakers*, about a Mile from *Oldham*. He liv'd to be very Aged, and his Parts decay'd, and his Memory fail'd, He dy'd *Decemb.* 13. 1699. In the prime of his Days, he was a Man of a clear Head, pregnant Parts, solid Learning, and sweet Converse. He was a well accomplish'd Preacher, of a voluble Tongue, and audible Voice, good Method, and very taking. He was a Member of *Manchester* Classis, and often chosen Chairman. He was indeed at last Superannuated as to his Work; but he liv'd and dy'd in Credit, both with Ministers and Christians.

Ratcliff: Mr. *Tho. Pyke*; who at first Prech'd at *Walmsly* Chapel in *Bolton* Parish, and afterwards at this Place, where he was Ejected in 62. He Preach'd at *Blackley* near *Manchester* in 72, and was very useful. He dy'd in *July*, 1676.

Eckles: Mr. *Edmund Jones*. His Father had been Vicar of this Place many Years; he had bred up three Sons for the Ministry; of whom this was the only Nonconformist. He was one of the first Classis of *Manchester*. A Man of excellent Parts, an able Scholar, naturally very Rhetorical. When he was Ejected, he Preach'd in Private; and when Authority allow'd it, more Publickly, He dy'd, *May* the 2. 1674. *Ætat.* 48.

Cockley Chappel: Mr. *John Leaver*, Born in *Bolton*. His Father was a Romanist. He was bred up in the Free-School at *Bolton*, and afterwards at *Brazen-nose* Colledge in *Oxon*. He was Silenc'd in 62. (and call'd Little Mr. *Leaver*, to distinguish him from Mr. *John Leaver* who was a lusty Man, who continu'd Parson of *Bolton*.) He was a Man of great In

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tegrity, and a useful Preachcr. In 72 He Preach'd to a good number in his own House: And after this present Liberty was allow'd, he kept an open Meeting in *Bolton*, where he Administred the Lord's Supper every Month to some Humlreds. He dy'd *July* 4. 1692. *Ætat.* 58.

Rochedale: Mr. *Robert Bath*, and Mr. *Zachary Taylor*.

Mr. *Robert Bath*, was Vicar of this Place many Years. Born In *Kent*, and sent down into *Lancashire* by Arch-Bishop *Laud*, whom he disappointed by proving a Puritan. He heartily fell in with the Ministers of the County, and join'd with the Second Classis at *Bury*: And afterwards freely left his Vicaridge, tho' considerable, (when he had been there above Thirty Years) rather than ensnare his Conscience. The *Oxford* Act forc'd him to leave his Family; but

within some time returning home he laid hold of the King's Indulgence, and Preach'd to a numerous

Assembly in a Place call'd *Underhill*. He was a Gracious, Humble, Meek and Peaceable Man, and a Solid Divine, tho' he had no very ready Utterance. He was a Faithful Friend, and good in all Relations. he spent much time in visiting the Sick, and advising his Neighbours, and writing serious Letters to distant friends. He dy'd in 1674. *Ætat.* 70.

Mr. *Zachary Taylor*, was Mr. *Bath's* Assistant, and turn'd out with him in 62. After his being Silenc'd, he taught School first at *Rochdale*, and then at *Bolton*. He was the first Master of the Schoool erected there by

Mr. *James Leaver* of *London*. From thence he remov'd to a famous School at *Kirkham* in the Hill Country. He dy'd in *Febr.* 1692. *Ætat.* 74. He was a very good Scholar, and an useful Schoolmaster, a solid. Orthodox Preacher, and a Pious Man.

Holcomb Chapel: Mr. *Henry Pendlebury*. Born and Bred in these Parts. Of *St. John's* Colledge in *Cambdge*. He Preach'd his first Sermon at *Ashworth* Chapel, in 1648, and continu'd there some time as Probationer. He was set apart to the Office of the Ministry at *Turton* Chapel near *Bolton*; together with Mr. *James Lieversey*, after they had been Examin'd, and had Disputed, and Perform'd their Preparatory

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Exercises

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Exercises, before the 2d Classis in *Lancashire*, who met ordinarily at *Bury*. The day of their Ordination was *October* 3. 1650. Mr. *John Tilsley* was Moderatour, and gave the charge with much Eloquence and Faithfulness. Mr. *Bath* of *Rochedale*, Mr. *Furness* of *Bury*; Mr. *Pyke* of *Ratcliff*, and Mr. *Scolweld*, of *Heywood* being Assistants, all laying on their Hands. He made his Confession solemnly and accurately, and made the usual Promises with much Reverence and Humility. He afterwards Preach'd some time at *Horridge* Chapel; and thence in 1651, remov'd to *Holcomb*, where he diligently apply'd himself to his Studys, Preaching, Discipline, and Administring all Ordinances, till he was Ejected in 62. He still continu'd in the Exercise of his Ministry, and was instumental for the good of many, He dy'd of a Languishing Disease, *June* 18. 1695. *Ætat.* 70. with these Words in his Mouth: *Father come, and take me to thy self.*

He had read over most of the Ancient Fathers, and had fully Study'd the Controversys betwixt Protestants and Popish as appears by his Writings.*

* *He wrote a Treatise concerning Transubstantiation, which was carry'd by a Friend of his privately*

to Arch-Bishop Tillotson, who caus'd it to be Printed, he so much approv'd it. He hath written another Treatise on the Sacrifice of the Mass. He Preach'd many excellent Sermons on Christ's Transfiguration, many Cops of which are Abroad: But 'tis the desire of some that the Author's Original, might be Perus'd and Printed. Since his Death, a Treaise of his hath been Printed on 2 Cor. 4. 18. call'd Invisible Realitys, the real Christians great Concernment, &c. where may be seen a further Account of this good Man's Life.

Heywood Chard: Mr. *George Thomasson*, A Diligent Laborious Preacher; who earnestly long'd for the good of Souls, and was very useful in his Place. He dy'd in 72. *Ætat.* 58.

Bolton: Mr. *Richard Goodwin*, M.A. And Mr. *Robert Park*.

Mr. *Goodwin* was Born in *Suffolk*, and bro't up in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*; very Providentially bro't into this Country, where God had much Work for him. He was Ejected in 62, and afterwards liv'd either more Publickly or Privately, and Preach'd either to many or few, as times would allow. He

dy'd

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dy'd *Decemb.* 12. 1685. *Ætat.* 72. He writ much, but Printed nothing. He was a plain Practical Preacher, and had an excellent Gift in Prayer. He will have a great Retinue of Souls to present to his Master at the last day. He was Succeeded by Mr. *John Leaver*, in his Meeting Place at *Bolton*.

Mr. *Robert Park*. Born in the Town of *Bolton*, and Bred in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*. He was Vicar of *Bolton* before the Civil War, upon the Approach whereof he withdrew into *Holland*, and was Assistant to Mr. *Symmonds* in the English Congregation at *Rotterdam*. Mr. *George Vicar* of *Bolton* dying in 1644; the People of *Bolton* sent over to Mr. *Park*, and earnestly Solicited him to return: He did so after some time, and was Lecturer while Mr. *Goodwin* was Vicar. He had the Benefit of Mr. *Gosnold's* Gift, and the Peoples free Contribution, by whom he was much below'd. He was a Man of incomparable Parts, Learning and Piety, and a very exact Preacher, when he was Ejected, he liv'd Privately for a time. He was a Witty and Facetious Man. *What* (said he once in Discourse) *did Dagon get by setting up the second time? Nothing but a fatal fall: For his Head and both his palmes of his Hands were cut off: So that he had neither Wit nor Strength to help himself.* Upon the Five Mile Act, he liv'd at *Broughton*. But in some time he return'd to *Bolton*, and Preach'd as he had Oportunity. He dy'd in 1669. *Ætat.* 70: He had a very good Library; which was sold for the support of his Wife and Children.

Deane: Mr. *John Tilsley*, M.A. He was bro't up in the University of *Glasgow* in *Scotland*. When he came home into *Lancashire*, where he was Born, he Preach'd with Mr. *Horrocks* at *Dean* Church, and he was to him as *Timothy* to *St. Paul*, a Son in the Gospel. He had prodigious Parts, a retentive Memory, (which made whatsoever he read his own) a solid Judgment, a quick Invention, warm Affections, and a ready Utterance. He was mighty Charitable; strict in his Life, and free and familiar in his Discourse. He was a Principal Member in the 2d. Classis in *Lancashire*. A Man of a stout active Spirit, and who fear'd nothing, when once he was Satisfi'd as to the Ground he went on. When the Assembly at *Bolton* had once

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suspended

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suspended a Prophane and Dissolute Preacher at *Ribchester*, few but were fearful to go to Preach at the Place and Declare the Suspension: But Mr. *Tilsly* was free to it and did it with great Courage, and yet with a becoming Candour and Meekness. His Ministerial Abilities were Stupenduous, and such as rarely meet in one Man, He Preach'd Mr. *W. Rathband's* Funeral Sermon at *Cockey* upon 1 Cor. 3. 10. He Preach'd also at the Funeral of Collonel *Robert Bradshaw*, (Eminent for his Piety, Valour and Wisdom) in the time of the War; and had a very August Assembly in *Bolton* Church; where he also afterwards did the like Office for his Father Mr. *Alexander Harrock*. But he was not to be perswaded to Print these or any other of his Discourses; but was us'd to say that he could not be so well pleas'd with any of his own Performances. He Succeeded Mr. *Harrocks* at *Deane*; where he was Ejected no less than three times. The first time was by the Engagement, which he refus'd: But tho' he was on that Account cast out, he was soon restor'd. The 2d. time was by the Act of Uniformity in 62. After which, tho he forbore Preaching, he continu'd living in the House adjoining to his Church, which being in the Hands of Trustees, was still allow'd him. When the Excellent Dr. *Wilkins* became Bishop of the Diocess, he allow'd him to Preach in his Church again as Lecturer, another being Vicar, who read the Prayers. When the Bishop was dead, he was indicted at the Assizes for his Nonconformity, and by the Influence of several Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood Ejected a 3d. time. After which he spent the rest of his Days in a private Life at *Manchester*, where he dy'd June 24. 1678. *Ætat.* 60.

Torkscarth Park Chapel near *Liverpool*: Mr. *Tho. Crompton*, M.A. Born at *Great Leaver*, bred in *Manchester* School, and at the University of *Oxon*. After the Act of Uniformity took place, he continu'd to enjoy the Liberty of the Publick Chapel, being some way Priviledg'd. Mr. *Brisco* (who liv'd also in

the Neighbourhood) and he, join'd together to supply it, one Preaching one Lord's Day, and the other the next. He was a Man of Excellent ready Parts, and good

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Elocution. After Mr. *Baldwin's* Death, he remov'd to *Eccles*, He dy'd at *Manchester*, Sept. 2. 1699 *Ætat.* 64.

Heaton: Mr. *William Bell*.* A great Scholar, and a good Orator. He was Ordain'd by Dr. *Bridgeman* Bishop of *Chester*. He had the *50l. per Annum*, bequeath'd by Queen *Elizabeth* to four Itinerant Preachers in *Lancashire*. I suppose the allowance of *200l. per Annum* for that purpose is still continu'd, to four such Persons who are call'd the Kings Preachers. But both this and his Living too was left by Mr. *Bell* in 1662, for the sake of his Conscience. After his Ejectment he liv'd privately at *Sinderland*, in the Parish of *Ashton under Line*, being a constant hearer of Mr. *Angier* of *Denton*, In 72, he return'd to his Old People at *Heaton*, and Preach'd among them by vertue of a License. He dy'd in 1681. *Ætat.* 74.

Chorley: Mr. *Welch*; a very Humble, Mortify'd Man: Tho' he did not excel in Gifts, it was made up in Grace. His very Enemies had nothing to say against him. He was of so blameless a Conversation, that most Gentlemen had a good Word for him: and accounted so faithful, that Mr. *Standish* of *Duxbury*, (a Person of a great Estate) left the Tuition of his Children to him, after his own and his Wife's Death. And he discharg'd his Civil as well as Ministerial Trust so faithfully, that the most Critical *Momus* had nothing to lay to his Charge. He dy'd in 1665, *Ætat.* 64.

Walton: Mr. *Robert Eaton* and Mr. *Henry Finch*.

Mr. *Robert Eaton* was born in *Cheshire*, and brought up at *Cambridge*. Settled first in *Essex*, whence he remov'd to this Place, where he was Ejected in 62. And was after sometime Chaplain to the Lord *Delamere*. When the Liberty of the Dissenters was establish'd by Law, he Preach'd to a Congregation in the Parish of *Prestwich*, where they built him an handsom Chapel. He was a solid Divine, a good Scholar, and a judicious Chrisyian, of great Moderation, and exemplary in his Behaviour. He dy'd at *Manchester* in August 1701; and his Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Finch*, who was Vicar of

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Walton,

* He Printed a Discourse on Gen. 5. 24. Entit, *Enoch's Walk: together with some little pieces, which I have not seen.*

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Walton, when the Act for Uniformity took place, and afterwards continu'd a Silenc'd Nonconformist.

Walmesly Chapel: Mr. *Briscoe*; Bred up in *Trinity Colledge* near *Dublin* in *Ireland*; Pastour of a Congregational Church in this Chapel. He afterwards remov'd thence to *Toxteth Park*, where he Preach'd in the Chapel jointly with Mr. *Thomas Crompton*, And he continu'd there till he dy'd, which was in *Sept.* 1685. *Ætat.* 66. He was a good Scholar, and a fine Oratour. His Sermons were Judicious, but his Voice was low; which was more than Compensated by his taking way of Delivery.

Haughton Chapel: Mr. *Peter Nailour*; Born in this County, and bred, up in *St. John's Colledge* in *Cambridge*. He Preach'd much in *Peniston* Parish, in the time of Mr. *Swifts* Confinement, and remov'd thence to *Alverthorp* near *Wakefield* in 1672, and Preach'd in the Meeting Place there, and at *Pontefract*, as long as he liv'd. He dy'd in 1690. *Ætat.* 54.

Ashton upon Mersy-bank: Mr. *James Wood*. A

most Industrious Man, and indefatigably Laborious: He was at his Study even to his Old-Age, both early and late. And he was an Excellent Preacher, and had abundant Success. He dy'd in 1668. *Ætat.* 63.

Chobent Chapel in *Leigh* Parish: Mr. *James Wood*, Jun. a Son of the Former; who follow'd his Father's Steps in his Father's Spirit.

Billing: Mr. *Wright*; a Man of Learning, Gravity, and Humility. When he was Silenc'd he liv'd privately; and Pray'd much, but Preach'd little, being Indispos'd as to his Health. He liv'd very Exemplarily, and did good in his Place. He us'd in a Morning to walk out into a Field near his House: Being gone forth on *Febr.* 1. 1684/5, according to Custom, and not returning as expected, they sent to look for him, and found him dead, as is suppos'd of an Apoplexy.

Liverpool: Mr. *John Fogg*; Born in *Darcy Leaver*, in *Bolton* Parish, and Educated in *Oxon*. His first Settlement was at *Wigan*, whence he remov'd to this place where he was Ejected in 62. He was a Man of fine Parts, good Learning, a serious Christian, and a useful Preacher. Upon the Coming Forth of the Ox

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ford Act, he and' his Father in Law: Mr. *Glendal* of *Chester*, liv'd together in the Parish of Great *Budworth* In *Cheshire* in great Amity, and useful as they had Opportunity; he dy'd in 1670. *Ætat.* 48.

Crofton: Mr. *Hiet*; Born in *London*, and had been Minister here many Years, when he was Ejected in 62. He was before, Ejected for refusing the *Engagement*, which was the Case of many others in this County. He dy'd in 1664, about 70 Years of Age. He was an able Preacher, had a considerable Estate, and was given to Hospitality.

Rivington: Mr. *Sam. Newton*. Being turn'd out in 62, he liv'd at *Crompton*, and Preach'd there as times would bear it: He afterwards remov'd back again to *Rivington*, and read some of the Prayers, and had Liberty to Preach in the Church without Disturbance. He dy'd in March 1682; not above 40 Years of Age; but very ripe in Parts and Grace.

Warrington: Mr. *Robert Yates*: Vicar there many Years: An able Orthodox, sound Divine. A very useful laborious Minister in that Populous Town and Parish: And yet he had several Potent Enemies, who bro't him into some Trouble by the Five Mile Act. In 72, he took the Opportunity of Preaching in a Publick Meeting-House, but was violently disturb'd. He was not long after seiz'd by a Palsy, which Craz'd his Intellectuals; and rendred him incapable of Work a Year before he dy'd; which was in *November 1678*. *Ætat.* 66.

Garstang: Mr. *Isaac Ambrose*, sometime Minister of *Preston*; but he afterwards remov'd to this Place, where the Act of Uniformity found him in 62. A little after the King's Restauration there was a Meeting of above 20 Ministers at *Bolton*; to consult what Course to take. Mr. *Ambrose* and Mr. *Cole* of *Preston* declar'd before them all that they could read the Common Prayer, and should do it, the State of their Places requiring it, in which otherwise their Service was necessarily at present at an end. The Ministers considering the Circumstances of their Case approv'd their Proceeding. Mr. *Cole* (afterwards Dr. *Cole*) was so forward as to Express himself at the same time in Words to this Purpose. *Gentlemen, I am got to my*

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Hercules

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Hercules *Pillars, my ne plus ultra, I shall go no further*. And indeed he was turn'd out of *Preston*: but found some Granger Motives in other Parts: For he afterwards Conform'd, and was Lecturer at *Dedham* in *Essex*. But as for Mr. *Ambrose*, he liv'd and dy'd a Nonconformist; and was a Man of that Substantial Worth, that Eminent Piety, and that Exemplary life, both as a Minister and a Christian, that 'tis to be Lamented that the World would not have the Benefit of Particular Memoirs concerning him from some able Hand. One thing that was peculiar in him deserves to be mention'd here. 'Twas his usual Custom once in a Year, for the space of a Month to retire

into a little Hut in a Wood, and avoiding all Humane Converse to devote himself to Contemplation. Possibly by this Practise he was the fitter far his sacred Ministration all the rest of the Year. He liv'd in the latter part of his Life at *Preston*, and when his end drew near, was very sensible of it. Having taken his Leave of many of his Friends abroad with unusual Solemnity, as if he foresaw that he should see them no more, he came home to *Preston* from *Bolton*, and set all things in order, In a little time some of his Hearers came from *Garstang* to visit him. He discours'd freely with them, gave them good Counsel, told them he was now ready whenever his Lord should call, and that he had finish'd all that he design'd to write, having the Night before sent away his Discourse concerning *Angels* to the Press. He Accompany'd his Friends to their Horses, and when he came back shut himself in his Parlour, the place of his Soliloquy, Meditation and Prayer; they tho't he stay'd long, and so open'd the Door, and found him just expiring. This was in the Year 1665. *Ætat.* 72. He was Holy in his Life, Happy in his Death, and Honoured by God and all good Men. His Works were Printed altogether in *Folio*, in 1689.

Ellel Chapel: Mr. *Peter Atkinson* Sen. A Man of such singular Ability and general Interest, Influence, and Usefulness, that he was call'd the Apostle of the North. He had so much Favour with the Gentry, that he Preach'd quietly at his Chapel for a considerable time after the Act of Uniformity took Place. His

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Income there indeed was but small: But his encouragement in the Success of his Ministry very Considerable. He dy'd *July* 17. 1677. *Ætat.* 75.

Melling: or else Burton Wood Chapel: Mr. *Mallison*; Born at *Rastrick* in *Yorkshire*, and bred in *Oxford*. He was Ejected in 62, Esteem'd an Excellent Scholar, but no famous Preacher. His Family was Numerous, and he dy'd very poor in *May* 1685. *Ætat.* 75.

Dowgles: Mr. *Jonathan Scolfield*; many Years Minister at *Heywood* Chapel, whence in 1659, he remov'd to this Place, where he was Ejected in 62. He met with a great variety of Family Afflictions in the Course of his Life. When he was Silenc'd he had many Children, and no visible way of Subsistence for them; and yet God rais'd up Friends to him and his, so that they were never bro't to Extremity. He dy'd in 1667. *Ætat.* 60.

Lun Chapel: Mr. *Harrison*. A good Scholar, and a Methodical Preacher, fix'd in a dark Corner, where he was wonderfully follow'd and flock'd after, and very useful. He dy'd in 1664.

Sefton: Mr. *Joseph Thompson*; Born in *Wigan*, and brought up at *Oxon*. He had a Pleasant Seat, and rich Parsonage which he quitted in 62 for inward Peace. He was a good Scholar; a Man of Wit and very Ingenious. He was Rich, and did good with his Estate. He spent the latter part of his life at *Ormskirk*, where (as I am inform'd) he dy'd in 1669.

Harwich: Mr. *Walton*; a Laborious faithful Minister. Provided with no Subsistence when Ejected, tho' he had several Children. He dy'd in 1664.

Standish: Mr. *Paul Lathum*; sometime Chaplain to Collonel *Ashton* of *Middleton*. He had a good Estate, and liv'd very Nobly: A Man of good Parts, Exemplary Piety, and Laborious in the Ministry. He had a rich Parsonage, but readily forsook it in 62, rather than grate upon his Conscience: and he Dy'd the Year after, *viz.* in 1663. Aged about 54.

Duckenfield: Mr. *Sam. Eaton*. He gathered a Congregational Church here, and afterwards remov'd to *Stockport*, where he Prcach'd in the Free-School.

Some

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Some of the People ran things to a mighty height, and grew wiser than their Ministers; so that they created him abundance of Difficulty. He was a good Scholar and a judicious Divine. He was turn'd out of the Publick Exercise of his Ministry in 62. He afterwards attended on Mr. *Angier's* Ministry at *Denton*, and so did many of his Old Hearers, and by Difficulty and Sufferings they were bro't off from their Heat and Rigours, and wrought into a better Temper. He dy'd *January* 9. 1664, *Ætat* 68.

Gorton Chapel: Mr. *Lee*. A serious single hearted Man, of good Abilities, very Laborious in the Work of the Ministry: One of the Classis of *Manchester*. He was grievously afflicted with the Stone, which at Last cut him off, in 1664, About 50 Years of Age.

Longridge Chapel: Mr. *Smith*. Once Minister at *Bradshaw* Chapel, but found by the Uniformity Act in this Place in 62. He did not Conform, and yet Preach'd frequently in the Chapel afterwards. For it being an obscure Place, with a small Salary, there was no great striving for it. He dy'd very poor in

1672. *Ætat*. 60.

Cartmel or Clavely: (or some where in the Neighbourhood) Mr. *Cammerford*: An useful Preacher in this Remote Corner, who dy'd in 1676.

Ulverston: Mr. *Lampet*. Another warm and lively Preacher in the same Quarter, beyond the Sands.

Heaton near Manchester: Mr. *Whitehead*. A Pious, Painful, and Faithful Minister, who Study'd to do good in his place, and Preach'd as often as he could to his People, after his being Ejected. He dy'd in *Febr.* 1679. *Ætat.* 73.

St. Helins Chapel: Mr. *Thomas Gregge*. His Father was Minister of *Bolton*, and dy'd about 1644 *Bradley-Hall* with a 100*l.* *per Annum* was his by right of Inheritance; but he quitted it because of some Encumbrance upon it, and would not intangle himself in the Affairs of this Life. He was very Undaunted and Courageous in his Master's Work; preaching mostly in the Chapel, or openly in Houses in the face of Danger, and yet was never Imprison'd. He was a Man of great Integrity, and kept close to his

People

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People in the worst times. He dy'd in 1681, exceedingly Belov'd, and much Lamented,

Wigan: Mr. *Hotham*. Lancaster: Dr. *Marshal*. Newton-heath Chapel: Mr. *John Walker*. Gorton: Mr. *Will Leigh*. Birch Chapel: Mr. *Robert Birch*. Charlton: Mr. *Benson*. Ashley Chapel: Mr. *Tho. Crompton*; M.A. a very self-denying mortify'd Man to worldly Profits, Pleasures or Honours. He was a great Scholar, well acquainted with the Ancient Fathers, and especially St. *Austin*, of most of whole Works he could give a very exact Account. He was one of universal Charity, a true Catholick Christian, of an exact harmless Conversation. Tho' he was Ejected in 62, yet several or eight Years after, he Preach'd in *Ashley* Chapel, reading some few Prayers, without Subscribing, &c. He dy'd *Fehr.* 2, 1691. And left behind him a considerable Library, a good Name, and a rare Example of Mortification.

Hindley: Mr. *James Bradshaw*. Blackbrode: Mr. *Ashley*. St. Michaels:, Mr. *Nathanael Baxter*. Meales: Mr. *Will. Aspinwall*. Burtonwood: Mr. *Sam. Mather*. Houghton-tower: Mr. *Tho. Kay*, and Mr. *John Harvey*. Turton: Mr. *Taylor*. Winwick: Mr. *Jessop*. Singleton: Mr. *Cuthert Harrison*. Durwen: Mr. *Charles Sagar*. Kirkly: Mr. *Ambrose*. Ellel: Mr. *Atkinson*, Jun. Raynford: Mr. *Roger Baldwin*: Cartmel: Mr. *Bennet*. Whitmouth Chapel: Mr. *Dewhurst*. Bradshaw: Mr. *Dury*. New Church in Rossendale: Mr. *Kippax*. Crofton; Assistant: Mr. *Low*. Harwood: Mr. *Sandford*. Alkrington: Mr. *Towne*. Atherton: Mr. *Wood*, Jun. and Mr. *Wadington*, Mr. *Hadin*, and Mr. *Parr*, not then fix'd at any certain Places.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County: Mr. *Bradley Hayhurst*, of *Leighe*. Mr. *Peter Aspinwall* of *Heaten*. Mr. *Joshua Ambrose* of *Derby*. Mr. *Will. Cole* of *Preston*. Mr. *Will. Coleburn* of *Ellinburgh*. Mr. *Lobin* of *Ouldham*. Mr.

James Booker of Blakely. Mr. Will. Aspinwall of Formby. Mr. Briars of Heapey. Mr. Fisher of Kirkham, and Mr. Jakeys of Bolton.

Barton:

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In WESTMORELAND.

Barton: Mr. *Timothy Roberts*. A Welchman: One of considerable Learning. He was a Man of great Humility and Self-Denial, a close Student, and profitable Preacher. He was particularly Famous for his great Skill in the *Hebrew Tongue*.

Somewhere near *Kendal*. Mr. *Greenwood*. Crosby in the Hill: Mr. *Christopher Jackson*: Turn'd out also in *Yorkshire*. Askham: Mr. *Christopher Langhorne*.

At an uncertain Place: Mr. *John Mallace*, or *Wallace*.

These Persons afterwards Conform'd: Mr. *Thomas Dodgson of Ravinstangdale*. Mr. *Francis Higginson*, of *Kirkby Steven*; and Mr. *John Dalton*, of *Shapp*.

IN THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND.

Carlisle: Mr. *Comfort Starr*. Who was also turn'd out in the County of *Kent*, and afterwards Exercis'd his Ministry at *Lewis* in *Sussex*.

Croglin: Mr. *John Rogers*, M.A. He was the Eldest son of Mr. *John Rogers* Minister of *Chacomb* in *Northamptonshire*. Born *April 25. 1610*; and bred in *Wadham* Colledge in *Oxon*. He was for sometime Preacher at *Middleton Cheyney* in *Northamptonshire*, and afterwards at *Leigh* in *Kent*, Thence he was sent by Order of Parliament to *Bernard Castle* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, where he settled in 44, and continu'd till *March 2. 1660*. At which time he remov'd to *Croglin*, where the Act of Uniformity found and Ejected him in 62.

* *He was the Author of a good Book, concerning Christian Watchfulness.*

In his younger Years, he was well Acquainted with Mr. *Dod*, and Dr. *Harris*; of whom he was us'd often to speak with great Respect; as also of Dr. *Prideaux*, and Dr. *Cheyne*: But no name did he mention with so much Pleasure, as that of Mr. *Will. Wheatly* of *Banbury*, whom he always fill'd his Spiritual Fa

ther.

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ther. When Mr. *Rogers* came to *Bernard Castle*, he took a List of the Number of Souls in his Parish, which at his first coming were about 2000. He took an exact Account who of these were Persons of Knowledge, and who were Ignorant: who fit or unfit for the lord's Table, &c. As for those who were Ignorant, he convers'd much with them, gave them good Books to Read; and Catechiz'd and Instructed them, till he tho't them qualify'd for that Sacred Solemnity. He took great care of poor Children, that they might live usefully, and not be train'd up in Ignorance and Idleness. He was much Respected by Sir *Henry Vane*, Father and Son, whose feat at *Raby Castle* in that Neighbourhood gave Opportunity for frequent Conversation. As an Old Acquaintance he afterwards waited upon Young Sir *Henry* when Imprison'd in the Tower; and found him Stout and Resolute not sensible of any Crime he had committed.

In those Times of Confusion, when Soldiers were Preachers, an Officer of Note then Quartering in the Town, sent to Mr. *Rogers* to demand his Pulpit, for his Use at such a Time; bidding him refuse him it at his Peril. But Mr. *Rogers* was not mov'd: Instead of complying, he sent Word, he desir'd to know, who gave him Authority to Preach? And whether he had a Commission from God, &c. For he was well aware, that the Ministerial Power and Office was very distinct from the Military; and therefore tho' the Soldiers kept the Town, he resolv'd to guard the Pulpit. He was a zealous Observer of the Lords Day, and would always oppose the driving of Cattel thro' the Town on that Day, tho' it was to a Fair to be held at some Neighbouring Place the next. He had some Difficulty with the *Quakers*, who much encreas'd in those Parts; but his Carriage was so engaging, that even many of them could not forbear giving him a good Word. He was given to Hospitality; and was indeed the *Gaius*, of those Parts, entertaining all Ministers and Christians who pass'd that way, with great openness and freedom. His Removal to *Croglin* after he was Ejected at *Bernard-Castle*, was by the Procurement of the Lord *Wharton*. And tho' he was Ejected there

also

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also; yet did he keep his temper and Moderation. He was of a Catholick Spirit, and a great Enemy to narrow and uncharitable Principles or practises. He had always a fair Correspondence which the neighbouring Clergy, between whom and him there pass'd an exchange of Friendly Offices, without any Shyness, or shadow of Grudging. Nay, he was treated very respectfully

upon Occasion, by those of the greatest Eminence: As Dr. *Stern*, Arch-Bishop of *York*; Dr. *Rainbow* Bishop of *Carlisle*; and the present Bishop of *Durham*: On the latter of whom he often waited, and by Reason of his Acquaintance in his younger Days with the Old Lord *Crew*, was always receiv'd in a Manner peculiarly obliging.

He continu'd the Exercise of his Ministry after his being Silenc'd, without Fear. He Licens'd a Place or Two in 72, at *Darlington* and *Stockton* in *Durham*. When the Indulgence expir'd, he Preach'd at his own House at *Startford*, one Lord's Day; and the other he would spend, either in *Teesdale*, or in *Waredale*, among those who wrought in the Lead-Mines. Many a troublesome Journey hath he taken to those poor People, thro' very deep Snows, and over high Mountains, when the Ways have been extream bad, and the Cold very sharp and pinching: But he made nothing of his Fatigue thro' his Love to Souls; especially being encourag'd by the mighty eagerness of those honest People to hear the Word. And he us'd to Preach frequently on the Week-days also. And yet for all his Pains he did not receive above 10*l.* per Annum, but Liv'd upon what he had of his own, and had some room left both for Generosity and Charity too.

He us'd to take all Occasions for good Discourse. It being the Custom in the *North* after a Funeral to have an *Arval* (as they call it) or Dinner, he would so suitably speak even in the midst of the Entertainment of Divine Things, that some bitter malignant People would refuse to be present there, when they knew he'd be one of the Company: Because (said they) we shall find *Rogers* Preaching there.

He Dy'd with a great deal of Calmness and Resignation, at *Startforth* in *Yorkshire*, Nov. 28. 1680.

His

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His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Brokill* Minister of *Bernard Castle*, where he was bury'd. He gave him a very Friendly Character: And indeed his Memory is precious in those Parts to this Day.*

Penreth or near it: Mr. *Roger Baldwin*. After his Ejection he remov'd into *Lancashire*; There he took a Farm, for which he paid a considerable Fine. Having Three Children he took it for Three Lives, not putting his own Life in, but theirs; as not doubting but that some one of them at least might survive him: But it pleas'd God he out-liv'd them all, upon which he quitted the Farm, and would be no more concern'd in it. He at length fix'd at *Eccles* near *Manchester* in *Lancashire*, where he Preach'd at *Monks-Hall* for many Years, acceptably and profitably. He Dy'd June 9. 1695. *Ætat.* 70. He was a

solid Scriptural Preacher, A Judicious Divine. One of good Parts, and an agreeable Temper. He was one of the *Monday* Lecturers at *Bolton*.

Bridekirk: Mr. *George Benson*: He afterwards retir'd into *Lancashire*, where he Liv'd at *Kellet*, and Preach'd in his own House: He Dy'd in 1691. *Ætat*. 76.

Grastoke: Dr. *Richard Gilpin*. † As Eminent a Divine as any these Parts afforded. A general Scholar, an excellent Casuist, a most agreeable Preacher, and of extraordinary Gravity and Wisdom, He lost a considerable Living for his Nonconformity, which he never repented. He afterwards settled at *New-Castle*, where he had a numerous Congregation: And his Wisdom was try'd and approv'd in his Conduct of them. He kept, and he left them in Peace; tho' fearful of what hath since happened among them. He was every way a great and a valuable Man; and his Name is, and will be precious in all these Parts.

* He hath nothing in Print but a little Catechism: And Two Letters to Mr. Rich. Wilson, upon the Death of his Daughter, whose Life was Publish'd under the Name of the Virgin Saint.

† He hath not left much in Print. All that I know or can hear of, is: A Sermon before the United Ministers of Cumberland and Westmorland, Entit. *The Temple Rebuilt. The Heads of Agreement, between the Ministers of those Two Counties. An excellent Treatise of Satans Temptations, in Qu. An Assize Sermon Preach'd in 1660. And the Comforts of Divine Love; Prearh'd on Occasion of the Death of Mr. Timothy Manlove.*

Lasenby:

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Lasenby: Mr. *Simon Atkinson*. A very Acute Man, and of a good Judgment, Especially Nice in his School Learning. He Dy'd in *Sept.* 1694. upon a Cold caught Travelling from *Penreth*, where he Preach'd at the opening of a Lecture, encourag'd by Dr. *Thomas Gibson*, of *Hatton Garden* in *London*.

Cockermouth: Mr. *George Larkham*. He continu'd thereafter his being Silenc'd, and held on Preaching to his People as he could in the worst of Times. He Dy'd *Dec.* 26. 1700. *Ætat.* 71. After he had exercis'd his Ministry in that Place Forty Eight Years. He was a Man of brisk Parts, and a bold Temper, till the latter Part of his Life, when he grew more Pensive.

Brampton: Mr. *Burnand*. Yet Living at *Harwich*, where he is Pastor of a Congregation. *Glasenby*: Mr. *Sam. Broadly*. *Thuresby*: Mr. *John Carmitchel*. *St. Johns Chapel*: Mr. *James Carr*. *Crosby*: Mr. *John Collyer*. *Kirkanders*: Mr. *Tho. Courtney*. *New-Kirk*: Mr. *Cragg*. *Bolton*: Mr. *Fowand*, or *Forward*. *Melmerby*: Mr. *William Hopkins*. *Kirk-Leventon*: Mr. *Hopper*. *Huton*: Mr. *John Jackson*. *Dauston*: Mr. *John Jackson*. *Sowerby*: Mr. *Peter Jackson*. *Keswick Parish*: Mr. *Lane*. *Lamplsey*: Mr. *John Michael*. *Boulnes*: Mr. *John Saxton*.

Ednel: Mr. *Taylor*. Torpenney: Mr. *Tho. Turner*. Anstable: Mr. *George Yates*. And Mr. *George Nicholson*, Mr. *Anthony Sleigh*, and Mr. *Daniel Broadly*, at uncertain Places.

If any of these afterwards Conform'd, I should be thankful to be certainly inform'd of it.

In NORTHUMBERLAND.

Harthorn: Mr. *Ralph Ward*, M.A. A Native of *Yorkshire*, bred in *Sidney* Colledge in *Cambridge*, under the Tuition of Mr. *Elias Pauson*. While at the University, He found much Benefit by the Ministry of Mr. *Samuel Hammond*, Fellow of *Magdalen* Colledge, then Preacher at *St. Giles* in *Cambridge*, who was the Instrument of his Couversion. When his Tho'ts first

began

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began with earnestness to be apply'd to Religious Matters, He (as is usual) found himself in great Perplexity, but by Mr. *Hammond's* Advice was reliev'd and quieted. Neither were his Studies neglected: For he was so Diligent and Industrious as to be Noted for a good Proficient. Leaving the University in Order to Service in the Countrey, he first began at *Denby* Chapel in *Pennyston* Parish in *Yorkshire*, where he was Born. Mr. *Hammond* leaving the University, and settling at *Bishop Waremouth*, in *Durham*, Mr. *Ward* made him a Visit: And was by him recommended for a Chaplain to Col. *Fenwick*, whose Regiment remain'd in Garrison at *Lieth* in *Scotland*; after the Fight at *Dunbar*. Mr. *Ward* began to Preach at *Leith* in *August* 1651, and was much respected: But returning the Year after to visit his Friends in *Yorkshire*, they prevented his going back to *Scotland*, and in 1653, He was fix'd at *Wolsingham* in the County of *Durham*, and was Ordain'd: His letters Testimonial, are annex'd in the Margin.* After his Settlement, he visited both *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; and Commenc'd Master of Arts of both Universities, and returning to *Wolsingham* (where he had

* For as much as Mr. *Ralph Ward* hath address'd himself to the Classical Presbytery, within the Town and County of New Castle upon Tyne, (according to the Order of both Houses of Parliament of Aug. 29. 1648, For the Ordination of Ministers by the Classical Presbytery;) desiring to be Ordain'd a Preaching Presbyter, for that he is call'd to the Work of the Ministry in *Wolsingham* Chutch in the County of *Durham*, and hath exhibited unto the Presbytery, a sufficient Testimonial now remaining in their custody of his compleat Age of his unblameable Life and Conversation, of his Diligence and Proficiency in his Studies, and of his fair and direct call to the foremention'd Place.

We the Ministers of the said Presbytery have by Appointment thereof Examin'd him, according to the Tenor of the said Ordinance; and finding him to be duly Qualify'd and Gifted for that Holy Office and Employment, (no just Exception being made against his Ordination or Admission) have approv'd him: And accordingly in the Church of *Johns* in New Castle upon the Day and Year hereafter express'd,

have proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the office of a Preaching Presbyter and Work of the Ministry, with Fasting, and Prayer, and imposition of Hands; And do hereby (so far as concerneth us) Actually admit him into the said Charge. There to perform all the Offices and Duties of a faithful Minister of Jesus Christ. In Witness whereof we have hereunto Subscrib'd our Names, this 14th Day of September, A.D. 1653. John Berwick Moderator. Rich. Prideaux. Anthony Laphorn. Robert Plaisance. Henry Lever. William Coley. John Marshe. Will. Henderson. And Tho. Hubbard.

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a Benefice of about 150*l. per Ann.*) He apply'd himself vigorously to his Work. He labour'd hard on the Lords Days, and went on the Week Days from House to House, to enquire after the Fruit of his Pains. The Poorer Sort he invited to his House once or twice a Week to be Catechiz'd and Instructed; promising them Victuals for their Bodies, if they would mind the good of their Souls: But to his Sorrow, he found they soon grew weary; and as for those of his Hearers who were in better Circumstances, tho' they carry'd it very respectfully to him, yet they generally declin'd his Personal Applications. On which Account, together, with some other Difficulties he met with, he readily accepted an Invitation to the Sequestred Living of *Harthorn*, where his Encouragement as to Income, was smaller, but his Prospect of Success greater. Here he did much Service in it little Time. And indeed it was but a little Time he had to Labour there, for quickly after King *Charles's* Restauration, the former Incumbent dispossess'd him. Whereupon he retir'd to *New-Castle*, and kept School, having many Gentlemens Sons for his Scholars; and withal, he Preach'd occasionally for Mr. *Hammond*, and Mr. *Durant*, then Ministers there: And thus he continu'd till they were all call'd to *Durham*, to give their Reasons why they could not comply with the Act of Uniformity in 1662. After this, he retir'd and Liv'd privately; but in some time, became Domestick Chaplain to the Late Worthy and Learned Gentleman, Sir *John Hewley* of York, in whose Family he was exceedingly respected, and singularly useful. The *Oxford* Act forc'd him to retire for a Season: But it was not long before he return'd to the City of *York*, and Liv'd with his own Family, Preaching privately without Disturbance. And in this Place, he wore out more than Thirty Years of his Life, in Labours and Sufferings.

Ann. 1672. When the Indulgence came out, he began his Publick Ministry in that City; and he soon had a very flourishing Congregation, as most in *England*. His constant Practice in his Publick Work on the Lords Day, (which he continu'd for almost Twenty Years, was to begin with Prayer, then to

read

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read a Chapter and Expound, Part of it. Then he Sung a Psalm, Pray'd and Preach'd; and concluded with Prayer. In his Expositions be finish'd the whole Epistles to the *Ephesians*, and *Colossians*, and the *Decalogue*. In his Preaching, he almost Completed a Body of Divinity. He Preach'd Twice every Lords Day without any Assistance, till his Strength fail'd him. He had a Lecture every Fortnight, in which he Preach'd over the Parable of the Ten Virgins, and the 8th to the *Romans*: And the 14th of *John* he finish'd but a little before his Death. He administred the Lords Supper every Six Weeks, and had gone thro' great Part of *Solomons* Song upon that Occasion. He also for many Years repeated his Lords Days Sermons every *Tuesday* Morning. He had Days of Conference with his People, and of answering Questions in Divinity. He had also set Times of Philosophical Disputations with some Young Scholars who Liv'd in the City; besides his Diligence in Catechizing Youth, and calling Parents and Masters to that World, and visiting the Sick and resolving the Doubts of many. He would also often go into the Countrey and Preach Lectures on the Week Days when he could not stir abroad in the City. All this was in him a labour of Love: And his Success, much added to his Pleasure in it. Many that are Dead and gone, and many who are yet living, have hearttly Bless'd God for his Pains amongst them.

The Devil would not suffer him however to live without Disturbance. He met with some Opposition in the Exercise of his Ministry in Private, before King *Charles* his Indulgence. Neither was he Free afterwards. He was put into the Spiritual Court by the Church-Warden in 1671, And was Excommunicated for not frequenting his Parish Church; and not receiving the Sacrament there. The Excommunication was renew'd from Year to Year; it was driven to a *Capias*, which coming out every Term, either Confin'd him to his House, or oblig'd him to be very Cautious in going forth. Some time Writs were broke up special; and he could not so long have escap'd, if he had not been

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Hill 6vour'd with Private Notice. *Ann.* 1682. He was Fin'd 20*l.* (at another Time 'twas 40*l.*) upon Information against him for a Conventicle. He Appeal'd to the Quarter Sessions, and was Discharg'd by the Jury. His Doors have been broken open in the Night, and his House search'd in the Day time; sometimes professedly for Mr. *Ward*, sometimes pretendedly for some Persons disaffected to the Government. In 1684, he was taken on the Lords Day, at

a Gentlewomans House with all the Hearers, and Inform'd against for a Riot: *Quod vi & Armis, riotosè & routosè assemblavere, in terrorem Regis subditorum, &c.* He gave Bail for Appearance at the Assizes. And Judge *Jefferies*, then coming the Northern Circuit, there was no want of Raillery: But Mr. *Ward* behav'd himself when before him with great Sedateness and Prudence. But a *Capias* was serv'd upon him in open Court by the Ecclesiastical Officers. For the Riot (so call'd) he was Fin'd 50*l.* and left a Prisoner. A *Mittimus* was afterwards sent to the Goaler from the Sheriffs of the City to detain him also upon the Account of Five 20*l.* Fines, out of the *Exchequer*, for not rendring his Body within Six Days after Proclamation, tho' neither the Bishops *Significavit* nor, the Kings Writt gave any Addition to his Name, either of Gentleman, or any other Title, according to the Statute of 5 *Hen. 5. c. 1.* The want of which Addition rendred the forfeiture void by Statute of 5 *Eliz. c. 23.* and yet he was kept Prisoner upon *Guy-Bridge*, upon the Account of 50*l.* Fine for the Riot, and of 100*l.* Fine from the *Exchequer*, for not rendring his Body; and by the *Capias* Writt, serv'd on him by the Spiritual Court. Hereupon He (and Mr. *Andrew Taylor* that Publick Spirited Merchant, who open'd his Doors for private Meetings in the straitest Times; who was at this Time his Fellow Prisoner;) Petition'd the Judge at the next Assize, but in vain. His Imprisonment was continu'd, but he was not hindred from Preaching; on the Lords Day to several that went out of the City to hear him; which alleviated his Bonds.

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When King *James* the II. ascended the Throne, he open'd the Prison Doors by his Declaration. Mr. *Taylor* was set at Liberty, by the Kings special Order, without paying any Fine to the King or Ecclesiastical Court, having been illegally Prosecuted. The great Charges, the Court alledg'd they had been at, kept Mr. *Ward* still Prisoner: But at length the Matter was so Compromis'd, that upon his Paying 40*l.* they gave him their Absolution, *March 8. 1685.* And he receiv'd his *Quietus* out of the *Exchequer* in *June 1686.*

Being restor'd to his Liberty, he return'd to his Work with the same Sincerity and Desires to do good, but not with the same Strength of Body. He was forc'd to have Mr. *Noah Ward* to assist him every Third Day. His Strength sensibly declin'd afterwards: And 'twas suppos'd his Health was much impair'd, and his *Asthma* encreas'd by his Long Confinement. He found his End by Degrees approaching, and was intent upon making suitable Provision. He met Death neither with the insensibleness of a *Stoick*, nor with the Carelessness and Heat of a *Roman*, but with the Reverential Fear and

tried Faith of a Christian. He told a Pious Lady by whom he had been much respected, when she came to pay her Last Visit to him, in the Words of St. Paul: I hope I can say (said he) this; *That in Simplicity and Godly Sincerity, not with fleshly Wisdom, but by the Grace of God, I have had my Conversation in the World.* He expir'd March 13. 1691. *Ætat.* 62.

He was a very thinking Person; had a solid and discerning Judgment, but was not lavish of his Works. He was a substantial Divine; well acquainted with Systematical, Polemical, and Casuistical Divinity: And particularly with the *Popish, Arminian, and Socinian* Controversies. He was of a bold Spirit, and undaunted in his Work: And he had Prudence and Meekness to Govern his Courage, that while it kept him true to his own Conscience, it made him not justly offensive to others, He was eminently Pious. All his Sermons were Preach'd over Twice: First to himself, and then to others.

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His

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His Motto was *Vive, ut vivas.* He was much in Prayer: Was not afraid of his own Company, was delighted with Soliloquies, and kept his Heart with all Diligence. He was excellent in all Relations; His Family was a well ordred Church. And his Friendship was safe, edifying, and honourable. In a Word, all the Worthy Characters of a Gospel Minister met in him. He deserv'd quite other Treatment than he met with from an unkind World, but his Reward is above.

New-Castle upon Tyne: Mr. *Samuel Hammond* of St. *Nicolas.* Mr. *Durant* of *Alhallows.* Mr. *Henry Leaver* of St. *Johns;* who was also turn'd out at *Branspeth* in *Durham.* And Mr. *Thomas Weld.*

Berwick upon Tweed: Mr. *Luke Ogle.* And Mr. *Wrissel.*

Woller: Mr. *John Lomax.* A Man of great Learning even in the Opinion of Bishop *Cosins,* and one of singular Modesty. He afterwards settled at *Shields,* where he Practis'd Physick: And Preach'd when he had an Opportunity.

Chatton: Mr. *James Duncanson.* A very Pious Man. At his coming to the Parish, he was oppos'd by Two Ancient, and then flourishing families, of whom be foretold that in a while they should not have a Foot of land in *Northumberland,* which Time some that were present should live to see; which accordingly fell out. The Truth of which Passage, (I am inform'd) there are many who yet Survive, are ready to Attest.

Ellingham: Mr. *Patrick Bromfield.* A very facetious, but plain-hearted Man. He sustain'd himself when he was Silenc'd, by practising Physick.

Long Horton: Mr. *Lane.* A Man of great Sincerity and of an unblameable, exemplary Conversation.

Whittingham: Mr. *Abraham Hume*. Who went afterwards to *London*, where he is yet living, Pastor of a Congregation.

Edlingham: Mr. *John Murray*. Yet a Preacher at *Edinburgh*.

Warworth

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Warworth, or *Warksorth*: Mr. *Moor*. Who made a very great Reformation in the Parish, by his Prudence, Diligence, and obliging Behaviour. He went afterwards into *Ireland*.

Mitforth: Mr. *Benlows*. Since a Counsellor at Law.

Collerton, or *Thokerinton*: Mr. *Taylor*. He forbore Preaching for several Years after his being Ejected, But at length being under Trouble of Mind, he return'd again to his Work.

Pontland: Mr. *Humphrey Bell*. Tho' he was much solicitd to Conform, yet upon mature Deliberation he refus'd it, and was Content to turn Farmer for a Livelihood. Upon his Death-bed, *he thank'd God that he had preserv'd a good Conscience*. He was a Learned Man as his MSS. Papers testifie; and of great Moderation.

Bolam: Mr. *Robert Leaver*. A very subtle Disputant, and noted for his Sincerity. He was descended from that Mr. *Leaver*, who was Chaplain to King *Edward* the VI.

Whatton: Mr. *Wicleff*. Who of a Laborious Preacher, became a diligent Farmer.

Erisden: Mr. *Henderson*. Afterwards. Chaplain to Sir *Ralph Delaval*; to whom he Dedicated His Discourse against Conformity, which was never Printed: But there are several Copies of it in Private Hands. I am Inform'd, it shows both the Candour and Learning of the Author, who was remarkable for both.

Alnewick: Mr. *Gilbert Rule*.* Who before his settling here, had been a Noted Tutor in the University of *Glasgow*. While here he was useful and much belov'd, by the People, till he was Ejected

* *He hath Printed*, A Rational Defence of Nonconformity; wherein the Practise of Nonconformists is vindicated from promoting Popery, &c. Qu. The Good Old Way defended, against the Attempts of A.M. D.D. in his Book call'd, An Enquiry into the New Opinions (chiefly) propogated by the Presbyterians of Scotland, Qu. The Cyprianick Bishop Examin'd, and found not to be a Diocesan, 4to.

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in 62. After his Ejectment, he was one while in *Holland*, where he study'd and took his Doctors Degree in Physick: Another while he was in *Ireland*, where he Preach'd with good Acceptance.

Another while he was at *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, where he both Practis'd Physick, and Preach'd Occasionally. At last after the late Happy Revolution, He settled at *Edinburgh*, of which City, and University, he for several years was one of the brightest Ornaments: Being universally respected by Wise and Sober Persons, for his fitness for Government which he was call'd to in the University; his useful and edifying Way of Preaching in the Pulpit; and his Prudence, and Moderation in Ecclesiastical Matters.

Norham: Mr. *Edward Ode*. Eglington: Mr. *John Pringle* Tweedmouth: Mr. *William Meene*. Ovingham: Mr. *John Trurant*. Stanton: Mr. *Haddon*. Bottle: Mr. *John Thompson*. Felton: Mr. *John Seaton*. Cornwale: Mr. *Areskin*, or *Ascue*. Ancraft: Mr. *Foieside*. Biwel: Mr. *Davis*. Allenton: Mr. *Strong*. Bowton: Mr. *Murrow*. Bedlington: Mr. *Darnton*. Tinmouth: Mr. *Gordon*. Haughton: Mr. *John Hume*. Stannington: Mr. *Owens*, or *Evans*. Whitton: Mr. *Wakely*. And Mr. *William White*, Mr. *Bruce*, Mr. *Blunt*, and Mr. *Carr*, at uncertain Places.

There Conform'd here afterwards, Mr. *Cole*, Mr. *Prideaux*, and Mr. *Ashburnham*, and Mr. *Knightsbridge*, all of *New-Castle*. Mr. *James Aird* of *Ingram*, And Mr. *Lupton*, of *Woodhorne*.

In the Bishoprick of DURHAM.

Bishops Aukland: Mr. *Richard Frankland*, M.A. Born in 1630, at *Rauthmel*, in the Parish of *Giggleswick* in *Craven*; and Educated at the famous School there. He was sent to *Cambridge*, Anno 1647; and admitted Member of *Christs* Colledge, when Dr. *Samuel Bolton* was Master, and he made good Proficiency both in Humane and Divine Learning. He afterwards settled at *Bishops Aukland* (a good living).

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When the Protectour *Oliver* Erected a Colledge for Academical Learning at *Durham*, Mr. *Frankland* was pitch'd upon as a very fit Man to be a Tutour there. But that Colledge being demolish'd at the Return of King *Charles*, and the Act of Uniformity taking Place, he not only lost his designed Post, but his Living too, upon his refusal to Conform. After his being Silenc'd, he liv'd at *Rauthmel*, where he was perswaded to set up a private Academy in

his own House. Sir *Thomas Liddal* sent his Son *George* to be Educated under him; and many others follow'd his Example: So that in the space of a few Years, he had to the Number of 300 under his Tuition; many of them are now worthy and useful Ministers of the Gospel. From *Rauthmel* he in 1674, remov'd to *Natland* near *Kendal* in *Westmorland*, where besides his Care in the Education of those who were committed to him, he Preach'd frequently in his own House, at *Kendal*, and at several other Neighbouring Places. In these Parts he had a thriving Congregation, whom he kept in Peace, by his Candour and Humility, Gravity and Piety, notwithstanding the different Principles they were off; and he was generally belov'd, and exceeding useful; but in 1682, he was forc'd to remove, by a Storm rais'd against him by his Enemies. He withdrew for a while to *Carlemel-sands*, and afterwards to *Alterdiff*, and thence in 1689 to *Rauthmel* again, in all which Places he kept up his Academy, and was otherwise very useful.

In the latter part of his Life, he was Afflicted with the Stone and Strangury, and various other Infirmities, which he bore with an Exemplary Patience. He dy'd *Octob. 1. 1698. Ætat, 68.*

He was an Eminent Divine, and Acute Mathematician: A solid Interpreter of Scripture; Very Sagacious in discovering Errours, and able in defending Truth: Witness his valuable piece in Print against *Socintanism*. He was one of great Humility and Affability. No very taking, but a substantial Preacher. Few Convers'd with him, but they respected and valu'd him. He was a Man of great Moderation, very Liberal to the Poor, Studious to promote the Gospel in all Places, and good in all Relations. He

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met with much Opposition in the latter part of his Life; was cited into the Bishop's Court, and Excommunicated for Non Appearance: But the Lord *Wharton*, Sir *Thomas Rookby*, and others interceding with our Gracious King *William*, he ordred his Absolution, which was accordingly read in *Giggleswick* Church. Arch-Bishop *Sharp* afterwards sent for him, and treated him with great Civility; notwithstanding which a fresh Citation was sent from the Ecclesiastical Court, of which he took little Notice: Nor was there any need he should; for a *Prohibition* was sent down to stop Proceedings.

City of Durham: St. Nicolas; Mr. *Devereux*. Helveth: Mr. *Holdsworth*. Kellow: Mr. *Thomas Dixon*. Bowdens: Mr. *Robert Pleasance*. Gatesend: Mr. *Thomas Weld*. Lumsley: Mr. *Wilson*. Jarro: Mr. *Batty*. Esington or Staynton: Mr. *Will. Pell*. Elwick: Mr. *John Bowey*. Bishops Weremouth: Mr. *Greves*. Sedgfield: Mr. *Hunton*. Whitton Gilbert: Mr. *Hutton*. Middleton: Mr. *Thomas*

Kentish. Cotham: Mr. *Kiplin.* Hartlepool: Mr. *Bowey.* Norton: Mr. *Brough.* Eggcliffe: Mr. *Dan. Bushel.* Hegington: Mr. *Squire.* Washinton: Mr. *Williamson.* And Mr. *Peake,* whose place is uncertain.

There Conform'd here afterwards, Mr. *John Weld* of *Ryton.* Mr. *Richard Battersby* of *Haughton.* Mr. *Coats* of *Sodbury.* Mr. *Dockery* of *Lanchester.* Mr. *John Kidd* of *Redmarsham.* Mr. *Stott* of *Whikham.* Mr. *Bewick* of *Stanhope.* Mr. *Bickarton* of, *Wulsingham.* Mr. *Parish* of *Darlington.* Mr. *Timson* of *Hellens Aukland.* Mr. *Tho. Bowyer* of *Mugliswick.*

In YORKSHIRE, The West-Riding.

York City: Mr. *Edward Bowles,* M.A. Mr. *Tho. Calvert,* M.A. Mr. *Peter Williams,* and Mr. *Parret;* who were settled by the Parliament at the Minster, and Preach'd in their Courses there, and at other Places in the City. Mr. *Edward Bowles,* was Son of Mr. *Oliver Bowles* of *Sutton* in *Bedfordshire,* who was an useful Member

of

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of the Assembly of Divines; and Author of the Excellent Book call'd *Pastor Evangelicus;* Publish'd by this Son of his, and Dedicated to the Earl of *Manchester.* A Book not suffer'd to creep out in the time of Rampant Episcopacy, not for any Evil in it, but because some Men do not care to be put, upon too much Work.

He was Born about the Year 1617; and was Educated in *Katharine Hall* in *Cambridge,* under these two Eminent Masters, Dr. *Sibbs* and Dr. *Brownrigge.* And he seems not to have lost his time there; for by that time he was 27, he Publish'd that noted Tract, Entit. *The Mystery of Iniquity still working in the three Kingdoms,* 4to, 1643, which gave a great deal of Delight and Satisfaction to Elder Heads. He was for sometime Chaplain to the Earl of *Manchester;* but upon the Reduction of *York,* was Constituted one of the Four Ministers maintain'd by the State in that City with Honourable Stipends. There was the Stage of his Business for about the 18 last Years of his Life. The pains in Preaching was equally divided among the whole Quaternion, *viz.* two were at the *Minster* on Lords Days for a Month, and two at *Allhallows on the Pavement* for the other Month Alternately. As for Mr. *Bowles,* tho' he Preach'd but one part of the day, he Expounded the Scriptures on the other, besides his share in Expositions and Lectures on the Week Days.

He was indeed a great Man an excellent Scholar, and one of more than usual Prudence. He had a clear Head, and a warm Heart. His Preaching was very acceptable not only to his Friends and Followers, but to strangers; even

those of a contrary Judgment approv'd well of it. So that the very Sequestred and Decimated Gentlemen were his Hearers, and that some times at his House, where in the Evenings he was wont to repeat his Sermons; as Sir *Chr. Wyvel*, &c. Being a Man of very great Abilities, and those well Cultivated with Reading and Meditation, he had a neat way of expressing his Mind Briefly and Sententiously, but yet with plainness, and very intelligibly. He had a clearness in his Notions, and that made him utter them without Obscurity. Besides he did not

spend

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spend his time about Mint and Cummin, &c. but the weightier things of the Law and Gospel, which have the greatest relish with sober Minds. It was ordinarily (but falsely) laid to the charge of the Ministers of those times, that in stead of the plain Gospel, they still sang *Canticum Novum*, to the Tune of the Times, to the keeping open Breaches, &c. But it may be appeal'd to any of the Hearers of Mr. *Bowles* yet alive, and more than that to the several Volumes, of Sermons that have been written from his Mouth, and are yet reserv'd as a Treasure in *York*, and usefully read in Familys, whether he ever us'd any such manner of Preaching. No; Repentance, and Faith in Christ, and the other invariable Truths of Christianity were his constant Themes. And his Prayers were as much of a Piece; as his Sermons: For there were Four things he mostly Pray'd for, *viz.* That there might be *Sound Doctrine, Purity in Worship, true Christian Liberty, and the Power of Godliness.*

He had also the Reputation of a very Prudent Man, in Conversation. He was indeed something reserv'd to Strangers, but open and Familiar with his Friends. He had a Byass for Goodness, and made it his Endeavour to promote Honest Designs upon all Occasions: So that he had frequent Access to the Magistrates of the City, promoting by their means a Reformation of many disorders without being seen in it himself. And tho' he lay hid, yet was it said, that he was the Spring that mov'd all the Wheels in the City.

His greatest Activity and Interest was seen about the great Revolution in 1660, when the Lord General *Monck* pass'd thro' *Yorkshire*, where most of the Gentry of the County, with the Lord *Fairfax* at the Head of them, Address'd to him for a free Parliament. The Address is in Print, and was the Pattern of all the rest that follow'd in other Countys thro' which he pass'd. It must be own'd that this was a critical Fact, and one main Cause of the King's Restauration. And as to this whole Business, 'tis well known Mr. *Bowles* had a considerable hand in the management of it. The Lord *Fairfax* being one of the Commissioners sent from the Parliament to invite

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King *Charles* into *England*, Mr. *Bowles* accompany'd him to *Breda*. Some have been very free in charging him with over-acting himself in this matter; but were that true, he might well eno' be excus'd of both Parties. Of the *Presbyterians*, who then saw and felt such an unsettled Succession of Opressions, that became intolerable. It Rampant Army threaten'd to leave neither Priest nor Steeple-house in *England*. There were no less than Nine sorts of Supream Powers in a Years space, or thereabout; some of them menacing greater Desolation to Piety than we have since felt. Sober Men were in an *Egypt*, and long'd for their *Exodus*: Which was not a time for Persons of Probity and Activity to sit still. The *Episcopal* Party have yet less Reason to Reflect upon him, with any ill Resentment: For had not he and his Brethren bestir'd themselves, Episcopacy had never been restor'd. He never fought after Preferment in the New Establishment, tho' his Merits might have recommended him to the Best: 'Twas Satisfaction eno' to him to have done his Duty. He and others, might read over *Solomons* Observation, with a little Variation, *Eccles.* 9. 14, 15. There was a miserable Kingdom and great Oppressors in it; *Now there was found in it a poor wise Man, and he by his Wisdom deliver'd the Kingdom: yet no one remembered that poor Man.* He was contented after all, to suffer with his, Brethren, and determin'd to adhere to his Old Principles, whoever veer'd with the Wind, and turn'd with the Tick Among other pliable Souls, who strangely encreas'd and multiply'd upon that sudden change, there was one Mr. *H—r*, who not long after his having begun to read the Prayers, was accidentally met by Mr. *Bowles*, who accosted him in this manner: Well Brother *H.* how like you the *Common Prayer*? Truly said Mr. *H.* its but dry Stuff: I always tho't so, said Mr. *Bowles*; and suppose that may be the Reason why our *Vicars Choral* run to the *Ale-house* as soon as they have done Reading. He was very facetious in Conversation; Modest, but very obliging; a tall and lovely Person; of a fresh and clear Complexion; as his Picture kept by many in *York* as a Particular Memorial of him, doth in part discover.

'Tis

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'Tis credibly Reported the Deanry of *York* was offer'd him: but not being satisfy'd with Conformity, dhe was presently excludeci the Minister, but continu'd Preaching at *Alhallows*, and afterwards at *St. Martins*; However he seems to have preferr'd the Vicaridge of *Leeds*, and resolv'd to have retir'd

thither. The Ingenuous Mr. *Ralph Thorsby* of that Town, (to whom I acknowledge my self indebted, for these, and other material Hints) hath in his Collection of Manuscripts some Sheets of Original Subscriptions of the Inhabitants of that Town and Parish, and a Transcript of the Magistrate's Letter, under the Hands of Alderman *Thoresby, Dawson, Allanson; &c.* to the King and Council, concerning his Election, *&c.* April 1661: But thro' the favour of the times, Dr. *John Lake* (afterwards Bishop of *Chichester* and one of the famous Seven) was instituted, into that Vicaridge.

Mr. *Bowles* kept a Lecture every Tuesday in the Morning at St. *Peters* in *York*, and in that Lecture went, thro' the whole Epistle to the *Romans*. He Preach'd his Course at the Minster on the Wensday Lecture, and once a Month at *Tadcaster* where he was often set upon by the Quakers. He also Lectur'd over both the Epistles to the *Corinthians*, and the first of St. *Peter*, which were his last Sermons, and well worthy the Light: But he was very backward to Print.†

† He hath not much Extant: Besides what is before mention'd, I know of nothing of his but two Excellent Sermons; one at *Pauls* before the Lord Major of London. And another concerning the Duty and Danger of Swearing at *York*, 1655. And a plain and short Cateschism (without his Name) Oct. the 8th. Impression, 1676.

He was always the Mouth of the rest, when the Country and City Ministers had their quarterly Meetings. His Death was as generally Lamented by Pious and well disposed Persons, as any one Mans would have been in the Land. For besides his great worth and Eminent Abilities, he was in the Flower of his Age, not exceeding 45. He was Bury'd on the Eve of *Bartholomew* Day, 1662; so that his Mouth was

open'd

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open'd above, just at the time when they were stopping; it here below. Many Copies of Verses were made to adorn his Hearse, some of which are not Contemptible; but my Limits are too strait to insert them here.

Mr. *Peter Williams*,* was a sweet Temper'd, meek spirited Man; one of great Abilities, and considerable Learning, and had a well furnish'd, Library. He was an exact and curious Preacher, very Spiritual and Sententious. He liv'd an Holy, retired Life. After his being Silenc'd, he kept close to his Study: Nor did he wholly lay aside his Work. He Preach'd a Week-day Lecture at the Lady *Listers*. Many envy'd his Liberty, but durst not meddle with him, he being Shrowded under the Wing of such an Honourable Person, who (as was said) was nearly related to Thirty Knights, and Persons of the best

Rank. After her Death he kept his Lecture at my Lady *Wakson's* House; and she at her Death, gave that House to him and his. He dy'd of the Stone and a Feavour together, *March 26.* 1680. *Ætat.* 55.

* He hath printed *FilanqropÖa, or the Transcendency of Christ's Love towards the Children of Men,* in 1665.

Mr. *Thomas Calvert*,* Preach'd at *Alhallows* on the Pavement, when he was turn'd out of the Minster. After he was wholly Silenc'd, he liv'd Privately in the City, till the *Oxford Act* Banish'd him, and then he withdrew to the good Lady *Barnicks* near *Todcaster*; and in same time return'd back again to *York*. He was a Pious Devout Man, and a Profound Preacher. His matter was Excellent, but he was not very Solicitous as to Method. He Read and Study'd much; and had great Acquaintance with the *Jewish Rabbies*. He had a reach in Translating and Expounding Scripture which was Peculiar. He was Bury'd in his Study to the last; but fore broken in his Spirit, Body and Estate, by an Extravagant Son, a Merchant: And as much comforted on the other side in his Brother's Son, Mr. *James Calvert*, (of whom in his Place) he dy'd in *March 1679.* *Ætat* 73.

* He hath published *Mel Cæli; Medulla Evangelii: or the Prophet Isaiahs Crucifix, being an Exposition of the 53d Chapter of his Prophecy: Qu.* 1657. *The Blessed Jew of Morrocco, or the Blackmore made White: wherein is a Diatribe of the Jews Sins and Miserys; with many things very observable, He also Reprinted a Book of Mr. Foxes, call'd Christus Triumphans; Comædia Apocalyptica: With a learned Epistle prefix'd to Schoolmasters. He also wrote a piece of Poetry against the Papists, &c.*

Mr.

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Mr. *Parret*, after he was Silenc'd by the Act for Uniformity, apply'd himself to the Practise of Physick, and remov'd into the North; where he dy'd about, 1666.

Sheffield: Mr. *Fisher*, Mr. *Hancock*, Mr. *Bloom*, and Mr. *Prime*.

Mr. *Fisher*,* was Congregational in his Judgment, but of great Piety and Worth, and an Excellent Preacher, and was an Instrument of much good in this Populos Town. In his younger Days he had been Minister in *London*, and joining with another, it so fell out that when the other Minister Preach'd great Multitudes flock'd to hear him, while Mr. *Fisher* had but very few Auditors. Enquiring the Reason of one of the Parish, he was Answer'd; Sir, you do but Preach the Old hum-drum Doctrines of Faith and Repentance, but the other Preacheth Dispensation Truths. It much Affected him, as it must needs do any Man that hath to do with Persons of a like Stamp and Character, who

matter not Ministers of a Ruin, if their Preaching suits not their vitiated Palate. He afterwards Succeeded worthy Mr. *Towler*, and Mr. *Bright* at *Sheffield*, and walked in their Steps, Preaching Usefully, and living Exemplarily till his Ejectment in 62. Some time after that, he was Imprison'd in *York Castle*, upon pretence of a Plot, which he was far from owning the least concern in; but there he got so bad a habit of Body, that he liv'd not long after. He fix d with Mr. *Hatfield* at *Laughton*, where he dy'd in 1665. He often us'd to say to his Children, *Take measure of your selves when you are alone.*

Mr. *Rowland Hancock*, was Vicar of *Ecclesfield* near *Sheffield*, but turn'd out in 60, by Mr. *Hurst*, former Incumbent. He afterwards Preach'd at *Bradfield*, where the Act for Uniformity found him when it took place. When the *Oxford* Act came out, he for sometime withdrew, and was entertain'd by Mr. *Sylvanus Rich*, of *Buthouse* in *Pennyston* Parish. That Storm being over, he return'd and Preach'd at *Shertliff-Hall*, where he liv'd near *Sheffield*, maintain'd a Weekly Lecture at *Bradfield*, and, being invited to Preach occasionally at *Alverthorp* near *Wakefield*, he was taken and committed Prisoner by two Justices of

Peace

* He writ little, besides the remarkable History of Mrs. Martha Hatfield.

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Peace of *York Castle*, where he continu'd some time. He was a very Pious Man, of excellent Natural Parts, and tolerable Learning, tho' he had not been bred at the University. His Sermons were Succinct, Methodical and Elaborate. In the latter part of his Life; he was seiz'd with the Palsy, and afterward's continu'd long under languishing Diseases, and was exercis'd with severe Pain, which was that to be the Stone; but his Body being open'd after his Decease, no Stone was found, but they perceiv'd something of the Strangury, and an Ulcer in his Bladder. He bore his Pain with an invincible Patience, and dy'd' *April* 14. 85.

Mr. *Matthew Bloom* was at *Altercliff* Chapel near *Sheffield*, and afterwards Assistant at *Sheffield*. He was a Man of good Parts, and an excellent preacher. He dy'd suddenly at Sir *William Bury's* in *Lincolnshire*. As he was rising out of his Bed, he complain'd of a Pain in his Arm, and growing Sick, they were sore'd to carry him again to his Bed; where he was no sooner laid, then he cry'd out, *Oh what need is there to be always ready for Death!* And so breath'd his last. *April* 13. 1686. *Ætat.* 46. As to Mr. *Prime*, He is yet Living.

Rotheram: Mr. *Luke Clayton*, a Prophet that had unusual Honour in his own Country, on the Account of his Real Worth, and Pious Labours. He

was an Excellent Disputant, and a very ready Man: and for many Years Preach'd twice a day, to a Numerous Congregation, and Catechiz'd the Youth in Publick; after which he constantly on Lord's Day Evening (about Five a Clock) Repeated the Substance of his Sermons. He having no Successor provided for him, continu'd to Exercise his Ministry after *Bartholomew* Day 62, to the great Advantage of that and the Neighbouring Places, and he continu'd so to do, till the *January* following, when he cheerfully suffer'd the Penalty of Imprisonment, rather than the People should be wholly left Destitute of sacred Ministrations. He was the first of the Ministers that were sent to *York Castle*. by vertue of the Act for Uniformity. He afterwards Preach'd at *Grasebrough* Chapel

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for several Years; and dy'd of a Consumption, *June* 13. 1674. About 50 Years of Age.

Hansworth: Mr. *Cart*. He resided here several Years after his Ejectment in 62. An Eminent Scholar, and great Divine. Major *Taylor* of *Wallinwells*, committed his only Child to his Tuition, when he was sent by King *Charles* to Fortify *Tangier*. He was faithful to his Trust, and his Pupil is a very worthy Gentleman, and useful Magistrate in his Country. He dy'd in 1674.

Ackworth: Mr. *Burbeck*. He had been Minister there many Years, when he was Silenc'd in 62. He afterwards dwelt in his own House at *Sheffield*; Preach'd frequently, and did much good. He was a very worthy Divine, and a solid substantial Preacher, one of a chearful Spirit, but much afflicted with the Stone. He dy'd in 1674. Aged about 60. Dr. *Bradley* Succeeded him at *Ackworth*.

Sandall parva near Doncaster: Mr. *Hobson*. A Sober, Serious, Pious Man, and Faithful Minister. After his being Silenc'd, he remov'd and liv'd about Three Miles East of *York*. He was a Man of a sweet winning Deportment, and unblameable Conversation, and yet met with many Discouragements. He had little Employment, and yet was Comfortably provided for. He dy'd about the Year 1671.

Bradsworth: Mr. *William Hawden*. Born at *Holbeck* near *Leeds*. Silenc'd in 62, whith his Brethren; Upon the Five Mile Act he went to *Sherborn*, and afterwards remov'd to *Wakefield*. He Preach'd both at home and abroad as Opportunity offer'd, as long as his Sight continu'd; but for the Eight or Ten last Years of his Life, his Sight fail'd him. However, afterwards he had frequent Meetings in his own House. He was a great hater of all Vice, a sound Orthodox Divine, a great promoter of what was good, and one of Magnanimity and

Resolution. In 1685, when the Duke of *Monmouth* was Landed, he with many others was sent Prisoner to *Hull*, and thence convey'd to *York* Castle, where the Commissioners requir'd he should be bound to his good Behaviour, which he peremptorily refus'd, knowing no Occasion for it; but the Matter was Compromis'd upon a

Friend's

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Friend's passing his word for him. He dy'd *Aug.* 26. 1699. *Ætat.* 84.

Hickleton: Mr. *Everard*. An Eminent Divine and solid Preacher, and one of excellent Parts. When he was turn'd out, Sir *John Jackson* took him and his Wife into his Family. He was Chaplain, and his Wife the House-keeper. He was very useful in the Family; and dy'd there *Anno* 1665.

Smeton: Mr. *Noble* M.A. Born at *Asleby* In *Holden* Parish, *Anno* 1611. Admitted of *Christ* Colledge in *Cambridge* in 1630. In 1637, he was Minister at *Whitgift*. In 1646 he remov'd to *Smeton*. One of an happy Memory, a great Presence, and readiness of Wit; a mighty Opposer of the Factions and Hurrys of the Times. He had much Trouble with the Quakers, whom he greatly confounded in Occasional, and sett Disputations. He was an excellent Disputant, and never lost or disparag'd the Cause which he undertook, nor his Reputation, by Ignorance or Passion. In the latter part of his Life, he Preach'd to a Private Congregation at *Pontefract*. He departed this life *Febr.* 11. 1679. *Ætat.* 74. And was an excellent, useful solid, Divine.

Thurnsco: Mr. *Benton*. Was Born at *Whiskethill*, near *Atherton* in *Burstall* Parish. He was a Man of Parts, Presence and Assurance. After his Ejection in 62. He took a Farm, and apply'd himself to Husbandry, for the Necessary Maintenance of his Family: And afterwards he follow'd the Mault Trade. He dwelt at *Barnsley*, where being an affable chearful Spirited Man, he maintain'd good Correspondence with the Neighbouring Gentry, whereby he was kept much out of Trouble, but at the same time he had not the same Opportunities for Preaching as many of his Brethren; and yet he Preach'd sometimes. He dy'd, *Aug.* 22, 1688. *Ætat.* 42.

Hemsworth: Mr. *Charman* or *German*. A Pious Painful Faithful Minister, but not so Successful as some others of his Brethren. He dy'd in 1667, He was a very Substantial Divine, and a good Scholar.

Silkeston: Mr. *Spawford*, Vicar there many Years; (there's a very pretty Church there, and therefore it is call'd the *Minster in the Moores*) He was a Pious

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Man,

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Man, of competent Parts and Abilities; very plain in his Preaching, Holy in his Life, Facetious in Discourse, and a lover of all good Men. When he was Ejected, Mr. *Robert Cotton*, (a Worthy, Pious Gentleman in that Parish) took him to his House, and kept him as long as he' liv'd. He dy'd in 1668. *Ætat* 80.

Pennyston: Mr. *Henry Swift*. Who continu'd Preaching after the Silencing day, till he was Imprison'd. He continu'd Three Months in *York* Castle, several Nonconformists supplying for him all the while; and when he was at Liberty, he fell to Preaching again. There was no striving for the Place, which was but a small Vicaridge, the Profits whereof till it came to Easter Reckonings were Glean'd by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who only allow'd the Incumbent a small Stipend. He was Imprison'd a second, and a third time, and was at last prevail'd with to take the *Oxford* Oath, and he read some few Prayers to keep his Place, but neither declar'd his Assent and, Consent, nor made the Subscription requir'd in the Act of Uniformity, and yet held on Preaching till his Death: Which was *Octob.* 31. 1689. *Ætat.* 68.

Haylland: Mr. *Inman*: At this place there were 2 Parsons and Parsonages. One of them, *viz.* Mr. *Herring* kept in Mr. *Inman* was Ejected in 62. He afterwards taught School in *Clayton* and liv'd Obscurely, but was a good Scholar. He dy'd in *March* 1689. *Ætat.* 66.

Denby Chapel in Pennyston Parish: Mr. *Crook*. He was born in *Sheffield*, and brought up at *Cambridge*. A sober and stout Man, very found and Orthodox, of good natural Parts, Active and Vigorous in a good Cause, and very able to defend the Truth by Argument. He had a considerable Estate, and Preach'd but Rarely and Privately. He dy'd at *Wakefield*, *Jan.* 9. 1686/7. He was but a Spare and Temperate Man, and yet had been long afflicted with the Gout, which at last rose upward, from his Foot to his Throat and Choak'd him, when he was about 40 Years of Age.

Sandal Magna, near Wakefield: Mr. *Timothy Wood*. An Universal Scholar, of a ready Wit, and Voluble Tongue. A Diligent Student, and of a Tenacious
Memory:

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Memory: An excellent Preacher, and of a peaceable Spirit. As far from Plotting as any Man, tho' by Misinformation he was Imprison'd in the Castle of *York*. He was one of three in these Parts, who could not imagine the Act of Uniformity had been so high, but that it might have been Passable: But upon Search, they found the Ford too deep, they could neither Wade it,

nor Swim it, and therefore they kept themselves safe (on this side,) with their Brethren. He liv'd some time in *Sandal*, after his being Silenc'd, and afterwards remov'd into *Leicestershire*; and Preach'd often in some Publick Churches. He dy'd at *Belgrave* near *Leicester*, in 1680. *Ætat.* 63. He was a Man of prodigious Parts, and Industry; and good Elocution. He had fram'd a Common Place Book of all the Heads of Divinity, containing the Quintessence of the choicest Authors he had Convers'd with: But he Printed nothing.

Crofton near Wakefield: Mr. *Edward Hill*. He had been formerly a Conformist, but could not fall in with the New Settlement in 62. He was a Pious, Grave, Ancient Divine, of an excellent Temper. Upon the coming forth of the Five Mile Act, he remov'd to *Shibden* near *Halifax*. He and his Wife had liv'd together Forty Years, and dy'd within Two Hours one of another, in *Jan.* 1668/9.

Selby: Mr. *Burdal*, or *Birdsal*; bred up in *Trinity* Colledge near *Dublin* in *Ireland*, in the beginning of Dr. *Winter's* time there. He often acknowledg'd the goodness of God in the many Advantages he enjoy'd there, in Publick Ordinances, and Godly Society. After his being Silenc'd, he became Domestick Chaplain to Mrs. *Hulton* of *Poppleton*, Sister to my Lord *Thomas Fairfax*. He was of great Use in that Honourable Family, and to the Neighbourhood, by his Example, Prayers, and Preaching. Esq; *Hulton*, after his Ladys Death, continu'd his Encouragement, tho' he did not long Survive her: Dying in 1686. He was very Temperate, and of a blameless Life; and any contrary Reflections, because of the flusing of his Face, which was natural to him, were altogether groundless.

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Long

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Long Haughton: Mr. *Taylor*. After his being Silenc'd, he became Chaplain to Sir *Edward Rhodes*; and afterwards liv'd at Mr. *Wadsworth's* at *Swath Hall* near *Barnsley*. He was a Serious Zealous Christian, and a plain laborious Preacher. Removing to *Sheffield*, he dy'd *March* 1681, at about Forty Years of Age.

Wakefield: Mr. *Joshua Kirby*. * M.A. Born in *London*, and Educated in *Oxford*. He lost a good Living for refusing to take the Engagement, after which he went Northward upon this Occasion: The Lady *Camden* about this time gave 100*l.* *per Annum.* to maintain a Lecture at *Wakefield*, and appointed the Company of *Mercers* in *London* to be Trustees in Settling and Managing it. They chose Mr. *Kerby* first Lecturer on that Account who went down thither in 1650, and Preach'd on Lord's Days in the afternoon, and call'd the first Child Born to him after he came thither *Camdena*, in grateful

Acknowledgement of his Benefactress. He was a solid substantial Preacher, and a great Scripturist. Some complaining of his citing too many Scriptures in his Sermons: His Answer was, that it was as if the Baker complain'd, that the Miller brought him too fine Flower to make Bread of: Can we speak more properly than in God's Language? But his Excellency lay in Prayer, wherein he had a peculiar Gift. A Conformist Minister once hearing him, said to a Friend, Mr. *Kirby Prays Apostolically*. He was rather reserv'd in Discourse; but if engag'd by Question, there was much depth and significancy in his short Answers. He had a notable Faculty in Expounding Scripture, where he had many pretty, but unusual Glosses. He had something of Singularity in his Sentiments, and in his common Practise, but there was no danger attending it. His Garb was wonderful plain, and he required the same of all under his Charge. He was very strict in Family Discipline, and faithful in Instruction and Admonition. He was a Man of great Courage and Resolution, and inflexible when he had once fix'd his Principles. He was Prisoner at *Lambeth* in 1659, together with Mr. *Cook of Chester*, and Mr. *Harrison of Ashton*, about Mr. *G. Booth's* business. Afterwards he

was

* *He Printed a little Protestant Catechism in Scripture Phrase.*

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was made Prisoner upon the Act for Conventicles Being turn'd out by the Act for Uniformity,* set up a Pulpit in his own House, and Preach'd to all Comers, for, which he was sent to *York Castle*, where he was not Idle, but improv'd his Solitude in Praying, Meditating, and Preaching when he was suffer'd.

And sometimes he would divert himself in making Verses, many Copies whereof yet remain in the Hands of his Friends, as to which it must be own'd the Sense is far beyond the Poetry.

After Travelling much about in the latter Part of his Life, he at last Finish'd his Course at *Wakefield June 12. 1676. Aetat. 59.* And was Bury'd in his own Garden, because he was Excommunicated. He was a Man of extraordinary Sanctity and exactness; a right *Jacob* in his ordinary Garb, and inward Plainness and Prevalence with God: Another *Elijah*, a Champion for Truth against many Opposers.

Thornhill: Mr. *Joshua Whitton* or *Wiltan*, whose Benefice was reckon'd at 300l. a Year. He was born at *Sowerby*, and bred at *Cambridge*, was a witty

Man, and a good Scholar, and had been Chaplain to my Lord *Ferdinando Fairfax*. He was an able and judicious Preacher, of large Acquaintance and Influence; and being bless'd with a plentiful Estate, he was a Cordial Friend to his poorer Brethren. When he heard that the Act of Uniformity was come out, he and two other Ministers rode to *York* (as one said) with their Cloak Baggs full of Distinctions, hoping they might get over it, and keep their Places: But having read it, it Silenc'd and Answer'd them. Tho' they were all Prudent and Learned Men, and of Catholick Spirits and Principles, yet they return'd with a Resolution rather to quit all than Comply: Two of them kept their Resolution to the Day of their Death, and the Third remains firm and fix'd in the same Cause. Mr. *Wiltan* after his Ejectment, remov'd to *York*. He was Purse-bearer and Distributor of the Contributions of Chari

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* *A particular Account of his Sufferings may be seen in Conf. 4. Pl. for the Nonconf. page 46.*

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ritable Persons, for the supply of Poor Ministers. He was a Man of an excellent Temper, of great Integrity, and unusual Sagacity. He was found Dead in his Bed, *June 1. 1674. Ætat. 56.*

Kirkheaton: Mr. Christ. Richardson. After his Ejectment he retir'd to his own House at *Lassell Hall*. Besides Preaching on Lords Days, He had a Lecture in his House once a Month, in which several of his Brethren join'd with him. He afterwards went to *Liverpool*, Preaching one Day in *Tuxtoth Park Chapel*, and the other Day in the Town. His Preaching to the last was very Neat and Accurate, but plain and taking. He had an healthful Constitution, which continu'd till Old Age. He dy'd in *December 1698.* being about 80.

Ardsley Chapel near Wakefield: Mr. Jeremiah Marsden. Being charg'd with the *Yorkshire Plot*, he escap'd to *London*, and chang'd his Name to *Ralphson*, or Son of *Ralph*, which was the Name of the Father, who had Four Sons: *Samuel, Jeremy, Gamaliel, and Josiah*, who were all Preachers. This second Son, was inclin'd to the Notions of the fifth Monarchists, was Imprison'd in *Newgate*, where he Dy'd, in 1684. *Ætat 55.* having writ several Treatises.

Rodwell near Leeds: Mr. Milner. A Pious, Zealous Minister, Useful and Laborious. After his Ejection he remov'd to a Place near *Fel-Church*, and Preach'd at my Lady *Rhodes Chapel at Haughton*, in the first License Time in 72. And afterwards in that Worthy and Worshipful Family, where both

he and many of his Brethren found loving Entertainment in the hardest Times. He was one of good Parts, and competent Learning. His Labours was very Successful. He Dy'd *March 7. 1681.* Aged about 41.

Leeds: Mr. *Todd*, Mr. *Sale*, and Mr. *Ness*.

Mr. *Robert Todd*, was Minister at the New Church at *Leeds*, and the first Minister that ever was there: For Mr. *Harrison* who built it, chose *him* to Officiate in it.

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He was a very worthy Divine, an excellent Scholar, and a solid, substantial Preacher: But hath left nothing in Print, except an Epistle before a Book of Mr. *Wales*. He was a very Holy and Humble Man. He Dy'd *Ann. 1664.* about 65 Years of Age. His Memory is to this Day precious in *Holderness*, where he liv'd and Preach'd in his Younger Days: And at *Leeds* where his Sermons are kept in many Hands as a precious Treasure.

Mr. *Sale*, formerly Minister at *Thornton* Cbapc1, was call'd to be Assistant to Mr. *Todd*, *Ann. 1647.* A Learned and Holy Man, of fine Parts, and an excellent Preacher. He was Born at *Pudsey*, and bro't up in *Cambridge*, and after his remove thence he spent some time with Mr. *Rayner* of *Lincoln*. When he was Silenc'd, he Liv'd at his own House at *Pudsey*. He kept a constant Course of Preaching there to the Neighbourhood, till God disabled him by a Lingring Disease, which Issu'd in a Palsie. He Dy'd in 1679. He was a great Comfort and Companion to old Mr. *Wales*, with whom he serv'd as a Son in the Gospel. They were near Neighbours, and continu'd dear Friends to the Last.

As for Mr. *Ness*,* he afterwards fix'd in *London*; and is yet Living, but Superannuated, and Longing for his Discharge.

* *He hath Printed, The History, and Mystery of the Bible; in several Volumes in Folio. With many other Tracts.*

Beeston: Mr. *Leonard Scurr*. He had a good Estate there. And some time after his being Silenc'd, He and his Mother, and Maid, Liv'd retir'd at a House in the *Park*, where Thieves breaking in, Robb'd and Murder'd them, and set the House on fire. They afterwards fled into *Ireland*, whither they were Pursu'd. Two of them were taken and condemn'd. One was Hang'd in Chains in *Holbeck* Green. The other was Repriv'd in hopes of a further

Discovery, which he could never be bro't to. A Particular Narrative of this Tragedy is extant in Print.

Hunslete:

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Hunslete: Mr. *Hawksworth*. An Able, Judicious Preacher, and a good Scholar. The Act of Uniformity gave him a *Supersedeas*, and the Five Mile Act drove him from home; at which Time he retir'd to *Alverthorp* Hall, near *Wakefield*, where he Dy'd, *Nov. 23. 1667*. He was an Instrument of Good to many.

Holbeck: Mr. *Robert Armitage*. A pious Man, and a plain useful Preacher. Chaplain in the Parliaments Army in the Time of the War. A Man of Spirit, yet Sober, Solid, and Peaceable; Of great Zeal for God, and against Sin. He Liv'd privately In *Holbeck*: for a Time when Silenc'd; but retir'd to a private Corner near *Hallifax* upon the Five Mile Act. Afterwards returing Home, he Preach'd in his own House, and tho' some Watch'd for an Advantage against him, yet he was never Imprison'd. It could never be discern'd what Judgment he was of: Whether *Presbyterian*, *Congregational*, or *Episcopal*. He Dy'd *April 20. 1689. Ætat. 78*.

Wood-Kirk: Mr. *Christopher Marshal*. Born in *Lincolnshire*, Educated partly in *Cambridge*, and partly under Mr. *Cotton*, at *Boston* in *New-Engand*. A *Congregational* Man. A good solid Scholar, of considerable Parts, and of a serious Spirit, but enclin'd to Melancholy. He met with many Personal and Domestick Afflictions. Being Ejected in 62, He Liv'd privately near his People, in a House of his own. In the banishing Time, he Liv'd in *Horbury*. Returning again, he Preach'd there privately. In 72. He Preach'd at *Topcliff* Hall. He was Accus'd and Imprison'd on the Account of a Plot, with several of his Brethren, but they came off clear, there being none could lay any Thing to their Charge. He had a sound Mind, but a crasie Body, which at last grew untenantable to his precious Soul, which broke loose, and expired in *Feb. 1673. Ætat. 59*.

Pudsey: Mr. *Elkanah Wales*,* M.A. He was Minister here above Forty Years. Born at *Idle*, and Educated at *Cambridge*. A Man of great Holiness,

* He printed an excellent Treatise upon Gal. 3. 13. call'd Mount Ebal Levell'd, Oct. 1659. and had prepar'd another Treatise upon Rom. 7. 4. Call'd the Souls Marriage, first and second. He was much set upon the Printing it, but an Imprimatur could not be procur'd, which stopp'd it. 'Tis uncertain in what Hands it now lies.

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an unspotted Life, and a sound Judgment, He was often invited to greater Places (particularly to *New-Castle*) but was unwilling to leave his poor Ancient

People. He was reckon'd the most successful Preacher in Converting Souls, in the whole Country: But it was observ'd, this was more among Strangers and Occasional Hearers, than his own People, to whom he Preach'd constantly. He had an admirable Art in pressing Practical Truths home upon the Conscience. He had some Trouble for Preaching in *Bramly*, Chapel, upon a special Occasion. He was summon'd before the Justices, and had gone to Prison, but that Friends interceded, and his Age procur'd him Reverence. He was forc'd from home by the Five Mile Act, and Travell'd amongst his Friends, and Dy'd at Mr. *Hickson's* at *Leeds*, May 11. 1669. being neat Eighty Years of Age. He was Tall, of a comely Countenance, and winning Behaviour: And had an excellent Disposition, which was advanc'd by Grace to so high a Degree, as to render him exceeding Amiable.

Idle: Mr. *Thomas Smallwood*. He was Born in *Cheshire*, and was Chaplain in the Army. He was turn'd out of *Batly* a Sequestred Living in 60. But Preach'd in *Idle* Chapel when Ejected in 62. He was a Man of a Noble, Valiant, Active Spirit. He Preach'd convincingly for the awakening of Sinners; there lay his delight and Excellency; and God marvelously bless'd and prosper'd him. He was a moderate *Congregationalist* Man: ready to Act in Concert with his Brethren. Upon the Five Mile Act: he remov'd to *Flanshaw* Hall near *Wakefield*, where he Dy'd Nov. 24. 1667. Aged about 45.

Hallifax: Mr. *Eli Bentley*. Born in *Sowerby*, and bred in *Cambridge*, where he was some time Fellow of *Trinity* Colledge. In *August* 1652, he became Assistant to Mr. *Booth* at *Hallifax*, and after his Death continu'd alone till *August* 62. He fled before the Five Mile Act; but in 72 return'd to *Hallifax*, and Preach'd in his own House. He Dy'd *July* 31. 1675. *Ætat.* 49. He was a Man of good Parts; a solid, serious Preacher, of a very humble Behaviour, and very Useful in his Place. He Liv'd desir'd, and Dy'd

lamented

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lamented. Upon his Death-bed, he thus express'd himself to a particular Friend: *God will take a Course with these unreasonable Men, that require such Terms of Communion, as a Man cannot with a safe Conscience subscribe to.*

Coley: Mr. *Oliver Heywood*,† of *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*. He was Prosecuted in the Consistory at *York*, for not reading the Common-Prayer, a whole Year before the Act of Uniformity commenc'd, He was Suspended, and Excommunicate, and a Writt was given out against him.★ *Ann.* 1669. Preaching occasionally near *Leeds*, he was carry'd before the Mayor, who treated him like a Fury. He ask'd, whether he had not been once in their Hands already? Mr. *Heywood* answer'd, he was never in Prison, but once for

the King in, Sir *George Booths* Rising. He was at length carried away with Lanthorns to the Goal call'd *Capon Hall*, and there put into a Room like a Swine-stye, having nothing in it but heaps of Straw. He was afterwards in the Ecclesiastical Courts, &c. This Worthy Old Gentleman (to whom the World is indeded for most of these Passages, concerning the Ministers of this County, and of *Lancashire*) is yet Living.

† *His Printed Works are these, Baptismal Bonds renew'd, being some Meditations on Psal. 50. 5. Closet Prayer a Christians Duty. Sure Mercies of David. Israels Lamentation after the Lord. The Holy Life and Happy Death of Mr. John Angier. Advice to an only Child, or excellent Counsel to all Young persons. Best Intail, a Discourse on 2 Sam. 23. 5. Family Altar: A Discourse on Gen. 35. 2. 3. To promote the Worship of God in Private Families. Meetness for Heaven, on Colos. 1. 12. The New Creature: on Gal. 6. 15. The General Assembly: Or a Discourse of the gathering of all Saints to Christ.*

* See Conformists 4th Plea for the Nonconformists, page 38, 48.

Sowrby Chapel: Mr. *Henry Root*, Sen. Was a considerable Traveller in his younger Days. In 1645, he gather'd a *Congregational Church*, and was Pastor to them till 62. He Preach'd in his Chapel after *Bartholomew Day*, for Half a Year: But was at length severely dealt with; being dragg'd out of his Chapel, &c. and sent to *York Castle*, where he continu'd Three Months. He Dy'd, Oct. 20. 1669. About Eighty Years of Age.

Bramope: Mr. *Crossly*. He had *Robert Dinely* Esq; for his Patron, under whose Wing he was show

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ded after *Bartholomew Day*. For he had Liberty by Connivance about Two Years; and he Dy'd. *Ann.* 1664. The House of this Esquire *Dinely*, was a common Receptacle for *Nonconformist* Ministers; for he maintain'd Lectures in his House to the Time of his Death, *Ann.* 1689.

Howarth: Mr. *Rob. Town*, Sen. Formerly Minister at *Ealand* in the Vicaridge. of *Halifax*. He Dy'd in 1663, about the 70th Year of his Age.

Moremonkton: Mr. *Constantine*. A Pious and Discreet Man; a good scholar, and a judicious Preacher, very laborious in his Masters Work while he had Opportunity, and not without good Success. He Dy'd, *Ann.* 1665.

Pontefract: Mr. *Ferret*. A constant, diligent, laborious Preacher, of competent Gifts and Learning; He was in great straits after his Ejectment: But had a good Library. He Dy'd *Ann.* 1663. Aged about, 64.

Kerby Hall: Mr. *Joshua Smith*. Born in *Leeds*, and Student in *Katharine Hall* in *Cambridge*, where he made a good Proficiency in Learning. When settled in the Country, he became a very zealous Preacher, took much Pains in

instructing his People, both in Publick and Private; and the Lord succeeded his endeavours; he did much good in a little Time, for he quickly ran out his Race. He Dy'd in 1662.

Popleton near York: Mr. Josiah Holdsworth: Born at Rippenden near Hallifax. He was Minister for some Years in Essex, where he was successful for the good of many. He was Ejected at Popleton in 62, and remov'd thence to Wakefield. He Preach'd afterwards for a Year in Idle Chapel: And Dy'd at Wakefield, Oct. 18. 1677. Ætat. 75. He was a Pious Man of a venerable Aspect, had great Judgement in Physick, and was a very intelligent Person.

Chapel le Brears near Halifax: Mr. Gamaliel Marsden. He was Student in Trinity Colledge, by Dublin in Ireland, and continu'd there Ten Years; part of which he was Fellow. He was turn'd out

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with Dr. Winter upon King Charles Restauration, then came into England. He had but 5l. when he landed at *Liverpool*, and knew no Relations or Friends he could repair to, but resolv'd to go to *Coley* in this County, where his Father had been Minister long before. There he found Friends, and was fix'd in this Chapel, whence he was Ejected by the Act of Uniformity. He afterwards went into *Holland*, and at his return taught some young Students at *Hague Hall*, Phylosophy, &c. He was a solid Scholar, tho' no very plausible Preacher. He was *Congregational*, but of a moderate Spirit. A Man of great Piety and Integrity. He Dy'd May 25. 1681. Ætat 47.

Bramham: Mr. Thomas Hardcastle. Rorn at Barwick upon Holm, and Train'd up under Mr. Jackson of Barwick, a Learned Divine. He was but a Young Preacher when the Act of Uniformity came out; which found him at Bramham. He Preach'd afterwards at Shadwel Chapel, and other Places: Was a Man of pregnant Parts, and a bold Spirit, and fear'd no Danger. He was several times Prisoner at York, at Leeds, and Chester. At Bristol, where he was Preacher to the Anabaptists, they sent him to the House of Correction. He was a Pious Man, and very strict in his Life. He Dy'd at Bristol, Ann. 1679.*

Barley Chapel, near Selbye: Mr. Pickering. Born at Kippax, and Educated at Cambridge. A good Scholar, and useful Preacher. When Ejected, he maintain'd his Integrity. Some time Chaplain to Esq. Dinely at Bramhup; whence he remov'd to Morley. He continu'd his Labours there, till a few Days before he Dy'd; which was in 1680. Aged about 44.

Healigh near Tadcaster: Mr. Cornelius Todd. Second Son of Mr. Todd of Leeds. He was a Pious Man, an Israelite indeed. Who continu'd his Ministerial Labours under many Discouragements and Disadvantages. He took his turn

at *Ellenhorp*, with others of his Brethren, invited by the incomparable Lady *Brook*; and had *8l.* a Year settled on him by the Lord *Wharton*, during Life. He Dy'd *Ann.* 1696.

Worspur,

* *He writ a serious Treatise upon Mat. 6. 34. and Printed some excellent Discourses of Mr. Garbut's; Entit. One come from the Dead, to awaken Drunkards.*

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Worspur near *Barnesly*: Mr. *Shaw*. A Pious Man, and a good Scholar. After his being Silenc'd, he was tutor to Mr. *Boswel's* Two Sons, whom he fitted for the University. Afterwards he Preach'd in *Holderness*, where he, fell into a Consumption: He Dy'd in *Sept.* 1691.

Tonge Chapel near *Leeds*: Mr. *Core*.† A sober Man and good Scholar. He profess'd and practis'd Physick. He Dy'd at *Leeds*, *April* 1688. About 70 Years of Age.

† *He wrote a Book of Mystical Antichrist.*

Treaton: Mr. *Amgill*. One of neat Parts, and likely to be very useful, who Dy'd quickly after he was Ejected and Silenc'd.

Addle: Mr. *Thomas Sharp*,* M.A.† Born in *Little Horton*, near *Bradford* in this County, of Religious Parents, who seeing his Promptness and Industry for attaining Humane Learning, and hopefulness for Religion; Dedicated him to God in the Work of the Ministry, tho' he was their Eldest Son, and likely to have a considerable Estate. He was sent to *Cambridge* in 1649. and admitted in *Clare-Hall* under the Tuition of the famous Mr. *David Clarkson* (his Mother's Brother) who when he left the University, committed him to the Care of that great Man Mr. *John Tillotson*, afterwards. Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. He was very Studious, and having excellent natural Parts, cultivated by great Advantages, and unusual Industry, he became an universal Scholar: A solid Logician, a good Linguist, a fluent Orator, a profound Philosopher, and a very skilful Mathematician. Leaving the University thus accomplish'd, he first enter'd on the Publick Stage at *Peterborough*, where he did not continue long; but remov'd into his Native Countrey about the Year 60. His Uncle Mr. *William Clarkson*, who was Parson of *Addle Dying*, He was presented to

† *He wrote a Book of Mystical Antichrist.*

* *See the Account of him, prefix'd, to his Divine Comforts, Antidoting inward perplexities of mind, which is the only Thing of his that is Extant.*

† *He wrote some things which were never Printed, but are reserv'd in Private Hands.*

1. *Against the Papists upon a young Man going over to them.* 2. *Against Two high Church-men, who gave themselves a Liberty, rigidly to censure their peaceable Brethren.* 3. *Against some Quarries, said to be Dr. Owen's, about the Lawfulness of their hearing Common-Prayer, who are in their Places, engag'd in the pursuit of farther Reformation. And they were his Verses upon Sleep, which are Printed under Clevelands Names Besides which there are several valuable Poems, among his Manuscripts.*

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that Parsonage by Esquire *Arthington* of *Arthington* the Patron. He accepted it, but enjoy'd it only for a very little while; for Dr. *Hich* Parsan of *Guiseley*; challeng'd it as his by Right, upon the Return of King *Charles*, because he was excluded by the Act against Pluralities made by the Parliament. Mr. *Sharp* was capable of it (having been Episcopally Ordain'd) and yet was willing to resign, tho' Mr. *Arthington* was for trying his Title to present by Law. He was the more willing to quit it, foreseeing a Storm coming. He had easily gotten other Preferment, had it not been for the Act of Uniformity, whereby he was Silenc'd. He Liv'd afterwards privately in his Fathers House, and follow'd his Studies very close. In 72. He took out a License and Preach'd in his own House, whither great Numbers resorted. He Preach'd afterwards at *Morley*: And when Mr. *Stretton* remov'd to *London*, he succeeded him in the Congregation at *Leeds*; where he Dy'd *August 27. 1693. Ætat. 59.* He was every way a great Man, and yet clothed with Humility. He was very Laborious in his Work, full of Self-denial, and exceeding temperate and mortify'd to all earthly Enjoyments. He was excellent in Prayer; a fluent Preacher. His Sermons were Elaborate and Accurate; and all he did exceeding Polite and Scholar-like. He was of a Peaceable, Catholick Spirit, rather for composing Differences than espousing a Party. His comfortable Exit, may be seen in the Printed Account of him, to which the Reader is referred.

Cawood: Mr. *Robert Sherborne*, M.A. His Father was Vicar of *Brayton*, near *Selby*. His Mother was scarce Seven Months pregnant before his Birth: And as his Birth was præmature, so were his after Improvements. For he was sooner a Man, a Christian; and a Scholar, than most others. He was fit for the University at Thirteen Years of Age; but at Fourteen left *Coxwold* School, (where the famous Mr. *Smelt* was Master) and was admitted of *Sidney* Colledge in *Cambridge*, where he had Mr. *Parrot* for his Tutor. When he left the University he Liv'd some time with Mr. *Maskill* of *Sherburn*, by whom

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he was assisted in the *Hebrew*. Tongue; at the same time as he advanc'd in his other Studys. His first Ministerial Labours were at *Kellington*; whence he remov'd to *Cawood* in 1659; where he was a Pious Painful Preacher; joining

with the Neighbouring Ministers in their Publick Lectures and, Private Exercises. He found so much sweetness in Divine Ordinances himself, that he was thence led earnestly to Press a constant Attendance on them upon others. He was wont to perswade even those to attend who objected their Deafness: And he would encourage them to it by an Instance of a very good Man, one of his Parishoners at *Kellington*, who being stark Deaf, yet Attended constantly when he Preach'd; for he tho't he enjoy'd more Communion with God, and had more Comfort then, than at other times. For such to be present is to own God's Publick Worship, as well as they can; it is to Reproach the Sloth and Neglect of those who might wait there to better purpose, and yet are willingly absent. Their Reverend Deportment under the Publick Ministry, who only can see and Meditate may be a good Example to trifling Attendants, &c.

He was labouring in the Word and Doctrine among his, Flock, for above the space of three Years, till the Uniformity Act disabled him. His father Conform'd, and kept his Living at *Brayton*; and the Son went and liv'd with him, and was by Connivance Assistant to him. The Father read the Prayers; Administred the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and Preach'd now and then; but the Son was the more constant Preacher. And he was generally belov'd by the People, and his Labours were greatly Successful. There were no Informations against him. And the Arch-Bishop's Connivance at him engag'd the Hearts of many good People to Pray for him. He held on thus for several Years: But his brittle Constitution not bearing hard Labour, with that Activity of Spirit which he discover'd in all: He sunk under his Burden, fell into a Consumption, and pin'd away in Six or Eight Weeks time; *Anno*. 1670 or 71. The loss of him was much

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Lamented in all those Parts. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Ralph Ward* in *Brayton* Church.

Bradford: Mr. *Jonas Waterhouse*. Sometime fellow of St. *John's* Colledge in *Cambridge*.

Rippon: Dr. *Richardson*; turn'd out upon the King's coming in, and continued a Nonconformist afterwards. He travel'd beyond the Seas.

Leighton in the Morning: Mr. *Richard Whitchurch*: Who afterwards had a Congregation near *Bradford*.

Whiston: Mr. *Thelwell*, or *Thetwell*. He dy'd in 1684. Aged about 60.

Sherburn: Mr. *Tho. Johnson*, yet living. Honley Chapel: Mr. *Dury* a Scotch-Man, who after his being Silenc'd, departed into *Scotland*. Staynington: Mr. *Danven*. Letwell: Mr. *Hepworth*. Boulton: Mr. *Denton*. Bircklin: Mr. *David Barns*. Thornton: Mr. *Dawson*. Nunmonckton: Mr. *Izott*. Horsserth: Mr. *Bulkley*. Bishops Thorp: Mr. *Ellwood*. Heaton: Mr. *Lea*. Chappleton: Mr. *Stables*. Baydon: Mr. *Moor*. Rastrick: Mr. *Robinson*. To whom we may add Mr. *Ashley*, a Preacher, but unfix'd when the Act of Uniformity took Place; who was afterwards Minister of a Congregation at *Hull*.

These Persons following, *viz.* Mr. *Ingham*, Mr. *Peebles*, Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Trigott*, Were turn'd out somewhere in the West-Riding; but the places where are uncertain.

N.B. I forbear mentioning here Mr. *Milward*, and Mr. *Stretton*, of the former of whom we have already had an Account under the University of *Oxford*, as also of the latter, under the County of *Sussex*. The former was turn'd out of the pleasant living of *Dayfield* in the West-Riding of this County, which is reckon'd worth 300*l. per Annum*, and the latter out of *Nun Appleton*.

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The NORTH and EAST-RIDING.

Bedal: Mr. *John Gunter*. His Parsonage was worth 500*l. per Annum*, and yet he forsook it, rather than he would violate his Conscience. He was a Man of great worth, and fine Parts. He dy'd, *Anno.* 1686.

Cherry-burton: Mr. *Thomas Micklethwait*: one of the Assembly of Divines, long since dead.

Hull: Mr. *John Shaw*.^{*} He was many Years Preacher in the great Church here. A Man of a brave Presence, of excellent Parts, of a stupendious Memory. There was scarce a remarkable Passage in the Book of Martyrs, but he could give you the Substance of it *Memoriter*. He had a great Facility in Expressing himself, in the Pulpit or in Conference. He had a plentiful Estate, and a Heart to do much good with it; being Ejected from *Hull*, at the King's return, he retir'd to *Rotheram* the place of his *Nativity*, where he Preach'd frequently, as the State of things and times would bear. He dy'd *Anno* 1664.

Beverley: Mr. *Wilson*. After his being Silenc'd here, he liv'd privately till 1672. When he took out a License, and Preach'd at a Meeting at *Hull*. He was a very worthy Man. He dy'd suddenly in *February.* 1678.

Kerby Underhill: Mr. *Peter Clark*. One of the Assembly of Divines, turn'd out at *Bartholomew* day. He was living in *Holderness* near *Hull* Sept. 27. 1677. What became of him afterwards, I should be glad to know.

Holden: Mr. *Arlish*. A Man of singular Parts, an excellent Preacher, and of a very Publick Spirit. He had a good Estate, and did good to many with it. He spent the latter part of his Life at *York*, where he dy'd in 1680. Aged about 57.

Sutton: Mt. *Josiah Holdsworth*. Bred in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Chaplain to Sir *Richard Houghton* of *Houghton Tower* in *Lancashire*. In 72, he set up a Meeting in *Heckmondwyk* He dy'd in 1685. *Ætat.* 45. A Man of great Piety, Sincerity, Strictness,

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and

* *He hath written some small Treatises; but I know not their Title.*

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sand Industry for the good of Souls; and Blefs'd with abundance of Success.

Skiringham: Mr. *Plackston*. An Active, Judicious, Grave YOld Man. After his Ejection he liv'd at *York*, and maintain'd sthis Integrity to the lafi. He dy'd *An.* 1686. *Ætat.* 84.

Topcliff: Mr. *James Calvert*, the Son of *Robert Calvert* a Grocer and Sheriff of *York*, was Born in the Pavement in that Ancient City. There also he was Educated till fitted for the University. He was of *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*, Contemporary with the late deservedly famous Arch-Bishop *Tillotson*, bred up under Mr. *David Clarkson*. He was a Graduate; but I'm not certain how long he stay'd in the University. He had been several Years at *Topcliffe*. when he was Silenc'd by the Act of Uniformity. He afterwards retir'd to *York*, and liv'd privately, but not idly: For he Study'd hard, and wrote his learned Book Concerning the ten Tribes.

He was an Ingenious as well as a Pious Divine, of a meek and quiet Temper; and when he could not Conform, he submitted. He had several Colloquys with the *Arminian* Party, and the Church-Men, many of whom he by his Learning and Moderation kept from flying too high in those Points; so that they mostly fell in with Mr. *Baxter* in the middle way. Many Pious Conformists, as Mr. *Chr. Jackson*, Mr. *Ratdiff*, &c. would have won him over to the Church; but he could not be satisfy'd with the Answers return'd to his Objections. So that with all his Moderation, he was a true Nonconformist: For he would never be Re-ordain'd, nor give Assent and Consent to all in the Liturgy: And yet such as were of different Sentiments Lov'd and Honour'd him.

Printing his learned Tract foremention'd, in 72,* He Dedicated it to that excellent Person Bishop *Wilkins*, on whom he waited at *Scarborough-spaw*, together with Mr. *Williams* of *York*. He receiv'd them with much respect,

* 'Tis thus Entitled: Naphthali seu Collectat. Theolog de reditu 10. Tribuum, Conversiore Judæorum, & Mens. Ezekielis. Lond. Qu. 1672.

and

and encourg'd them to live in hope of a Comprehension; which is yet to come. Many after all Discouragements, yet long and wait for it, as the greatest Blessing that could befall this Nation, if the Foundation were but wide and large eno'. But 'tis more the matter of their Prayer, than their Hope, that we may come to this, before we are reduc'd to some great Extremity. About 1675, he became Chaplain to Sir *William Strickland* of *Boynnton*; where he continu'd several Years, Preaching and Educating his Son, till both he and his Lady, dy'd. Then he remov'd to *Hull*, and thence into *Northumberland*, to Sir *William Middleton's*, where he Preach'd constantly in the Chapel as Chaplain, Educated his only Son, was left Tutour to him when his Father dy'd, and was very careful in his Education, both at home and in *Cambridge*, He was a Man of great Reading, and a good Disputant. He dy'd in *December*, 1698. He, left his Books, and a good Collection of Manuscripts, to his Cousin Mr. *Harrison*; Fellow of *Sidney Colledge* in *Cambridge*.

Tanfield: Mr. *John Darnton*. He was not Ordain'd when Ejected, not for several Years after; but when call'd to Preach in 72, he was much asham'd and Afflicted in Spirit, for his Preaching so long without Solemn Ordination; whereupon he apply'd himself to a Meeting of Ministers, confess'd his failing and after Examination, was Solemnly set apart by Fasting and Prayer and imposition of Hands. *July* 10. 1678. He did good in that dark Place, and dy'd *July* 9. 1680.

Thrusk or Thursk: Mr. *Matthew Hill*, M.A. Born and Bred in the Ancient City of *York*. He made good Improvements at School, and was afterwards of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Cambridge*, under the Tuition of Mr. *Samuel Hammond*. Returning home, he improv'd himself much in the Hebrew Tongue, under the Direction of Mr. *Sherwood* of *Poppleton*. The first place in which he was call'd to the Exercise of the Ministry was at *Helaugh*, (a little Town about Six Miles from *York*) where he settled, after his having first been solemnly Ordain'd. The Testimonial of his Ordination, being an Original, drawn up by the

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Famous Mr. *Edward Bowles*, and in his own Hand Writing, and as good a Model as I have seen, a Copy of it is here Annex'd in the Margin.*

* For as much the Lord Jesus Christ, the Great Apostle of our profession has judg'd it meet that there should be a Succession of Pastors and Teachers in his Church, even unto the end of the World, for the edifying of his Body, until it come unto a perfect Man, unto the measure of the Stature of his fulness; and hath deputed the care of the Continuation of this Ministerial Office. Unto such as have been already call'd thereunto, requiring them to commit the things they have receiv'd unto faithful Men, who shall be able to teach others also: We the Ministers of Christ, who are call'd to Watch over part of his Flock in the City of York, with the Assistance of some others, that we might not be wanting to the Service of the Church in this its Necessity, having receiv'd credible Testimony under the Hands of divers Ministers of the Gospel and others, of the Sober, Righteous and Godly Conversation of Matthew Hill, M.A. and Preacher of the Gospel at Helaugh, as also, concerning his Gifts for the Ministry, have proceeded to make further tryal of his fitness for so great a Work; and being in some good Measure Satisfy'd concerning his Piety and Ability, have upon the 23d day of June, AD. 1654, proceeded solemnly to set him the said. Matthew Hill apart unto the Office of a Presbyter, and Work of the Ministry, by laying on our Hands with Fasting and prayer: By the Vertue whereof we do esteem and declare him a lawful Minister of Christ, and hereby recommend him to the Church of Christ, and more especially unto the People of Helaugh aforesaid, that they would receive him as a Minister of the Gospel, Loving, Honouring, and Obeying him, in the Lord.

In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our Hands, this 24th day of June 1654. Nathanael Jackson, Edward Bowles, Thomas Calvert.

He had here much Opposition from the *Quakers*, upon many of whom he gain'd by Degrees. He remov'd from hence to *Thursk*, where he was Ejected in 62. He was a Man of quick Parts, a good Scholar, a serious warm and lively Preacher, and of a free generous Temper. Being Ejected, he was wholly destitute of a Subsistence; and his Father, who had not without great difficulty born the Charge of his Education, was not able to give him any great Assurance. He Preach'd for a while privately at *York*, but in a great deal of Danger. He could not bear being Burdensome to his Relations, and therefore calls himself wholly upon Divine Providence, and Travels to *London*; in search of some Employment. There

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he obtain'd a Chaplains Place, which drew him down to *Gatten* in *Surrey*, where he had 20*l. per Annum*. Some time after, removing thence, he loft his little All in the Fire of *London*; and writing to his near Relation, He Subscrib'd thus: *Your Brother, sine re, sine spe, tantum non sine se, M.H.* He had several Relations that all along Press'd him to, Conformity, which would soon have alter'd his Circumstances; but, no Necessitys could tempt him to think of offering Violence to his Conscience. To his other Calamities, was added a weak and crazy Body, which was continually almost out of Order. At last

he determin'd upon a Transplantation to the *West-Indies*, and Embarqu'd with a light Cargo: Having little else besides a few Cloaths, a Bible, a Concordance, and a small parcel of Manuscripts. He fix'd in *Charles County* in *Maryland* in 1669, where a brighter Scene began to open, and he had a Prospect of considerable Usetulness in the Minister, and of a good Advantage by his Labours in temporal Respects. But new Troubles and Difficulties arose afterwards, which very much disappointed his Hopes and Expectations, so that it may be said as truly of him as of any one in modern Times that it was thro' many Tribulations that he enter'd into the Kingdom of God. His whole Life was indeed a Comment, upon *Prov.* 16. 9. 33. Not being allow'd to serve God according to his Conscience in his Native Country, he was forc'd into the remotest Parts, where he laid his Bones in a strange Land, but with the same Hope of an happy Resurrection unto Eternal Life as if the same spot of Land that bro't him forth, had also entomb'd him.

Heffel: Mr. *Thomas Mickelthwait*. Feriby: Mr. *Rider*. Stillingfleet: Mr. *Thomas*. Stillington: Mr. *Alexander Medcalf*. Wetwang: Mr. *Wait*. Ellington: Mr. *Hulston*. Bridlington: Mr. *Lucks* or *Luch*. Hilston: Mr. *Blunt*. Ross: Mr. *Stevenson*. Burstwick: Mr. *Hill*. Ganton: Mr. *Colewhone*. Wheldrake: Mr. *Byard*. Boynton: Mr. *Laughtorn*. Ellinton: Mr. *Fax* or *For*. Bransby: Mr. *Pomroy*. Hemminburgh: Mr. *Fido*. Cottingham: Mr. *Robinson*. Sculcots or Ouswood: Mr. *Luddington*. Sigglethorp: Mr. *Law*. Serraby: Mr. *St. Hill*. Slingsby: Mr. *Sinclere*. Kel-

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field. Mr. *Thomas*. Bugrhorp: Mr. *Cranford*. Sandhuton: Mr. *Dunkinson*. Kirklington: Mr. *Philip Nisbitt*, an able Man. Lestingham: Mr. *Pecket*. Well: Mr. *Procter*. Osmotherlay: Mr. *Shemhold*. Easingwoud: Mr. *Wilson*. Hessel: Mr. *Wilson*. Stirington: Mr. *Mekal* or *Nichol*. Kirby Mall: Mr. *Walton*. And Mr. *Whearam*, and Mr. *Bayock*. who were not fix't. The following Persons were turn'd out at *Bartholomew Day*, and afterwards Conform'd.

Mr. *John Hood* of *Bradfield*. Mr. *John Hide* at *Slaughwait*. Mr. *Kenion* of *Riponden*. Mr. *John Hepworth* of *Lorvel*. Mr. *Lister* of *Giggleswick*. Mr. *Wood* of *Saddlerworth*. Mr. *Scargil* of *Chapelthorp*. Mr. *Moorhouse* of *Castleford*. Mr. *Bovil* of *Bramly*. Mr. *Etherington* of *Morley*. Mr. *Moor* of *Baildon*. Mr. *Obadiah Lee*. Mr. *Buckley* of *Hosford*. Mr. *Lamb* of *York*; Mr. *Timothy Root*, of *Sourby Bridge*. Mr. *Denton* near *York*. Mr. *Sampson* of *Rawcliff*.

In the County of LINCOLN.

Lincoln City: Mr. *Edward Reyner*, M.A. and Mr. *James Abdee*. Mr. *Reyner* was an Eminent Divine, of special Note. He was Born near *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*, Anno, 1600, and bred in the University of *Cambridge*. He fear'd the Lord from his Youth. He was a great frequenter of Sermons in his Childhood; and a Constant Attendant on the Monthly Exercise which was encourag'd by that excellent and Primitive Arch-Bishop, Dr. *Toby Matthews*, at *Leeds*, *Pudsey*, *Hallifax*, and other Places. He was frequent in secret Prayer, strict in observing the Sabbath, and grave in his whole Department, giving hopeful indications of future Eminence. While he was at the University, he was very Industrious and Diligent, and laid in a good stock of Learning. The straitness of his Circumstances would not allow of so long a stay there as his inclination led him to desire; and sometime after his remove thence, he taught School at *Asgerby* in *Lincolnshire*. Mr. *Morris*, upon whom he depended most for his Encouragement there, being unable thro'

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the Losses he sustain'd to give him the Assistance he promis'd him, he was against a Loss for a Subsistence. But Providence seasonably open'd a new way for him by an offer from the Countess of *Warwick* of the School of *Market Raisen*, in which he continu'd for some time, industriously grounding his Scholars in the Rudiments of Learning, and Principles of Religion; and, improving all his spare time for the perfecting of his own Studys. And at Four Years end, the Countess bestow'd upon him the Lecture at *Welton* which she maintain'd. He was afterwards invited to *Lincoln* by a most Affectionate call of many Pious People there; first to be Lecturer at *Beneditch*, August 13. 1626. And then to be Parson at *Peters* at the *Arches*, March 4. 1627. Where he discover'd uncommon Ministerial Abilities, and was an unspeakable Blessing to the City, He was even then a Non-conformist to the Ceremonies, which created him Adversarys; who would frequently complain of him, and threaten him, and yet his Liberty of Preaching was continu'd; and his Moderation procur'd him Favour with several that belong'd to the Minister, who would sometimes hear him in the Afternoon. Sir *Edward Lake* himself, the Chancellor was one of them, who was often his Auditor, and declar'd he receiv'd benefit by his Preaching, till he was reprov'd from above.

Dr. *Williams* the Bishop of the Diocess in one of his Visitations which was of Three Days Continuance, appointed. Dr. *Sanderson* to Preach the first day, Dr. *Hirst* the second, and Mr. *Reyner* the third. As soon as he had done, the Bishop sent him an invitation to Dine with him, and before; parting

presented him with the Prebend of *Botolphs*, in *Lincoln*: And at the Visitation, Repeated, Commended and Confirm'd a good part of his Sermon, which prevented any inconvenience from the inferiour Clergy, who otherwise could not well have endur'd his free Reproofs. The importunity of Friends prevail'd with him to accept the Bishop's Present of a Prebend; but when he came next Morning seriously to Reflect upon the Necessary Attendants and Consequences of this his New Preferment; he was much dissatisfy'd; for he

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he found he could not keep it with a fare and Quiet Conscience: Hereupon he prevail'd with the Lady *Armine* (to whom he was related) to go to the Bishop, to mollifie the Oftence, and obtain a *Quietus*. The Bishop pleasantly told the Lady; *I have had many Countesses, Ladys, and others that have been Suitors to me to get Preferments for their Friends; but you are the first that ever came to take away a Preferment, and that from one that bestow'd it on with my own Hands.*

He was very Laborious in the Dutys of his Place, warning every one Night and Day with Tears, teaching them Publickly and from House to House, Being an Example of a Pious Diligent and Conscientious Pastour. It was a mighty trouble to him to find some of his People falling off to unsound Principles. He Pray'd for them without ceasing, and discours'd them with much Meekness, resolving before Hand to let no hasty Word pass the Doors of his Lips. He hid down in his Sermons the Grounds of those truths they had fallen from; yet in such a general way, as if none in the Congregation had been of another Mind, that none might, be Exasperated. In 1639, He receiv'd Letters to Solicit him to take the Pastoral Charge of the Congregational Church of *Englishman* residing at *Amheim* in *Guelderland*. One of the letters was Subscrib'd by Mr. *Thomas Goodwin* and Mr. *Philip Nye*: The other was from Sir *William Constable*. But hoping that better times were approaching in *England*, he sent them a Denial.

In the Time of the Civil War he was much threaten'd by his Adversaries, and felt many Effects of their Malice. Most of his Goods (except his Books) were plunder'd; and he was in danger of being Pistoll'd in the Church. And therefore, when the Earl of *New-castles* Forces possess'd the City and County of *Lincoln*, he fled away by *Boston* to *Lynne*, and so to *Norwich* and *Yarmouth*, and was preserv'd. In this Time of his with-drawment, he was useful, to many His Ministry found much Acceptance, that both *Norwich* and *Yarmouth* strove for him: And for a while he divided himself between both; Preaching at *Yarmouth* on the Lords Day, and keeping a Lecture at *Norwich* on the Week Day. This

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being a very great Fatigue, the Aldermen of both Places at length chose Two Grave Ministers to consider and determine which Place gave the first and fairest Call: And when it was decided for *Norwich*, he settled there for a few Years, and had a remarkable Blessing attending his Ministerial Labours. At length the People of *Lincoln* by importunate Letters from themselves, the Mayor and Aldermen under the Seal of the Corporation, with the Committee of Parliament, &c. challeng'd him for theirs; And obtain'd an Order from the *Assembly of Divines*, then sitting at *Westminster*, or rather a Resolution in the Case, upon an Appeal made to them about the matter. The People of *Norwich* were all in General earnestly desirous of his stay with them. And at the same Time he was invited to *Leeds* in *Yorkshire* by the Magistrates and Principal Inhabitants, who press'd him with the Consideration of his Native Country which needed his help: And he had another pressing Invitation to be one of the Preachers in *York* City. But the Consideration of his former Relation to *Lincoln* made him determine for that City, without any Debate in one Case or the other about Means or Maintenance, or any Cajoling or Wheedling, which would have procur'd him whensoever he would. *October* 29. 1645. He return'd to *Lincoln*, and settled in the Minster. He was now wholly free from Apparitors, Pursivants, Ceremonies, and Subscriptions, which were the Matter of his former Trouble, and yet he had not been long there before a new Trouble came upon him. For some of the Soldiers from one of the Kings Garrisons in those Parts came Foraging as far as *Lincoln*. Their Malice was Pointed at Mr. *Reyner*, and him they Pursu'd, and there was none to oppose them. He fled into the Library to hide himself; but they follow'd him with drawn Swords, Swearing they would have him Dead or Alive: Upon which he open'd the Doors, and they stript him of his Coat, Purse, &c. and led him away in Triumph, till Captain *Gibbon*, one of the Commanders, who had been his Scholar at *Rason*, Espy'd and Releas'd him. But after the Garrisons were reduc'd he remain'd unmolested.

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His great Concern now was for a Method in Church Matters, that should Answer the most desireable Ends, secure Purity, and Order, and yet hinder Animosities and Dissensions. His Judgment was for the *Congregational Way*, and yet he had observ'd such ill Success in gather'd Churches, that he was a little Discourag'd. *I find* (says he) *many run into Errors, and are unstay'd. I am*

not satisfy'd, with their manner of laying the Foundation of a Church, as if there was none before; nor with their manner of Meeting, when every Member may Preach, which brings in despising of Preaching by their own Officers, and others in Publick: Nay, and even Strangers and Soldiers are permitted to Exercise, &c. He was for proceeding warily: And at last after much Consideration, and many tho'tful Hours spent in Prayers and Tears, he determin'd upon the *Congregational* Way, with these Three Cautions. To hold Communion with other Churches, who separated the Precious from the Vile, and to take Advice from them in a Brotherly Way. Not to admit any for Members, who live in Places under Godly Minnisters: And to contend for Truth, and bear Witness against the Errors of the Times both Publickly and Privately; and particularly *ANTINOMIANISM*, and *ANABAPTISM*. Had the like Precaution been us'd by others, much Heat and Disorder, had been prevented, both then and afterwards.

Being thus fix'd, he diligently fulfill'd his Ministry. He was a constant Preacher at St. Peters in the Morning, and at the Minster in the Afternoon: And that his Ministry might be the more Effectual, he reduc'd it into a Catechetical Way, which was his Evening Exercise. He was a great Reprover of Sin, where-ever he saw it, in great or small. He was consciencious in his Conduct as to Publick Affairs, and, could not fall in with the Practises and Opinions of the Times. The *Engagement* to the *Common-wealth*, which was taken by a great many of the Episcopal Party, was what he scrupled and refus'd. He weigh'd the Matter *Pro & Con*, as he did most of the great Concernments of his Life, and could not satisfie himself in a Compliance. In the Year 1658, when there met at the *Savoy*, Pastors and Members

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from above a Hundred *Congregational* Churches, a Confession of Faith and Order was Agreed upon among them, *Nemine Contradicente*. It was sent to Mr. *Reyner* into the Country for his Suffrage with this Intimation; that the Publishing of it should be stay'd, till his Answer was return'd, &c. His Answer was to this Purpose; that he gave his free and full Consent to the Confession of Faith; but that as to the Platform of Order, tho' he lik'd the Substance of it, yet there were some Particulars therein so express'd, as that he was not satisfy'd. And at another Time, when he was urg'd to set his Hand to the Design, call'd the *Agreement of the People*, he positively deny'd: And instead of his Hand, sent them divers unanswerable Reasons under his Hand against it.

He was a very humble, meek, quiet and patient Person; giving this as his Observation in the close of his Days: *I have ever found tthat Words spoken in*

meekness of Wisdom, and not from an angry Spirit, are most piercing to others, and most comfortable to myself. He was a great Recorder of Gods Mercies to Him and His; and to that End he wrote a Book of Remembrance as he calls it, wherein he has carefully inserted many particular Mercies of God in his Education, in the several Stages of his Life, in his Removes, in his Wife, Son, Church, Ministry; in Preservations from Adversaries, &c.

His Works* were Publish'd partly by himself in his Life-time, and partly by his Son Mr. *John Reyner*, after his Decease. This Mr. *John Reyner*, who hath been already mention'd in the University of *Cambridge*, where he was Fellow of *Emanuel Colledge*) was a right Worthy Son of such a Father. One of considetable Learning, singular Modesty, and eminent Piety. He was Silenc'd before he had any fixed Place for the Exercise of his Ministry; and after his Ejection in 62 practis'd Physick. He was well qua

* *They are these*, Precepts for Christian Practise. *Of which there are several Editions. In the 11th, Printed in Oct. 1658. There are Added, Rules for governing the Afflictions; and for the Government of the Tongue. Considerations concerning Marriage: The Honour, Duties, Benefits, and Troubles of it, Oct. 1657. A Vindication of Humane Learning, and Universities, &c. 8vo. 1663. The Being and well Being of a Christian. in Three Treatises, Oct. 1669.*

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lify'd for educating Young Men in Academical Learning. Which (after much pressing) he was prevail'd with to undertake: But had not been long engag'd in it, before he, to the Publick Loss, was taken off by an untimely Death at *Nottingham*. But whosoever will take the Pains to peruse his Preface to his Father's *Defence of Humane Learning*; and an intercalated Chapter in that Book about the usefulness of the *Arabick Tongue*, for the Understanding the Scriptures; together with his Introductory Discourse, about the Nature and Counterfeits of Grace, prefix'd to a Posthumous Treatise of his Fathers, about *The Being and well Being of a Christian*, will have such a Specimen of his Sprightliness and Abilities, as will lead him to apprehend that he might have done great Things, had it pleas'd God to have lent him longer to the World.

Althorpe (in the Isle of *Axholme*) Mr. *Thomas Spademan*. Educated at *Lincoln Colledge* in *Oxford*. Much esteem'd for his Learning, Diligence, and Charity. So hearty in his Affection to the Old *English*, Form of Government, that he refus'd to Sign the *Engagement*, which was generally done by his Neighbouring Ministers, who afterwards Conform'd. And tho' he would not Sign the Declaration appointed by the *Oxford Act* in 1665, yet his known Loyalty and peaceable Behaviour induc'd the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the

Peace, to permit him to reside unmolested in the Place where he had been Minister. After the Indulgence granted in 1672, he was chosen Pastor of a *Presbyterian Church* in *Boston*, where he was generally esteem'd for his Piety and Moderation.

Grantham: Mr. *Henry Vaughan*. And Mr. *John Starkey*. Mr. *Baxter* gives this Character of Mr. *Vaughan*, *That he was an Able, Sober, Godly, Judicious, Moderate Man, and of great Worth*. He was laid in Goal at *Grantham* for not Conforming, and went thence to *Bannudas* with his Family. Meeting with great Discouragement there from the *Quakers*, he return'd again into *England*, and Liv'd afterwards in *London*, obscurely, and in a very low Condition.

Mr.

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Mr. *Starkey* was a Worthy Divine, and excellent Preacher. First of *Peter-House*, and afterwards of *St. John's Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where he was many Years Fellow. His Thirst after the Improvements of his Mind was very remarkable, and kept him close to his Studies all his Days. His Pulpit Performances ever smelt of the Lamp; his Delivery was graceful but not noisie; and it appear'd by him, that there is a Mildness in speaking, that is as Powerful as Force. Dr. *Bates* once told a Friend, that tho' Mr. *Starkey* much affected Retirement, yet he was fit for the best Auditory in *England*. He tho't much, but spake little in Company: Tho' upon just Occasions, he could speak as much to the Purpose as most Men, Never was he heard to Censure or Backbite others. He had none of that Feavorishness and Intemperance of Spirit; whereby some are over-heated, to the setting others as well as themselves on Fire. His Moderation was known unto all. While after his being Silenc'd he resided in *Lancashire*, it was his constant Custom, (the Parish Minister being a Worthy Man) to repair on Lords Days to the Publick Church; and tho' he continu'd the Exercise of his Ministry in Private, yet it was not till the Worship there was over. He spent the latter Part of his Life at *Newington Green*, near *London*, where he Liv'd belov'd, and Dy'd lamented. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Timothy Rogers*.

Flixborough: Mr. *Grant*. Some time Minister In *Worcestershire*, not far from *Kedermister*; was present at *Bewdley*, at the Disputation between Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Tombs*, which was much to his Satisfaction. After his being Silenc'd in this County, he retir'd to *Thumsco* in *Yorkshire*. He was a very Active Man, of pregnant Parts, and great Learning, fit for any Company and Discourse; and an acceptable useful Preacher. He was a great frequenter of the Meeting at the *Lady Rhodes* at *Houghton*. He was at last seiz'd with a Palsie, which continu'd upon him half a Year. He Dy'd in 1681. *Ætat*. 64.

Croule:

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Croule: Mr. *Durant*. After his being Silenc'd, he retir'd, into *Yorksire*, where he supply'd Mr. *Fisher's* Place as Pastor to the Congregation at *Sheffield*. Having done so some time, he was sent Prisoner to *York* Castle, where he Dy'd.

Pickworth: Mr., *Drake*. An excellent *Hebrician*, and Scripture Preacher. *Stamford:* Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Richardson*, and Mr. *Cawthorn*, who is yet, Living, Pastor of a Congregation at *Stoke-Newington* in *Middlesex*. *Boston:* Mr. *Anderson*.

Totney: Mr. *Martin Finch*.★ Afterwards Pastor of a Congregation in the City of *Norwich*. *Burton:* Mr. *Mark Trickett*. *Bromby* and *Broddingham:* Mr. *John Ryther*. *Lee:* Mr. *Thomas Bonner*. *Bratleby:* Mr. *Theoph. Brittain*. *Sleford:* Mr. *George Boheme*. *Kirton* in *Lindsey:* Mr. *Moses Mells*. *Manby:* Mr. *Cramlington*.

Gunworly: Mr. *Matthew Sylvester*.† Who continu'd some time in the Country. And came afterwards to *London*, where be first exercis'd his Ministry alone, and afterwards in Conjunction with Mr. *Baxter*, who had a peculiar Respect for him, Living and Dying. The Remainder of Mr. *Baxters* Manuscripts are lodg'd in his Hands.

★ *He hath publish'd an useful Treise, of the Conversion of Sinners to God in Christ, Oct. 1680. And a Funeral Sermon for Dr. Collings, Qu. 1695.*

† *He hath Publish'd a Sermon upon being for ever with the Lord, Oct. Another before the Societies for Reformation; And Four Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exercise. One in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, about the overcoming the inordinate Love of Life, and Fear, of Death. A Second in that against Popery, to prove that Baptism and the Lords Supper, are the only Sacraments of the Covenant of Grace under the New Testament. A Third in the Continuation of Morning Exercise. Qu. on that Question. How may a gracious person, from whom God hides his Face, trust in the Lord as his God. And a Fourth, in the Last Volume, on the Curse of a Lukewarm Temper. He hath also some Sermons on the Twelfth Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, now in the press.*

Burton Pepperdine: Mr. *Lee*. *Billingborow:* Mr. *James Morton*. *Donesby:* Mr. *Rockett*. *Levington:* Mr. *Seth Wood*. *Fulbeck;* Mr. *Abraham Hingcliffè*. *Claipool:* Mr. *Redman*. *Harlaxton:* Mr. *Richard Northam*. *Allington:* Mr. *George Beck*. *Boothby* on

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the *Cliff:* Mr. *John Saunders*. *Wiberton:* Mr. *Law*. *Quaplode, or Whapledd:* Mr. *Petit*. *Marcham:* Mr. *Arnold*. *Glentworth:* Mr. *Ayres*. *Bareby:* Mr. *Elwood*. *Tothill:* Mr. *Gunvell*. *Winthorpe:* Mr. *Horne*. *Ribie* or *Rigsby, or Wragby,*

or Wrauby, (I know not which) Mr. *Jackson*. Toft: Mr. *Lawson*. Barton: Mr. *Roat*. Steeping: Mr. *Thompson*. Lesingham: Mr. *Hales*. Horn Castle: Mr. *Dickenson*. Swafeald: Mr. *Weston*. Colsterworth: Mr. *Brown*.

At uncertain Places: Mr. *Beckett* and Mr. *Oliver*; who after his being Silenc'd, was a Chaplain in *Yorkshire* to that Pious and Excellent Person the Lady *Nordiff*. He was a spiritfull little Man, a good Scholar, and a worthy Preacher. He dy'd July 10. 1686. *Ætat*. 72.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, Mr. *Male* of *Beckby*: Mr. *William Laughton* of *Westborough*. Mr. *Sharp* of *Sedgbrooke*: and Mr. *Christopher Read* of *Bassingham*. If there were more, I'd be thankful for Intelligence.

IN THE COUNTY PALATINE OF CHESTER.

In the City of Chester. St. Michaels; Mr. *William Cook*. The great Church: *Thomas Harrison*, D.D. St. Peters: Mr. *John Glendall*. St. Johns: Mr. *Peter Leigh*. Trinity: Mr. *Thomas Upton*.

Mr. *William Cook*, was bred up under the famous Mr. *John Ball*. He was a Man of a most Godly Life, and unwearied Labour. One of the Primitive Stamp; who could go in poor cloathing, live on a little, travel on foot, Preach and Pray almost all the Week when he had Opportunity; in Season and out of Season; trampling on this World as Dirt, and living a mortify'd, laborious Life. He strictly adher'd to his Principle in all the turns of the Times.

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He was first Minister at *Wroxal* in *Warwickshire*; there he Publish'd two Treatises against the Anabaptists, From thence by the Advice of the *London* Ministers, He was remov'd to *Ashby* in *Leicestershire*. He was Ejected there for refusing the Engagement; and afterward settled in this City, where he was an useful Minister, till he was outed by the Act of Uniformity. After King *Charles* the first was Beheaded, he would often Pray, *that God would pull down all usurped Power, and restore the banish'd to their Right*. He was greatly offended at the Anabaptists, Seperatists, and Sectarys, and *Cromwells* Army for their Disloyalty. And therefore be tho't it his Duty to join with Sir *George Booth*, (afterwards Lord *Delamere*) when he made his Attemp to bring in the King in 1659. He then perswaded the Citizens of *Chester* to deliver their City to him: For which he was bro't up Prisoner to *London*, and continu'd long in Confinement in *Lambeth* House; and had not the times turn'd, he had been try'd for his Life, But all this would not procure his Liberty to Preach the Gospel of Christ, without the Oaths, Subscriptions, Declarations,

Reordination, and Conformity requir'd: Nay, quickly after his being Silenc'd, he was committed to the Common Jail of *Chester*, for Preaching in his own House, by the Mayor, at the Instigation of the then Bishop *Hall*. He continu'd to the time of his Death in a Pastoral Relation to a Society of many worthy and eminent Christians in that City; tho' during the heat of the Five Mile Act, he was forc'd to withdraw to *Puddington* in *Wirral*, where (as in *Chester* till King *Charles's* Indulgence) he constantly attended on the Publick Mininry; and he himself Preach'd in the Intervals. He would say sometimes to his Friends, when he was in that Retirement, that he tho't *What little Peace and Quietness there was in this World, God's people enjoy'd it in their Corners*. He was very indefatigable in his Ministerial Labours, in which he never sought any one's Assistance or Help; tho' while he had Liberty he constantly kept a Publick Fast in his Congregation every Month, as he did also Private Part in his own Closet and Family every Week. He usually set apart one Afternoon every Week, to visit the Familys of

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his Congregation, and to Catechize their Children and Servants, and Discourse with them Personally about their Souls. His Visits were short and edifying; he manag'd them as one that was a great Husband of his time, and seldom or never parted without Prayer. He was not free to join in the Common Prayer, and bore his Testimony against Prelacy and the Ceremonies with something of Zeal; but his great Piety, Integrity, Mortification and Charity, recommended him to the Respects even of many that differ'd from him. If any ask'd his Advice in a matter which might draw suffering upon them, he would be very tender, and desire them not to depend upon his Judgment: But since it was a matter of suffering, to be fully perswaded in their own Minds. He was a great Scholar, and a hard Student to the last; and was far from entangling himself in the Affairs of this Life, not knowing what he had, save the Bread which he ate. In Worldly Matters he was not very Conversable; but in Discourse of the things of God, none more free and affable, or more ready to do Good. He liv'd and dy'd a great Example of strict and close walking with God, and a Heavenly Conversation; and his Memory is to this Day Precious with many. He finish'd his Course with Joy, *July 4. 1684. Ætat. 73*. When he by on his Death- Bed, an Aged Friend of his asking him if he had not Comfort in Reflection upon his Labours in the Work of God, he presently reply'd, *I have nothing to Boast of*. Tho' for sometime before he dy'd, such was the heat of the Persecution, that he durst not shew

his Face in the City, yet many Considerable Persons were very forward to do him Honour at his Death.

Dr. *Thomas Harrison*, was Born at *Kingston upon Hull*, and bred in *New England*. He was a Celebrated Preacher in the City or *London*, and extremely follow'd, *Ann.* 1651, and '52; and afterwards went over with *Henry Cromwrl*, when he was fent to Govern *Ireland* as Lord Lieutenant. He liv'd in his Family with very great Respect; and was for several Years Preacher at *Christ Church* in *Dublin* with Universal Applause. He continu'd there till the turn of the times, and then came back into *England*, and fix'd

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in *Chester*, where he was Preacher in the great Church, and was in no want either of a large or attentive Auditory. Here he was Silenc'd by the Act of Uniformity; and therefore he crost the Seas again to *Dublin*, where he had before met with unusual Respect, and continu'd the Exercise of his Ministry in Private, having a flourishing Congregation, and many Persons of Quality for his constant Auditors. He was extremely Popular, and this stir'd up much Envy; He was a most agreeable Preacher, and had a peculiar way of Insinuating himself into the Affections of his Hearers; and yet us'd to write all that he deliver'd, and afterwards took a great deal of Pains to impress what he had committed to writing upon his Mind, that he might in the Pulpit deliver it *Memoriter*. He had also an extraordinary Gift in Prayer; being noted for such a Marvellous Fluency, and peculiar Flights of Spiritual Rethorick, suiting any particular Occasions and Circumstances, as were to the Admiration of all that knew him. He was a compleat Gentleman, much Courted for his Conversation: Free with the meanest, and yet fit company for the greatest Persons. My Lord *Thomund* (who had no great Respect for Ecclesiasticks of any sort) declar'd his Singular value of the Doctor, and would often discover an high Esteem of his Abilities.

He was Congregational in his Judgment; and tho' his People were universally of another Stamp, yet he manag'd all matters with that Discretion, Temper and Moderation, that there never was the least Clashing or Danger of a Fraction. When he dy'd, the whole City of *Dublin* seem'd to Lament the loss of him, and there was a general Mourning. He had a most Decent Honourable Funeral, attended by Persons of all Ranks and Qualities. The Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Daniel Williams*, at that time Pastour of another Congregation in that City.

He left: behind him a valuable Library: And among other Manuscripts, a large Folio, containing a whole System of Divinity. But I don't know that

he hath any thing in Print, besides a Book Entit. *Topica Sacra*, or Spiritual Pleadings, in *Oct*.

Malpas:

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Malpas: Mr. *George Mainwaring*. Born in Wrenbury Parish in this County, and supported at the University by Mr. *Cotton of Cumbermere*, where he had the Reputation of a good Scholar. He was first Chaplain to Sir *Henry Delver*, afterwards Rector of *Baddesly*, and Chaplain to Sir *Thomas Manwaring*. After the Wars he was remov'd to *Malpas*, whence he was Ejected upon King. *Charles's* coming in. His Conversation was Exemplary, especially for plainness and integrity; he was eminent for Expounding Scripture. While he was at *Malpas*, he constantly gave all the Milk which his Dairy yielded on the Lord's Day to the Poor. He dy'd in a good old Age, *March* 14. 1669/70.

Macclesfield or Maxfield: Mr. *James Bradshaw*, Born in *Darcy Leaver*, of a considerable Family. His Father had Three Sons whom he train'd up in *Oxon*, to the three learned Professions, of Law, Divinity and Physick. This (who was the Second) was the Divine, a Man of Incomparable Parts, and had a Body of Divinity in his Head. He was for sometime Minister at *Wigan* in *Lancashire*, and liv'd in the Parsonage; but Mr. *Hotham* obtaining it; he was call'd to *Maxfield*, where the Act of Uniformity Silenc'd him. Then he liv'd in his own House of *Dary Leaver*, and obtain'd Liberty for a while to Preach Publickly at *Haughton* Chappel in *Dean* Parish; and afterwards at *Bradshaw* Chappel, by the Connivance of Mr. *Bradshaw* of *Bradshaw* Hall, reading some of the prayers, without ever Subscribing. He dy'd in *May* 1685. *Ætat.* 73. A Man of quick Parts, ready Elocution, solid Learning, a very good Preacher, a nimble Disputant, and every way well Accomplish'd for the Ministry.

Thornton: Mr. *Samuel Fisher*. Sometime of *Withington*, and afterwards of *Shrewsbury*: Turn'd out with Mr. *Blake*, for not taking the Engagement against the King and House of Lords; and afterwards liv'd at *Thornton*, where he was cast out and Silenc'd. He was an Ancient Divine, an able Preacher, and of a Godly Life.

Norbury: Mr. *John Jollie*. Brother to Mr. *Thomas Jollie* of *Altham* in *Lancashire*. Bred up in *Trinity* College near *Dublin* in *Ireland*; Assistant for a while

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to Mr. *Angier* of *Denton*. Going to Preach one Lord's Day Morning in the Chapel at Norbury, after the Act for Uniformity had taken place, he found

the Doors Lock'd upon him. The People being unwilling to loose the Opportunity, by some Means or other open'd the Doors, and he Preach'd as usually. This was a thing that made a mighty noise at that time; for some Neighbouring Gentlemen were so Officious as to Acquaint the King and Council with the matter, Aggravating the Business, as if the Chapel Doors had been broken, &c. Whereupon a Pursevant was sent down, who bro't up Mr. *Jollie*. Being before the King, he heard him very Patiently speak for himself, and upon his Relation of the Fact set him at Liberty. He return'd into the Country more Animated than ever in his Ministerial Work, and employ'd himself continually in Travelling, and Preaching in Publick Chappels and Private Houses as he had Opportunity. He was Man of pregnant Parts, of a resolute Spirit, and sincere Designs for God. He dy'd *Jun.* 16. 1682.

West Kirby, in *Wirral*. Mr. *John Cartwright*. After his Ejection, he was Chaplain to the Pious Lady *Wilbraham* at *Woodley*. He dy'd *Febr.* 17. 1687/8.

Nether Whitley: Mr. *John Machin*. * Born at *Seabridge* in *Staffordshire*. *Octob.* 2. 1624. Educated in *Jesus Colledge* in *Cambridge*. While at the University, he had the Benefit of the excellent Labours of Dr. *Hill*, and Dr. *Arrowsmith*, under which he receiv'd such Impressions of Seriousness, as he retain'd to his dying Day. He was ordain'd at *Whitchurch* in *Shropshire* in 1650, he settled at *Ashburn* in *Darby shire*, where for the space of two Years he was a Painful and Laborious Preacher, and exceeding useful; not confining his Care and Concern to that Particular Town, but making frequent Excursions into the *Moorlands*, and other dark Corners in *Staffordshire*, where his occasional Labours were exceeding useful to many Souls. From thence he was call'd to *Atherston* in *Warwickshire*, where he spent a Year in a Lecturers Place, and had many Converts. He afterwards remov'd to *Astbury* in this County, where he continu'd several Years. Among many other Instances of his fervent desire of the good of Souls,

this

* See the Account of him, in the last volume of Mr. Clarks Lives.

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this was one, that he set up a Monthly lecture, to be Preach'd in several Towns of great Concourse in those Parts, by the most Eminent Ministers; as in *New-Castle*, *Leek*, *Uttoxeter*, *Lichfield*, *Tamworth*, *Walsal*, *Wolverhampton*, *Pentridge*, *Stafford*, *Eccleshall*, *Stone*, and *Muckleston*: Which Lecture be set and kept up at his own Charge; and he had settled an Yearly Income in his Will for the upholding it. But living to see such times as would not bear it, he was forc'd to let it fall, and dispos'd otherwise of his land. By the coming of

another Incumbent to *Astbury*, he was at liberty every other Lord's Day, and us'd to Preach abroad in the County, where he tho't his help most needful. In 61 he remov'd to *Whitley*, where he was Silenc'd in 62. And hardly any Man that was at that time Silenc'd, either bore his Ejectment with less Reflection upon Superiours, or with more Grief for so sad a Dispensation. And yet he continu'd in the place of his Ejectment, labouring for the Advantage of the Peoples Souls with all his stength, and God made him a great Blessing to all the Country round. And Providence so ordered it that the Neighbouring Gentry, being convinc'd of the innocence and peaceableness of his Spirit and his Integrity, gave him no Molestation. He dy'd, *Sept. 6. 1664. Ætat. 40.*

He was Eminent for Holiness, and an Heavenly Mind. A hard Student, and an indefatigable Preacher. Of great Humility, and very strict in his Watch. His Heart and Heat was wholly taken up with the great and necessary Points of Religion, which all true Christians agree in: And making the Substance of Religion his Work and Business, he never had Leisure or Pleasure to trouble himself with controverted. Circumstances, nor would put his Soul out of Tune with such things as had caus'd Jarrings and Discord among Christians. And few were more Successful in their Ministerial Labours. A Pious Divine, (afterward a Dignitary in the Church of *England*) gave him this Character. *I am (said he) so well satisfy'd, as to his extraordinary Piety in general, which I never yet heard or believe, that he departed from, that I wish my everlasting, Portion may be with him.* Concluding; thus; *I never knew one man Publick Spirited, more sensible of*

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Mens Spiritual Necessitys and more ready (to his ability) to supply them: More Zealous for God's Glory, more Delighted, Incessant, Importunate, and successful in Prayer, and more thankfully sensible of the returns thereof, than this holy Person was; of whom this degenerate World was not worthy, and therefore having been abundant in the Work of the Lord, God hath satisfy'd him with never ending Experiences, that his Labour (from which he now rests) shall not be in vain in the Lord.

Bickford: Mr. *John Willson*. A Man of great worth and a good Scholar; which cannot but be own'd by such as will be at the pains to Peruse his Writings,* tho' they may not relish the strictness of his Principles.

* *He hath several Tracts extant: As the Vanity of Humane Inventions; in an Exercitation on the Ceremonys. Oct. 1666. Cultus Evangelicus; or a Discourse of the Spirituality of New Testament Worship. Oct. 1667. An Apology for the Peoples Judgement of private Discretion. Oct. 1667. Nehushtan: or a sober and peaceable Discourse concerning the abolishing of things abus'd to Superstition and Idolatry.*

Oct. 1668.

Sondbach: Mr. *Joseph Coape*. Astbury: Mr. *George Moxon*. Gowsworth: Mr. *Thomas Edge*. Neston: Mr. *Samuel Marsden*. Cristleton or Hargrave: Mr. *Samuel Suter*. Tervin: Mr. *Sabbath Clark*. Poulford: Mr. *Ghest*. Dodleston: Mr. *Baker*. Hasle-wal: Mr. *Keyes*. Burton: Mr. *Hugh Bethel*. Thurstanten: Mr. *Watts*. Wood Church: Mr. *Graisty*. Marbury: Mr. *Bruce*. Shokylach: Mr. *John Griffyth*. Acton: Mr. *Edward Burgal*. Roncorn: Mr. *Eaton*. Mottram: Mr. *Francis Shelmardine*. Rotherstorn: Mr. *Adam Martindale*. Chelford: Mr. *Hugh Henshaw*. Congleton: Mr. *Tho. Brooks*. Wimslaw: Mr. *John Brereton*. Knottesford: Mr. *Hunter*. Bartumleigh: Mr. *Smith*. Mobberley: Mr. *Barlow*. Church-holme: Mr. *Andrew Barnett*, and Mr. *John Ravenshaw*. Gostree: Mr. *John Buckley*. Cristleton: Mr. *Edwards*. Haslyngton: Mr. *Hassel*. Shotwick: Mr. *Matthew Jenkyns*. Over Peever: Mr. *Robert Norbury*. And Mr. *Reeves*, Mr. *Harvy*, Mr. *Burroughs*, Mr. *Gartsyde*; and Mr. *Moxon Junior*, whose places are uncertain.

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There Conform'd afterward in this County: Mr. *Wright* of *Beeston*. Mr. *Dunstan* of *Northerden*. And Mr. *Samuel Edgly*, of *Thornton*. I know not of any more.

In FLINTSHIRE.

Worthenbury: Mr. *Philip Henry*.* M.A. Born at *Whitehall* in *Westminster*, Aug. 24. 1631. His Father Mr. *John Henry*, was Gentleman to the Earl of *Pembroke*, who being made Lord Chamberlain prefer'd him to the King's Service: He was first Keeper of the Orchard at *Whitehall*, and afterwards Page of the back Stairs to the Duke of *York*, and liv'd and dy'd a Courtier. Having this Son Born to him in the Court, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, *James* Earl of *Carlile*, and the Countess of *Salisbury* were his Sponsors in Baptism. Prince *Charles* and the Duke of *York* being about his Age, He in his Childhood often attended upon them in their Play, and it might rationally have been expected that this early Acquaintance would have issu'd in considerable Preferment afterwards, but the Publick changes that ensu'd separated him from Court, and he was well satisfy'd in his Removal, not daring to think of a return, for fear of being ensnar'd: or otherwise be wanted not for Encouragement. However the Tincture of his first Education so far continu'd with him, as to leave the most sweet and obliging Air of Courtesy and Civility that could be in his Converse; which made him universally Belov'd and Respected. He was bro't up in *Westminster* School under Dr. *Busby*. He was

a great Proficient in School Learning, and particularly Caress'd by the Doctour. *Anno* 1645, he was admitted King's Scholar, and was first of the Election, partly by his own Merit, and partly by the Interest of his Godfather the Earl of *Pembroke*. While he was at School, he attended constantly on the Morning Lecture which was carry'd on in the Abby Church every Morning between Six and Eight of the Clock, by Seven worthy Members of the Assembly of Di

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* See an Account of his Life and Death in Oct. 1698.

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vines in Course; his absence from School for that time, being dispens'd with, upon his Mothers desire. He also constantly attended upon the Monthly Fasts at St. *Margarets*; and he found such good Effects of his course in this Respect, that he would often recommend it to the care of Parents to bring their Children betimes to Publick Ordinances.

He was one of the Scholars whom the Dr. employ'd in Reading Greek Authors, to collect by his Direction some Materials for that Excellent Greek Grammar which he afterwards Publish'd. And whereas it was the Ancient Custom of the School for all King's Scholars that were Candidates for an Election to the University, to receive the Lords Supper the Easter before, be comply'd with the Custom, and at *Easter* in 47, first went to the Lord's Table; his Master Dr. *Busby*, having for several Weeks before taken a great deal of pains with him, to instruct him in the Nature of the Ordinance, and assist him in his Preparation for it. His Masters Pains with him at that time was very Beneficial to him, and he often thankfully acknowledg'd it. And once he much surpriz'd the Doctor, when he first waited upon him after he was turn'd out by the Act of Uniformity: For when the Doctor asked him, *Prithee* (Child) *what made thee a Nonconformist?* Truly Sir said Mr. Henry, *you made me one; for you taught me those things that hindred me from Conforming.* In *May* 47, He was chosen from School to *Christ Church* in *Oxon*, *jure loci*, with four others, of which he had the second Place. He went thither in *December* following, and was enter'd Commoner, Mr. *Underwood* being his Tutour. His Godfather the Earl of *Pembroke* gave him 10*l.* to set out with. He apply'd himself vigorously to his Studys, and in the *March* following was admitted Student of the House by Dr. *Hammond*, who was then Sub Dean. The Visitation of the University by order of Parliament follow'd quickly after. The Question which was then put to all, and to he answer'd in Writing, was this: *Will you submit to the Power of the Parliament in this present Visitation?* Mr.

Henry's Answer was this: *I submit as far as I may with a safe Conscience, and without Perjury.* His Reason for the Salvo, was be

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cause of his having taken the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy at his Admission. His Answer was allowed of, and he was continu'd in his Students Place. He made good Improvement in his Studies for his Time, took his Degrees when he was of a sufficient standing, and Preach'd his first Sermon at *South Hincsey* in *Oxfordshire*, in *January 1652/3*. He was chosen out of all the Masters of that Year to be *Junior of the Act*, that is to Answer the Philosophy Questions in *Vesperis*, which he did with very great Applause, especially for the very witty and ingenious Oration which he made to the University upon that Occasion. And at the Act in 1654, he was chosen *Magister Replicans*, and answer'd the Philosophy Questions in *Comitiis*, with a like Applause.

Serjeant *Pulestons* Lady, of *Emerald* in *Worthenbury*; in *Flintshire*, wrote to a Friend of Hers, Mr. *Francis Palmer* of *Christ Church* to recommend to her a Young Man to be in her Family, to take the over-sight of her Sons, and Preach at *Worthenbury* on the Lords Days, with the offer of good Encouragement. Mr. *Palmer* propos'd it to Mr. *Henry*, who was willing to make an Essay for Half a Year, and accordingly remov'd thither in *September 1653*. When his Half Year was expir'd, he return'd to *Oxon*, but afterwards upon the earnest Invitation of Judge *Puleston*, and all the People of the Parish, he fix'd amongst them. For Two or Three Years he kept his Students Place in *Christs Church*, attending the Service of it once a Year, disposing of most of the Profits of it among poor Scholars. The Judge settled a *100l. per Ann.* upon him while he continu'd in *Worthenbury* (in lieu of the Tythe) free of all Encumbrance; and Charg'd it upon his whole Estate in those Parts.

Being thus fix'd, he was solemnly Ordain'd to the Office of the Ministry, at *Prees*, on *Sept. 16. 1657*. After which, he was abundant in his Labours to win Souls. Besides Preaching, he Expounded the Scriptures in Order, Catechiz'd, and Explain'd the Catechism. He set up a Monthly Lecture; and held also a Monthly conference: He was very industrious in Visiting the Sick, Instructing them, and

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Praying with them. He Preach'd Funeral Sermons for all that were Bury'd, Rich or Poor, Old or Young; for he look'd upon it as an Opportunity of doing Good. He was very careful about the Lords Supper, so to manage his

Admissions to that Ordinance, as that the Weak might not be Discourag'd, and yet the Ordinance might not be Prophan'd. His Carriage towards his Parishioners was very Exemplary: For he would condescend to the Meanest, and Converse Familiarly with them: Bearing with the Infirmities of the Weak, and becoming all Things to all Men. From First to Last, he for about Eight Years exercis'd his Ministry in this Place, and his Labours were signally successful. The Opportunity he found he had of doing the more Good there, by having those that were his Charge near about him, made him all his Days bear his Testimony to Parish Order, where it may be had upon good Terms, as much more eligible, and more likely to answer the End than the *Congregational* Way of gathering Churches from Places far distant, which could not ordinarily meet to worship God together. He constantly laid by the Tenth of his Income for the Poor, which he carefully and faithfully dispos'd of in the liberal Things which he devis'd, especially the teaching of poor Children. He had frequent offers of other Places that were more considerable, but was not given to Change; and tho' the Family of the *Pulestons* put on another Face after the Death of the Judge, and his Pious Lady, and grew very unkind to him, yet he resolv'd to see his Call from thence Clear, before he would leave a Place where God had own'd and bless'd him.

When King *Charles* return'd, *Worthenbury* (which had in the *Interim* been separated, and fix'd as a Parish by it self (as it hath since been to Perpetuity, by an Act of Parliament, in 2. of *Will.* and *Mar.*) return'd to its Dependence as a Chappelry upon *Bangor*; and Mr. *Fogg* being Ejected thence, Dr. *Henry Bridgman* return'd to the Sequestred Rectory. Tho' he asserted his Right, and Mr. *Henry* was but as his Curate, yet he continu'd above a Year in the Enjoyment of his Liberty under him.

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The Grand Question then on Foot, was about *Conformity*. Mr. *Henry* us'd all Means possible to satisfie himself concerning it, by Reading and Discourse: Particularly at *Oxford* with Dr. *Fell*, who was afterwards Bishop there; but in vain, for his Dissatisfaction remain'd. Being about that Time at *Chester*, he discours'd the Dean and Chancellour about the Matter: The great Argument they us'd to perswade him to Conform was this; that else he would *loose his Preferment*. And what (said they) you are a Young Man; and are you wiser than the King and the Bishops? Upon which he left this Reflection in one of his Papers: *God grant I may never be left, to consult with Flesh and Blood in such Matters*. He was presented once and again at *Flint* Assizes for not reading the Common-Prayer, before there was any Obligation: So busie were some

to out-run the Law, and it was not without some Difficulty that he got off. And tho' he did get off, yet his Annuity from *Emeral* Family was with-held, because he refus'd the Use of the Common-Prayer: But that which troubled him most under that Disappointment was, that he was thereby hindred from doing Good in his wonted Manner. At length Mr. *Puleston*, and Dr. *Bridgman* of *Bangor* having had a Dispute about the Tith of *Worthenbury*, came to this Agreement (by the Mediation of Sir *Thomas Hanmer*) on Sept. 11. 1661. That Dr. *Bridgman* and his Successors should have all the Tythe Corn and Hay of *Worthenbury*, (except the Tith Hay of *Emeral* Demesn) if before the first of *November* following he Discharg'd Mr. *Philip Henry* from the Chapel of *Worthenbury*, without Suffering him to officiate there any more, in any Time to come. Hereupon Dr. *Bridgman* discharg'd him by a Writting under his Hand, which was Publish'd in the Church by one of Mr. *P*'s Servants on *October* the 27. Thus he ceas'd to Preach to his People there, but he ceas'd not to Love and Pray for them. He afterwards Compounded with Mr. *P*— as to Arrears that were due for 100*l.* tho' much to his Damage. He Preach'd some times occasionally in divers Neighbouring Places, till *Bartholomew* Day 62. *The Day* (saith he in one of his

Papers)

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Papers) which our Sins have made one of the saddest Days to ENGLAND, since the Death of EDWARD the VI. But even this for Good, tho' we know not how, nor which Way. And he greatly pitt'y'd some, who by the urgency of Friends, and the fear of want, were over perswaded to put a Force upon themselves in their Conformity. For his Part he could not be satisfy'd to be Re-ordain'd, while he look'd upon himself as sufficiently Ordain'd before: Nor could he Assent and Consent to all and every thing in a Book, which he found liable to many just Exceptions. But one Thing was a great Comfort to him, viz. that as to Matters of doubtful Disputation, touching Church-Government, Ceremonies, &c. he was unsworn either on one side or the other, and so was free from those Snares and Bands in which so many found themselves, both ty'd up from what they would do, and entangled that they knew not what to do. But tho' he was a Conscientious Nonconformist, his Moderation was remarkable. In Church-Government, that which he desir'd and wish'd for, was Arch-Bishop *Ushers* Reduction of Episcopacy. He tho't it lawful to join in the Common-Prayer in Publick Assemblies, and practis'd accordingly, and endeavour'd to satisfie others concerning it. The Spirit he was of was such, as made him much afraid of Extrems, and more solicitous

for nothing than to maintain and keep up Christian love and Charity among Professors.

At *Michaelmas* 1662, he remov'd from *Worthenbury* to *Broad Oak*, where he had a comfortable Estate which came to him by Marriage, which was a great Support to him, and enabled him to relieve many that were in want. Here he for some Years went constantly on the Lords Days to the Publick Worthip with his Family, at *Whitewell Chapel*, or *Tylstock*, and Preach'd himself only occasionally. He us'd to declare, he went to bear his Testimony to Publick Ordinances. In *October* 63, Mr. *Steel* and he were taken up and Imprison'd, on pretence of a Plot; when he was Confin'd he wrote thus in one of his Papers: *It is sweet being in any Condition with a clear Conscience*. After some Days *they* were exa

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min'd by the Deputy Lieutenants, Charg'd with they knew not what, and so dismiss'd upon their Verbal Security to be forth coming upon Twenty Four Hours Notice. In 65, Mr. *Steel* and He, were as an Affront made Subcollectors of the *Royal Aid*. In *September* the same Year he was again fetch'd Prisoner to *Hanmer*; and after some Days Confinement, none being able to prove any Thing against him, he was Discharg'd upon Recognizance of 20*l.* with Two Sureties to be forth-coming upon Notice. When the Five Mile Act took Place, he remov'd for some time from his Family, but return'd in a little while in Peace. In 67 he remov'd with his Family to *Whitchurch*, where he attended constantly on the Publick Ministry, and in the Evening he would instruct his Family, and some of his Neighbours were allow'd to come in. And here it was that he first administred the Lords Supper, after his being Ejected. As to this he hath left a Paper under his Hand of this Tenour. *I am a Minister of Christ, and as such I am oblig'd virtute Officii, by all means to endeavour the good of Souls. Now here's a Company of serious Christians, whose Lot is cast to live in a Parish, where there is one set over them, who Preacheth the Truth; and they come to hear him, and join with him in other Parts of Worship; only as to the Lords Supper they scruple the Lawfulness of the Gesture of Kneeling; and he tells them, his Hands are tied, and he cannot administer it to them any other way; wherefore they come to me, and tell me, they earnestly long for that Ordinance; and there is a competent number of them, and opportunity to partake; and how dare I deny this Request of theirs, without betraying my Ministerial Trust, and incurring the Guilt of a grievous Omission?*

In *February* 1667/8 Mr. *Lawrence* and He being at *Betley* in *Staffordshire*, ventur'd one Lords Day with the Consent of all concern'd to Preach in the

Publick Church, the one in the Morning, and the other in the Afternoon This Action of theirs was presently after Reported in the House of Commons by a Member of Parliament, with these Additions; that they tore the Common-Prayer

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Book, trampled the Surplice under their Feet, pull'd the Minister of the Place out of the Pulpit, &c. Reports which there was not the least Colour for. This, with some other such like false Stories produc'd an Address from the House to the King to issue out a Proclamation, for the putting the Laws in Execution against *Papists* and *Nonconformists*, &c.

In 68, he return'd with his Family to *Broad-Oake*, being desirous to be useful to the Neighbours among whom God had given him an Estate. He was indeed generally Lov'd and Honour'd. In the common Concernments of the Township and Country, he was a prudent Counsellor: And in Private Differences he was the common Arbitrator of those Parts, and a successful Peace-maker. References have sometimes been made to him by Rule of Court, at the Assizes with Consent of Parties. He was very charitable to the Poor, and full of Alms-Deeds; given to Hospitality, and very Tender and Compassionate towards Poor Strangers and Travellers: And all that he had and did, observably Prosper'd. In the Time of Trouble and Distress by the Conventicle Act in 1670, he kept Private, and stirr'd little Abroad, as loth to offend those that were in Power, and judging it Prudence to gather in his Sails when the Storm was violent. Obtaining a Licence in 1672, upon the Kings Declaration for Indulgence, he Preach'd with open Doors to all that would come to hear him, and that *Gratis*. He Preach'd also many Lectures abroad in *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, and *Denbighshire*, laying out himself exceedingly for the good of Souls, and that for several Years successively. In 1681. Mr. *Bury of Bolas* and He, keeping a Day of Fasting and Prayer in Private, upon Occasion of an extream Drought, were disturb'd, by the Justices, who took the Names of 150 Persons. By the Oath of Two Witnesses, they Sign'd and Seal'd Two Records of Conviction: By one they Convicted the Master of the House, and Fin'd him 20*l*, and 5*l* more as Constable that Year, and with him all the Persons whose Names they had taken 5*l*. a piece; by another they convicted the 2 Ministers,

Mr.

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Mr. *Bury* 20*l.* and Mr. *Henry* 40*l.* upon which Conviction they distrai'n'd upon Mr. *Henry*, and carry'd away 33 Loads of Corn, cut upon the Ground, Hay, Coals, &c. which he bore with his usual evenness of Mind, without being mov'd or disturb'd by it.

In the same Year there was a Publick Conference between the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, Dr. *William Lloyd*, now Bishop of *Worcester* and some Nonconformist Ministers. That Bishop coming into those Parts set himself with Vigour to reduce Dissenters, and affected to do it in a reasoning way: He Publickly Discours'd with the Quakers at *Lawvillin* in *Mongometyshire*. He had often Discours'd privately with Mr. *Owen* of *Oswestry*, and at length appointed him to give him the Meeting in the Town Hall of that Place, on *September 27.* 1681, there to give an Account, *by what Right he Exercis'd the Ministry not having Episcopal Ordination.* He directed him also to procure what other Ministers he could to assist him; but gave him but four or five days Notice. At, the time appointed the Bishop brought with him the Learned (I should be glad to say and Charitable) Mr. *Henry Dodwell*. And Mr. *Owen* was Accompany'd by Mr. *Henry*, and Mr. *Jonathan Roberts* of *Denbighshire*. Mr. *Henry* press'd much for the managment of the Discourse in private before a Select number, but could not prevail. However his Lordship promis'd, that nothing that should be said by way of Argument, should be any way turn'd to the Prejudice of the Disputants, nor Advantage taken of it to give them trouble. There were present many of the Clergy and Gentry of the Country with the Magistrates of the Town, and a great multitude of People. The Discourse began about two in the Afternoon, and continu'd till between Seven and Eight and Night. Much was said *Pro* and *Con* touching the Identity of Bishops and Presbyters, the Bishoping and Unbishoping of *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Validity of Presbyterim Ordination, &c. 'Twas manag'd with a great deal of Liberty; and not under the strict Laws of Disputation. The Bishop manag'd his part of the Conference with a great deal of Gravity, and Calmness, and evenness of Spirit. And as for Mr. *Henry*, he gain'd no

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small Reputation: For even they who were Adversarys to the Cause he pleaded, tho' they were not convinc'd by his Arguments, yet by his Meekness and Humility, and that truly Christian Spirit, which appear'd so evidently in the whole managment, were bro't to have a better Opinion of him, and his way. The Conference broke off abruptly: Mr. *Roberts* whispering to Mr.

Henry said, *Pray let my Lord have the last Word.* A Justice upon the Bench overhearing him, reply'd; *you say my Lord shall have the last Word, but he shall not, but I will: We thank God we have the Sword of Power in Our Hands, and by the Grace of God we'll keep it, and it shall not rust, and I hope every lawful Magistrate will do as I do: And look to your selves Gentlemen, by the Grace of God I'll root you out of the Country.* To which a forward Man in the Crowd said *Amen, throw them down Stairs:* But the Mayor of the Town took order for their Safety. An admirable Method, this to be sure for Conviction! The Bishop after this Days Work often Corresponded with Mr. *Henry* by Letter, and would converse with him with great Openness and Freedom when he came into those Parts; and told him, that he did not look upon him as *csmltikw*, but only as *parasunlgwgq*.

In 1682, he kept an open Meeting, the Magistrates conniving. In 83. and 84. he Preach'd privately at home without Disturbance. In 85, at the time of *Monmouths* Descent, he with many others was clapt into *Chester Cattle.* Mr. *Henry* rejoic'd in and accepted King *James's* Indulgence in 1687, tho' being sensible at the design of it, he could not chuse but *Rejoice with trembling.* When King *James* afterwards came in his Progress into that Country, to Court the Compliments of the People, he join'd with several others in and about *Whitchurch, Namwich, and Wem,* in an Address to Him; the Purport of which was not to Sacrifice their Lives and Fortune; to him and his Interest, but only to return him Thanks for the Liberty given them, with a promise to demean themselves quietly in the use of it. When the Commissioners came down to enquire after the trouble the Dissenters had sustain'd by the *Penal Laws;* and how the Money Levy'd upon them was dispos'd of, Mr. *Henry* being

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sent to, declin'd giving any Information; and made this Answer: that he had long since forgiven all the Agents, Instruments, and occasions of his Trouble, and had purpos'd never to say any thing more of it. In May 1688. He was nominated a Justice of Peace for the County, in the Commission that came down, and had notice given him of it by Letter from the Clerk of the Peace: But he refus'd to Act. And instead of it, vigorously apply'd himself to his Ministerial Work, in which he persisted to the last. He dy'd in Peace, June 24. 1696. Ætat. 66. And the loss of him was universally Lamented. *Tony Wood* hath not a Word for him, tho' he was a noted Oxonian. I suppose it might be because he could find nothing for his spiteful Teeth to fasten on.

Hanmere: Mr. *Richard Steel*,* M.A. of *St. John's* Colledge in *Cambridge*; a very valuable useful Man. A good Scholar, a hard Student, and an excellent Preacher. He met with much Trouble on the Account of his Nonconformity. Particularly in 1665, when he was setting out for *London*, he was by a Warrant from the Neighbouring Justices under colour of the Report of a Plot, stopt and search'd; and finding nothing to accuse him of, they seiz'd his *Almanack*, in which he kept his Diary for that Year: And it not being written very legibly, they made what Malicious Readings and Comments they pleas'd upon it, to his great Wrong and Reproach: Tho' to all sober People it discover'd him to be a Man that kept a strict Watch over his own Heart, and was a great Husband of his time. Fixing afterwards at *London*, he became Pastour of a Congregation: and dy'd *November* 16. 1692. *Ætat.* 64.

**He hath publish'd several useful Treatises: As the Husbandman's Calling.* Oct. 1668. *A Discourse of Uprightness: Shewing the Propertys and Privileges of an, Upright, Man.* Oct. 1671. *An Antidote against Distractions in the Worship of God.* Oct. 1673. *The Tradesman's Calling.* Oct. 1684. *And a Discourse of Old Age.* Oct. *He hath also a Sermon in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripple-gate on the Dutys of Husbands and Wives towards each other. Another in the Morning Exercise against Popery, on the Romanists depriving the People of the use of the Cup in the Lord's Supper. A third in the continuation of Morning Exercise.* Qu. *On the hindrances and helps to a good Memory in Spiritual things. And a 4th in the 4th Vol. on the Qu. How may the uncharitable and dangerous conventions that are amongst Professors of true Religion, be allayed.*

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Bangor:

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Bangor: Mr. *Fogg Senior*; was Ejected here at the Kings Return: And thence forward to his Death was a poor Silent Nonconformist, but of a Bold and Zealous Spirit, giving good Counsel to those about him. He dy'd in *April* 1670.

Mr. *Fogg of Harden Castle*, when he had been a Nonconformist Four Years fell in with the Publick Establishment; and was afterwards Dean of *Chester*.

Reviewing this Account, I fear some, of these Ejected Ministers may be mention'd twice, which shall hereafter be carefully rectify'd. And at the same time some valuable Persons are omitted, and shall therefore be here mention'd by themselves. As,

Mr *John Collins*, who was not Incubent any where when the Uniformity Act took place, but was Chaplain to General *Monk*, when he came out of *Scotland* into, *England*, and was afterwards Minister of a Congregation in the City, and One of the Lecturers at *Pinnars Hall*. He was a Man mighty in the Scriptures, one of a sweet Temper, and very Charitable to all Good Men, without confining himself to a Party.

Mr. *James Janeway*.* His father was an elected Minister in *Herifordshire*. He was Student of *Christ Church Oxon*: He liv'd privately for some time after

he left the University: and when the times would allow it, set up a Meeting at *Redriff* near *London*, where he had a very numerous Auditory. He dy'd *March*. 16. 1673/4. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Nathanael Vincent*, in which his Character may be seen at large.

* He hath Printed, Heaven upon Earth: Or the best Friend in the worst times. Oct. 1670. The Life of his Brother, Mr; John Janeway. Oct. 1673. The Saints Encouragement to Diligence in service, Oct. 1672. A Token for children; 12s. 1671. And after his Death was Printed his Legacy to his Fliends, &c. Oct. 1674. He hath also several Funeral Sermons in Print: And Sermon in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at Cripple-gate, on the Duties of Masters and Servants.

Mr. *John Faldo*. He had been Chaplain in the Army, and was not in any Benefice when the Act of Uniformity took Place, but was Silenc'd by it, together with his Brethren. Sometime after, he was

Pastour

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Pastour of a Congregation in *London*, and dy'd in *Febr*. 1690. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Quick*. He was Congregational in his Judgment, but noted for his Moderation in the latter part of his Life.

Mr. *Thomas Brand*: Born at *Leaden Roothing* in *Essex*, Anno 1635. His Father was Dignitary of the Church of *England*. He was bred at *Merton College* in *Oxon*, and went thence to the Temple designing for the Law; but afterwards apply'd himself to Divinity, and became one of the brightest Mirrours of Piety and Charity, one of the most fervent useful Preachers the Age hath afforded. His Zeal was neither for nor against any Party, but for the vigorous promoting of the found knowledge of those Doctrines wherein we, are all agreed, and of that Holiness which all commend but too few Practise. A Man of great Moderation. One who was never without some Project for doing good; and could as soon cease to live as cease to atteinpt to be useful to Souls. He was bless'd with an Estate, with which he did good on Earth, and laid up a Treasure in Heaven to a degree beyond most. He dy'd *December* 1. 1691. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Dr. *Annesley*, and with it was Publish'd a short Account of his Life.

Besides all there, there were a great many Schoolmasters Ejected by the same Act of Uniformity in several parts of the Kingdom; many of them were also Preachers, till that Act disabled them. I have a few to Subjoin: but have reason to believe there were many more who are not come tny Knowledge.

Mr. *Thomas, Singleton*, Master of *Eaton School*, who was afterwards a Celebrated School-Master for many Years, in or near this City. Mr. *Owen Price*, M.A. Master of the Free-School, near *Maudalen Colledge* in *Oxon*,

who was afterwards very useful in the training up of Youth in *Devonshire* and other Places. Mr. *Hunt* was Ejected from the Free-School at *Salisbury*, which was worth to him 200*l. per Annum*. He was a great Philosopher, and particularly skill'd in the Oriental Languages. In *Essex* there were cast out, Mr. *Whiting* School-master of *Dedham*, and Mr. *Covel*, of *Halsted*: Together with the School-masters of *Mash*

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bery, *Chigwell*, and *Lanedon-Hill*. Mr. *Waterhouse* was cast out from the School in *Ipswich*: And Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Wilson* from the School in *Yarmouth*. Mr. *Henry Montague* was Ejected from the School in *Canterbury*, and Mr. *George Collins* from that in *Chichester*. The three Schools of *Arundel*, *Hellingle*, and *Selscomb* in *Sussex*, were also depriv'd of Mr. *John Stafford*, Mr. *Stephen Martyn*, and Mr. *Richard Savage* Masters. Mr. *Anthony Withers* was cast out of the School at *Dorchester*. The Schools at *Newbery*, *Redding*, and *Wallingford* in *Berkshire*, were at the same time left Vacant. Mr. *Pigot* was cast out of the School at *Shrewsbury*; Mr. *Batchelor* from that time at *Coventry*; And Mr. *Hutchinson* from another at *Mansfield*. And in *Glamorganshire*, Mr. *Sheel*, School-master of *Cardiff*, and Mr. *Evan Llewelyn* School-master of *Swanzey*, were both Ejected.

This Act of Uniformity, which made such an Alteration in all parts of the Nation by Ejecting so many valuable and useful Persons, was pass'd in a Heat, but its Effects have been lasting. Personal Piques too much influenc'd many of the most Zealous Promoters of it: But Posterity, when Passion and Prejudice come once to be worn out, will rue the Consequence. Some have applauded it is an Heroical Action: But it was a Prologue to a Tragedy, that hath not yet reach'd its final Period. Having Reason to reckon my self a considerable Sufferer, tho' not then Born, I hope I may without Offence drop a Tear upon the remembrance of the Funerals of so many Worthies in our *Israel*, bury'd at once in a common Grave.

They were not a poor inconsiderable handful, a few Scores only of acceptable Ministers, who were by this Act cast out of the Church; but many Hundreds. 'Tis hoped henceforward we may be allow'd to say so. They did not throw themselves out of Service, but were forcibly Ejected; They begg'd for Continuance with an imaginable Earnestness, and urg'd unanswerable Arguments in their Petitions; but were Repuls'd. They were not Cast out because not needed to carry on the Work of the Gospel: For there were, and still are among us many desolate Quarters, that are over-run with Ignorance and Profaneness: And

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there was more to be done in the Land in order to general Instruction, Excitation and Reformation, than all their joint Labours would have fully suffic'd for; and yet they were Ejected. This was an Action without a Precedent; the like to which the Reformed Church, nay the Christian World never saw before.

In the Ancient *Arrian* Persecutions many Scores of faithful Orthodox Publishers of the Everlasting Gospel were Slain and Banish'd: In this case 2000 at once had their Mouths stopp'd even whilst they were alive, and were doom'd to Silence in their own Native Country, and that by their Brethren, tho' their Labours were call'd for, and earnestly desir'd. 'Twas heretofore reckon'd a most horrid thing, and drew Tragical Exclamations from succeeding Historians, that between Three and Four score Bishops should be sent at once into the Isle of *Sardinia* by the *African Vandals*: And so it really was, because they were hereby Banish'd from their Flocks, which was an affecting thing, notwithstanding they had the liberty of their Tongues and Pens still left them: But in this case Thirty times as many were separated from their loving and beloved, flocks, and that by those with whom they join'd to Professing the same Orthodox Faith; and tho' they were suffer'd to remain in the Land where they were Born and Bred, they were yet turn'd into so many Mutes, and laid aside as useless Persons. I have read of 200 Ministers who *Anno*. 1549. Were Banish'd by *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*; and of great Havock made among the Ministers of *Germany* a few Years after by the Imperial *Interim*: But both put together fell far short of this Celebrated Act, not only as to the number of Persons concern'd, but also as to the succeeding hardships which the Ministers fell under. For in both these Cases they had liberty to Preach the Gospel elsewhere. But here was one Clog added to another, that the Embarrassment might be the greater, so that the Silenc'd Ministers had no room left for any sort of usefulness any where, but were bury'd alive. There was a Gap made in this our Land, upon the Settlement of the Protbnt Religion, in the room of the Papal Superstition: But it was nothing comparable to that

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which was made among us upon the resettling of Diocesan Episcopacy. Formerly there were 80 Rectors of Churches, 50 Prebendaries, 15 Masters of Colledges, 12 Arch-Deacons, 12 Deans, and 6 Abbots and Abbesses Ejected:

But how much better were they spar'd, than 2000 Preaching Ministers, who were unwear'd in their Endeavours to spread Knowledge, Faith and Holiness? The tenderness us'd towards those of the former sort, to remove all grounds of Scruple or Disgust, that, they might be tempted into the National Establishment, is Evident and Obvious: But I need not ask whether the Poor Nonconformists met with the like Treatment. Upon the obstinate Refusal of the Former to comply, they were Ejected, and the safety of the State requir'd it, because they own'd a Foreign Head. But the latter were cast out by Men of the same Faith, meerly because they differ'd in things own'd to be Extraessential, and destitute of any Intrinsic Goodness. After all, the former were treated with great Lenity and Mildness, as long as they liv'd quietly, and aim'd no higher than the Private Liberty of their Sentiment and Way: But were the Nonconformists worthy of any such Favour? or rather were they not oppress'd to the utmost, on purpose that they might be driven to make an Interest for such a Toleration, as should open a Door to the common Enemy?

I know it has been pleaded that the Puritanical Party set the Pattern, by bearing so hard on the Sequestred Ministers in the Parliament times. But whatever that Person was, we must go farther backward for the Original: and yet neither would I thence pretend to justify any rigorous Methods, which Christianity does neither require nor allow. But certainly they who so much exclaim'd against them, should better *have known the Heart of a Stranger*, than to have imitated much less out done them, in Ejecting a number so very far Superiour; without any allowance towards their support out of the Livings whence they were Ejected, when as the Parliament allotted a 5th part to those who were Sequestred, whatever were the cause. Yea, tho' it were insufficiency or Scandal: Many things were done in the Parli
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ment-Times, which those who were Agents in them, liv'd afterwards long eno' to see Reason to wish undone: But yet when Matters were at the utmost heighth, many Episcopal Persons kept their Places; Things in their own Nature indifferent, and acknowledg'd to be such, were not Grounds of silencing and driving into Corners; nor were the stiffest of the high Church Party, (*Gunning* and others of his stamp) deny'd their liberty, provided they gave the Publick, Security of their good Behaviour: The same Treatment as they had given to others, would by many who liv'd in those Times have been reckon'd highly favourable, if compar'd with what they actually met with. And whereas some have urg'd the Treatment of the Episcopal Party

in *Scotland*, since King *William's* happy Ascent to the Throne, in a way of Vindication of their Carnage to those of the opposite Stamp after King *Charles's* Restauration, it is left to any, Persons to Judge, whether there be any thing Paralel in the Two Cases, if it be but consider'd that notwithstanding *Presbytery* is the Government establish'd by Law in *Scotland*, as much as *Episcopacy* is in *England*, yet upon their Late Settlement the Episcopal Ministers there (excepting such as were notoriously Scandalous, or had Livings from which *Presbyterian* Ministers who were then Living had been Ejected) were allow'd the Enjoyment of their Places during Life, upon no harder a Condition than that of taking the Oaths to the Civil Government.

But to return; had these Ejected Ministers, who were so hardly dealt with, been either universally or generally, Enemies of all Order and Regularity, it had been much more tolerable: When as there was so far from just Ground for such an Insinuation, that a Regular Discipline was what they Pleaded for, and Moderate Episcopacy was what most of them would have freely submitted to. Whosoever have Charg'd them as fond of Anarchy and Confusion, knew not the Men or their Communication. Arch-Bishop *Usher's* Platform (before Exhibited, *Pag.* 149.) they would have rejoic'd in; with a due Indulgence to those of their Brethren, whose Latitude was not so great as theirs. Had thy however been loose in

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their Morals, or scandalous in their Lives, their Treatment it must be own'd might have been fairly justify'd: But so far were they from that, that they were as Exemplary for strictness as any in the Land, Had they been meanly qualify'd for the Ministerial Work, the Church might have much the better spar'd them: But instead of that, we may safely defie their greatest Enemies to produce in any Age or Countrey, Two Thousand Men better qualify'd for Publick Ministerial Work, and more diligent and laborious in it, more accepted and more useful, than these very Persons who were Cloath'd with so much Contempt. Few Ages has produc'd more Eminent, Useful, Successful, Preachers, than Mr. *Baxter* of *Kederminster*, Mr. *Bowles* of *York*, Mr. *Newcom* of *Manchester*, Mr. *Reyner* of *Lincoln*, Mr. *Elkanah* *Wales*, Mr. *Hieron* of *Breadsal*, Mr. *Angier* of *Donton*, Mr. *Hghes* of *Plymouth*, Mr. *Ben* of *Dorchester*, Dr. *Manton* of *London*, Mr. *Allen* of *Taunton*, with many others. But perhaps they were intolerably Humoursome. This I know hath been said by some. But why should it be imagin'd, that for Humour-sake they should Sacrifice their all, part with their Lively-hood, and expose themselves and their Families to Want and Beggary? Was not a comfortable Life as desireable to them as

to others? Can it be suppos'd, they were so Blind as not to be able to see where their own Interest lay, which is too powerful a Charm for the most to be able to make Resistance? Were they not as capable of Preferments as their Neighbours? And why then should they baulk them, and rather embrace Poverty and Disgrace, and expose themselves to Hardships and Severities, Things that could not in themselves appear Eligible to any Man? Can any Account be given of this, if Conscience did not sway them? And should they not then have been consider'd?

Or suppose, that some in so great a Number were weak, and of but mean Endowments, there yet were others of Considerable Parts and Learning: Witness Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Corbet*, Mr. *Woodbridge*, Mr. *Charnock*, Mr. *Fairfax*, Mr. *Pool*, Mr. *Clarkson*, Mr. *Truman*, and many others. If some had been

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too rigorous and severe in former Times, there were others who had all along manag'd themselves with great Temper and Lenity; as Dr. *Gilpin*, Dr. *Grew*, Mr. *Fairclough*, Father and Sons, Mr. *Warren*, Mr. *Ventris* of *Canterbury*, Mr. *Philip Henry*, and many others. And tho' some it must be own'd, were against the Royal Family, there yet were others who suffer'd for adhering to it; as the *Lancashire* Ministers who were many of them Ejected for refusing and writing against the *Engagement*, even when many of the Episcopal Party took it; and Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Kerby*, and Mr. *Harrison*, &c. who hazarded their Lives in Order to the bringing in King *Charles II*. And yet this Act made no Difference. It spar'd neither Age nor Parts, nor consider'd any Service done, but levell'd all that lay in its way; and spake no other Language than either bow or break. Had it aim'd at hindring the doing Mischief only, it might have been Vindicated: But under pretence of that, it hindred the doing Good, and that to many; to Hundreds and Thoufands of Souls; by Men whose Hearts were earnestly bent that way, and desir'd not to live for any lower Purpose. Must we not think that Piety was little set by, when grave and experienc'd Guides must be forc'd to quit the Churches; to make way for Raw unfurnish'd Novices; when Men full of Love to God, and the Souls of their People, must yield to such as minded Preferment more than real Religion? God forbid, this should have been the Case generally: But that it was so in many Particular Instances is too notorious to be deny'd. Must we not say, that Mercy forsook the Earth, when so many of Liberal Education, were put to Dig, or Beg, or Starve? Were cast out of their Freeholds, to Fence against Future Crimes? Were turn'd into the wide World without any Visible Way

of Subsistence? Any Thing that might have tended to their Relief or Ease was rejected as unsufferable. They were not only excluded Preferments, but cut off from all hope of a Lively-hood, as far as the Industry and Craft of their Adversaries could reach. Not so much as a Poor Vicarage, not a Blind Chapel, not a School was left them: Nay tho'

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they offer'd (as some of them did) to Preach for nothing, it must not be allow'd them. And what was all this for, but to promote *Uniformity*? A charming *Word!* (for the Thing it self is yet to be so't for, even among themselves, by anyone that knows the Difference between Cathedrals and Parish Churches) A *Word* that must necessarily have a peculiar Force, when it could have so strange an Influence. But certainly, 'tis an odd Method to go about, to make all of one Mind, and Mode, and Way, by rending, dividing, and tearing Minilters and People! What was the Aim of all, but to settle *Impositions!* Which in all Ages have been greedily swallow'd by Men, of looser Principles, while they have been snares to the most Conscientious; who will look carefully about them, and are not for wriggling themselves either in or out by Distinctions and Evasions, (which yet they were as able to have fram'd as their Neighbours) but would do all in Simplicity and Godly Sincerity, without Equivocations or Reserves: Thereby endeavouring to maintain and spread a Principle of Honesty in the World.

The Publick Settlement not being clos'd, with, a general Clamour was rais'd against these good Men, whose Desire it was to serve God faithfully, and Live quietly, by their Neighbours, as if they were not to be suffer'd to live upon the Earth. What was their Crime? Surely nothing that God had declar'd to be Sin; nothing but what was made a Crime by the Law of the State; and would therefore cease to be such at any Time, when that Law was remov'd: Nothing but what might have been safely tolerated, without Damage or Danger to Church or Commonwealth, as appears by the Event since a Legal Indulgence hath been granted them. But if refusing to Conform to such Impositions as did not appear to be within the Compass of the Commission of the Imposers was really Criminal, it could not be so in a very high Degree: And wherefore then was the Punishment so great? Would it be Wisdom in the Government to threaten all those that would not eat Rye-bread, all that would not conform to any Common Fashion, with being Imprison'd or Banish'd?

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Should Mens Brains be knock'd out to, kill a Flie on their Fore-head? Is this agreeable to the Rules of Proportion. Is it equitable, that for such things as however Faulty they may be, may yet leave a Man a good Christian, and one of the best of subjects, he should be treated as if he had forfeited the Priviledges of his Birth, and his Interest in the Rights of Christianity, nay, and Humanity too? But instead of yielding their Practtle to be at all Criminal, it appear'd to them to be their Duty. They tho't witnessing against Humane Usurpations in Divine Things, was a piece of necessary Fidelity to God. They apprehended the Law of God oblig'd them to preserve the Purity of Christian Worship. Suppose they were mistaken in the Particular Application of this General Principle, did they thereupon deserve to be punish'd, as if they had raz'd and deny'd, the most Fundamental Articles of Faith? Was Poverty and Contempt, Confiscation and Imprisonment, Rigour and Severity, the fittest, or likeliest Means for their Conviction, or not rather a Snare to betray them to Act against their Confcience? Did the Christian Doctrine obtain in the World by those Ways and Methods which were pitcht on for the fixing and settling of *Uniformity*? Was it agreeable to Christian Charity to make the Terms strait on Purpose that they might be scrupled, and then blame Men for their Non-compliance? Or, to cast them out of the Church, and then Excommunicate them for their Absence? Was it good Policy in a New Settlement after Confusion, to disoblige and exasperate a Body of as sober, Perfons as any in the Land, who are really its Strength, in order to the gratifying the looser Sort, whose Principles and Practises weaken the Bands of Government, and open a gap for Confusion? Or was it the most likely Way to keep out *Popery*, to weaken the Hands of a Number of its hearty conscientious Adversaries, and Sacrifice them to the Rage of the Emissaries of *Rome*, who therefore set themselves most against them, because they had no hopes of ever inducing them to any thing that should look like an Advance towards the *Roman* Sea, or a Revolt to a Foreign Jurisdiction; to which some of their

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Brethren appear'd much more inclineable? Again; did the Actors in this Affair do as they would be done by? Did they not bitterly complain in the Time of the *Interregnum* of the Severity of their Treatment; and that when they could not but be conscious to themselves of much greater Severity on their Part towards their Brethren formerly, in the High Commission Court,

&c. when they had the Power in their Hands? *It is but like for like*, was a Plea in the Mouth of all forward Persons? But was not the Score paid beforehand by the Rigor of King *Charles* the First's Reign (to look no farther back) in Ecclesiastical Matters? And is it a becoming Thing, to have so many useful. Persons avowedly sacrific'd to Revenge? Is this Passion so riveted, as to be become Hereditary? Does it run in the Blood, and descend with the Patrimony, as a necessary Attendant of that *dear Pond: uninterrupted Ecclesiastical Succession*, that is, by some so much Celebrated? It cannot indeed be deny'd, but that all Panics among us when they have had the Ascendant, have born too hard upon those who lay at their Mercy: And it is much to be lamented. But is such Hereditary Revenge as *Hannibal's*, who was sworn at the Altar never to be Reconcil'd, a thing agreeable to Christian Principles, or becoming any Embassadors of the Prince of Peace?

But I cannot yet leave these *Confessors*. I move it to the Reader to review the List of them, observing what manner of Men they were, who were *the Triumphs and Spoils of Uniformity*. They were Men that would have been highly esteem'd and honour'd in the Primitive Church, for which they who bore so hard upon them profess so great a Veneration. They were Men of great Faith and Trust in God, and by their Integrity silenc'd many that apprehended Religion a Fancy. They rejoic'd in the Usefulness of their Brethren, while they themselves were Discountenanc'd. They Pray'd heartily for their Civil Governours, and all in Authority, while treated as Seditious Persons, and unworthy of any Favour. They were own'd of God in all their Troubles, carry'd through a great many Difficulties, gain'd upon

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many of their Enemies by their Patience and Quietness, and at last were taken under the Protection of the Government.

The Generality of them were Ejected in the most useful Part of their Lives, when they were fittest for Service; between the Age of Thirty and Fifty. In their Private Ministrations they did good to the Souls of many; this (Blessed be God) is too evident to be deny'd: How much good then might they have done, if they had but been kept within the Publick National Establishment? And to whom must the Land ascribe the loss of their valuable Labours, but to the eager Espousers of Rites and Ceremonies? What was the Issue of the heat of these Zealots? Did they gain their Point, and fix Uniformity? Or did they not rather run Things to that heighth, that Prophaneness had at length over-run us, and All that was dear and valuable to us was in Danger, when bare-fac'd *Popery* ascended the Throne, trampling at once on our Religion

and Liberties? And was it not then freely own'd, that *Papists* in Disguise had all along blow'd the Coals, and done the hottest Part of the Service? Can this ever be forgot? Who can bragg or boast of their Gain in the Strife for Uniformity? Were the busie *Informers* belov'd and advanc'd? Or were they not generally infamous? And did not many of them come to a Tragical End? Or will it be found that they who were fiercest when in Commission of the Peace, in prosecuting the Poor *Dissenters*, have prosper'd most in their Families and Estates? Or is the Memory of those Statesmen who were most Active in this Service, most grateful to true hearted *Englishman!* Doth the Providence of God in this Respect deserve no Remarks?

Did God disown these Worthies, when the great Ones cast them off? Let any Persons observe and judge. They and their Families were supply'd, by an invisible Hand. A noted Man among them, (who himself had a good Estate) reckon'd up as many who were Ejected within a few Miles round him, as with their Wives and Children made up above a Hundred, who were all turn'd out to the wide World, and Liv'd upon Providence: Concerning
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ing whom he observ'd that tho' they were off in straits, yet they were not forsaken. Nay the same, Person (when he had been Young, and then was Old) observ'd, that tho' many of the Ejected Ministers were bro't very Low, had many Children, were greatly harrass'd by persecution, and their Friends, generally Poor, and unable to Support them, yet in all his Acquaintance, he never knew, nor could remember to have heard of any *Nonconformist* Minister that was in Prison for Debt. Providence was instead of Liivings to those, who left their Livings for the sake of their Conscience. They were driven first out of their Freeholds, and afterwards from all Corporations, on Purpose that they might be separated from their kind Neighbours. Cautions were entred against them, in all ways of Livelyhood they were capable off; and yet they; liv'd comfortably, maintain'd their Families credibly; many of them bred up their Sons to the Ministry, in which they are now useful; and they Dy'd at last in Peace, and were laid in their Grave's with Honour.

Did *Nonconformity* Die with them? Would to God it had, provided the Causes of it had been remov'd, by a Cordial *Comprehension*: Would to God it had, if there were nothing in it but Humour and Fancy, and Prejudice, as some will have it. But as long as it is bottom'd upon such Stable Principles, as the succeeding Chapter will give an Account of; as long as such a *Model* remains among us, as makes more necessary to enter into the Church, than is requisite to come within the Gates of Heaven, it must be expected that

Nonconformity will continue. And if we, who rise up in the Room of those who in so noble a Manner adhær'd to that Old *Puritannical* Principle (which was indeed that of the first Reformers) of *the Necessity of a farther Reformation in the Church, in order to the more General and Effectual reaching of the great End of Christianity*; if we (I say) who rise up in the room of those who ventur'd All that was dear to them in bearing their Testimony to this Principle, rather than they would do violence to their Consciences; do but imitate their Faith and Patience, Piety and Purity; do but partake of

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the same Divine Spirit whereby they were Acted; and have but the same Presence of God with us, to Guide and Assist us, to Prosper and Succeed us, to Comfort and Support us; we are fearless of the Issue, we envy none their Preferments, we are satisfy'd in the Goodness of our Cause, We Question not our being able to approve our Selves to God, our Sovereign, our Parliament, the Christian World, our own Consciences, and to all Impartial Judges.

CHAP. X.

The Grounds of the NONCONFORMITY of the Ministers who were Ejected. Their Vindication of themselves, And such as adher'd to them.

IT is not to be suppos'd that Two Thousand Men; pick them where you will, should be all of a Mind. Among the excluded Ministers there was a diversity of Sentiments. Some could have gone much farther than others in Compliance with Authority: But as the Terms of *Conformity* were settled, they durst not yield, some upon one Account, others upon another, and several upon many Reasons at once, fearing they should thereby have offended God. Many Eyes were upon them; their Refusal was Publick; the Gap made by their Ejection wide and great; and the Consequences very considerable. The Censures which were afterwards pass'd upon them were harsh and severe; and at length it became Modish to run them all down, as a Pack of unreasonable and humoursome. Complainers. Posterity must and will Judge in the Case, when Plaintiffs and Defendants are all in their Graves. For their Help and Assistance, I have here drawn up the Plea, of those who were the Sufferers, which compar'd with the Arguments and Replies of the Aggressours, may help in passing an impartial Judgment. I de

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sire only it may be observ'd, that the following Abstract, contains the Reasons of those who were the most Moderate, and least fond of Separation.

The Things impos'd upon them, if they would keep their Livings or Lectureships, or any Post of Service in the Establish'd Church were these Five. They must be *Re-ordain'd*, if not Episcopally Ordain'd before. They must declare their *unfeign'd Assent and Consent to all, and every Thing contain'd and prescrib'd in and by the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacrammts, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England; together with the Psalter, and the Form or Manner of Making, Ordaining and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, &c.* to which was superadded an equivalent Subscription. They must take the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, and swear Subjection to their *Ordinary*, according to the *Canons* of the Church. They must Abjure *the solemn League and Covenant*. And they must also Abjure *the taking Arms upon any Pretence whatsoever, against the King or any Commissioned by Him*. These Things were all straitly enjoin'd, without any Thing to qualifie or soften them, or room for a Dispensation. So that if any Man scrupled but one Point, and could have comply'd in all the rest, he was as certainly Ejected, as if he had scrupled all. And all of them were indeed scrupled by many who weighing them maturely could not regard them (as Circumstances stood) as Things indifferent, or barely inconvenient; but refus'd them as flatly sinful, according to the best Light they could gain by their utmost Enquiries. He view them distinctly, in the Order in which I have mention'd them.

1. They must be *Re-ordain'd*, if not Episcopally Ordain'd before. This was plain in the *An of Uniformity*, by which it was Enacted; that *from and after the Feast of St. Bartholomew 1662, no Incumbent, in Possession of any Parsonage, Vicarage, or Benefice, that was not in Holy Orders by Episcopal Ordination, should enjoy the same, but be ipso facto depriv'd; his Ecclesiastical Promotions being void as if he were naturally Dead, &c.* Room indeed was left for receiving Episcopal Orders (if till then wanting) between the Time in

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which the Act pass'd, and *Bartholomew*. Day, *August* the 24th. But tho' there could have been a Compliance in all other Respects, if Episcopal Ordination were then found wanting, they were by the Act, *ipso facto* Ejected. This affected the far greatest Part of those who came into the Ministry, after that *Diocesans* were put down in *England* by the Power of the Parliament. For they were Ordain'd by an Assembly of Senior Pastors, who were then

in Possession of that Power: And tho' after due Examination as to their Qualifications, they were solemnly set apart to the Sacred Ministry by Fasting, and Prayer, and Imposition of Hands, and had the Blessing of Heaven for many Years attending their sacred Ministrations, they must yet now be doom'd to Silence, unless *Re-ordain'd* by *Diocesans*.

This was what they could not submit to, because it would in their Apprehension, be a nullifying their pass'd Ordination. This seem'd not to them a light Matter, but very Momentous: In as much as the Peace of their own Consciences, the Credit of the Reformed Churches abroad, and the good and welfare of the People among whom they had labour'd, were all very nearly concern'd in it. Their Consciences would not allow them to play with Holy Things; in pretending to be *mov'd by the Holy Ghost, to take upon them the Office of a Deacon*, when they knew themselves already fix'd sufficiently in the higher Office of *Presbyters*. It appear'd to them a taking Gods Name in Vain, solemnly to Pray to him for what they were assur'd they had already; and to seem to be first invested with a sacred Authority, which they had receiv'd long before. Neither durst they pour such Contempt upon the Reform'd Churches abroad, as their Submission in this Particular would in their esteem have carry'd in it: By disowning them and their Ministers, who had no other Ordination, than such as that which they had before receiv'd. And withal they durst not invalidate their own past Ministrations, to the raising of endless Scruples in such as had been under their Ministry. It was indeed urg'd by some for their Satisfaction, that the requir'd Episcopal Ordination was not intended

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to invalidate their Past Ministrations, but to qualifie them for Service in the National, Establish'd *English* Church: That the Ordinances they had before administred were allow'd to stand Good; for that they to whom they had apply'd the Seal of the Covenant in Baptism, were not requir'd to be Rebaptiz'd. And that the prescribed Ceremony, by Imposition of Episcopal Hands, might be regarded rather as a Recognition of their Ministerial Authority, and Investiture in it under the National Establishment, than a Reordination. To which they easily answer'd; that as for the forbearing to Rebaptize such as they had Baptiz'd before, it was no more than they would have done, where Children had in Extremity been Baptiz'd by meet Laymen, nay, by any Dreaming Midwife, and therefore this was far from any security with Reference to the Validity of their foregoing Actions as Ministers, which referr'd to other Ordinances as well as that of Baptism. And as to the

other Insinuation, that their Submission in this Particular might rather be regarded as a Recognition of their Ministerial Authority than a Reordination, they answer'd it looked like double Dealing: Inasmuch as the signifying so much in express Words was so peremptorily refus'd; the same Form must be us'd in their Case, as if they were then to be first entred into the Ministry, without the least Variation; and their being then Ordain'd in the same Manner, as if to be first entred into the Ministerial Office, was requir'd by those, who upon all Occasions declar'd the being twice Ordain'd flatly unwarrantable. Whereupon they press'd them with this Argument: Either they were true Ministers before in their Esteem or not. If not, how could they venture upon a Recognition? And acknowledge their Antecedent Right; by confirming it with an additional Formality? If they did own them for Ministers before, why should they be for Ordaining them in the same Manner as they would have done if they had been no Ministers, and so contradict their own profess'd Principle of the unwarrantableness of a double Ordination. But in some Cases, to put the Matter beyond all Dispute, an express Renunciation of the forego

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ing Ordination by *Presbyters* was requir'd, before Episcopal Ordination could be had. To make it appear, this is no groundless Assertion, I have annex'd A formal Renunciation, that was requir'd in the Diocess of *Chester*, before Episcopal Orders could be obtain'd.* And 'tis reasonable to believe that this one Bishop had not a different Sense from the rest, tho' he aded more openly, while others were more upon the reserve. Being therefore Convinc'd that the requiring them to be Episcopally Ordain'd, who had been in a regular way Ordain'd by *Presbyters* before, tended (and indeed was by the generality Design'd) to nullifie their pass'd Orders, and invalidate their Consequent Ministrations, and and at the same Time to reflect on Foreign Churches, who have no Episcopal Orders, as destitute of valid Gospel Ministrations, they durst not submit to it.

* *Ego A. B. pretensas meas Ordinationis Literas a quibusdam Presbyteris olim obtentas, jam penitus renuncio, & dimitto pro vanis; Humiliter Supplicans quatenus Rev. in Christo Pater & Dominus, Dominus Georgius permissione Divinâ Cestr. Episc. me ad Sacrum Diaconatûs Ordinem juxta Morem & ritus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, dignaretur admittere.*

II. They were requir'd to Declare their *Unfeigned Assent and Consent to all, and every Thing contain'd and prescrib'd in and by the Book, Intituled, The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies*

of the Church, together with the psalter or Psalms of David; and the Form or Manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. And they must also (and that *ex Animo*) Subscribe these Words: *That the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordaining Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God; and that it may lawfully be us'd: And that they themselves would use the Form in the said Books prescrib'd in Publick Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and no other.*

Eleutherii (i.e. Hickmanni) Apologia pro Ministris in Anglia Nonconformistis, Page 14, 15. Baxter's Plea for Peace, Page 207. His English Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd, Page 23. And Troughton's Apology for the Nonconformist. Page 56.

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The Act of Uniformity requir'd that this Declaration should be publickly made by Word of Mouth by all that would keep their Places, on some Lords Day before *Aug.* the 24th. 1662. And by all that afterwards were presented to any Ecclesiastical Benefice, within Two Months after they were in Actual Possession of it. And the Subscription was as peremptorily requir'd, as the Declaration. But they could not herein concur for Two Grand Reasons.

1. Because very few of them could see the Book, to all Things in which they were to Declare their Assent and Consent, before the Time limited by the Act was expir'd. For the Common Prayer Book with the Alterations and Amendments, (for so they are call'd, how deservedly I enquire not) made by the Convocation, did not come out of the Press till a few Days before the 24th of *August*. So that of the 7000 Ministers in *England* who kept their Livings, few except those who were in or near *London*, could possibly have a sight of the Book with its Alterations, till after they had declar'd their Assent and Consent to it. This was what honest Mr. *Steel*, and many other of the *Nonconformists* warmly complain'd of, in their parting Sermons, when they took their Farewel of their People at the Time of their Ejection. And whatever it might seem then, when Persons were in a manifest Heat, at a distance it appears such a hardship, as that it is rather to be wondred, that so many could Act in so weighty a Matter; upon an implicit Faith, than that such a number should in such Circumstances stand out. But,

2. When they had Opportunity to peruse the Book, they met with several Things there, which after the strictest search they could make, appear'd to them not agreeable to the Word of God: For them under this Apprehension (which it was not in their Power to alter) to have gone to declare their Satisfaction that there was nothing contrary to the Word of God, and nothing but what they could both assent to (as true) and Consent to, (as good and

to be us'd) and to have subscribed this with their Hands, had been doing Violence to their Conscien

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ces, and attempting at once to impose upon God and Man.

They could not but observe the Comprehensiveness of the requir'd Declaration: There must be not only *Consent* but *Assent* too; and that not only *to all in General*; but to *every Thing in Particular contain'd in and prescrib'd by the Book of Common Prayer*. Words could scarce be devis'd by the Wit of Man, more full; and more significant,† whereby they might testify their highest Justification and Commendation of every Point and Syllable, every Rite and Ceremony, every Matter and Thing contain'd in the whole Book, and in every Page and Line of it. A Man might almost be tempted to imagine that the Framers of this impos'd Declaration and Subscription, had had this Book of Common Prayer dropping down among them immediately from Heaven, and that they look'd upon it as nothing else but a continu'd Oracle from First to Last: And that they were of the Mind of the famous Dr. *Swadlin*, who speaking of the *Publick Service* very roundly Asserts,* *That there was not a Tittle of it, but it was by the Dictate of the Holy Ghost*. That Gentleman was not only pleas'd to Assert this, but he tho't fit to prove it too. His Argument is so adinirable for its Peculiarity, that I cannot forbear transcribing it; Of all the Offices in that Book, he fastens on that of *Matrimony*, and particularly on the first Prayer in that Office; which beseeches Almighty God to bless the Couple to be Married, as *Isaac* and *Rebecca*. Whence he thus Argues. *This Prayer was dictated by the Holy Ghost to the Composers of the Common Prayers, or made by those Composers without the Dictate of the Holy Ghost: But not by them without his Dictate; therefore by his Dictate to them. If by them, without him, then they would have made it according to Humane Reason, and so have said, Bless them O Lord, as thou didst bless Abraham and Sarah, or as thou didst bless Jacob and Rachel; and they had humane Reason for it. For Abraham was Gods first Friend, Jacob was Gods great Favourite. But says the Holy Ghost, not so, nor so: But let it be, bless them as Isaac and Rebeccah. And there is no Humane Reason for this, but a Di*

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† *A Letter from a Minister to a Person of Quality, shewing some Reasons for his Nonconformity. A loose sheet. Page 1.*

* See his *Anniversary Sermons on the 30th of January: Particularly that An. 1656.*

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vine Reason there is, and that is this; Abraham had his Hagar in Sarah's Time, and his, Keturah afterwards. Jacob had his Leah, his Zilpah, and his Bilhah; But Isaac had none but his Rebecca. And therefore says the Holy Ghost, let it not be, Bless them as Abraham and Sarah, Bless them as Jacob and Rachel: For then People may be apt to think they may have many Wives at once, if not some Concubines: But let it be, bless them as thou didst bless Isaac and Rebecca. Let them know, one Man should have but one Wife, especially at one Time. A little after, he adds; *certainly therefore, Blessed are they which Die in maintaining that Service-Book, which can without Contradiction, Father the Ceremonies of it upon the Holy Ghost.* This it must be own'd is plain Dealing. But the Poor *Nonconformists* had not that Spirit of discerning, which such clear-sighted Gentlemen were favour'd with. If they must have Forms, of Prayer, they desir'd they might be *according to Humane Reason*, and not father'd upon the Holy Ghost without better pretence to Inspiration. Their, seeing some make a plain Idol of the Common Prayer Book, rendred them the less fond of it. Such a Declaration as was requir'd of them concerning it, was in their Apprehension as much as could be desir'd or done, concerning the Book of God, the Bible it self. Yea they question'd, Whether many a sober Man might not have scrupled to declare so much concerning any Copy of the Bible now Extant in the World, there being hardly any one to be found, but what may have such Faults and Slips, as may make an unfeigned Assent and Consent to every Tittle, a Matter of rational Scruple. But as for the Book of Common Prayer, &c. They found such works of Humane Infirmity, in the Frame and Contexture, and the Particular Offices of it, that they durst not make the Subscription and Declaration requir'd, till they could receive Satisfaction, with Reference to sundry Exceptions they had to bring in, which appear'd to them of great Weight and Consequence.

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1. The Subscription and Declaration requir'd, they found would take in the Doctrine of *Real Baptismal Regeneration*, and *certain Salvation*, Consequent thereupon. And that whether the Persons Baptiz'd, were qualify'd Subjects of Baptism, yea or not. It would be an Approbation of the Rubrick at the end of the Publick Office for Baptism, where 'tis said, *it is certain by God's Word, that Children which are Baptiz'd, dying before they commit actual Sin, an undoubtedly sav'd.* It would have been well if they had quoted the Place; for the Dissenting Ministers freely confess'd their Ignorance, that they knew of

no such Word in Scripture. It would also be an Agreement, to use constantly after Baptism that Thanksgiving; *We yield thee Hearty Thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleas'd thee to Regenerate this Infant with thy holy Spirit.* Now when they should be oblig'd to Baptize all Comers, without a Liberty of refusing the Children of Infidels, Of the most Scandalous Sinners, (provided they had but Sponsors) to bless God presently as soon as the Office was over, for Regenerating them by his Spirit; and lay it down as undoubtedly certain that they were sav'd if they dy'd this was what their Light would not suffice for; and therefore till, then 'twas their undoubted *Duty* to avoid Concurrence. For who can so much as question whether or no it would have been a Sin in them, to bless God with Confidence for what they did not believe was Real; and to lay that down as undoubtedly certain from Scripture, of which they saw not there the least Foundation. They found the Children of the wickedest Parents, (of Whores and Adulterers living openly in all notorious Sin, and wholly without God in the World) Baptiz'd without Scruple: and many of them dy'd soon after Baptism: Now how could they pretend to be sure by the Word of God, and past all doubt that all such went to Heaven, when God so positively declar'd in the 2d Commandment; that *he would punish the Iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children, unto the 3d and 4th Generation?* This at least might make the matter dubious to them. Suppose a Christian King should conquer a Country of *Pagans, or Mahometans, or Jews,* or compel all

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their Infants forthwith to be Baptiz'd, and some of them immediatly expire, at least before the Commission of actual Sin, is the Salvation of all such sure, and past all doubt, and this to be made out, and cleared by the Word of God? Is it in the Power of Man to make Infants sure and certain of Salvation? It is in the Power of Man to kill a poor Infant, and to choose his time for doing it. Many Whores murder their Babes before Baptism, and they might as well do it immediatly after, and so assuredly (upon this Hypothesis) send them to Heaven, whither they shall never come themselves, without bitter and sorrowful Repentance. And so might the aforesaid King and Conqueror, (after he by Baptism had given them thm sure and unquestionable Passport for Paradise) even in Charity and Kindness immediatly cut the poor Infants off, and so without any farther hazard, give them Possession of eternal Bliss. But our Ministers could not tell how to apprehend that any Mortals had such Power over Souls, as this would amount to.

It hath been pleaded by some in this Case to mollifie the Objection, that the asserting of a *Baptismal Regeneration*, was what was mainly intended; and that herein they had the Concurrence of many of the most Celebrated, Reformed Divines, and of many even of our own most admired Writers; to which they had this obvious Reply: That the Thanksgiving after Baptism, mentions *Regenerating with the Holy Spirit*; which carries the matter farther than the Sign, and seems to denote the thing Signify'd, as actually given to each Baptized Person. Besides the sense of the Church in this Point is sufficiently clear'd by the Office for *Confirmation*, in which the Bishop who Officiates, in his first Address to God, expresses himself thus; *Almighty and everliving God; who hast vouchsaf'd to Regenerate these thy Servants by Water, and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their Sins, &c.* This said with Reference to all Comers, (as to which 'tis well known there is very little Care) gives ground to all concern'd to think themselves sufficiently Regenerated already, and to apprehend that the Church doth not think their aim

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ing at any farther Regeneration needful, when once they are Baptiz'd and Confirm'd. This was a thing that appear'd to our Ministers of such dangerous Consequence, that they durst not concur in it or any way approve it, for fear of Contributing to the hardening of a multiude of vain, loose, careless, secure Creatures in a fatal Mistake about the safety of their State; neither could they see how they could Answer for it to God another day.

The Letter from Minister to Person of Quality, shewing some Reasons for his Nonconformity, page, 3, 4. Corbets Remains. page 154. Short Surveigh of the Grand Case of the present Ministry. page 15. Baxter's Nonconformity Stated and argu'd: p. 48. His Plea for Peace. page 169. His Defence of the Plea for Peace. page 16, and 137, &c. at Large.

2. This Assent Consent, and Subscription, was among other things to the use of *Godfathers and Godmothers* in Baptism, to the Exclusion of Parents.

This they esteem'd sinful, not only because it jostled out the Parents right to devote their Children to God in Baptism, which is the thing upon which the Administration of that Ordinance to Infants was primarily Founded, but also because it open'd a wide Door to the Profaning of one of the most awful Solemnities of our Holy Religion. In as much as Godfathers and Godmothers are neither requir'd to be chosen with due Care and Caution; (and in the case of many Persons, 'tis really impossible to procure any serious Undertakers;) nor are they tied to bring the Children of Christians only, nor only such as they take for their own, but without any difference may bring the Children

of any Atheists or Seducers, Jews or Infidels, at pleasure, without taking any further tho't or care about them. Withal these Godfathers and Godmothers personate the Child, as believing in Christ, and renouncing Sin; and that without any Authority for it, either from any Natural Right, or Positive Law. And the Ordinance of Baptism will seem to be put upon that insufficient Bottom, by any one who fedately compares the Office for that Purpose, with the Church Catechism. For the promise of the Godfathers and Godmothers, in the

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Childs name, is in both represented as the Foundation of Baptismal Dedication, and the Ground of the Claim of the Benefits and Blessings thence arising. Now our Ministers sensibly found that this would not bear Scanning. In the Church way this Ordinance is so manag'd, as if the Godfathers Faith were Beneficial to the Child, and not the Parents: When as God requires no Faith or Repentance of Infants, but only that they be the seed of Penitent Believers, and devoted to him as such; this also was an Offence to many. And then they found, that Godfathers and Godmothers were generally bro't to the Font, to avouch a great Untruth, and make themselves obnoxious to Lying and Perjury in the Face of God and the Church. For Experience sheweth, that what Appearance soever there is of Solemnity at the Engaging in such a Promise, yet they never (or very rarely) perform it. Some of them never see the Child more, after the Christening Day, nor ever enquire more after it. Yea, tho' they solemnly Engage on the behalf of the Infant, yet they hold themselves really bound to nothing, but look upon all as a meer Ceremony and Complement. Suppose a Parent should afterwards Challenge his Gossips, and say; you promis'd when you stood Suretys for my Child at the Font, to Call upon him to mind his Duty, to hear Sermons, &c. and to see him well instructed in the Rudiments and Principles of Religion; but you have not done it, and thro' your Neglect, he does not hear Sermons, he is not Catechiz'd, he does not renounce the Works of the Devil, but is in the highway to ruin, notwithstanding your Engagements: What would be the Answer of these Persons to the Parents of the Child, but this? Should we look after him or you? Whose Child is he, yours or ours? He is your own proper Charge, notwithstanding our standing at the Font; he is committed to your Trust, and therefore if he do otherwise than well for lack of your Care, the blame will be yours, and his Blood will be upon your Head as the only Criminals. And indeed hardly any thing can be more Obvious to Observation than this,

that the blame is not laid upon Godfathers and Godmothers if Children be not

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well Disciplin'd and Educated, neither do they blame themselves, or shew any Conscience in this matter, altho' 'tis evident, that if they perform not their Covenants to the Utmost of their Power, they break their Faith. On which Account, they durst not by any means *Consent* to so Encourage so Corrupt a Custom.*

* Baxter's *Nonconformitt Stated and Argu'd.* page 57. *his Plea for Peace.* page 167. *His Defence of the Nonconformists Plea for Peace.* page 26. *The Letter from a Minister to a person of Quality, shewing some Reasons for his Nonconformity.* Corbets Remains. page 156. Baxt. 2d. *true Defence of a meer Nonconf.* ch. 12. page 167.

3. This Assent, Consent, and Subscription, would have oblig'd the Ministers to have deny'd the Ordinance of Baptism to such as had not Sponsors, altho' they had a real Right to that Ordinance, and to be thereby Solemnly recogniz'd as Born Members of the visible Church. Some have herein question'd the Reality of the Obligation; but as far as appears, upon very weak Grounds. For the *Canon* Subscrib'd, obliges in express Words to use the Form prescrib'd, and no other: And the *Rubrick* Declares there shall be for every Male Child to be Baptiz'd, two Godfathers and one Godmother, and for every Female, one Godfather and two Godmothers. Consequently all that would Officiate in the Establish'd Church, must by verbal Declaration and Subscription, bind themselves* to deny Baptism to all Children of Godly Parents, that have not Godfathers and Godmothers,

* *Some it must be own'd have herein given themselves a Latitude; but how far they could justify it, would be a pretty close Enquiry. I remember in Mr. Henry's Life, there is a Passage, which deserves noting upon this occasion. One of the parishioners of Dr. F. of Whitchurch, desired him to give way that his Child might be Baptiz'd by another without the Cross, and Godfathers, if he would not do it himself. He refus'd both; and by a Letter return'd this Answer. For my part (saith he) I freely profess my tho'ts that the strict urging of indifferent Ceremonies, hath done more harm than good: and possibly had all Men been left to their Liberty therein, there might have been much more Unity; and not much less Uniformity. But what Power have I to dispense with my self, being now under the Obligation of a Law and an Oath? And he Concludes, I am much grieved at the unhappy Condition of my self*

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even tho' the Parent be ready to do his own Part, Professing his Faith, Dedicating his Child to God, and promising a Religious Education.

and other Ministers who must either loose their Parishioners Love if they do not comply with them, or else break their Solemn Obligations to please them; *This freedom and openness was certainly more honest tho' join'd with a seeming stiffness, than Persons pretending to dispense with themselves, when under the most Solemn Bonds.*

Such an Agreement our Ministers apprehended sinful. They durst not causelessly deprive Souls of visible Christianity, much less damn them for want of an Humane, unnecessary if not Corrupt Invention. They durst not make a Covenant to Rob Christ and the Church of Visible. Members for nothing; and consign those over to the Un-covenanted Mercy of God, whom he (they well knew) was ready to accept for his: And so Concur in setting the Will and Advice of Man against Christ, who said, *Forbid them not*; and was angry with those, *who forbid them to come to him*. And it seem'd to them very odd that the same Persons should be so forward to deny Baptism to poor Infants for want of a Formality, when yet they apprehended it would give them a certain Assurance of Salvation, as hath been hinted before. One of them, thus Expresses himself upon this Matter. *Shall a Minister dare to withhold so much good from, and endeavour so much evil to the Souls of poor Infants in denying them their Christendom, meerly upon the account of some Accessorys, and scrupled Accidents invented and impos'd by Man, and not at all of the Essence of Baptism it self? Besides the impiety and irreligion of such a Process, the Minister (according to his own Faith) would be most Cruel and Unmerciful in so doing, and deserv'd if possible, to be unchristened himself again, and turn'd among Canibals, as om more deeply dipt and Baptiz'd in their barbarous inhumanity than any of themselves: and yet if he be a true Son of the Church, and punctually observe his prescribed Rule, he must not Baptize any Infant without Godfather's and Godmothers, whether it be sav'd or damn'd.* This was what our Fathers could not Swallow or Digest.*

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* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd.* pag. 69. His *Plea for Peace* pag. 174. *Defence of the Plea for Peace,* pag. 30.

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4. This Assent, Consent, and Subscription, would oblige to sign the Infants in the Administration of Baptism with the Transient sign of the *Cross*, and to deny Baptism to the Children of such as refuse it.

As for the using the tign of the Cross in Baptism, some were mucm more against it than others: But the generality of the Silenc'd Ministers regarded it as a Sacrament superadded to that which our Blessed Lord had instituted. For there is *an outward visible Sign*; A Transient Image of a Cross, made by one that acteth as a Minister of Christ, and receiv'd in the Forehead by the Baptiz'd. The *thing Signifi'd* is both the work of Redemption purchasing Grace, and the Grace given as the fruit of that Purchase. *Can.* 30. Thus Expresses it. *The Holy Ghost by the mouth of the Apostle did honour the name of the Cross so far, that under it he comprehended not only Christ Crucify'd, but the force, effects, and merits of his Death and Passion, with all the Comforts, Fruits, and Promises which we receive or expect thereby. The Church of England hath retain'd still the sign of it in Baptism; following therein the Primitive and Apostolical Churches, and accounting it a lawful outward Ceremony, and honourable Badge, whereby the infant is DEDICATED to the Service of him that died, on the Cross, as by the Words of the Common Prayer Book may Appear. Which Words are these: We receive this Child into the Congregation of Christ's Flock, and do sign him with the sign of the Cross, in token that he shall not be asham'd to confess the Faith of Christ Crucify'd, and manfully to fight under his Banner against sin the World and the Devil, and to continue Christ's faithful Soldier and Servant to his Lives End, Amen.* So that the thing signify'd, is Christ Crucify'd, with the Benefits of his Cross. And the Image of the Cross is appointed to work this Grace, by way of exciting Signification: And it is Expresly made Man's Covenanting Sign, by which he bindeth himself to Fidelity; engaging, that *he will not be asham'd to confess the Faith of Christ Crucified, &c.* All Covenant Duty that is requir'd on Man's Part is hereby promis'd: And the Canon declares it is a *Dedicating Sign*. So that it seemeth a Sacrament of Mans, added to that of Christ. And tho' it be a Bond only on Man's part, and have

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nothing in it of an Assurance on Gods Part, which is what hath been often reply'd; yet taken so, it seems no small Reflection. For it looks as if Baptism as Christ had appointed it, were esteem'd a Bond not sufficiently firm and strong, and therefore needed some addition whereby Men might be tied the faster to him, and bound the more firmly to their Duty. Our Fathers who knew any Thmg of this kind would be resented by an earthly Prince, could not understand upon what just Grounds we might presume to make more bold with the great Law-giver. In the Chriman Church. And tho' in the Form of Words us'd, the Sign of the Cross is said to be *in Token* he shall not be asham'd to confess the Faith of Christ Crucify'd, yet the Generality are

apt to understand it, as if it had been said, that *in Vertue and Power of this Sign*; the Person Baptiz'd should not be asham'd to Confess the Faith of Christ Crucify'd, but should fight manfully under Christ's Banner against Sin, the World, and the Devil. Now they durst not concur in giving even an Occasion (knowingly) of such a Misunderstanding to the Vulgar and Injudicious.

Tho' Christians in the Primitive Times might make use of the *Sign of the Cross*, yet the very same Reason which might put them upon that Use with a Reference to the *Heathens*, should in the Judgment of the Silenc'd Ministers, have mov'd us now wholly to disuse it, with Reference to the *Papists*. Professors then Sign'd themselves with the *Sign of the Cross*, to distinguish themselves from the *Pagans*, who scorn'd the Cross with every Sign and Token of it: And with Parity of Reason they tho't we should now forbear so doing, to distinguish our Selves from the Idolatrous *Papists*; who superstitiously adore the Cross, foolishly signing themselves with it upon every Occasion, thinking themselves no good Catholicks without so doing, and putting no little Hope and Confidence in it to Free and Protect them from all Evil, and to furnish and invest them with all Good. Now that they might Witness their Dislike and Detestation of the Vanity of the *Papists* herein, they could not unfeign'dly Assent and Consent to the retaining of this Sign.

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But their Offence at it was much the more heighthen'd, in that the Use or Neglect of it was not left to the Ministers Discretion, but wheresoever it was refus'd, Baptism was to be deny'd. For the Subscription that was requir'd, expressly oblig'd to *use no other Form* (therefore to be sure not in the Office of Baptism) than that in the Book. And the Form of Baptism there inserted, could not be us'd by one who omitted the Cross. They could not herein agree, because they found, that such a Promise and Covenant as was requir'd, always to use that Sign in Baptism, was a consenting to the altering the Terms of Christs Covenant, and Sacrament, and to contradict one of his Fundamental laws. Baptize saith Christ, all that are made Disciples; all that Repent and Believe. No saith the Convocation, Baptize none that are propos'd, tho' they have all that is necessary to make them Disciples of Christ, unless they will take the Transient Image of a Cross, for their farther Obligation. Here was a manifest Encroachment upon the Kingly Power of our Saviour, in making new Terms of Communion, which they durst not concur in: A turning the Keys upon those whom they knew Christ was ready to receive: And a positive rejecting such as he requir'd them to Baptize. And this (as

Light as others made of it) was in their Esteem a Sin of an high Nature, and so would their Consenting to it also.*

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, p. 72, 75. *His Plea for Peace*, page 116. *His Defence of the Plea for Peace*, page 39. *The Letter from a Minister to a person of Quality, shewing some Reasons for his Nonconformity*. Corbet's *Remains*, page 150. Troughton's *Apology for the Nonconformists*, page 35. Alsop's *Mischief of Imposition*, page 86. Baxter's *Second True Defence of the Meer Nonconformists*, Chap. 10. p. 153. *Eleusberii (i.e. Hickmanni) Apologia pro Ejectis in Anglia Ministris*, page 102.

5. This Assent, Consent and Subscription, would oblige them to reject all such from the Communion, as would not receive it Kneeling.

That it would have herein oblig'd them is plain, in that the Canon forbids Ministers upon Pain of

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Suspension to give the Sacrament to any that do not Kneel, which Canon explains the meaning of the Rubrick in the Liturgy, and intimates that, *Give it to them Kneeling*, is equivalent to, *give it only to such*. It was indeed Asserted by the Disputants on the Church-side at the *Savoy*, that the Liturgy *only requir'd it should be given Kneeling, but did not forbid the giving it to others*: But it was generally Contradicted by the other Commissioners, and particularly those who were upon the Secret. And indeed this would be to set the Liturgy, and the Canons at Variance; whereas they are really all of a Piece.

Thus to exclude an that should refuse Kneeling at the Communion, was what they could not Consent to: Because it was a making New Terms of Church Communion; a contradicting Christs appointed Terms, which require all Christians to receive each other in love and Concord, and not to doubtful Disputations.* A depriving Christ's Members of their Right; an Usurpation upon Mens Consciences; and a tearing the Church by dividing Engines. Even those of them who could not charge Kneeling as sinful, and who could themselves have comply'd with it, were yet afraid of excluding others upon such an Account as that, by Reason it was far from being a necessary Matter. And withal, Persons might have very good Reason to be backward to yield to the altering of that Posture that was us'd by our Saviour in the Administration; and to be shy of seeming to symbolize with Idolaters, in using that Posture which is well known to be us'd by the *Papists* with an Intention of Adoration, as to the Elements; which tho' disclaim'd by the Church of *England*, is yet apt to be misinterpreted. Suppose a Man should upon searching Church-History, find that the Posture of Kneeing at the Communion was never requir'd in the Church, till the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was establish'd;

this alone (tho' he should have nothing farther to alledge) might be a valid Reason for his being shy of that Posture: But for Ministers to enter into any such Combination, as to be oblig'd to tell such a Man when offering himself to Communion; truly Sir, while you are under this

Scruple,

* See the Argument upon this Matter before produc'd in this Narrative, p. 165.

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Scruple, tho' I may Pity you for your Weakness, yet I can't own you for a Christian, this they tho't hard: And the more so, in that equal Care was not taken to keep off from the Communion, Persons evidently unqualify'd, and unworthy, either thro' Ignorance, or Immorality; unless by such a Method as was likely to do more hurt than Good.

This of being bound to reject from the Communion such as durst not receive it Kneeling, was the only Point canvass'd in the *Savoy Conference*. The Ministers asserted this to be sinful: And they not only asserted it, but advanc'd in Proof of it such Reasons as there. Because it would be an obliging them to deny People the Communion, (In the Account of their not daring to go against the Practise of the Apostles, and the Universal Church for many Hundred Years after them; and the Canons of the most venerable Councils. Because it would be an obliging them to deny the Communion, to such as, the Holy Ghost and requir'd them to receive to it. Because it was an imposing on the Church, Things antecedently unnecessary, upon the highest Penalty; viz. excluding from Communion. Because it was a crossing that great Rule of Charity, *I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice*. And a using that Power to Destruction, which was given to be us'd to Edification.* [He that desires to see these Reasons pursu'd and drawn out, may Consult Mr. *Baxters* Life in *Folio*, Page 346, 347. and 360, 361.]

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, pag. 77: *His Plea for Peace*, pag. 182. Corbet's *Remains*, pag. 149. Troughton's *Apology for the Nonconformists*, pag. 37. *Eleutherii*; (*i. e.* Hickmanni) *Apologia pro ejectis in Anglia Ministris* pag. 91. &c.

6. This Assent, Consent, and Subscription, would be an Allowance and Approbation of that Assertion, that *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, are Three Distinct Orders in the Church by Divine Appointment For in the Book of Ordination which was as much to be Assented and Consentsd to, as the Common Prayer Book it self: It is asserted, *that it is evident to all Men diligently Reading the Holy Scriptures and anci*

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ent Authors, that from the Apostles Time, there have been these ORDERS in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, as several OFFICES. And indeed the whole Book of Ordination is bottom'd upon that Supposition as its Foundation.

Now many of the *Ejected* Ministers were Conscious to themselves, that they had diligently read the Holy Scriptures, and consulted Ancient Authors, and yet they could not see Evidence of Three ORDERS and OFFICES: And therefore to have yielded to that Declaration and Subscription which would have imply'd the contrary, had been gross Prevarication. They also tho't they had good Reason to believe, that *Calvin*, *Beza*, and many more of the first Reformers; and that such Men as *Blondel*, *Salmasius*, *Robert Parker*, *Gersom Bucer*, *Caldenwood*, *Cartwright*, *John Reynolds*, *Ames*, *Ainsworth*, and many more such eminent *Protestants*, who had quite diftrent Apprehensions of this Matter, had diligently read both the Scriptures and the Ancients, as well as their Neighbours. Neither could they see any Reason to be confident, that such Men as *Selden*, *Stillingfleet* (at that time when he wrote his *Irenicum*) Bishop *Edward Reynolds*, and many others who tho't the Scripture instituted no Particular Forms of Government, had been altogether unconversant either with Scriptures or Fathers. Nor did they think it necessary to run down such a Man as Arch-Bishop *Usher* as a Novice in either, tho' he often profess'd it his Sense, that Bishops, are not a different *Order*, but a different *Degree* in the same Order.

Nay, they found that even the Church of *England* was formerly of another Mind, as may be seen in the Canons of *Æfrick* to Bishop *Walfine*,* which conclude that there were but Seven Ecclesiastical Orders, and that the *Bishops* and *Presbyters* are not Two,

* *Spelmani Concil*, Vol. 1. pag. 575, 576. *Septem Gradus, consituti sunt in Ecclesiâ, Primus Hostiarius; Secundus Lector; Tertius Exorcista; Quartus Acolythus; Quintus Subdiaconus; Sextus Diaconus; Septimus Presbyter. Haud pluris Inverest inter Missalem Presbyterum & Episcopum, quam quod Episcopus constitutus sit ad Ordinationes conferendas, & ad visitandum seu inspiciendum curandumque ea quæ ad Deum pertinent, quod nimie crederetur*

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but One. And Bishop *Stillingfleet* prov'd as they tho't by sufficient Evidence, that Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, and other Reformers of the Church of *England* were of that Mind; and held that there was no Difference in *Order* between a *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, but only in Degree. With what Conscience then could they have yielded to such a Subscription and Declaration, as would represent

it as their Sense, that *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, were Three Distinct Orders all along in the Church, while they tho't they had good Reason to apprehend the contrary, and good Company in that Apprehension.

Multitudini, si Omni presbyter hoc idem faceret Ambo siquidum UNUM tenent EUNDEMQUE ORDINEM, quamvis dignior sit illa pars Episcopi. Non est alius ORDO constitutus in Ecclesiasticis Ministeriis, &c.

Baxter's *Plea for Peace*, page 194.

Besides these, there were other Things, which tho' by some possibly less regarded than the former, were yet such as they could not Assent and Consent to, without having Reason and Conscience fly in their Face.

1. They could not Consent to Pronounce all Sav'd, that are Bury'd except the Unbaptiz'd, Excommunicate, and Self-Murtherers. The Words in that Office for the Burial of the Dead are these: *For as much as it hath pleas'd Almighty God of his great Mercy, to take unto himself, the Soul of our dear Brother here departed; and afterwards; We give thee hearty Thanks for that it hath pleas'd thee to deliver this our Brother out of the Miseries of this sinful World.* And again; *That we may rest in Him, as our Hope is, this our Brother doth.* This they could by no Means approve off. For tho' they own'd themselves bound to judge according to the utmost Bounds of Charity concerning all, yea even those with whom they would not change Souls, nor be in their Condition after Death for Ten Thousand Worlds, yet positively and preemptorily, without all Limitation or Discrimination, to say and avouch concerning everyone whom they bury'd, *That God in great Mercy has taken his Soul; viz. by Death out of the Body: And taken it to himself;* this was beyond their Faith, and they found nothing like it

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in the Gospel, which speaks altogether in another Language to and of impenitent Sinners. It is past Contradiction, that Thousands are cut off by Death in the midst of their Sins, Drunkenness, Whoring, Swearing, &c. without any sign of repentance from first to Last, so Living, and so Dying: Now, how can it be said, *That God took away such Persons out of this World by death in Mercy, in great Mercy?* In as much as at the same Instant, they were taken away from all Possibility of Future Repentance and Amendment of Life. They tho't in such Cases it might rather be fear'd, *That God took them away in Wrath;* provok'd by the long Abuse of his Patience, and their own Impenitency. Yet nevertheless the Priest must not only say, that God took away all such Persons, *in Mercy, in great Mercy,* but also positively affirm, *that*

God took them to himself; i.e. to Heaven. Whereas the Scripture says expressly, that neither Adulterers, nor Fornicators, nor Drunkards shall ever go to Heaven: Yet hereby must they have oblig'd themselves, in perfect Opposition, when they Bury'd any known Adulterer, Fornicator, or Drunkard; to declare and avouch that *his soul was assuredly gone thither*. They could not see how Charity would excuse dangerous Errours and falshood. By this Means they saw they should be necessitated to Pronounce many *Sav'd* at the Grave, whom in their Pulpits and Writings they tho't themselves oblig'd to Condemn. They should hereby be in danger of speaking falsly for God misrepresenting his Word, and hardning the ungodly and prophane in their Hope of coming off Safe at Last, altho' they persisted in their dissolute and licentious Course. Now they durst not Damn a known Adulterer, Fornicator, and Drunkard, while he was Living, and yet save him when he was Dead. Nor yet again could they *commit his Body to the Ground, in a sure and certain Hope of a Happy Resurrection unto Eternal Life*. Which words must necessarily be spoken with Reference to the Person then Interred, inasmuch as they are the Continuation of the forgoing Declaration: *viz. Gods taking his Soul to himself*. Besides it follows (which puts it out of Doubt) in the last Collect or Prayer, *That when we shall*

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depart this Life, we may rest in him, (viz. Christ) as our Hope is this our Brother doth. Now they tho't it were easie to fore-see sundry Cases, in which they would be so far from having *any sure and certain Hope of a Happy Resurrection, unto Eternal Life and Salvation*, that there would rather be *a sure and certain fear of a doleful Resurrection unto Eternal Death and Damnation*. And withal, it seem'd to them to be but a wild and fanciful sort of Charity in these Men, that they should have such hopes as to Persons Dying under such gross Sins as Murder or Adultery, Rebellion or Blasphemy without Repentance, while yet many of their Consciences were too tender to allow the Office to *Dissenters*, because they were hopeless Schismatics.

A Letter from a Minister to a person of Quality shewing some Reasons for his Nonconformity. Baxter's Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd. page 83. His Plea for Peace, page 187. Corbet's Remains, page 161.

2. They could not Consent to a false Rule for finding out *Easter Day*. In the Common Prayer Book there is a Rule for finding out the moveable Feasts and Holydays. *Easter Day* (on which the rest depend) *is always the first Sunday after the first Full Moon, which happens next after the One and Twentieth*

Day of March: And if the Full Moon happens upon a Sunday, Easter Day is the Sunday after. The frequent falsity of this Rule, may be seen by consulting the Common Almanacks; and by comparing it with the Table that follows afterwards in the Common Prayer Book, to find out *Easter Day* for ever. So that here was a Book to be Assented and Consented to, that was inconsistent with it self. How could they *Assent* and *Consent to all; and every thing contain'd* in this Book, when they found in it among other Things a Table and a Rule that clash'd, one determining this to be *Easter Day*, and another another Day. If the Rule be true, the Table is false. If the Table be true, the Rule is false. And they tho't it a grievous Case, that they must be turn'd out of their Livings, because they could not Assent to both; tho' in many Years, they were directly contrary to each

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other. Tho' this in it self was but a Trifle, yet for Persons to be oblig'd to Consent to that as true, which in many Cases they knew to be false, was no small hardship.

Baxter's Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd, page 81. *His Plea for Peace*, page 160. *His Defence of the Plea for Peace*, page 81. *The Peaceable Dejign: Being a Modest Account of the Nonconformists Meetings, with some Reasons for their Nonconformity*, Oct. 1675. page 26, 27.

3. They must Consent to read Apocryphal Lessons in the Publick Churches, which they could not Agree to, because of such fabulous Legends of *Tobit* and his *Dog; Bell* and the *Dragon; Judith* and *Baruch*, &c. These they found were not only to be read wholly and intirely, Morning and Evening Two Months together, but all of them also under the Title and Notion of *Holy Scripture*. For so in the whole Lump together they are stiled in the Order, without any Note of Discrimination to make a Distinction between one and the other. In the mean while in the same Order (as appears by the Kalender) some Books of the Sacred Canon are wholly left out, and never to be read; some of them within a very little; some of them but half to be read, and many of them Mutilated and Curtail'd as to several Chapters.

This was what they could not by any Means approve of. For tho' they could freely own there were many valuable Things in the Apocryphal Books with all their Faults, yet could they not have such a Degree of Respect for them as to think them fit to be read in Churches in the Room of the Holy Scriptures. They were herein confirm'd by finding even the most celebrated Bishops and Doctors of the Church owning there were many Relations inserted in them, that were Flase and Fictitious. And they were afraid of

contributing to the misleading of a great many weak and Ignorant People, (of which there are but too many in the Nation) to fancy them of equal Authority with the Holy Scriptures; of which there is therefore the more Danger; because

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in the Order of reading the Lessons, the Title of Holy Scripture, and Old Testament is given to, the *Apocrypha*.*

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 86. *His Plea for Peace*, page 166. Corbet's *Remains*, page 139. *The Letter from a Minister to a Person of Quality, shewing some Reasons for his Nonconformity*. Troughton's *Apology for the Nonconformists*, page 31. *Eleutherii (i.e. Hickmanni) Apologia pro ejetis in Anglii Ministris*, page 50, &c.

4. They must Consent to the Mistranslation of the *Psalter*. The *Psalter* is particularly mention'd in the Verbal Declaration requir'd of every Incumbent. It must be Assented and Consented to, as having nothing in it contrary to the Word of God: To this they could not agree, because they found several Mistranslations in the Old Version of the *Psalms*; which was indeed more accommodated to the *Septuagint* than to the original *Hebrew*. In *Ps.* 105. 28. Our *Psalter* reads the Words thus, *And they were not obedient to his Word*: Our Bible reads them, *and they rebelled not against his word*. Thus therefore they Argu'd. One particular contain'd in the Book of Common Prayer is the Translation of this Text. But if the Translation be true in the *Psalter*, it is false in the Bible: And if it be true in the Bible, it is false in the *Psalter*. How could they give their *Assent*, that they *rebelled*, and *revelled not*? 'Tis the like in some other Cases. Now they could not approve of that *Psalter* as entirely agreeable to the Word of God, in which they found sundry plain Mistakes.

5. They must Assent and Consent to St. *Athanasius* his Creed. To which Creed there is this Expression, *which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled; without Doubt he shall perish Everlastingly*. This to our Fathers seem'd very harsh. Tho' they approv'd of the Creed in general as heartily as their Brethren, and esteem'd it an excellent Explication of the Doctrine of the Trinity, yet could they not look upon themselves as so far call'd to Judge other Men, as to conclude, all certainly Damn'd for ever, that are not so well skill'd in that Mystery, as not to be

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lieve every Word there written. One of the Articles of this Creed is this; *The Holy Ghost is of the Father, and the Son*. In this Article the *Greek Church* hath differ'd from the *Latin*, and held that the Holy Ghost proceeds from

the Father *only*. And it is by Consequence imply'd, that the *Greek Church* must be held undoubtedly Damn'd, which was an uncharitable Censure, in which they durst not Concur. Withal, some of the Ejected Ministers, (as well as many of those who Conform'd) considering the goodness of God, &c. were of so large and extensive a Charity, as to apprehend that whosoever walk'd sincerely up to his Light, with a general Repentance for his unseen Errours, was in a state of Acceptance with God, by Vertue of the Covenant made with fallen *Adam*, and *Noah*, &c. Now such, tho't it unreasonable to be forc'd to renounce so much Candour as this amounted to, till they saw more Reason alledg'd than they could meet with, on the behalf of this Principle; *That whosoever did not punctually believe the Athanasian Creed must undoubtedly Perish.*

6. They must Assent and Consent to this Rubrick, at the End of the Office for *Confirmation*, that *none shall be admitted unto the Holy Communion, until such Time as he be Confirm'd, or be ready and desirous to be Confirmed.*

Now tho' many of the Ejected Ministers were very desirous to have Confirmation restor'd, and tho't it would be exceeding useful, if manag'd with a be coming Gravity and Seriousness, yet to deny Persons the Communion for refusing to be Confirm'd in the Episcopal way, was what they knew not how to justifie. They found it was a thing scrupled by many, Persons: And were their scruples just or unjust, while the same Persons were willing to own their Baptismal Covenant understandingly and seriously before the Church, and their own Pastors, and to know those that Labour'd among them, and were over them in the Lord, and esteem them in Love for their Works sake. and to be at Peace amongst themselves, they durst not for their scrupling this *Diocesan Ceremony* cast them from the Communion of the Church of Christ. And therefore they durst

* *The Peaceable Design*, page 14, 15. *Baxter's Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 145. *His Plea for Peace*, page 191. *Corbet's Remains*, page 145.

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not declare their Approbation of the Order that requir'd it, nor Assent and Consent to it, nor Subscribe that it is not contrary to the Word of God.*

There were the Reasons which they Alledg'd, and Printed, and Publish'd, for their refusing that *Assent*, *Consent*, and *Subscription*, to the Book of Common Prayer, and all, and every Thing therein contain'd, which was a second Thing straitly requir'd by the *Act of Uniformity*.

III. They were also requir'd to take the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, and swear Subjection to their *Ordinary*, according to the *Canons* of the Church.

In the Form of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, this Question is requir'd to be put to Priests and Deacons at the Time of their Ordination. *Will you reverently Obey your Ordinary, and other chief Ministers, to who is committed the Charge and Government over you; following with a glad Mind and Will their Godly Admonitions, and submitting your selves to their Godly Judgments?* The Answer to be return'd is; *I will so do, the Lord being my Help.* An Oath also is administred to the Ordained of this Tenour; I A. B. *Swear that I will yield True and Canonical Obedience to the Bishop of N——and his Successours in all Lawful and Honest Things.*

Herein they could not Comply, for the Reasons following.

I. Because as all Obedience hath an Essential Relation to the Laws and Mandates of those whom Persons are bound to Obey, so the Canons of the Church, settled in its several respective Convocations, are the stated Laws of the Ecclesiastical Government: And therefore the Oath of Canonical Obedience, which hath a Reference to these stated Laws or Canons of the Church, appear'd to them, to carry in it a plain Obligation to comply with them, and Submit to them, in their stated Practise, where they had not a Dispensation. And tho' the Obedience, that is in this Case sworn, be limited to *Things useful and Honest*, yet is it evidently suppos'd and taken for Granted, that the Canons which are in Force, do require no other than such Things, without leaving Persons at Liberty which Canons they'll obey, and which they'l

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 97. &c.

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they'l refuse: Which was a Latitude which they had not found any Bishop in the Land free to allow to any of their Clergy. So that tho' in the Oath there be a Limitation in Words, yet they plainly saw it was only to be extended to *Future Commands*, while an Obligation to comply with the Things *antecedently* requir'd by the *Canons* as *Lawful and Honest*, was suppos'd and taken for granted: For certainly the Church Representative in its several Convocations, could not by these who profess so great a Reverence for all its Dictates, be suppos'd to require Things of any other Stamp or Character. Now perusing the *Canons*, they could not be satisfied that many of the Things therein requir'd, deserv'd that Character: Nay they were not convinc'd, but that many things by those *Canons* requir'd to have been the Matter of their

constant Practise, would to them have been *Unlawful* and *Dishonest*, and therefore they durst not come under any such ensnaring Obligation.

Whether they had any Reason or not for thus scrupling Conformity to the *Canons*, according to the Demand of this Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, let any impartial Persons Judge, when I have briefly set before them the *Canons* to which they scrupled to a yield Conformity, with their Objections against them.

By the Fourth Canon, *Whosoever Charges the Book of Common Prayer with containing any Thing in it, that is Repugnant to the Scriptures, he is to be ipso facto, Excommunicated, and not restor'd but by the Bishop of the Place, or Arch-Bishop, after his Repentance, and Publick Recantaion of such his wicked Errour.*

They could not bind themselves to Conform to this *Canon*, because tho' it should be allow'd to be an Errour to bring such a Charge against the Book of Common Prayer, yet could they not see that it must therefore be an Errour of that Magnitude and Wickedness, as to deserve *Excommunication*. If all, that have worse Errours than that can be suppos'd to be, must be presently Excommunicated, the Church would remain but thin. Besides they could not but esteem it a great abuse of *Excommunication*, to have it Thunder'd out against any Persons before they

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were heard to speak for themselves, or told of their Sin and call'd to Repentance. *Excommunications* of this Kind they durst not Publish when Commanded, for fear of offending Christ, and injuring his Servants: And therefore they durst not Promise or Swear that they would do it. And as for those who would throw the blame in such a Case upon the Command of Superiours, they appear'd to them to open a Door to the Execution of any Injustice or Villany in the World, supposing Authority should interpose with a Command.*

By the Fifth Canon, *All those are to be ipso facto, Excommunicated, &c. who affirm any of the Thirty Nine Articles agreed upon in Convacation in 1662, to be Erroneous; or such as he might not with a safe Conscience subscribe to.*

They could not bind themselves to Conform to this *Canon*, for the same Reasons as they scrupled Conformity to that foregoing. And withal, they found the Words of several of the Articles liable to Exception; and some of them of small Moment and Dubious; they could not see the Warrant of that Authority ascrib'd to the Church in the Twentieth Article, *They knew of no Charter Christ had given to the Church to bind Men up to more than himself hath done.* Neither could they esteem every Thing that is true an Article of the

Creed, or necessary to Church-Communion, so that all that Dissent must be presently cast out. Besides they found Bishop *Jeremy Taylour* overthrowing the Ninth Article about *Original Sin*; and Dr. *Hammond* Refining upon the Fourteenth Article, and denying the Seventeenth; In which they had many Followers, who were all by this Canon to be *ipso Facto* Excommunicated. Which was a Thing in which they durst not Concur, as easily foreseeing that this would make the Articles an Engine of end less Strife and Division.†

By the Sixth Canon, *All those are ipso facto to be Excommunicated that should affirm that the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England are Superstitious, or such as thing Commanded by Lawful Authority, Men who are zealously and godly Affected, may not with a good Conscience approve and use them, or as Occasion requires Subscribe unto them.*

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* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 106, &c.

† Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 109, &c.

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In this *Canon* the Church seem'd to them to assume to it self a most Exorbitant Power, by laying so great a Stress upon everyone of its Ceremonies, as presently to Excommunicate Persons, that would but represent anyone of them as unwarrantable. Much more could not have been said as to the Ten Commandments, or any Articles of the Creed. But besides, the Ejected Ministers did esteem the Things above-mention'd to be unwarrantable, and therefore could not agree to Excommunicate themselves, and such as concurr'd in the same Sentiments and Apprehensions with them.

By the Seventh Canon, *All those are ipso facto to be Excommunicated, that should affirm that the Government of the Church of England, by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, and the rest that bear Office in the same, is Repugnant to the Word of God.*

Tho' some of the Silenc'd Ministers could have gone farther than others' in submitting to *Diocesan Episcopacy*, yet take that Form of Government in the Compass of it; according to this Canon, and they found it full of Corruption. The Pastoral Power, which was lodg'd by Christ in the Ministers of their respective Congregations, was overthrown; and the *Power of the Keys* put into improper Hands: And that Bishops should govern the Church by others, in a secular Manner, even by Lay-men, who do that in their Name which they know nothing of; could not in their Judgment be reconcil'd with the Word of God. And therefore they durst not bind themselves to *Excommunicate* all such, as should pass but such Censures upon the Frame of the Ecclesiastical Government, as it really deserv'd.†

By the Eighth Canon, *All those are ipso facto to be Excommunicated, who should affirm that the Form and Manner of Making, and Consecrating Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, containeth any Thing in it repugnant to the Word of God.*

Tho' it should be suppos'd there were nothing amiss in this Book of Ordination, yet the Belief of its Innocency could not in the Esteem of the Silenc'd Ministers be justly deem'd a Matter of that Moment, as to be necessary to Salvation; or that

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* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 111.

Idem, Ibid. page 112.

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Persons should be cast out of the Church for the want of it. They could not therefore take an Oath, whereby they should enter into a Combination of that Nature, as should make them liable to be charg'd with the unhappy Consequences.*

By the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Canons, *Such as separate themselves from the Communion of the Church of England, and such as own those separate Societies to be true Churches, are all to be Excommunicated, and only restor'd by the Arch-Bishop.*

Canons of this kind they durst not swear Subjection to, because they tho't them very uncharitable. If a weak mistaken Christian may be a true Christian, tho' faulty; they could not see why a mistaken Congregation of Pious Persons, might not be a true Church, tho' faulty. Supposing it granted, that they who separated from the Church of *England*, and such as adher'd to them, really were in an Errour, yet could they not see how their Errours could be look'd upon as comparable to those of the *Papists*, who yet are so far favour'd by many of the Prelatical Party, that the *Roman Church* they belong to, is own'd to be a true Church. Neither can it with any ground be affirm'd, that the Ignorance, Errour or Corruption of such Separatists is half so great, as is discernable in the *Muscovites, Greeks, Abassines, Coptics, Jacobites, Nestorians; and Armenians*; who yet are commonly confess'd to be true Churches. The greatness of the Errours of those that separate from the Church of *England*, cannot make them cease to be true Churches, when Churches much more Erroneous; are own'd to be true. Neither can their being gather'd and maintain'd without the Consent of the Ruler, presently incapacitate them from being true Churches: For he that would condemn them upon that Account meerly, must with the same Breath disown all the Churches of Christ, which were in the World for some Hundreds of Years; who were all in Common in that Condition The Silenc'd Ministers tho't it very fit to

leave those to themselves who were so confin'd in their Charity; as thinking it their Duty to embrace all those as Brethren who *feared God, and wrought Right*

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* *Idem, Ibid. page 114, &c.*

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teousness; and to esteem all those as true Parts of the Church of Christ, among whom there was the true Christian Faith and Worship, how different soever their Particular Sentiments or Modes might be, or what failures soever might be amongst them, that were consistent with an honest, upright Heart and Life.*

* *Idem, ibid. page 116.*

By the Twenty Seventh Canon, *No Minister is wittingly to administer the Communion to any but to such as Kneel, &c.*

To this they durst not swear Subjection, for the Reasons mention'd before, under the Head of *Assent and Consent*.†

† *Id. Ibid. page 117.*

By the Twenty Eighth Canon, *Ministers are requir'd to refuse Communicants coming from other parishes.*

To this they could not submit, because in some Cases the receiving of Communicants from other Parishes might be a Duty. As particularly, if the Incumbent or a neighbouring Parish were Vicious or Scandalous, or Divine Ordinances were so manag'd, as is inconsistent with the Edification of the Parishioners. For them in such Cases to have refus'd to receive Persons to Communion with them, would in their Apprehension have been grosly uncharitable.*

* *Id. Ibid.*

By the Thirty Eighth Canon, *A Minister repenting of his Subscription, or afterwards omitting any of the prescribed Forms or, Ceremonies, is first to be suspended, and then Excommunicate, and then depos'd from the Ministry.*

This they apprehended might in many Cases be to Consent to cast a Man out of the Church, for being Consciencious: To which they were afraid to

submit, least they should contribute to the silencing some of those who as much deserv'd Encouragement, as any Persons whatsoever.†

† *Id. Ibid.* page 118.

By the Fifty Seventh Canon, *All that go for Baptism for their Children, or the Communion for themselves from their own Parish, because the Minister is no Preacher, to another Parish that hath a Preaching Minister, are suspended, and after a Month to be Excommunicated*

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To this they could not Submit, because they apprehended there was much more need of driving the People to Preaching Ministers than from them. And tho' they did not esteem the Sacraments Null, when Administred by ill qualify'd Ministers, yet they could not but look upon it as Sinful, either to harden an ignorant and Scandalous Person, that had intruded into the Office of the Ministry in his Prophaneness, or to encourage People that need better, in being contented with such a Minister.

Id. Ibid. page 119.

By the Fifty Eighth Canon, *Every Minister saying the Publick Prayers, or Ministring the Sacraments, or other Rites of the Church, was requir'd to wear a decent and comely Surplice with Sieves, to be provided at the Charge of the Parish, and that under Pain of Suspension.*

The Surplice as a *Symbolical Vestment*, was what they found many Learned and Excellent Ministers had in former times been against and it was so small a matter, of so little real Necessity or Use, and the great things to be Ey'd in the Exercise of a Gospel Ministry, depended so little upon it, that even those who would rather have submitted to it, than have been depriv'd of the Publick Exercise of their Ministry, yet durst not Concur in the Suspension of others, who were more Scrupulous of it than themselves, upon that Account; as they must have done, if they had Subjected themselves to this Canon.

Id. Ibid. 121.

By the Sixty Eighth Canon, *Ministers are requir'd to Baptize all Children without Exception, who are offer'd to them for that Purpose.*

Tho' some of the Silenc'd Ministers were much straiter in their Notions about the *qualify'd Subjects of Baptism* than others, yet they were generally against Submission to this Canon, because not convinc'd that the children of all Comers, (as of Atheists suppose, Infidels, Jews, Hercticks or Blasphemers; who might upon occasion, be offer'd as well as others) were so far in the Covenant of Grace, as to have a right to a Solemn Investiture in the Blessings of it. And till they were convinc'd of this by clear Proof, they esteem'd it too great a Domination over Mens Faith, to command Obedience in this Point upon pain of Suspension. And they Apprehended swearing Obe

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*Id. Ibid.**Id. Ibid.* pag. 122.

dience herein, to be a consenting in effect, to the Profaning of one of the most Sacred Institutions of our Religion.

By the Seventy Second Canon, *Ministers were debarr'd the Liberty of keeping private Fasts upon any Occasion, or so much as being present at them, without exposing themselves to Suspension the 1st. time, Excommunication the 2d; time, and Deposition the 3d. time.*

The Silenc'd Ministers for their Part, could not but esteem those to be unworthy of that Sacred and Honourable Function, who were not to be trusted to Fast and Pray with their People, as Occasions might require, while the Law was open, to punish all Abuses. And taking this to be a part of their Office, they could no more renounce it, than the Liberty of Preaching the Gospel, when and where the Necessities of Souls requir'd it.

By the 112th Canon, *The Ministr jointly with the Parish Officers is requir'd, every Year within Forty Days after Easter, to Exhibit to the Bishop or his Chancellor, the Names and Surnames of all his Parishoners, which being of this Age of Sixteen Years, did not receive the Communion at Easter before.*

With this Canon, agrees the Rubrick which is inserted in the Common, Prayer-Book, at the end of the Office for the Communion; which requires every Parishioner to Communicate at the least three times in the Year, of which Easter to be one. And if they refuse after Presentation, they are to be Excommunicated, and are liable to be confin'd in Jail till they die, by vertue of the Writ, de Excommunicato Capiendo.

In this the Silenc'd Ministers durst not Concur, for fear of the Consequences. If indeed they could have had any hopes of forcing their Parishioners by a Jail, out of Ignorance, Unbelief, and Ungodliness, they'd have tho't it a very charitable Work: But while the due and necessary Qualifications were wanting,

they did not know but in forcing them to the Sacrament, they might force them upon Sacrilege and Profaneness, to their Damnation and Ruin. Withal, they knew this to be a Course, whereby they should distract those Persons with Terrorour, who are Conscious of their unfitnes; or those Melancholy Christians

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who under Temptations, Tremble for fear of taking their own Damnation. In a Word, they were convinc'd this would fill the Church with such as ought rather to be kept away; occasion the calling of Holy Things to Dogs; prevent all possibility of Discipline, and be a Bar to that Purity, which is a great design of Christianity.*

* Baxter's *Nonconformity stated and argu'd*. pag. 147. Corbet's *Remains*. page 150.

Omitting the rest, the three last Canons, related to the Authority of Synods: And by them *all were to be Excommunicatd, who should affirm that a Convocation Summon'd by the Kings Authority, was not the true Church of England by Representation: or that the Absent as well as Present, were not to be subject to the Decrees of such an Assembly, in Causes Ecclesiastical, when ratify'd by the King's Authority: or that their Canons and Constitutions were despicable, &c.*

These Canons, they could not oblige themselves to Submit to, because of the uncertainty, and Dubious and Disputable Nature of the matters contain'd in them, which they (upon that Account) could not apprehend to be fit Grounds of so high a Censure as *Excommunication*. That a Convocation was the *true Church of England by Representation* seem'd to the Silenc'd Ministers very justly questionable, not only because the Laity (whom they tho't a part of the Church) were altogether excluded, but also because the Clergy were far from being therein fairly represented.* As to the

* *The worthy Bishop of Sarum in his late Reflections on a Book concerning the Rights of an English Convocation, page 10. Justifies their Demur as to these Canons in this Respect, when speaking of a Convocation, he hath this remarkable Concession: It cannot be call'd a true Representative of the Church, tho' it be now a Legal one. In the Lower House, there are of the Province of Canterbury, 20 Deans or more who pretend to sit there; there are as many Proctors from Chapters and 60 Arch-Deacons, and about 38 Clerks chosen by the Clergy. So that the Deans and Chapters, who had their Authority at first by Papal Bulls, and have now their Exemptions and Jurisdictions continu'd to them only by a Proviso, in the Statute of 25 Hen. 8. have more Interest in the Convocation than the whole body of the Clergy. These are all made, either by the King or by the Bishops. The 60 Arch-Deacons are all of the Bishops Nomination, and their Authority is of a late Date, and but a Humane Constitution. All this is besides the Interest that the Bishops have in making the Returns of two only out of all those who are chosen in the several Arch-Dedonnes of their Diocess; fa that the inferiour Clergy can in no*

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Force of the Canons of such Convocations upon absent Persons as well as present, they apprehended that it depended upon the Parliament, whole Ratification they look'd upon as necessary, in order to their having any force or Significance at all: But tho' they should be mistaken in Points of this Nature, which they tho't had not been so strictly enquir'd into, but that they would very well bear Canvassing,† it seem'd to them strangely and needlessly severe, that an Ex

sort be said to be equally represented there. *What pleasure soever some angry Zealots might take in any thing that might bear hard upon so great an Ornament of their Church, there are no unprejudic'd Persons, but think his Lordship deserves much better Treatment, than Canon 139. If executed, would afford him.*

† *Either they were herein in the right, or it hath been to very little purpose, that we have had so many Writings, (and many of them bulky too) lately Publish'd upon this matter, and that with warmth and eagerness. And really it seems to disinterested slanders by, pretty remarkable, that after such stiffness in asserting the Churches Authority, as to Ecclesiastical matters, it should at last remain a Controversy where this Authority is to be lodg'd. 'Tis in the King, says Dr. Wake, as it was heretofore in the Christian Emperors, and indeed in all Christian Princes, till the Papal Usurpation. The same says Dr. Kenner: I beg your Pardon Gentlemen says Mr. A. that is a Method that would subvert the Fundamental Rights and Liberties of the church and Clergy of England. It would bring in Slavery into the Church, which will quickly spread it self into the state too. A Convocation hath an inherent right of framing Ecclesiastical Canons, as it is an Ecclesiastical Synod. Each party hath considerable Abettors, and the latter Gentleman who undertook the Defence of the inherent right of the Convocation, hath since receiv'd considerable preferment, as a reward for his Service. Hereupon the Lord Bishop of Sarum in his Reflections, page 7, 8. Makes this Observable remark. It has passed (says he) generally among the Clergy, that Ecclesiastical matters could only be judg'd by Persons deriving their Power immediately from God: And as the Clergy have their Commission from him, so it was a received Doctrine, that the King likewise had his Power from God; and that therefore the Church was to be Govern'd by the King and the Convocation: And the Book of Canons being ratify'd only by the Regal Authority, seems to give such Authority to this, that a Man ought to be mildly corrected, if it should prove to be a mistake. It could never be tho't Parliaments were *jure Divino*; so it was a Consequence suitable to their Principles, who put our whole Ecclesiastical Constitution on the bottom of a Divine Right, to shut this within the Hands of those who they believ'd acted by a Divine Commission. I (says he) was never of this mind. I alway's tho't that the King was no other way Head of the Church, then as he was the Head of the State, with whom the Executive Power is lodged, and who is the Head of the Legislative,*

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communication must presently be Thundred out against them. And as to the Credit and Reputation of the Canons of any such Ecclesiastical Synods or Convocations, they could not help conceiving that that depended more on their Agreeableness to the Word of God, than on the Commendations given them by the Enacters and their Admirers. But that the Church to whom our Saviour had so often recom

in Conjunction with the great Body of his Parliament. But this Author knows how much the Doctrine he advances was condemned, and by whom, not long ago: Therefore a little more Temper were but Decent, if he tho't fit to find fault with it. *And a little before, speaking of Mr. A's Maxim, that the Supremacy is not singly in the King, but is lodg'd with the whole Legislature, he thinks fit to make this Declaration; I confess I was always of this mind; but I remember among whom this passed, not long ago, for little less than Heresy. Now 'tis left to any one to Judge, whether it is not odd and unaccountable, that we should have had so fierce a Contest here in England, ever since the Reformation about the Ecclesiastical Authority, and that among them who have been screwing it up to the utmost hight and vigour against their poor Dissenting Brethren, (who could not see things in their Light.) there should after all be a stiff Contention where it is to be lodg'd? Doth it not fare with the Ecclesiastical Authority here in England, as with the pretended Infallibility in the Roman Church? The Papists will have it that they have all Infallibility among them some where, but where, to lodge it they cannot agree: some will have it lie in the Pope. others in a General Council, and others in both jointly. So our Donns will have it, that there is a mighty Ecclesiastical Authority. (to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and settle and promote Uniformity, &c.) somewhere or other amongst them; but where to lodge it, they are not to this day agreed. Some place it in the King, others in a Convocation, and others in the three Estates of the Realm, Kings. Lords and Commons, with or without a Convocation. And have not Sentiments in this respect as much vary'd in our Church, with Times, Seasons and circumstances, as they have in the Roman Church, about their Darling Infallibility? And is it not manifestly hard that Canons should remain in force, where by those are to be Excommunicated, who are not clear about the Authority of a Convocation, when 'tis even at this day acknowledg'd by Contenders on both sides, that the Rights and Powers of an English Convocation have been but little enquir'd into? Doth not that enquiry which hath been so warmly pursu'd, naturally lead to a further enquiry into the true Nature, and Extent of the Ecclesiastical Authority, which our Blessed Lord the great Laugiver of his church hath lodg'd in any hands whatsoever besides his own? For might it not as easily be suppos'd much should have been taken upon trust, and many mistakes committed, about the nature and extent of such Power, as about the hands in which it is lodg'd? could we but see as much pains taken upon this head, as there has been upon*

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mended Mildness and Gentleness, should be but a Word and a Blow, and come with the highest Censures where perhaps there might be only a mistake but no Malignity, this the Silenc'd Ministers esteem'd not only acting without a Warrant, but unsuitable to a true Christian Spirit, and therefore could not swear Submission.

the other, we could not but hope for a good Issue. Till then we think both our Fathers and we are very fairly justifiable in refusing, Submission to Canons, in framing which it is questionable whether the Actors did not over-shoot their Authority. However to use the Bishop of Sarum's Phrase, we cannot but think that a Man ought to be mildly Corrected, (not Excommunicated) for being Cautious and wary in things of so dubious a Nature, tho' it should appear, upon a particular Canvassing of his Sentiments, that he was under a mistake.

Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argued.* pag. 123.

It hath been pleaded by many, that the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, doth not oblige to approve of all that is in the *Canons*. To which they Answer'd, that in their Judgment, the case of a Minister, was much the same as that of a Justice of Peace. Tho' a Justice of Peace be not bound by his Oath to approve of every Law of the Land, yet he is bound to Execute all of them

by his Place, when he is call'd to it.* So also a Minister taking the Oath of Canonical Obedience, is bound to Execute the *Canons*, and particularly those Canons where Excommunication is denounc'd, when call'd upon by his *Ordinary*. It hath been farther Pleaded, that many of these Canons are disus'd, and so Vacated; like many Laws of the Land that are grown out of use. To which, the Reply is easie: That many of the Canons before Mention'd and Objected against, cannot be so much as pretended to be disus'd; and many of them were much less disus'd at that time when the Ministers were Ejected, than they have been at some times since: But still so long as there is neither my Publick Declaration given that might help to distinguish among those Canons, (which were all enacted by the some Authority) which were yet binding, and which Superannuated; nor a liberty of judging in the Case left to private Ministers so long this Plea appears without any

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Ib. Ibid. pag. 33.

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Force. For let any of them appear ever so much disus'd, if the *Ordinary* thinks fit to interpose with his Authority for the reviving them, the Oath obliges to Submission.

2. Another Capital Reason why they Scrupled at taking the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, was because they found the Episcopal Government manag'd by Chancellours Courts, (which were kept in the Bishops name indeed, while they in the mean time were not suffer'd to act in them) where Lay-men Exercise the *Church Keyes*, by Defective *Excommunications* and *Absolutions*. They found the word *Ordinary* mention'd in the Oath, would admit of divers Senses. That it not only meant the Bishop of the Diocese, but the *Judges* in their Courts. This is the Sense given by *Cousins* in his Tables, and by all Civilians, And as for the *other chief Ministers* added in the Oath, to whom Subjection was to be Sworn, they saw not how less could be thereby meant, than all the *Arch-Deacons*, *Officials*, *Commissarys* and *Surrogates*, with the rest of the Attendants upon those Courts.

The Silenc'd Ministers durst not bind themselves by Oath to a Submission of this Nature, for fear of Concurring to overthrow the *Pastoral Office*. They could not think the Administration of the Sacraments proper and peculiar to Pastours, if the Keys were not so too.* For the most proper Use of the Keys is in a way of Judging who is to be admitted to Sacramental Communion, and who debar'd it. If only delivering the Elements, and not judging to whom, be proper to the Pastour, then is he to see with other Mens Eyes.

Now it was their fixed Apprehension, that in a matter of so great Moment and Consequence, it was their Duty to see with their own Eyes, and not Act blindfold: And that our Lord Jesus Christ had invested all that were Pastours, with that measure of Power which was Necessary, in order to the securing the direct ends of their Office. Such Power its true might be abus'd, and therefore they were not (as some have charg'd them) against being Accountable in case of such an Abuse: But then they at the same time apprehended that an Appeal in such a Case, would be much more properly Lodg'd with a Synod,

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Id. Ibid. pag. 34,

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(whose having a fixed President or Bishop would not have disgusted the Generality of them, especially if he were chosen by the Synod it self) or with a Meeting consisting partly of Ministers; and partly of Deputies from the Neighbouring Churches, than with a set of wrangling Lawyers, whose concern in such matters they look'd upon as irrational as well as unscriptural; and whose Management of them was more likely to be Calculated for their own Profit, rather than the Credit of Religion, and the Purity of the Church.

As for the Provision made by the Rubrick before the Office for the Communion in the Common-Prayer Book, viz. That when a Minister keeps any Persons from the Sacrament, he should within Forty Va)!, give an Account to the Ordinary, that he might proceed against them according to the Canons; they could not acquiesce in it, because dissatisfy'd as to the Grounds upon which these Ordinary (whether they were meer Lay-men, simple Presbyters, or Diocesans) appropriated the Cognizance of Matters of this Nature to themselves, which in the Judgment of common sense was more proper for those that had the Opportunity of Personal Inspection, than for meer Strangers. They were also confirm'd in their dislike of this Method of Procedure, because of the Difficulty, Tediousness, Vexatiousness and Expensiveness of it; because of the number that must be accus'd if the Canons were follow'd; because of the great hindrance it would be to them in their Ministerial Work; and in a word, because of the impossibility of keeping up any Real Discipline, in such a way. In which they were much Confirm'd by Observation and Experience.*

* *The church Party themselves have not been insensible of corruptions in this Respect, among others, Bishop Burnet at the close of his excellent History of the Reformation, Notes that there was one thing (we could heartily wish there were no more) yet wanting to complete the Reformation of this*

Church, whis was the restoring a Primitive Discipline against Scandalous Persons, the Establishing the Government of the Church in Ecclesiastical Hands, and taking it out of Lay-hands, who have so long profan'd it, and have expos'd the Authority of the Church, and the Censures of it, chiefly *Excommunication*, to the contempt of the Nation; by which the Reverence due to Holy Things, is in so great a Measure lost; and the dreadfulest of all Censures, is new become the most Scorned and Despised. *Abridgment. pag. 367*

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And as to the submitting to the Determinations and Injunctions of these *Ordinaries*, in which they had not by this Oath and Covenant so much as a Judgment of Discretion left them, they durst not engage, or bind themselves, for fear of approving Sacrilegious Prophaneness. For if it be so for meer Lay-men uncall'd and unqualify'd, to usurp the other Parts of the Pastoral Office, particularly the Administration of the Sacrament, (as it is generally esteem'd) then they conceiv'd it must be so too, for them to usurp the Power of the Keys. And if the Bishops took it for Usurpation in *Presbyters*, to take upon them to exercise Power in this Case, as supposing it Proper and Peculiar to themselves, they could not see, why they should not judge it much more so in Lay-men.

As for Excommunications and Absolutions they look'd upon them as very weighty Matters, and durst not agree to trifle in them. If the Bishops could trust their Consciences with their Chancellours, and leave them to pass Sentence in their Names, without ever hearing or trying the Causes depending; and suffer them to Excommunicate Persons for them, tho' they knew not on whom they pass'd that heavy Censure, nor why they did it, it was to themselves; as the Ministers could not understand it, so neither could they help it; and they were not responsible for it: But when they bro't these Matters borne to their own Door, and requir'd of them, that they also should trust their Consciences in the same Hands, they desir'd to be excus'd, till they were better satisfy'd in the Point. They could not yield to Receive and Publish their Excommunications blindly, least they should be chargeable with their Irregularities and Abuses; and be the Instruments of molesting, worrying, and ruining, as Religious Persons perhaps as any in their Parishes. Nor durst they Consent to Publish the Absolutions of notorious Debauchees, who have given (it may be) no other Proof of Repentance of their Crimes, besides Paying the Fees of the Court. These Things they well knew expos'd the Censures of the Church to Scandal and Con

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tempt, and therefore they were unwilling to give an helping Hand.★

* *Ibid.* Page 105.

And to take such all Oath as this of *Canonical Obedience*, and make such a Covenant with a Reserve to themselves, afterwards to demur upon the Commands of the *Ordinary*, when agreeable to the Handing Rules of the Ecclesiastical Administration; or make light of the *Canons*, which were design'd to be the standing Rules of their Obedience, before they were repeal'd or superseded; they could not look upon as any other than egregious Dissimulation: And therefore they tho't it much safer to wave this Oath altogether, and keep themselves free from any such ensnaring Bond.

IV. They were also requir'd to Abjure the *Solemn League and Covenant*. For the Act for Uniformity, oblig'd all Ecclesiasticks before the Feast of St. *Bartholomew* 1662, to Subscribe a Declaration in these Words. *I A.B. do Declare, that I do hold there Lies no Obligation upon me or any other Person from the Oath commonly call'd the Solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government, either in Church or State: And that the same was in it self an unlawful Oath, and impos'd upon the Subjects of this Realm, against the known Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.*

Tho' many of the Ministers who were Ejected had not taken this *Covenant*, and more of the in were all along against the imposing it, yet would not their Consciences allow them to yield to such a Renunciation as this, for which a Paralel can hardly be found in any Age. They were convinc'd, that altho' a Vow should be sinfully impos'd and sinfully taken, it yet binds in a Matter that is lawful and necessary; and they found this was the Determination of the most celebrated Casuists. Part of this *Covenant* they were convinc'd was both lawful and necessary, and therefore they could not declare Persons free from all Obligation of it, without violating the Rights of Conscience. Every Mans endeavouring in his proper Place and Sphere to alter Church-Government, as far as he was convinc'd of its being faulty, ap

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pear'd to them a Matter of Duty; and a thing to which that *Covenant* so far oblig'd all that took it, as that all the Princes and Prelates in *Christendom*, could not give Dispensation in the Case. But for everyone in Holy Orders to determine for all in Three Kingdoms that took the *Covenant*, that they were no way oblig'd by it, they esteem'd an unpresided Instance of Assuming. They remembered that King *Charles* himself had taken it in *Scotland*, with all possible Appearance of Seriousness and Solemnity; and durst not

therefore hazard that Kings Soul by concurring in so Lax a Publick Casuistical Determination, as should Confirm him in the belief, that he was oblig'd to nothing by the *Covenant*, as far as what it contain'd was Lawful: Nor could they see how they should have been able to answer it to God if they had. It was pleaded, the *Covenant* was against the Laws of *England*: Be it so; yet they could not find it so much as pretended, it was against the Laws of *Scotland*: And therefore tho' it had been own'd, that it had not oblig'd Men here in *England*, yet they could not tee what Warrant they had to determine, it should bind none in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. But in short, they durst not run the Hazard of tempting the King himself, and Thousands of his Subjects in the Three Kingdoms, to incur the Guilt of *Perjury*; or of hardning them under that Guilt; by declaring they were no way oblig'd by Covenanting, what could not be made appear to be unlawful. The Ministers would have been free, to have subscrib'd, that the *Covenant* bound no Man to be false to the Government they were under, or Rebellious against the King, or to endeavour to alter our Monarchy, or deprive the King of any of his just Rights and Prerogatives; they would have given their Hands, that they would never endeavour to change any Part of Church-Government which Christ had instituted for Continuance, or which had a tendency to contribute to Purity, Peace or Order; nay, they would have abjur'd all Attempts to introduce any sort of Change in the Ecclesiastical Settlement in a Tumultuous and Illegal Way: But far

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ther they durst not go, for fear of contributing to a National Guilt.*

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 125. *His Plea for Peace*, page 208. Corbets *Remains*, page 167. Troughton's *Apology for the Nonconformists*, page 58. *The Short Surveigh of the Grand Case of the present Ministry*, page 23.

V. Besides the Oath of *Allegiance and Supremacy*, all in Holy Orders were by the *Act of Uniformity* oblig'd to Subscribe another Political Declaration or Acknowledgment of this Tenour; I A. B. *do Declare, that it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissionated by him.*

Tho' the Silenc'd Ministers were as Free as any for the Oath of Allegiance, and ready to give the Government any Assurance that could reasonably be desir'd of a peaceable Subjection, yet they were not for Making, and Subscribing this Declaration, for fear of contributing to the betraying the Liberties of

their Country. For being sensible, that it was very possible for the Law, and the Kings Commission to be contrary to each other, they esteem'd it the Duty of *English-men* as free People, to adhere rather to the former than the latter; but could not discern how the so doing could be reconcil'd with this Declaration. They were told, that a *Writ* being upon a Publick Occasion sued out, and coming to the *Sheriffs* Hands; if any Persons should oppose the Execution by the Kings Personal Command or Commission, and the *Sheriff* should raise the *Posse Comitatus* upon them, he herein Acted by the Kings Authority. For, *by the Kings Authority is all one as by the Law, or in the Name of the King, according to Law.* Seeing therefore the Sheriff of a County might Act against Opposers in such a Case, notwithstanding their Commission, the Law bearing him out, they could not see upon what Grounds the Position design'd to be renounc'd by this Declaration, could be represented as *Traiterous*, and to be *abhorr'd*. They could not see why a Nation should be so solicitous about Laws for

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its Security, if a Chancellour who keeps the Kings great Seal be above them all, and may by sealing *Commissions* cast them off at Pleasure. Withal, to exclude all Exceptions, in such a Declaration as this, by a Clause of that Nature, *not on any pretence whatsoever*, seem'd to them to be a Destruction of Property, a sacrificing all that was dear and valuable to the Will of the Prince, and the Lusts of his Courtiers, by disabling Men to defend their Lives, Liberties, and Estates, when Attack'd by such as pretended to be Commissionated. It seem'd to them very hard, that upon Supposition the *Papists* should either by Power or Surprize have gotten the King at any Time into their Hands (as the Duke of *Guise* once dealt with the *French King*) and have prevail'd with him for fear of his Life, to grant Commissions under his Hand and Seal destructive to the Church and State, that the Nation here-upon must be inevitably ruin'd, and King and Kingdom lost by such Commissions, which none should dare to oppose: This appear'd to them so gross that they could not swallow it. They were so weak as to esteem *Self-Defence* a Part of the law of Nature; and to think that the Body of a Nation have by that Law a *Self-defending Power* against their notorious assaulting Foes: But it was their Comfort under this their Weakness, to have so good Companions, as the Noble Old *Greeks* and *Romans*, Philosophers, Oratours and Historians; the Ancient Bishops of the Church, and Christian Clergy in the *Primitive Times*; the *Popish* Casuistical Writers, and the most celebrated Writers of Politicks whether *Papists* or *Protestants*; the most celebrated Modern Historians, Civilians,

and Canonists; particularly such Men as *Thuanus*, *Gothofred*, *Barclay*, and *Grotius*; together with such eminent Persons even in the Church of *England*, as Bishop *Bilson*, Bishop *Jeremy Taylor*, and Mr. *Hooker*, herein concurring in the same Opinion with them; and they had more Modesty than at one dash to run down all these as deceived and in the wrong. And in reality, after all the Clamours

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*. page 134. *Short Surveigh of the grand Case of the present Ministry*. page 20. *The Peaceable Design, or Modest Account of the Nonconformists Meetings*, page 39, &c.

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of their insulting Brethren, they were very well satisfy'd that they who were most forward for this Declaration, and most fierce and eager in runing down and exposing those who scrupled it, would not keep to it, if at any Time they found Things were come to Extremity; as the Event verify'd. For after all the Noise that was made in all Parts of the Nation, of the Traiterousness of the Position, of taking Arms by the Kings Authority, against his Person, or those Commissionated by him; and of the unlawfulness of doing so in any Case whatsoever, a Time at length came upon the Landing a certain Person call'd the Prince of *Orange*, when in Order to the securing Religion, Liberty, and Property, all Ranks and Qualities both of Clergy and laity, finding room for a particular Exception, (where they would before allow of *no Case whatsoever*) ventur'd to join with a Foreign Prince whom they had call'd in to their Assistance, against the Person of their Sovereign King *James*, and those who were Commissionated by him. And as for the poor Ejected Ministers, who endur'd such hardships for refusing this Declaration, they came off with this Honourable Testimony from Impartial Spectatours, which will be given them by Posterity, tho' it should be grudg'd them by the Present Age, that by that Refusal of theirs, they in their several Places and Stations help'd as much as in them lay, to Pave the Way for that Late Glorious Revolution, to which we owe all our Present Happiness, and all our Future Hopes; while the Promoters of this Declaration and all that adher'd to it, could contribute nothing in the Case, without bidding Defiance to their most darling Principle; the Principle which for Twenty Years together had made the Pulpits Ring, and the Press Groan.

It must be own'd that these Two Last Points, of Renouncing the Covenant, and Subscribing the Political Declaration against taking Arms *in any Case whatsoever*, have not for some time been insisted on, with such as enter the Ministry in the Establish'd Church. The former, was fix'd by the Act but

till 1682, and then it drop'd of Course. The Latter continu'd till our Late Revolution, and then (as it was high Time) was superseded.

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For such Reasons as these, the Ministers who were Ejected durst not comply with the Act of Uniformity, and fall in with the National Establishment. Hereupon they have been generally aspers'd, and blacken'd with all unagmable Freedom. But this must be acknowledg'd after all; that if they err'd in this Matter, it was for fear of erring; and therefore they deserv'd Respect rather than Reproach, because they acted like Men of Integrity, according to the Light they had. Some of them were more influenc'd by some of these Considerations than others were; but all put together gave them abundant Satisfaction in quitting their Livings, when they found they could not keep them with the Peace and Safety of their Cousciences. Tho' in reality it is own'd by the best Casuists, that if but one Thing which after Search and Enquiry they apprehended to be sinful, had been made necessary to their continuing in their Places, they had been bound to have left, them. Here were a great many Things, which they saw not how they could yield to, without Sin: And therefore they forbore. There were none of them, but would have yielded to what would have been sufficient to have made them Ministers, in the Apostles Days or after: But the Yoke now impos'd was so heavy, that neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear it; and tho' their Fathers had been for many Years complaining, yet was it made heavier now, than ever it was before.

REASONS OF THE EJECTED MINISTERS, FOR CONTINUING IN THE MINISTRY.

So that hence-forward the Church Doors were shut upon them with Contempt, and others fill'd their vacant Pulpits: And they were left to spend their Time in Solitude and Retirement, preparing themselves for another World, as being of no farther Use in this. They were much perswaded to lay down their ministry, when they were deny'd the Liberty at exercising it publicly; but the Generality of them, could not be satisfy'd upon many Accounts. They fear'd the Guilt of perfidious-breaking their, *Ordination Vow*, by which they oblig'd themselves to the diligent Performance of their Ministry. They were afraid of the Sin of *Sacrilege* in alienating Persons who were Consecrated to God. It had to them a ve

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ry strange Appearance, that their Brethren should so much, aggravate the Sacraledge of alienating consecrated Utensils and Lands, when they at the same Time were so forward to alienate consecrated Persons, and discover'd such an Approbation of it: When as in their Apprehension the Lands and Goods, were but to serve the Persons, who were employ'd in the Divine Service. Many of their People claim'd the Continuance of their Relation and Ministry, and having given up themselves to their Conduct in Divine Things, beg'd they would not Desert them: They profess'd they could not trust their Souls to the Pastoral Guidance and Care, of a great many of those who were plac'd in the Churches in their Stead; and declar'd, that if they should forsake them, they would Charge them with neglect of their Souls, whose Care they had undertaken. So that they fear'd the Sin of Unfaithfulness, Cruelty, and Unmercifulness, and incurring the Guilt of ruining Souls by stopping their own Mouths. The Magistrates Authority was Indeed against them; but they found themselves under a solemn Obligation to an higher Authority to fulfil their Ministry as they were able, when sought to for help; for neglecting which, they could not discern how the Command of the Magistrate could furnish them with a just Excuse. Should they have been commanded to forbear feeding their Children, or relieving the Poor and Distress'd, they should have fear'd being Charg'd with Murdering them, if they Dy'd thro' their Neglect: And in like manner they were apprehensive of their being chargeable with the Consequences of neglecting to promote the good of Souls in a Ministerial Way, should any perish and be lost, whom they were able to have assisted and instructed. The Curse and Doom of the unprofitable Servant that hid his Talent, *Mat.* 25. much affected them; and they could not bear the tho'ts of exposing themselves to a like Treatment. Withal, they found the Necessities of the People in most Parts of the Nation great, notwithstanding the legal Provision for them; many Ministers in the Publick Churches having more Souls to look after, than several would be sufficient for: And at the same Time without being at all Censorious, it was too evi

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dent to them, that sundry of them were insufficient and unqualify'd. And making the best of things, they found that Populous Cities, and the ignorant Parts of the Country, needed more help, than the Parish Ministers did, or could afford them. They were withal affected with many Passages of Sacred

Scripture; some of which intimate the Duration of the Ministerial Office, where there is once a Conveyance: *Mat.* 5. 13, 14, &c. *Mat.* 28. 19, 20. *Eph.* 4. 10, &c., 1 *Tim.* 4. 15, 16. *Mat.* 24, 45, 40, 48. And others of them plead for the Necessity of Preaching even when the Magistrate forbids: As *Acts* 4. 19. 5. 28. 1 *Cor.* 9. 14, 16. *Acts* 4. 29. 2 *Tim.* 4. 1, 2. 1 *Tim.* 6. 13, 14. &c. And they found it was their Duty, to Pray for the sending in of Faithful Labourers, *Mat.* 9. 38. *Luke* 10. 2. And could not but think the sending up of such a Request to God a mocking of him, while such as they were, ceas'd to Labour, who had been call'd and qualify'd, own'd and Succeeded. In short, maturely weighing the whole matter, they after the narrowest search, apprehended it an indispensable Duty lying upon them as Men and Ministers, by the Obligation of God's Law of Charity, and by the binding Force of their own Vows at their self-Dedication to the Service of God in his House, to do their best in the Exercise of all their Talents, Humane, Christian, and Ministerial, to seek to save Peoples Souls; and therefore to Preach or Teach and Exhort them, in the manner that appear'd to them most conducive thereunto. They could not see whence either Civil Magistrates or Bishops had any Power to Doom them to utter Silence, so long as they could not Prove upon them, either Apostacy, Heresy, or Perfidiousness, or any thing inconsistent with the publick Peace. And therefore persisting in that Work which God and the necessities of Souls call'd them to, they tho't Patience their Duty, as to all sufferings they might meet with: In which respect they endeavour'd to Arm themselves as strongly as was possible.*

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd.* pag. 156. *His Plea for Peace.* pag. 229. *His Apology for the Nonconformist Ministers in 4to.* where the whole matter is distinctly canvass'd. *His Sacrilegious Desertion of the Holy Ministry rebuked,* Oct, and Allen's call to Archippus. Qu.

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REASONS OF THE LAITY FOR THEIR NONCONFORMITY.

Thus determining to continue in their Ministry, with Satisfaction they were in the way and discharge of their Duty, they wanted not for Hearers and Adherents. Many Arguments and Insinuations indeed were us'd to divert the People from at all regarding these rejected Ministers: But their Esteem for them was too deeply Riveted; and the grounds of their dissatisfaction too palpable, and the care taken to remove the grounds of their Objections too Superficial; for them to be much mov'd with their Assaults. Many of the People had found Benefit by the Labours of there Ministers before they

were Ejected, and thereupon tho't themselves oblig'd to stick to them. Finding them cast off without having any suitable Crime alledg'd against them, they tho't it Inhumane and Barbarous to desert them. Nay being (some of them) Convinc'd of the Justice of the Cause they were engag'd in, *viz.* *The pressing a farther Reformation in Ecclesiastical Matters, as Necessary in order to the more general reaching of the great ends of Religion:* They tho't it their Duty in their Place to Espouse the same Cause, and adhere to the same Principle, in Opposition to those who reckon'd the Church so Perfect as to need no Amendments. And finding that it was the Duty of their Ministers tho' Silenc'd by the Magistrates, to continue in the Exercise of their Ministry, they were convinc'd they were oblig'd therein to support and encourage them. Neither, could they forbear preferring the Labours of those Ministers, the suitability of whose Gifts, and whose readiness to watch for their Souls they had Experienc'd, before others that came in their Places, to whom they were Strangers, and as to whom they were at the best in great uncertainty.

They could not see how the Presentation of a Patron and the Institution of a Bishop could make it the absolute Duty of all in a Parish, presently to Acquiesce in a Minister's Conduct in Holy Things. This may indeed Legally Entitle him to the *Tythe and Maintenance*, but cannot make him a Pastor to any one without his own Consent. Parish Order they tho't had its Advantages, and was to be preferr'd, when more weighty Reasons did not offer. But they could not see any thing in it of an absolute Neces-

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sity. Neither could they reconcile the Supposition of such a Necessity, (tho' settled by the Law of the Land) with the inviolable Rights of Humane Nature; which leave a Man as much at his Liberty to choose* a Pastour for his Soul, as a Physician for his Body, or a Lawyer for his Estate. And therefore as they tho't it would be hard for the Magistrate to say, you shall have this Physician or none; when perhaps another may better hit their particular Constitution: Or you shall have this lawyer or none; when it may be they know another who was much fitter to have the Management of their Concerns: So did they also reckon it a straining the Point too high, for the Civil Magistrate, (and much more the Bishop) to say, you shall have this Man or none for your Pastour, when it was so very Possible for them, to know another Minister, who might be unexceptionable, and much more suitable to them, in the several Respects in which a Minister's help was needful to them. This appear'd to them to be a Contending with them for a Right

which God and Nature had given them; and therefore they were for seeing Good Reason for it before they would part with it.†

* *This Principle only tending to that necessary Liberty which is a matter of natural Right, infringes not the right or Patronage, which duly bounded, must be own'd to have its conveniencys too. For as Ministers or Bishops may Judge who is fit to be by them Ordain'd and let into the Ministry, so may Magistrates and Patrons judge and choose who of these Ministers shall have the publick places, Maintenance and Countenance, and yet people still keep their rights choosing who shall be their Pastours. If the Patron offers an unfit Man, and the people refuse him, he may offer others. If they continue to disagree the matter is easily Accommodated, by letting the Patron choose who shall have the place and Tythes, and the People who shall be their Pastour. If they go to another Parish, the inconvenience is not great. If a number of them join together in choosing a Pastour, living peaceably and quietly, there is no harm in it. The Patron has his right in presenting the Person that has the publick Maintenance. The Parish Minister has his right; for he hath what publick Maintenance is Legally fix'd to the living; which is as much as the Bishops Institution and Patrons Presentation could entitle him to. And at the same time also the people have their right, which is paying the Tythe Legally due to the parish Minister, to choose whom they will for their Pastour, without injuring Bishop, Patron, Parish Minister, or any one else.*

† Baxter's *Nonconformist Stated and Argu'd* pag, 163. &c.

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Many of them Apprehended that the Method of the National Establishment broke in upon Oeconomical Government. The Master of a Family is an Emblem of a Prince in the State. Some Branches of his Power and Authority, are evidently Superiour. The Parental Authority, is the greatest that Nature gives. We may suppose it to reach a great way when we consider that it is design'd to supply the place of Reason; whereas in the Exercise of a Princes Authority, he is suppos'd to have Subjects, that use their Reason, and must be dealt with accordingly. Now in any thing like an Imposition of a Pastour upon them, the Dissenting laity Apprehended their Right as Parents, and Husbands, and Masters, &c. was invaded either by Prince or Bishop, that pretended to impose a Pastour, upon those who by God and Nature were put under their Care. Whose Interest and Power in my Family, and with Reference to my Wife and Children, can be suppos'd earlier and greater than mine? And who more concern'd in the Instruction they receive than I? Why then should I let another impose a Pastour upon them, which more belongs to me certainly than to anyone else, if they are not competent Judges for themselves: But if it become not even me, (and could not be Justify'd) for me to tell my Wife or Children that are come to Years of Discretion, you shall have this Man for your Minister or none; you shall either Worship God here or no where; how can the Magistrate have such an Authority? How came the Bishop by it? If neither Prince nor Bishop may choose for my Children a Tutor, a Trade, a Physician, or Dyet or Cloathing, or impose

Husbands or Wives on them without my Consent: How should either of them, come by a Right to impose a Minister upon them without my will and Choice? Especially when his Management of Holy Things, is a matter of such vast Importance, and wherein their Salvation and my Interest are so nearly concern'd? The Insufficient Answers usually return'd to such Queries, confirm'd many of the Laity in their inclination to Nonconformity.*

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* *Id. Ibid. pag. 169.*

The want of *Discipline* in the Church, was another considerable Plea they urg'd. And in this they but follow'd the Old *Puritans*, and their Pious Progenitours, who have in this respect been calling for greater care and strictness, ever since the Reformation of the Church and Land from Popery. Upon search they found that God had design'd the Church to be as it were the Porch of Heaven; A Society gather'd out of the World, Sanctify'd to him, and to be more fully prepar'd for Glory. And therefore he would have none in it, but such as Profess Faith and Love and Holiness, and Renounce a Fleshly and Sensual, Worldly and Profane Life: that the Pastours were to Judge who were to be taken in, and who cast out; and all the Members in their Places bound to preserve their own Purity, and that of the Society which they belong to. The National Constitution appear'd to them to be Calculated to another Design. The Ignorant, Ungodly Multitude are forc'd into Communion while Palpably unfit: These become the Strength and Major Part: And are Opposite to this Discipline, because it would Restrain and Curb them, and tho' it could not better their Hearts, would yet Oblige them in many Respects to amend their Carriage. The Ministers are incapable of doing any thing towards it, the Power being wrested from them; which Power in its Execution is lodg'd in Hands that manage it Carelesly and Profanely; to the Screening of such as should be censur'd, and the censuring of such Pious Persons as ought to, be encourag'd. This was what the Old Puritans groan'd under; and yet they were against a Separation, as long as there was any hope of Amendment; but finding the stiffness of the Bishops and their Adherents after King *Charles's* Restauration in sticking to their Old Methods without any Alteration; nay finding the same Disposition at the beginning of King *William* and Queen *Mary's* Reign, when they were so urgently Press'd to make good their Promises made under their foregoing Distress and Fears; that they still applauded their Constitution as so Complete

and Perfect as that it needed no Amendments; they saw no ground of Hope remaining that ever any such thing as a Regular Discipline would willing

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ly and out of choice be bro't in, nay not tho' the better sort of Governours in the Church, were for it. And therefore they Apprehendcd themselves oblig'd publickly to bear their Testimony against that fatal Neglect: And that the rather, because they found that Neglect Acknowledg'd even in the Common Prayer Book, notwithstanding there has been no Provision made of suitable Remedy. For at the beginning of the *Commination*; there is this Confession: *That in the primitive Church there was a Godly Discipline; such persons as were Notorious Sinners being put to open Pennance, and Punish'd in this World, that their Souls might be sav'd in the Day of the Lord: And that others Admonish'd by their Example, might be the more afraid to offend. And that instead thereof,* UNTIL THE SAID DISCIPLINE MAY BE RESTOR'D AGAIN, WHICH THING IS MUCH TO BE WISH'D, *its tho't good the General Sentences of God's Cursing against Impenitent Sinners, should be read, &c.* They apprehended therefore, that even the Common Prayer Book it self, (tho' in this Respect it did but set up the Shadow instead of the Substance,) justify'd their insisting upon the Restauration of that *Discipline*, which it own'd to be lost, and the Recovery of which it represented as a think highly desirable. And they tho't that the inserting this Confession and Wish, was a plain evidence that the first Compilers of the *Common Prayer*, intended a further Progress, and a fuller Reformation than those who come after them would give way to: and that the Yearly Repetition of this Confession and Wish in the Publick Churches, and a Plain and Publick Condemning themselves for stopping short, and crying up that as Perfect, which they who were the first Managers of it, were so modest as to own to have been Defective.

Many of the Laity, were also afraid of Sinning in Baptizing their Children with *Godfathers and Godmothers*. They were ready to Devote their Infants to God by Baptism in the way that he had appointed; and to promise to train them up in his Fear: But this would not do. Now they durst not put others upon Covenanting for their Children, with whom they had no Concern; or desire them (with an appearing

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Id. Ibid. page 176.

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Solemnity) to Promise, what they knew they meant not to Perform; or make Promises which their Children when they grew up would not be bound or obliged by: They tho't their Childrens Right to Baptism, depended upon *their* Interest in the Divine Covenant, and property in their Children; and tho't the bringing in middle Persons, who were to be substituted in their Room, was a fixing the Ordinance upon a false Bottom. And whereas some (who were for putting on the appearance of Moderation) would tell them that they might if they insisted upon it, be allow'd to give up their own Children, they tho't it could not fairly be reconcil'd with the Constitution, when they found it so positively declar'd by the whole Convocation in 1603 in their 29th Canon, *that no Parent shall be urg'd to be present, nor be admitted to Answer as Godfather for his own Child.* And therefore finding their Children so peremptorily excluded from Baptism, without an Humane Addition which they could not understand, and were uneasy under, they tho't themselves at Liberty to make their Application to such Ministers to Baptize their Children, as were free to do it, without any such needless or dissatisfying Imposition.

Id. Ibid. page 186.

Withal, many of them had Baptism refus'd their Children, unless they'd submit to the *Sign of the Cross*. This they esteem'd an unwarrantable Addition to Christ's Institution. They were afraid of Encouraging Church Corruptions by yielding to it. They knew no Right the Church had to make New Terms of Communion, or require their Submission to such an Humane Invention. And therefore they left those who would rather leave their Children without the Seal of the Covenant, than admit them to it, without such an unprofitable Ceremony: and adher'd to those who were ready to admit their Infants into the Visible Church of Christ, upon his own Terms.

Id. Ibid. page 187.

As for *Kneeling at the Communion*, some of the Laity question'd the Lawfulness of it: And while they did so, durst not yield to it, for fear of injuring their Consciences. And yet knowing it to be a great Sin to live in the total Neglect of that Holy Ordinance; they apprehended it their Duty to join in with those,

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of whom they might receive it in a Table Posture. Others not apprehending Kneeling at this Ordinance a thing in it self Unlawful, could (to testifie as much, and to show their Charity to the Establish'd Church under all its Corruptions) sometimes yield to receive in that way, who yet could not be satisfy'd to do it constantly, least they should be chargeable with not bearing their Testimony against Terms of Communion of Humane Invention, which they esteem'd a great Duty.

Id. Ibid. page 193.

And it also much Prejudic'd many Understanding Persons against the Church Party, to find Oaths made so light off, and to observe a greater stress so commonly laid upon their Ceremonies, than upon Knowledge or Faith, or real Holiness. They found themselves wretchedly Hamper'd and Ensnar'd by Fetters of the Clergies making. If they were intrusted in any Corporations, they must for a long time be forc'd to swear that there was no Obligation at all, from the Oath call'd *the Solemn League and Covenant*, either on them or any other: This seem'd to them a Proclaiming of Perjury Lawful, as to that part of the Covenant which was unquestionably Lawful; as the renouncing of Schism, Popery, Profaneness, &c. They were sadly pester'd with the *Corporation Act, the Vestry Act, the Oxford Act, the Militia Act* (which were all Fram'd by the ruling Clergy and their Patrons) whereby an Oath was Impos'd upon them not to endeavour any Alteration of Government in the Church, to bind them to rest contented with what they could not but esteem Corrupt: And they must also swear an Abhorrence of taking Arms against any Commissionated by the King, which they knew not but in time they might be oblig'd to, by his breaking the Original Contract with his People; which was afterwards actually found to be our Case. Multiply'd Burdens of the Nature, made the Clergy esteem'd rigid Taskmasters. And when there was any Effort made for Relief, to hear it become the common Cry, O the *Church*, the *Church* is in Danger; as if the whole Tabernacle totter'd upon the touching of the least Pin: And at the same time observing that they who could not bate an Ace in the Ccremonial Part, were yet

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ready eno' many times to make considerable Abatements, in those things in which lies the main of Rear Religion; and that they who were so fond

of their Constitution, had so little Charity left for those whose Sentiments differ'd from theirs; and were ready to question the validity of their Ministry and Ordinances, nay and even the Possibility of their Salvation too, if they question'd but the *Jus Divinum* of Bishops: such Observations as these made many of the Laity think, that there was no small Danger of Encouraging them in their Rigours, and assuming Pretensions, by an Adherence and Submission to them.

Things being in the Posture, that hath been thus briefly represented; the National Constitution being so contriv'd as to keep out many both Ministers and People, who were truly Conscientious, upon such Accounts as those mention'd; it was a very natural Question, what must they do? Without the Cross and Sponsors there was no Baptism to be had; without Kneeling no Communion; without Submitting in many Parishes, to unqualify'd Guides, there was no room left by the Law for Ministerial Instruction, and Pastoral help; and were the things requir'd own'd to be in themselves Lawful, there was no falling wholly in with them, without Practcal submitting to a pretended Authority of making New terms of Communion, which was more than it could be made appear, our Blessed Lord had entrusted any Mortals with: How then must they Steer? Must they sit still, without any Ordinances at all? Or must they go against their Consciences that they might enjoy them? Must they be contented to be depriv'd of the necessary Means of Salvation? Must they live like Pagans till they got rid of their Scruples? That certainly would be unbecoming Christians; and unaccountable in such as know the worth of Souls, and the weight of things Eternal. And if not, then they must take fitting opportunities of Worshipping God according to their Consciences, in a freedom from insnaring Impositions; being careful in the mean time to maintain Love and Charity, towards those from whom they differ'd.

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See this Branch of the Argument handled at large in Mr. How's Letter to a Person of Quality, who took offence as Dean Stillingfleets Sermon.

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And this was the Course they accordingly took; having sometimes the Smiles, and sometimes the Frowns of the Government; being sometimes tolerated, and sometimes abridg'd; till at last the fruitlessness of Rigour and Severity being generally evident, they were taken under the Publick Protection, and had their Liberty allow'd them by the Three Estates of the Realm, King, Lords, and Commons.

In the mean while, among other Charges that were bro't against them, none made more Noise than that of *Schism*. Both Ministers and People upon

the Account, of their separate Assemblies, were cry'd out upon from Press and Pulpit as dangerous *Schismaticks*, and under that Notion bro't under a Popular *Oidium*, and laden with unspeakable Reproach. A great Dust was rais'd, with which the Eyes of many were too much affected, for them to discern distinctly the Merits of the Cause in Debate. This hath been an usual Method, and is no new Invention. A Member of their own, the Ingenious Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton* (who by a good Token, hath had a great many hard Words for his Pains) told them long ago, that *Heresie and Schism are Two Theological Scare-Crows, us'd by those that seek to uphold a Party in Religion, to terrifie their Opposites*. However they weigh'd the Matter, consider'd the Grounds of the Charge bro't against them, found themselves Innocent, and made their Appeal to the Unprejudic'd and Impartial, in divers *Apologetick* Writings.

MODERATE NONCONFORMISTS NO SCHISMATICKS.

They pleaded that their Practise was not what the Scripture calls, *Schism*. As *Schism* is there represented, it lies not so much in variety of Opinions, or different Practises, Modes or Forms, or different, Places of Worship, as in a want of true Love and Charity. For as *Heresie* is oppos'd to the *Faith*, so is *Schism* oppos'd to *Love*; and both *Heresie* and *Schism* are distinguish'd by those Things to which each of them is oppos'd. This they evidenc'd by a distinct Consideration of the several Passages of Scripture, where *Schism* is mention'd; which do all of them so evidently Point at *Uncharitableness* as the discriminating Badge of *Schismaticks*, as gave them abundant, Satisfaction they were Free from guilt in this Respect,

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tho' separating of Communion, so long as they took Care not to violate that Love and Charity which ought to be among Christians. He that is Conversant with Scripture may easily observe, that there may be *Schism*, or a Schismatical Spirit working in a Church, where there is no Local Separation; and there may be a *Separation* and yet no *Schism* on the Part of them that Separate: Nay, that there can be no *Schism* in Scripture-Account, where there is not an uncharitable Alienation of Christians Hearts from each other, because of their differing Apprehensions about lesser Things of Religion. This being the true Scripture Notion of *Schism*, they tho't it very evident, that some on each side in this Debate, may be under Guilt; but that all on neither side were fairly chargeable: Particularly, that all those who separate

from the Church of *England* are not justly chargeable in this Respect, there being many among them, who tho' they'l freely give their Brethren of the Establish'd Church the Preference in many other Things, will yet, vye with them, for a free, large, and extensive Charity.

Passing from the Scriptures to the Primitive Fathers, they found many of their Exclamations against the Sin of *Schism* very warm and severe; and perhaps it may be made appear that some of them might lay more stress (in their Representation of the Thing they so heavily Censur'd,) on the bare Separation, and less on an uncharitable Spirit and Temper, than we can discern in Scripture, which was their proper Standard, as well as ours: But be that as it will, the Poor Branded *Dissenters* have not stuck to own, that the heavy Censures of the Primitive Fathers, were better grounded than our Modern Invectives; and they give this Reason for it, which deserves to be consider'd; *viz.* Because the Church in those Times made no other Terms of Communion, than Guilt had made to her Hands: Whereas 'tis now quite otherwise. And yet they found even as severe a Person as St. *Cyprian*, declaring that *a conscientious People ought to separate themselves from a scandalolous, and wicked Pastour*; whence they inferr'd, that there may be some just grounds of Separation, even in the Sense of the

Fathers:

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Fathers: And that even where there may be the true Faith and acceptable Worship; where all Sacred Ordinances may be validly administred, and nothing that is necessary to Salvation be wanting: And consequently *Separation* even from a true Church, where Ordinances are valid, and nothing necessary is wanting, is not in their Esteem, (if they are consistent: with themselves) presently *damnable Schism*.

The farther Pleaded, that their Separation was not *Chosen* and, *Voluntary*, but *Forc'd* and *Constrain'd*. They were cast out of the Church by, their Impositions, and Excommunicated by their *Canons*: On which Account many of the *Laudensian* Faction, even to this Day deny them Christian Burial; (as the Charitable Mr. *Robert Burscoughh* of *Totness*, and others.) They were Free to hold constant Communion with the Establish'd Church, upon those Terms which Christ had made necessary either to visible or real Christianity, or to the Exercise of the Ministry; out were rejected with Scorn without farther Compliance, in Things which after the utmost Search, they could not find the Word of God would Warrant, So that they did not throw out themselves, but were rejected: They did not voluntarily separate, but were forc'd to it: They were Passive, and not Active: And having Petition'd, and

Expostulated, Pray'd, and waited for a long Time to little Purpose, they could not see any remaining Duty lying upon them, but to provide for the Necessities of their Souls, and the Worship of God, in the best Manner they could, with Safety to their Consciences; maintaining Love and Charity towards those who rejected them; and waiting patiently till they should become sensible of their unbrotherly Treatment of them, and open a Door for their Restauration.

They farther Pleaded, that if there were a *Schism* among us, it most properly lay at their Door, who hid the Foundation of it by their scrupled *Impositions*, and might remove it, and prevent the Dismal Consequences they so much complain off, by leaving the Things that are so straitly enjoin'd, in their proper Natuarl Indifference. They found that the main inlet of all the Distractions, Confusions, and Divisi

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ons of the Christian World, hath been the adding other Conditions of Church-Communion than Christ hath done. They could meet with no Charter that he had given to any Persons, whether they were cloth'd with a Civil or an Ecclesiastical Authority, containing any Power of making such Impositions. They durst not therefore encourage such Pretensions. If they would drop them, the *Schism* would vanish. If they were fonder of them than of Peace and Unity they that it a Sign that they hardly believ'd themselves, when they spake so warmly upon the Consequences of a *Schism*, they could so easily put, an end to. And whereas some have Pleaded, it was not in the Power of the Church to make such an Alteration. The Answer is easie; 'twas in their, Power at King *Charles's* Restauration: The King and Parliament then did nothing in Ecclesiastical Matters, without the Concurrence and Influence, of the Bishops, and the Convocation. 'Twas also in their Power, when King *William* ascended the vacant Throne, he prepar'd Matters for them, propos'd the Alteration to them, and urg'd it upon them, but to little Purpose. The Carriage of the Clergy in those Two Junctures is a plain Indication of their not being enclin'd to that Alteration, which might put a Period to that Schism, about which they make such a Noise. We can't therefore have so bad an Opinion of them as to suppose they speak as they mean, when they represent the Tragical Consequences of a supposed *Schism*, which they might so easily have prevented and remedy'd, but would not. But however 'tis as to that, the Poor *Dissenters* tho't that the Ingenious Mr. *Hales's* Maxims, were so clear and undoubted, as to be Self-evident; and they found themselves thereby fully justify'd. They were these: That *where Cause*

of Schism is necessary, there not he that separates, but he that is the Cause of the Separation is the Schismatick. And, when either false or uncertain Conclusions are, obtruded for Truth; and Acts either unlawful, or ministring just ground of Scruple are requir'd of us, to be perform'd; In these Cases Consent were Conspiracy, and open Contestation, is not Faction or Schism, but due Christian Animosity. For that it is alike unlawful to make profes

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sion of known or suspected Falshood, and to put in Practise, unlawful or suspected Actions. And they were, the more Confirm'd in their Adherence to these Principles, by finding the most eminent Divines of the Church, forc'd to make use of the same Maxims, upon like Grounds; in their noble Defence of the Reformation, against the *Romanists*: And indeed it seem'd to them remarkable that they which were reckon'd by the Clergy, the most successful Weapons against the poor *Dissenters*, should be the same that ate us'd by the *Papists* against the *Protestant* Reformation.

Upon the whole, if there be a Real *Schism*, between the Church Party and the Moderate *Dissenters*, they have all along tho't that any Impartial Person must judge, that it must be charg'd upon the Imposition of Terms of Communion, without any Obligation in Conscience to make that Imposition, so much as pleaded or pretended from the Nature of Things impos'd; rather than on the refusing Compliance with such Impositions, under a Profession that such a Compliance, would be against the Light of their Conscience, and the best Understanding they could attain of the Mind and Will of God in the Scriptures. They tho't that the Grounds of their Dissatisfaction above mention'd, fully prov'd that their Separation was not sinful; and therefore they apprehended it should be their great Care and Endeavour to manage it so peacably and charitably, as that it might not become *Schismatical*.

* He that would see this Matter fully canvass'd, may consult Corbet's *Point of Church Unity and Schism discuss'd*. Baxter's *search for the English Schismatick*. Owen's *brief Vindication of the Nonconformists, from the Charge of Schism*. Alsop's *Melius Inquirendum, Part 2. Ch. 2.* page 209. Wadsworth's *Separation no schism*. Henry's *Brief Enquiry into the Nature of Schism: And Tongues ingenious Defence of that Enquiry*.

THEIR OCCASIONAL COMMUNION WITH THE ESTABLISH'D CHURCH
DEFENDED.

A main Expedient which was pitch'd upon by the most Moderate for this Purpose, was the Communicating *Occasionally* with the Establish'd Church,

altho' they at the same Time held more *Stated* Communion, with separate Worshipping Assemblies. Hereby they tho't they should show their Love and Charity into those from whom they originally separated;

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and yet at the same Time should show their firm Adherence to their Fundamental Principles, of keeping the Ordinances of Christ, as he had appointed them without Additional Terms of Communion; and of pursuing in their respective Places and Spheres a farther Reformation than has as yet been reach'd among us, in Order to an Happy Settlement. But taking this Method, they have had the common Lot of those who in any Case have been for keeping within a due Mediocrity; they have been eagerly Assaulted by those, who have been addicted to Extrems on either Hand of them, and run down as utterly inexcuseable because of their Moderation: They have let Things work, in hope, that Time with Observation and Experience would open a way for the Conviction of their warmest Censurers; till at length they have been trampled on, as if they had nothing to say in their own defence.

They have been represented as Hypocrites and inconsistent with themselves, in practically owning the *Lawfulness* of the Terms of the Establish'd Church, by Communicating *Occasionally* with it; while they have pleaded the sinfulness of those Terms, in Bar to *constant* Communication. But herein there will not appear the least inconsistency, to one that observes that the Terms of Communion with the Establish'd Church are not pretended to be sinful *absolutely*, but only *respectively*: It is not pleaded, that they are of the number of the Things that are so *Sinful*, as that they can in no Case be *Lawful*, but among Things that are either *Sinful* or *Lawful* according to the Circumstances. And indeed most (not to say all) Humane Actions, depend more upon Circumstances than we commonly Observe. Tho' no Action can be done, but it must have Agent, Object, Manner, End, Time, Place, and other Circumstances attending it; yet it may be consider'd without considering at the same Time any, or all of these: And if we attend carefully we shall find, that the very same Action as to the Matter of it, is made morally Good or Bad, according as the Agent is proper or improper, the Object suitable or unfit; and the like. Thus plentiful Eating and Drinking may be mo

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rally Good in some Circumstances, as well as good upon a natural Consideration; when yet to do so every Meal, or very frequently would be

very bad; 'twould; be Intemperate and Dangerous in Point of Health. So also Fasting is laudable and praiseworthy, when so manag'd as that it furthers in the Divine Service; but very preposterous and pernicious, when so oft repeated, and that the Body is macerated, and the Spirits depauperated, and the Person concern'd unfitted for the Service either of God or Man.

Circumstances give Actions their Mortal Goodness or Badness. 'Tis so in this Case. The very same Terms of Communion, which are unwarrantably impos'd by the Church of *England*, may be comply'd with *upon Occasion* lawfully, by those who would Act irregularly and sinfully, should they fall in with them for a Constancy. The Action of Communicating is the same indeed in Substance at one Time as at another, and the Matter of that Action hath no Moral Evil in it; so that a fit and just Occasion may therefore tender it fit and laudable; and yet the Constancy of that Action may by superadded Circumstances be made apparently Evil. To those who take Things in gross, such an Action as Communicating, appears the same Thing, done now and then, or for a Constancy: But if they would give themselves leave, to think soberly, they'd soon see a great Difference.

The Action is the same, and not the same. 'Tis the same in one Respect, but not in others. 'Tis the same as to the Substance or Matter; but not as to attending Circumstances. Communicating *constantly* under such Impositions as are in the Establish'd Church, is an Action cloath'd with such Circumstances, as make it highly different from Communicating *occasionally*. The one doth practically Pronounce the Action consider'd materially to be (what indeed it is) *Lawful*. The other does represent the same Action as *eligible*, nay *preferable*; which is contray to the inward Sense of the most moderate among the *Dissenters*. Neither will the Private Expression of a different Sense, be

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a sufficient Guard against such Publick, and more forcible Language, of continu'd Practise. The one does practically Assert the Liberty with which Christ hath made us Free, in Opposition to rigid Separatists: The other Practically betrays our Liberty, in Compliance with rigorous imposers. The one discovers this to be our Sense; this Worship is in the main Sound, tho' Irregular and Defective: The other on the Contrary; seems to intimate as if Divine Worship were not acceptable without such superadded Formalities. Occasional Communion manifests, that in our Apprehension the Additions to Divine Worship that are bro't into the Church of *England* are not destructive of the Essence of Worship: Constant Communion would represent Christs own Institution as defective, and not orderly or decent without them. The

former condemns the uncharitably Censorious; when the other would appear to acquit Ecclesiastical Assumers. The former shows our Charity towards those whose Sentiments and common Practise differs from ours; the Latter would be a Confining our Charity to a Party, and a Practical disowning and condemning all other worshipping Assemblies. This latter Consideration appears to be of great weight; in that constant Communion with the Establish'd Church, is by its greatest Advocates intended to be exclusive of Communion with all others: And therefore that Church has provided (by *Canon* xith) That if anyone speak of separate Congregations, as true Churches, they shall be Excommunicate, &c. Now these Moderate *Dissenters* have all apprehended, that should they thus confine their Communion within the Limits of that Party, (or indeed of any, other Party of Christians in the Land) and avoid all other Christian Assemblies and Places of Worship, as esteeming them no true Churches, they should prove themselves, destitute of a Christian Spirit, whatsoever Church they might pretend to belong to. Now where lies the inconsistency in the Case, when we don't Assert the Terms of Communion in the Establish'd Church to be firmly

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finful, (*i.e.* that it tis sinful to do the things themselves that are requir'd) when yet we assert it to be sinful to bind up our selves by those Terms: Whereby we should be oblig'd to do continually, what we have only liberty to do more rarely, and upon fit Occasion.

They have been farther call'd upon to consider the Stress laid in Scripture upon *Peace* and *Union*, which is so great, as seems to require the Sacrificing of any Pleas to things that are so valuable, so Truth and Holiness be but secur'd and they have been over and over told that they appear not to have the due regard thereto, while they cannot Sacrifice to them so much as their own greater particular Satisfaction. To which they have an easie Reply. They have as great a regard to *Peace* and *Union* as their Brethren; and show it by their readiness to go as far in order to them, as they can conceive they Lawfully may; which they do by occasionally Communicating with them; but as for Constant Communion they therefore only refuse it, because it is in their Apprehension unlawful to them, for the Reasons above specify'd, notwithstanding that the occasional be Lawful. We may Lawfully for the sake of Peace and Quietness put up Injuries and Affronts: Nay, it is a Certain Duty; and yet to do so for a constancy and in all Cases, were so far from being Lawful, that it would be a ruining our selves, and a contributing to the overthrow of Common Right and Justice. Tho' I may be allow'd, nay requir'd, to Sacrifice

my own private Rights in many Cases, to the Common Peace, yet I must not endanger a Publick Mischief, or Ruin, for fear of a little present Disturbance. What were this, but as if for fear of disturbing a Peccant Humour in the Body, we should suffer it to proceed uncontroul'd, till it prov'd Fatal? And certainly the Offence taken by Bigots, at the asserting against them a truly Christian Liberty, is no better than a Peccant Humour; not indeed to be needlessly enrag'd; and yet much less to be quietly suffer'd to become predominant. As for the more Moderate Dissenters, they are therefore against a practical abetting of Impositions, as being the great Engine of Disturbance and Division. They

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are heartily desirous, if it be possible, and is much as in them lies to live peaceably with all Men: And for that very Reason would not willingly be found Combating those whom they cannot convince. They are free to acknowledge, that to an offending Brother, gentler Methods and Time is due; and much more to a Church that needs Reformation: But the waiting time seems to be now over, when the Practise of such things as needed Reformation is heighten'd into declared Purposes, of perpetual adherence. Have not these things been endeavour'd to be riveted by a Solemn Oath never to endeavour (no not each Man in his place) any alteration in the Church? Have not those who would have continu'd in the Church, complying as far as they could without Guilt, been Ejected for that very Reason, because they would do all they could to better it, and least they should? And was it not the declared Sense of the Body of the Clergy after the late happy Revolution, that no Amendments were needful or desireable, or to be yielded to? To what purpose then is it to wait any longer? Hath not that Method been try'd long eno' without Success?

Should any think that by going off totally from the Dissenters, to a full and sole Commission with the Church of *England*, they might Contribute something towards disposing Mens minds, and paving the way, to the desir'd Alterations; they would do well to consider that they have very little Reason to hope to gain that Character and Reputation with the high Church Party, as should make them of any Significance, unless they would Counter-act the very design of their Yielding such a Compliance. Before they could Insinuate themselves into any good Esteem, they must pretend their Preference of what they think but tolerable, and therefore would go into the Church that they might Contribute to its Amendment in, Nay they'l find it will be expected they should shew a Hatred and Contempt of what they think

preferable, and would go into the Church to make way for. In a word, they would not be able to make their way to the doing the good they aim at, but by Speaking and Acting Contrary, both to

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sincerity, and to the very end they propose to themselves. For if they who have always adher'd to the Establish'd Church, are suspected when moderate, and exploded when appearing to desire or endeavour any Reformation; it is but consentaneous to Reason to expect, that they who come off to it, must be much more so.

Upon the whole, the moderate Dissenters think they have sufficiently acquitted themselves as lovers of *Peace* and *Union*, by thawing their readiness to do any thing in order to it, which they can conceive they Lawfully may do. Nay they think they have herein out-done, their Brethren of the Establish'd Church, who might have ere this remov'd the hindrances of *Peace* and *Union*, without any Danger of Sinning, but would not. Notwithstanding their continu'd Refusal, they yet show their Peaceable Disposition, by Communicating occasionally with them; and cannot conceive that even the God of Peace and Order does allow Christians to follow External Peace and Order, to the great and apparent Prejudice of inward Peace, and general Purity; and therefore they dare go no farther.

They have been further Charg'd as being herein wanting in their Duty to the Civil Magistrate; but in their Apprehension very undeservedly, since upon the strictest Enquiry they cannot find themselves in this respect justly Blameable; They are ready to Demonstrate their regard to Civil Governours by Submission to what they should less choose, nay to what would be to them a Hardship: But in what is in their Judgment (after the utmost Search) sinful, they dare not comply; as looking upon themselves countermanded by a Superior Authority. This Article of the Controversie hath been manag'd very Wordily; but after all that has been said, they are fully satisfy'd in this, that Obedience to the Magistrates in constant Communion with the Establish'd Church, cannot be made appear to be a Duty, any farther than the thing it self is Evidenc'd to be lawful. 'Tis commonly asserted, that we have more certainty that we are bound to obey Authority in all lawful things, than we have that what is requir'd of

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us is Unlawful. Be it so, yet the certainty of its being our Duty to obey Authority in all Lawful things can no farther affect our Consciences, than as we have Evidence that what is requir'd is in its attending Circumstances Lawful. Be this Principle undoubted and confess'd; yet that it is rightly apply'd, and cogent or binding in the present Case, can be no clearer or surer to us, than 'tis dear and sure that the things requir'd are Lawful. Should Parents upon their own Judgment, or any Sinister Considerations, plead their Authority with a Child for his Marrying a *Papist*, urging his Obligation to obey them in all things Lawful; if he in the mean time but doubts the Lawfulness of complying with them in this matter, he hath a sufficient Counterplea, *viz.* that the thing requir'd appears not among those Lawful things: and yet he may comply so far, as Civil Occasional Converse with *Papists*, may be manag'd without Dangerous Temptation. Tho' a Son in such a Case were not able to Demonstrate the unlawfulness of entire Compliance with his Parents Commands, yet it were sufficient that they could not deare to him the Lawfulness of so doing; since 'tis upon that Supposition only that the Argument hath any force in it. And it is the same also in the present Case.

They have been also charg'd as *Temporizers*, in Communicating Occasionally with the Establish'd Church, because it was Necessary to Self-Preservation when the Laws against Dissenters were rigorously Executed, and hath been Necessary to the holding any Post in the Government, ever since the Sacramental Test. To which they have this to say, that let Men make what Clamours they please, whoever will fairly consider Matters will find, that it is not a matter of Policy, but plain Duty, to do what we Lawfully may do in all its Circumstances, in Order to self-Preservation, and the preventing ruin; and also in order to the more general Usefulness. What is indeed unlawful may not be done; but what is in all its Circumstances Lawful, ought to be done in such a Case; and that Occasional Communion is of the number of such Lawful things, hath been all along held by the more moderate Dissenters. This

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Opinion of theirs was not taken up with the Sacramental Test, but was own'd long before by many of their most noted Ministers, and most Intelligent Adherents: And having declar'd that for their Opinion, and regulated their Practise by it, from the beginning of their Nonconformity, they could see no Reason why the superinducing such a Test, should make any Change or

Alteration, either in their Principle, or Correspondent Practise. And whereas they have upon this Account been censur'd as guilty of Carnal Policy, it will appear to any impartial Observers, one of the falsest and most senseless Charges in the World. For had the more moderate Dissenters any Self-Interest to serve and pursue separate from the common Good, they must have been wretchedly overseen if they had not taken a quite different Method: For their particular Interest hath been far from being serv'd by this Means, nor was there any likelihood it should. They might with much greater case make and hold fast their Party, by suggesting an utter unlawfulness of Communicating at all with the Establish'd Church, than they can convey the Distinction to common Capacities, by which they must defend themselves, and engage the Adherence of others in a constant Communion, in their separate Assemblies, while they professedly allow them an occasional one else-where. For the minds of Men are generally for taking things in Gross, and accounting them altogether good, or altogether bad, and are impatient if not incapable of mending to those differencing Circumstances, which render an Action that is the same for Substance, one while and in this respect Lawful, and another while, and in another respect unlawful. And in being willing for the sake of Truth and Charity to run this Apparent hazard, they have all along tho't they have been sufficiently clear'd from this Imputation.

They have been also warmly Assaulted upon the Head of *Scandal*; and told by some, that their occasional Communication with the Establish'd Church which they tho't Lawful, led others in imitation of them, to such a compliance as they judg'd sinful. Their Reply was not to seek. Were occasional Com-

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munions absolutely indifferent; had they not been oblig'd to it, for the Testification of their Charity, and other binding Reasons, they were not then to use their Liberty, for fear of misguiding others by that Practise, which they might without Sin have altogether omitted: But when what they did as Duty, and with all that Guard which the discharge of such. Duty would allow, is misconstrued, 'tis not a Scandal given, but only taken. They were also told by others, that this Liberty they took in Communicating Occasionally, was matter of Scandal to many in the Church of *England*, who were hereby confirm'd in their way, and led to think that their Impositions were justify'd by their thus abetting them; and they self-Condemn'd, by not failing heartily in with them. In which case they had thus to say for themselves; that the largest Charity is alwas liable to the most Misconstructions: and that when they only discover'd their sense of the bare Lawfulness of Communicating

with them, while their Stated Separation, with their ready Defence of it (when call'd) show'd they were far from apprehending; it preferable; if this should be interpreted as an Encouraging them, it would be thro' a faulty want of Consideration, and the blame must lie at their own Door. And when they were told by others that they ought to mind the Apostles Charge, and *mark those who cause Divisions*, their Practise answer'd for them, that it was their great endeavour to keep from Extreame, and mark uncharitable Dividers on both hands of them; that so by carrying it with as Disinterested an Integrity as was Possible, between the furious Biggots on both sides, they might both *save themselves from the untoward Generation wherein they liv'd*, and do what they could to pave the way for that *Coalition of the more moderate of all sorts*, which was the thing that from first to last appear'd to them *most desireable*, and which (they yet conceive) *will at last be found Necessary to our common Security*.

CHAP XI.

Mr. BAXTER'S Settlement in LONDON. The Occasion of his Separation from his Beloved People at KEDERMINSTER. His Carriage to them after he left them. His Labours in LONDON, till he was Silenc'd.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS, WHEN MR. BAXTER CAME TO LONDON.

WHILE Mr. *Baxter* continu'd in a Private Corner of the Country his Name grew Famous all over the Nation: And when he was afterwards more in general view, by being fix'd in the City, which is the common Center of the Land; He kept his Reputation, and his usefulness was the more Extensive. He came to *London* at the time when all things tended toward a mighty Change. Protectour *Richard* was depos'd, and the Government that Succeeded, was very Precarious and Changeable. Some tho't the Obligation to *Richard* was not dissolv'd, nor could be till another Parliament or till he had made a fuller Renunciation of the Government. Most were weary of the frequent Changes they had past thro': All had great Expectations from the Approaching Parliament. The King's return was what was generally

desir'd; and that even by those had but a Melancholy Prospect of the Consequences of such an Alteration: for they could see no hope of a Settlement, any other way. The minds of People were in no small Commotion, thro' a variety of clandestine Rumours; Politicians were busily at Work to quiet and satisfie them. They procur'd several Letters to be written from *France*, full of high Elogiums of the King, and Assurances of his firmness in the Protestant Religion. Among the rest one was written by Monsieur *Gaches*, a famous Preacher at *Charenton* to Mr. *Baxter*, declaring that the King was present at Divine Worship in the *French Church* at *Roan* and *Rochel*, tho' not at *Charenton*. These Letters were Printed, and satisfy'd many.

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HIS PREACHING THERE UPON PUBLICK OCCASIONS,

The New Parliament was no sooner met, than they appointed a Solemn Day of Fasting and Prayer, in order to a general Humiliation for the Sins of the Land, and to invoke the Divine Blessing on their Consultations. Mr. *Baxter* was one who Preach'd before them upon that Occasion. It was upon the last of *April* 1660. In that Sermon, Speaking of the Differences then on Foot and the way to heal them, he told them that *whether they should be Loyal to the K. was no matter of Difference; in that all agreed; it not being possible that a Man should be true to Protestant Principles, and not be Loyal; as it was impossible to be Loyal upon Romish Principles.* And as for matters of Church Government, he told them *it was easie for moderate Men to come to a fair Agreement; and that the late Arch-Bishop of ARMAGH and he, had agreed in half an Hours Discourse, &c.* the Papists were angry at his Charge, tho' he cited *Canon* the third of the *Lateran Council* under Pope *Innocent* the Third, which was a full Justification of his Assertion. The very next Morning after this day of Fasting, (May the 1) the Parliament voted home the King, *Nemine Contradiante*. About the same-time, there was a Day of Solemn Thanksgiving in the City, for *Monk's* Success, &c. and Mr. *Baxter* Preach'd before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at *St. Pauls*, and he endeavour'd to shew the value of that Mercy, so as to shew also, how Sin and Mens Abuse might turn it into matter of Calamity: and what should be right Bounds and Qualifications of this Joy. Dr. *Morley* being often free in his Discourse for Peace and Union, Mr. *Baxter* obtain'd a Meeting with him, and had an Hours Discourse upon that Subject. The Doctor spake much of Moderation in the General, but would not parly upon the particular Terms of Peace. He spake much for Liturgys, and against

Extemporary Church Prayers and at length declar'd that the *Jansenists* were numerous amongst the Papists, and many among the *French* inclin'd to Peace, and that to his Knowledge, if it were not for the Hinderances which *Calvin* had laid in the way, most on this side the *Alpes* would come over to us; by which what he aim'd at was easily Discover'd. When the King was come home, Mr.

Baxter

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Baxter Preach'd once before him as his Chaplain; and often waited upon him with the rest of the Ministers, as has been before Related; using his utmost endeavours to keep things from coming to extremity; in which tho' he Succeeded not to his Desire, he yet had the Satisfaction of the disinterested, Sincerity of his Aims and Intentions.

§. *HIS EJECTION AT KEDERMINSTER, AND ENDEAVOUR TO HAVE CONTINU'D THERE.*

§. King *Charles* had not been long in *England*, before the Old Sequefired Vicar of *Kedermister*, (who was yet living) was restor'd to his Parsonage. He had before remain'd unmolested. And tho' the Parliament had made an Order that no Sequestred Minister should have his fifth part, unless he remov'd out of the Parish where he had been Minister, yet did Mr. *Baxter* never remove him out of the Vicaridge House, no nor once came within the Doors of it; so far was he from seizing it as his own, or removing him out of the Town. But he liv'd in Peace and Quietness, and without Scandal and Offensiveness. He never discover'd any uneasiness till the times chang'd, & then was as Assuming, as before he was Submissive. The Sequestration continu'd in the hands of the Towns-Men. They gather'd the Tythes and Profits, and thus dispos'd of them. Mr. *Baxter* had 90*l. per Annum*. The Old Vicar 40. 6*l.* Yearly went to the Lord for Rents: There were also some other Charges; and the over-plus was given to Mr. *Baxter's* Assistant. When the Vicar was restor'd, Mr. *Baxter* would gladly have been his Curate; for he was so sensible of his own insufficiency that he always kept one; but even this could not be granted. Being often with my Lord Chauncellar after the King's return, he when he refus'd the offers of a Bishoprick, begg'd his Lordships Favour, about a Settlement at *Kedermister*. Sir *Ralph Clare* was the great Obstacle; who once freely told him that if he would Conform, no Man in *England* was so fit to be there as he; but if he would not, no Man so unfit. Once meeting Sir *Ralph* in Bishop *Morley's* Chamber, he desir'd to know if he had

any thing against him, that should make him so much oppose him. His answer was, that it was because he would not give the Sacrament to any Kneeling; and that of 1800 Communicants, he had not above 600 for him,

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and the rest were for the Vicar. Mr. *Baxter* reply'd that he himself knew that he invited him to the Sacrament, and offered it him Kneeling, and that under his hand in Writing and that openly in his hearing in the Pulpit, he had promis'd him and all the rest, that he never had nor would put any Man from the Sacrament on the Account of Kneeling, but leave everyone to the Posture they should choose. And that the Reason why he never gave it to any Kneeling was, because all that came would Sit or Stand, and those who were for Kneeling would not come, unless he would Administer it to them on a day by themselves, when the rest were not present: And he had no mind to be the Author of such a Division, and make as it were two Churches of one. And that the Consciousness of Notorious Scandal which they knew they must be accountable for, made many Kneelers stay away. And as to the second Charge, he begg'd leave of the Bishop to send by the next Post, to know the minds of the People; for that if he found what was alledg'd was true, he should take it a Favour to be kept from them. This being understood by the People of *Kederminster*, they in a days time gather'd the hands of 1600 of the 1800 Communicants, and the rest were such as were from Home. This Subscription he a few days after show'd Sir *Ralph* before the Bishop, and they were both of them thereupon so much the more against his Return to them. However, my Lord Chauncellor wrote to Sir *Ralph* about the matter, and told him that it would be a thing grateful both to his Majesty and himself, for Mr. *Baxter* to be resettled among that People according to his Desire, and offer'd that whatever Annual Allowance should be agreed upon for Mr. *Dance* the Old Vicar, should be paid by his own Steward by Quarterly Payments, till he was otherwise provided for to his Satisfaction. But it was a meer Compliment, and had no Effect. Not long after he went himself into *Worcestershire*, to try whether it were possible to get any honest Terms from the Vicar, that he might Preach to his former Flock. But when he had Preach'd twice or thrice, he deny'd him Liberty to Preach any more. He of

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fer'd him to take the Lecture only which he was bound to allow him under a Bond of 500*l.* but he refus'd it. He offer'd to be his Curate, which also was refus'd. He offer'd to Preach for nothing, but could not be accepted. At length he only begg'd leave once to Administer the Sacrament to the People, and Preach his Farewel Sermon to them, but could not obtain it. The Vicar acted herein according to the Direction of his Superiours. Going afterwards to the Bishop, he altogether deny'd him the Liberty of Preaching in his Diocess. He offer'd him to Preach only on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments; and only to such as had no Preaching; but could not have Liberty. The Bishop told him that he would take care the People should be no Loafers, but should be taught as well as they were by him: And for a while he procur'd the man acceptable Persons he could get to keep up the Lecture, till the smalness of the Audiory furnish'd him with an Excuse for putting it down. One day Bishop *Morley* took the pains to Preach to them himself; and vehemently invey'd against the People as Presbyterians, and against Mr. *Baxter* their Minister, but with little Acceptation or Success. A while after the Dean, Dr. *Warnestry* did the like, and spent three Hours upon the People to cure them of their Admiration of Mr. *Baxter*, and within a Month, he repeated his Invective, taking a great deal of pains to perswade them that they were Presbyterians and Schismatical, and led to it by overvaluing Mr. *Baxter*. Their Lectures ran much in the same Strain generally, which instead of winning upon the People drove them from the Lecture, and then they accus'd them as deserting it, and so put it down. For their Stated Preacher the Bishop set up one of the best parts he could get, but he was quickly weary, and went away; then he put in one that had been a Schoolmaster in the Neighbourhood, who died in a little time. Then he put in a Young Man, who sought to win upon the People by kind and gentle Usage, and applauding Mr. *Baxter*. The People were glad of one that had some Charity: And yet were not either by roughness or gentleness, to be won upon to the Love of Prelacy.

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*ADVICE TO HIS PEOPLE, WHEN BE LEFT THEM; AND CARRIAGE TOWARDS
THEM AFTERWARDS.*

When he parted from his Dear Flock, which was not without mutual Grief and Tears, he left Mr. *Baldwin* to live privately amongst them, and over-see them in his Stead, and visit them from House to House; advising them notwithstanding all the injuries they had receiv'd, and all the failings of the Ministers that Preach'd to them, and the Defects of the Establish'd way on Worship, that yet they should keep to the Publick Assemblies, and make use of such helps as they might have there, together with what help they had in Private: And only in three Cases to Absent themselves. When the Minister was one that was utterly insufficient, as not being able to teach them the Articles of the Faith, and Essentials of true Religion (such as Alas they had known to their Sorrow) or when the Minister Preach'd any Heresy, or Doctrine which was contrary to any Article of the Faith, or Necessary part of Godliness: Or when in the Application he set himself against the ends of his Office, to make a Holy Life seem Odious, and to keep Men from it, and to promote the Interest of Satan. Yet not to take every bitter Reflection upon themselves or others, occasion'd by Difference of Opinion or Interest to be a sufficient Cause to say that the Minister Preach'd against Godliness or to withdraw themselves. He therefore remov'd his Dwelling from among them, because they themselves apprehended that his stay with them, would have been much to their Damage, thro' the bitterness of his Adversaries. And when he was gone from them, he did not so much as write a Letter to them, except once a Year, least it should be the Occasion of their Suffering. For had they but receiv'd a Letter from him, any displeasing thing they did, would have been Imputed to that. For Instance, when the Act came out requiring all that had any place of Trust in Citys, Corporations or Countrys, should be put out, unless they declar'd that they held, *that there is no Obligation lying upon them, or any other Person, from the Oath call'd the Solemn League and Covenant*, the Bailiff and Justice, and thirteen Capital Burgesses of *Kedemminster*, except one that had been an Officer in the King's Army, and most of the Twenty five

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Inferiour Burgesscs also were turn'd out, tho' very few of them had taken the *Covenant* themselves. It was charg'd upon them, that Mr. *Baxter* had perswaded them to refuse this. Declaration, till it was manifest that he had never spoke a Word to them about it, nor then writen a Line to them of a long time. But such things as these were what poor Mr. *Baxter* was us'd to. Nothing more common than for him to have Scandalous Reports spread abroad concerning him. Of which this Instance among others was remarkable; that just at the time that the Bishop was silencing him, 'twas reported at *London*, that he was in the North in the Head of a Rebellion! and at *Kederminster* he was accus'd, because there was a Meeting of several Ministers at his House, which had been Customary for several Years. While they were at Dinner it fell out, that by Publick Order the *Covenant* was to be burnt in the Market Place, and it was done under his Window. The Attendance was so small, that they knew not of it till afterward's. And yet because he had Preach'd the Morning before, (which was his last Sermon among them) upon Christ's Words upon the Cross, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do*: He was accus'd of it as an heinous Crime, as haveing Preach'd against the burning of the *Covenant*. Altho' he meddled not with it, nor indeed knew of it till afterwards.

*HOW THEY WERE AFFECTED, AFTER THEIR SUFFERINGS FOR
NONCONFORMITY.*

When Mr. *Baxter* afterwards Publish'd his Book call'd the *Cure of Church Divisions*, even his Old *Kederminster* Flock began to Censure him. For it having long been the Aim of those who Preach'd among them to make them think him a Deceiver, they grew more and more alienated from the Prelates and their Adherents. Continuing to repeat Sermons together in their Houses, many of them were laid long in Jails. among Thieves and common Malefactors, which much encreas'd their Exasperation. They continu'd their Meetings whilst their Goods were seiz'd on, and they were Fin'd and Punish'd again and again. And they that fell out with the Bishops for casting out Mr. *Baxter*, and speaking ill of him, were some of them very Angry with him, and forward to Censure

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him, for strengthening the hands of Persecutors as they call'd it, by perswading them of the Lawfulness of Communicating in their Parish Church, with a Conformable Minister in the Liturgy. Notwithstanding which he continu'd the same care of them as before, and was as concern'd for their Welfare as ever. At length their Old reading Vicar dy'd, about the day of the Date of the Act against Conventiles. Sir *Ralph Clare* his chief Friend dy'd a little before him. And now Mr. *Baxter* was in a Capacity of helping them to a valuable useful Man, who should have made it his business to promote serious Religion amongst them. For the Old Patron Collonel *John Bridges*, had sold the Patronage of the Living to Mr. *Thomas Foley*, with this Condition, that he should present Mr. *Baxter* next, if he were capable of it; and if not, that he should present no other but by his Consent. To which Mr. *Foley* readily agreed. So that he had now a fair Opportunity of helping them to a Man to their Hearts Desire, which was his real Intention and Endeavour. Many tho't he would now have Conform'd himself; there being a Vacancy in that Place, where he had offer'd to Preach as a Curate, when he refus'd a Bishoprick: Many of the Bishops believ'd he would now have come into the Church: Particularly Arch-Bishop *Stern* of *York*, spake thus to a Minister: Take it on my Word, Mr. *Baxter* doth Conform, and is gone to his Beloved *Keddeminster*: But he had no such tho'ts, and aim'd only at helping into that Place, one who might be sincerely bent upon promoting the Good of Souls, which he found a matter of greater Difficulty than he could before-hand have apprehended it. For the Religious People (who were the main Body of the Town and Parish,) refus'd to have any hand in bringing in Another Minister into the Church, least they should seem to Consent to his Conformity, or be oblig'd to own him in his Office. They were not by all the Means that could be us'd with them, prevail'd upon at all to concur in the matter. Whereupon Mr. *Baxter* also refus'd to meddle in the choice: The rather because if he had, some of his Enemies would in all probability have been forward eno' to say, that he contracted for some Re-

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serve to himself. And withal, he knew that Mr. *Foley* the Patron (who was a Sincere, Religious Man) would make the best choice for, them he could; This Mr. *Thomas Foley*, was indeed a great Blessing to that Town and Country. He was rais'd from very small Matters, to an Estate of above 5000*l.* *per Annum* by Iron-Works: And that with so just and blameless Dealing, that

all Men he had to do with, magnify'd his great Integrity. Having the Patronage of several Livings belonging to the Lands he purchas'd, he made it his Business, to fill them as they became Vacant with Worthy, Useful Ministers. And in thankfulness to God for his Mercies to him, he built a well Founded Hospital near, *Stourbridge*, to teach poor Children to Read and Write, and then set them Apprentices: And Endow'd it with about 500*l. per Annum*. How happy would this Land be were so Good and Pious a Use of great Prosperity, a Common Thing! This worthy Gentleman was many ways exceeding helpful to the Town of *Kedderminster*: And particularly upon the Vacancy fore-mention'd, he put in a valuable Man to be their Minister; of whom they themselves gave this Account; that he was an honest Man, and a good Preacher, declaring they had rather have him than another. When he was fix'd among them, Mr. *Baxter* wrote a Letter to them to join with him in Prayers and Sacrament. But their Sufferings had so far alienated them from the Church Party, that they would not yield that this Letter should be so much as read among them.

MR. BAXTER'S PUBLICKS LABOUR IN THE CITY, TILL HE WAS SILENC'D.

As for Mr. *Baxter*, when he had Preach'd up and down in *London* in several Places, occasionally for about a Year, he at length fix'd with Dr. *Bates* at St. *Dunstan's* in the *West* in *Fleet-street*; and Preach'd once a Week, as Lecturer, having an Allowance from the Parish for his Pains. Seeing which way Things were going, he for his better Security, apply'd himself to Bishop *Sheldon*, for his License to Preach in his Diocess, Some were offended at his taking this Step; but he went to him as the Kings Officer. The Bishop receiv'd him with abundance of Respect But offer'd him the Book to subscribe

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in. He pleaded the Kings Declaration, as exempting from a Necessity of subscribing. The Bishop bid him therefore write what he would. Whereupon he subscrib'd a Promise in *Latin*, not to Preach against the Doctrine of the Church, or the Ceremonies, in his Diocess, as long as he us'd his License. Upon which, he freely gave him his License, and would let his Secretary take no Money of him. And yet he could scarce Preach a Sermon, but he was inform'd from some Quarter or other, that he Preach'd Sedition, and reflected on the Government: When he had neither a Tho't nor Word of any such Tendency. But he had a Crowded Congregation, and that was one Thing that stirr'd up Envy. And one Day the Crowd drave him from his

Place of Preaching. For it fell out, that in the midst of a Sermon of his at St. *Dunstan's*, a little Lime and Dust (and perhaps a piece of Brick or Two) fell down in the Steeple or Belfry near the Boys, which put the whole Congregation into a sudden Melancholy: It was tho't the Steeple and Church were falling, which put them all into so confused a haste to get away, that indeed the Noise of the Feet in the Galleries, sounded like the Fall of the Stones; so that the People Crowded out of Doors tumultuously. The Women left some of them a Scarf, and some a Shooe behind them; and some in the Galleries cast themselves down upon those below, because they could not get down the Stairs. He sat still in the Pulpit all the while, seeing and pitying their vain Distemper, and as soon as he could be heard, he intreated their Silence, and went on.* The People were no sooner quieted and got in again, and the Auditory compos'd, than some that flood upon a Wainscoat Bench near the Communion Table, brake the Bench with their Weight, so that the Noise renew'd the Fear again, and they were

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* *Dr. Bates in his Funeral Sermon for Mr. Baxter, represents it as a signal Instance of his firm Faith in the Divine Providence and his Fortitude (as indeed it was) that after the hurry upon this Occasion was over, he reassum'd his Discourse, with this remarkable passage, to compose the Minds of the People: We are in the Service of God, to prepare our selves, that we may be fearless at the great Noise of the dissolving World, when the Heavens That pass away, and the Elements melt in fervent Heat; the Earth also and the Works therein shall be burnt up, &c.*

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worse disorder'd than before. So that one Old Woman was heard at the Church Door asking Forgiveness of God, for not taking the first Warning; and promising if God would deliver her this once, she would take heed of coming thither again. When they were again quieted, he went on. But the Church being Old and Dangerous, the Church-Wardens determin'd to repair it; and so he was forc'd to Preach out his Quarter at St. *Brides-Church*, where the Common Prayer was us'd by the Curate before Sermon. On the Week Days Mr. *Ashhurst* with about Twenty more Citizens desir'd him to Preach a Lecture in *Milk-Street*, for which they allow'd him 40*l.* per Annum, which he continu'd near a Year. And at the same Time he Preach'd once every Lord's Day, at *Black Fryar's*, where he would take nothing for his him, for fear of rendring the Parishioners less able or ready to help their Worthy Minister Mr. *Gibbons*.

The Last Sermon he Preach'd in Publick was at *Black Fryars*, on *May* the 25th 1662. For which he was Accus'd, as telling the People, that the Gospel was now departing from them. And he was told by the Lady *Balcarres*, that the Old Queen of *Bohemia* was much offended, that he should say the Gospel

was going away, because some, Ministers were Silenc'd, and others put into their Places. Whereas there was not the least Colour of ground for such an Accusation, from any Thing he said. Thus he ceas'd from his Publick Ministry Three Months before *Bartholomew Day*, the Time when the rest of his Brethren were Silenc'd; which was a Thing for which many Censur'd him. But he forbore Preaching so soon; partly because the Lawyers did Interpret a doubtful Clause in the Act of Uniformity, as putting an end to the Liberty of the Lecturers at that Time; and partly because he would let all the Ministers in the Nation understand in Time, what his Intentions were, least any might be influenced to a Compliance, upon a Supposition that he intended to Conform

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CHAP. XII.

An. 1662.

His own and his Brethrens Treatment after their Ejection, till the Indulgence in 1671/2.

THE Ejected Ministers, continu'd for Ten Years in a State of Silence and Obscurity. It was their great Aim and Endeavour to be found in the way of their Duty to God and the King; but they could not be suffer'd to Live in Peace. Such was the Policy of the Court, that they must either be crush'd by their Fellow *Protestants*, to the strengthening of the *Romish* Interest; or if favour'd with any Connivance, they must have the *Papists* Partners with them, that so the *Protestant* Interest might be that way weaken'd. This was a great hardship that attended their Circumstances; but it was altogether their Unhappiness, and very remote from being their Choice; and therefore no Matter of just Reflection. The Act of Uniformity as has been said took Place, *Aug.* the 24th 1662. On the 26th of *December* following, the King Publish'd a Declaration, expressing his Purpose to grant some *Indulgence* or *Liberty* in Religion, not excluding the *Papists*, *many of whom* (he said) *had deserv'd so well of him*. Some of the *Nonconformists* were hereupon much encourag'd, and waiting privately on the King were fill'd with Hopes. They would have perswaded their Brethren to have thank'd the King for his Declaration; but they refus'd, least they should make way for the Toleration of the *Papists*. The Declaration took not at all, either with Parliament* or People: And so

the Poor *Nonconformists* were expos'd to great Severities. They who at the Kings coming in were so much caress'd,

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§ *The Case of the Nonconformists after Bartholomew Day.*

* *The House of Commons on Feb. 25. 1662/3. Voted against any such Indulgence, and pursuant to their Vote, waited on his Majesty with their Humble Advice that no such Indulgence might be granted: And in their Votes They gave their Reasons; but they were such as that very Parliament (as well as they who succeeded it) when they came to discern the growth of Popery, found to have little Strength or Substance in them, and therefore they afterwards saw good Reason to Vote the contrary.*

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An. 1663.

were now treated with the utmost Contempt. The Silenc'd Ministers were not only forbidden to Preach in Publick; but were so carefully watch'd in Private, that they could not meet to Pray together, but it was a Seditious Conventicle. Mr. *Baxter* and Dr. *Bates* were desir'd to be at Mr. *Beales* in *Hatton Garden*, to Pray for his sick Wife, who had a Fever, and was at the last Extremity. Thro' some other necessary Occasions they fail'd of being there, and if they had not, they had been apprehended. For Two Justices of the Peace, Living far distant from each other, the one at *Westminster* and the other at *Clerkenwell*, came thither with a Serjeant at Arms to seize them. They search'd the House, and even the Sick Gentlewomans Chamber, and were disappointed. But tho' they escap'd, many Holy and Excellent Ministers were quickly after laid in Goals in many Counties in the Land, for the heavy Crime of Preaching and Praying. As Mr. *Cook* of *Chester*, (the Sufferer for joining with Sir *George Booth*, to make way for the Kings Restauration) Mr. *Norman* of *Bridgewater*, Mr. *Allen* of *Taunton*, and Mr. *Bampfild*, Mr. *Ince*, and Mr. *Sacheverill*, and others in *Dorsetshire*, &c.

In *June* 1663. The old Peaceable Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* Dr. *Juxon* Died, and Dr. *Sheldon* Bishop of *London* succeeded him. And much about that Time there was a fresh Discourse rais'd of Liberty design'd for the Silenc'd Ministers. They were blam'd by many for not Petitioning the Parliament; tho' they had Reason eno' against it. Many Members of Parliament encourag'd the Expectation of either an Indulgence, or a Comprehension. And it was thereupon warmly debated, which of the Two would be more desirable. Some were for Petitioning for a General Indulgence, thus arguing with their Brethren: *You are Blind, if you see not that the Act of Uniformity was made so rigorous, and the weight of Conformity so much increas'd, that so the Number of the Ejected Ministers might be so great, as to force them to be glad of a General Toleration, which might take in the Papists. And if you think to stand it out, they will yet bring you to it in despite of you. They*

with

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will encrease your Burdens, and lay you in Prisons, till you are glad to Petition for such a Toleration. And stand it out as long as you can, you shall be forc'd to procure the Papists Liberty; and the Odium of it shall not lie on the Bishops, but on you that are so much against it. The Bishop shall speak against it, and they will force you to beg For it who are against it. And if you will not do it now, You do but stay till the Market rise, and your Sufferings Be made greater, and you shall be glad to do it at dearer Rates. To whom others Reply'd, that they would Suffer any Thing rather than promote Popery.

Mr. Baxter was about this Time Consulted by a Person of Honour concerning the Matter so much Talk'd of: He press'd him to give him his Judgement, Whether the way of *Indulgence* or *Comprehension* was More desirable. He freely gave him his tho'ts to This Purpose: That he was not for *Comprehension* without *Indulgence*; not for *Indulgence* without the EnLargement of the Act of Uniformity to a greater *Comprehension*; but for the Conjunction of both. He was not for a *Comprehension* alone, because when they had gone the farthest, many worthy Persons, whose Gifts in the Church might be very useful, would be still left out; and there would be much want when all were employ'd; and the loss by their being utterly Silenc'd would redound to the Souls of many. He was not for *Indulgence* alone, unless the Law were made more Comprehensive; because the Impositions and Restrictions of the Law were really unaccountable; because nothing can be more desirable than the Strength and Unity of the Establish'd Body of the Clergy; and because a bare *Indulgence* would be apt to Occasion such Jealousies and Animosities, as that it would not be long enjoy'd in Peace: And therefore he declar'd, he was for a *Comprehension* of as many fit Persons as might be taken in by Law, and then a Power reserv'd to his Majesty, to indulge the Remnant as far as might be conducible to the Peace and Benefit of Church and State.

OF THE ACT AGAINST THEM, CALL'D THE CONVENTICLE ACT.

But instead, of *Indulgence* or *Comprehension*, on the Last Day at *June*, the Act against Private Meetings for Religious Exercises pass'd the House of Commons, and shortly after was made a Law. The

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Summ

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Summ of it was, *That every person above Sixteen Years who is present at any Meeting under Colour or Pretence of any Exercise of Religion, in other Manner than is allow'd by the Liturgy, or Practise of the Church of England, where there are Five Persons more than that Houshold, shall for the first Offence, by a Justice of Peace be Recorded, and sent to Goal Three Months, till he Pay 5 l. and for the second Offence Six Months till he Pay 10 l. and the third Time being Convicted by a Jury, shall be Banish'd to some of the American Plantations, excepting New-England or Virginia.* It was a great hardship that attended this Act, that so much Power was given by it to Justices of the Peace, to Record a Man an Offendor without a Jury: And if they did it causlesly there was no Remedy, seeing every Justice was made a Judge. Before the Danger and Sufferings lay on the Ministers only, but now the People also were sorely try'd.

After this the *Nonconformists* were not a little divid'd among themselves, as to the Lawfulness and Expediency of Worshipping God in the Publick Churches, over and above their Private Meetings still kept up with great Secresie. Mr. *Baxter*, and Dr. *Bates*, and several others with them, were for frequenting the Publick Churches, when better helps were not to be had: And for resorting to them now and then, tho' they had their Choice, to show their Charity. They were for having their most usual Communion with those Assemblies, which they tho't were manag'd most agreeably to the Rule and End of Worship; and yet for having Occasional Communion with others, as Members of the Catholick Church, to show their Catholick Communion with all the Body of Christ. But others were vehement for an entire Separation.

At length Mr. *Baxter* finding his Publick Service at an end, retires into the Country to *Acton* in *Middlesex*, that he might have the more Leisure for Writing. He fix'd there in the Month of *July*, where he follow'd his Studies privately in quietness, and went every Lords Day to the Publick Assembly, when there was any Preaching and Catechizing; and spent the rest of the Day with his Family, and a few poor Neighbours that came in.

In

THE PLAGUE IN 1665.

In the time of the Plague, *Anno* 1665. He went to Mr. *Hampdens* in *Buckinghamshire*; and there was mourning for that desolating Stroke, which carry'd off about an Hundred Thousand Persons in the City of *London*, besides a Proportionable Number in other parts of the Land.

The Silenc'd Ministers had till this time Preach'd very privately, and but to a few, (not so much thro' their timorousness, as in hope that their forbearance might at length procure them some Liberty.) But when the Plague grew Hot, and the Ministers in the City Churches fled, and left their Flocks in the time of their Extremity, several of the Nonconformists pitying the dying and distressed People, that had none to call the Impenitent to Repentance, nor to help them to prepare for another World; nor to comfort them in their Terroures; when about Ten Thousand dy'd in a Week: were convinc'd that no Obedience to the Laws of any Mortal Man whosoever, could justify their neglecting Mens Souls and Bodies in such Extremities, any more than they can justify Parents for famishing their Children to Death. And thereupon they resolv'd to stay with the People, enter the forsaken Pulpits, tho' Prohibited, and give them what Assistance they could under, such an awakening Providence, and also visit the Sick, and get what relief they could for the Poor, especially such as were shut up. The Persons that set upon this Work, were Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, Mr. *Chester*, Mr. *Janeway*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Grimes*, Mr. *Franklyn*, and some others. Those often heard them one day, who were sick the next, and quickly dy'd. The Face of Death did so awaken Preachers and Hearers, that the former exceeded themselves in lively fervent Preaching; and the latter heard with a peculiar Ardour and Attention. And thro' the Blessing of God, many were converted from their Carelessness, impenitence, and youthful Lusts and Vanitys; and Religion took that hold on the Peoples Hearts, as could never afterward be loosed.

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And

OF THE OXFORD ACT. AN. 1665.

And whilst God was consuming the People by this Judgment, and the Nonconformists were Labouring to save Men's Souls, the Parliament which

sate at *Oxford*, was busie in making an Act of Confinement, to make the Case of the Silenc'd Ministers, incomparably harder, than it was before, by putting upon them a certain Oath, which if they refus'd, they must not come, (unless upon the Road) within five Miles of any City or Corporation, any place that sent Burgesses to Parliament, any place where they had been Ministers, or had Preach'd after the Act of Oblivion. The main Promoters of this Act among the Clergy, were Arch-Bishop *Sheldon*, and Bishop *Ward of Salisbury*: And tho' the Earl of *Southampton* Lord Treasurer (who was one that had ever adher'd to the King but understood the Interest of his Country, and of Humanity) vehemently oppos'd it, yet the Lord Chancellor and his Party carry'd it. When this Act came out, those Ministers that had any Maintenance of their own, found out some dwellings in obscure Villages, or in some few Market Towns that were not Corporations: And some that had nothing, left their Wives and Children, and hid themselves abroad, and sometimes came secretly to them by night, But the most, resolv'd hereupon to Preach the more freely in Cities and Corporations till they went to Prison. Partly because they were then in the way of their Calling, in which they could suffer with the greater Peace and partly because they might do some good before they suffer'd; and partly because the People much desir'd it, and also were readier to relieve such as Labour'd among them, than such as did nothing but hid themselves: and partly because when they lay in Prison for Preaching the Gospel, both they and their Wives and Children, were like to find more Pity and Relief, than if they should forsake their People, and their Work. Seeing therefore the Question came to this, whether Beggary, and Famine to themselves and Family, with the deserting of their Calling, and the People Souls, was to be chosen, or the faithful Performance of their Work, with a Prison after, and the Peoples Compassion? They tho't the latter far more Eligible. And yet

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when they had so chosen, their Straits were great. For the Country was to Impoverish'd, that those who were willing to relieve of them, had generally no great Ability. And yet God did mercifully provide some Supplies for them; so that none of them perish'd for want, or were Expos'd to sordid Beggary: But some few were Tempted against their former Judgments to Conform; the Oath impos'd upon them was this. I A. B. *do swear, that it is not Lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King: And that I do abhor the Traiterous position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissionated by him, in pursuance of such Commission:*

And that I will not at any time endeavour any Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State. This Oath, furnish'd with matter of endless Debates. But the Nonconformists being in the Act which impos'd it, charg'd with Seditious Doctrines and Heinous Crimes, many were much concern'd. And hereupon they endeavour'd to find out a Sense in which the Oath might be taken safely, to prevent their Passing under that Brand to Posterity. Dr. *Bates* consulted the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* who profess'd a great Respect for him, about his taking it, in a sound Sense. He to satisfie him, promis'd to be at the next Sessions, and there on the Bench to declare openly, that by *Endeavour* in the Oath to echange Church Government, was meant *only Unlawful Endeavour*. Upon which Declaration, he and Sundry other Nonconformists, to the number of Twenty, took it at the Sessions, to avoid the Imputation of Seditious Doctrine.

After the ceasing of the Plague, Mr. *Baxter* return'd to *Acton* on *March, 1. 65/66.* and found the Church-Yard like a Plow'd Field with Graves, and many of his Neighbours Dead, but his own House uninfected, and his Family that he left there safe. The number of Ministers that were Imprison'd, fin'd, or otherwise Afflicted for Preaching Christ's Gospel, all this time was wry great.

AN. 1666. THE FIRE OF LONDON.

September 2. 1666, began that dreadful Fire, whereby the best and one of the finest Cities in the World, was turn'd into Ashes and Ruins in three days Space. The Season had been exceeding dry before, and the

Wind

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An. 1666.

Wind in the East, where the Fire began. The People having none to conduct them aright, could do nothing to resist it, but stood and saw their Houses burnt without Remedy, the Engines being prefectly out of order and useless. The Streets were crowded with People and Carts, to carry away what Goods they could get, and they that were most Active, and befriended got Carts, and sav'd much: While the rest lost almost all they had. The loss in House and Goods could scarce be valu'd. Among the rest, the loss of Books was a very great detriment to the Interest of Piety and Learning. Most of the Booksellers in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard, carried their Books into the Vaults under that Cathedral, where it was tho't almost impossible for the Fire to come. But the Church taking Fire, the weighty Stones falling down

broke into the Vaults, and let in the Fire, and there was no coming near to save the Books. The Library also of *Sion Colledge* was burnt, and most of the Librarys of the Ministers, both Conformists and Nonconformists. At last some Sea-men taught them to blow up some of the next Houses with Gun-Powder, which stopt the Fire, and in some places it stopt as wonderfully as it had proceeded, without any known Cause. It stopt at *Holborn Bridge*, and near *St. Dunstons Church* in *Fleet-Street*, and at *Sepulchre's Church* when the Church was burnt, and at *Christ-Church*, when the Church was burnt, and near *Alderagate*, and *Cripplegate*, and other places at the *Wall*; and in *Austin-Fryars*, the Dutch Church stopt it and escap'd: it stopt in *Bishopsgate-Street*, and *Leadenhal-Street*, and *Fenchurch-Street*, in the midst of the Streets, and short of the Tower: And all *Southwark* escap'd. This was a sight that might have given any Man a lively Sense of the Vanity of this World, and all the Wealth and Glory of it, and of the future Conflagration of the World. To see the Flames mount up towards Heaven, and proceed so furiously without restraint: to see the Streets fill'd with People astonish'd, that had scarce sense left them to Lament their own Calamity. To see the Fields fill'd with heaps of Goods, and Sumptuous Buildings, Curious rooms, Costly furniture and Houshold-stuff, year Ware-houses and

Furnish'd

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An. 1667.

Furnish'd Shops and Librarys, &c. all on a Flame, while none durst come near to recieve any thing. To see the the King and Nobles ride about the Streets, beholding all these Desolations, while none could afford the least relief. To see the Air as far as could be beheld, so fill'd with Smoak that the Sun Shin'd thro' it with a colour like Blood, &c. But the dolefullest sight of all was afterwards, to see what a ruinous confus'd place the City was, by Chimneys and Steeples only standing in the midst of Cellars and heaps of Rubbish; so that it was hard to know where the Streets had been, and dangerous of a long time to pass thro' the Ruins, because of Vaults and Fire in them.

THE PUBLICK MEETINGS OF THE NONCONFORMISTS.

This unhappy Fire, made the Way of the *Nonconformists* yet the plainer to them. For the Churches being Burnt, and the Parish Ministers gone, for want of Places and Maintenance, the People, Necessity became unquestionable, for they had no Places now to Worship God in, saving a few Churches that

were left standing, which would not hold any considerable Part of them. Whereupon the *Nonconformists* open'd Publick Meeting Houses, and were very full. And as Circumstances then stood, to have forbid the People to hear them, had been in Effect to forbid them all Publick Worship of God, and require them to live like Atheists.

In the Year 1667. the Lord Chancellour *Hide* was Impeach'd and Discard'd: And it seem'd a remarkable Providence of God, that he who had been the Grand Instrument of State in the foregoing Transactions, and had dealt so severely with the *Nonconformists*, should at length by his own Friends be Cast out and Banish'd, while those whom he had Persecuted were the most Moderate in his Cause, and many for him. The Duke or *Buckingham* succeeded him as Chief Favourite. He was a Man for Liberty.* Under him, the *Nonconformists* in *London* were conniv'd at, and People went

* The King in a Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Feb 10. this Year, thus express'd himself. *One thing more I hold my self oblig'd to recommend unto you at this present, which is, That, you would seriously think of some Course to beget a better Union and Composure, in the Minds of my Protestant Subjects in matters of Religion, whereby he may be induc'd not only to submit quietly to the Government, but also cheerfully give their Assistance to the Support of it.*

openly

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An. 1668.

openly to their Meetings without Fear. This encourag'd the Countrey Ministers, who did the like in most parts of *England*, and Crowds of the most Religiously enclin'd People were their Auditors.

A TREATY WITH THE LORD KEEPER BRIDGEMAN, FOR A COMPREHENSION.

In *January* 1668, Mr. *Baxter* received a Letter from Dr. *Manton*, intimating that he was told by *Sir John Barber*, that the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* desir'd to Confer with them Two, about a *Comprehension* and *Toleration*. Hereupon he came to *London*; and they Two waited on the Lord Keeper; who told them that he had sent for them, to think of away of their Restoration: To which end he had some Proposals to offer to them, which were for a *Comprehension* for the *Presbyterians*, and an *Indulgence* for the *Independents*, and the rest. They ask'd him, whether it was his Pleasure, that they should offer him their Opinion of the Means, or only receive what he offer'd to them. He Reply'd, that he had something to offer, but they might also make their own Proposals. Mr. *Baxter* told him, he tho't they might be able to offer him such Terms (without injuring anyone) as might take in both *Presbyterians*

and *Independents*, and all found Christians into the Publick Establish'd Ministry. He Answer'd, that that was a Thing that he would not have, and so it was Agreed to go first upon the *Comprehension*. A few Days after he sent his Proposals. After this they met with Dr. *Wilkins*, and Mr. *Burton*, to Confer about the Matter. The Thing they most differ'd about, was *Reordination*. At length by Conference with Sir *Matt. Hale*, That Point was thus adjusted; That there should be an Admission into the Ministry of the Church of *England*, of those who had been Ordain'd before, according to this Form of Words; *Take thou Legal Authority to Preach the Word of God, and Administer the Holy Sacraments in any Congregation of England, where thou shalt be Lawfully Appointed thereunto*. It was Agreed the ceremonies should be left indifferent; and the Liturgy alter'd: And that there should be an Indulgence of such as could not be Comprehended; the Names of the Teachers, and all the Members of their respective Congregations being Registered: And a bill was accordingly drawn up

by

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An. 1669.

by Judge *Hale*, to be presented to the Parliament. But they no sooner sate, than the High Church Party made such an Interest, as that upon putting it to the Vote, it was carry'd that no Man should bring an Act of this Nature into the House; and so they prevented all Talk or Motion of such a Thing. And the Lord Keeper who set it on Foot, grew as indifferent about it as any one; when he saw which way the Stream was strongest.

In *September* this year Sir *John Barber* inform'd Dr. *Manton*, that the King was inclin'd to favour the *Nonconformists*, and that an Address now would be accepted: And that it must be a thankful Acknowledgement of the Clemency of his Majesty's Government, and the Liberty enjoy'd under it, &c. Such an Address was agreed on, and presented by Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Ennis*. The King met them in my Lord *Arlington's* Lodgings, receiv'd them graciously, and promis'd to do his utmost to get them comprehended within the Publick Establishment. But after all, the Talk of Liberty did but Occasion the Writing many bitter Pamphlets against Toleration. And among other Things this Year Publish'd, there came out a Book call'd, *A Friendly Debate between a Conformist and Nonconformist*.† The Author of it, having met

* *This Year Articles were sent down, into the Countrey to the Clergy with Private Orders to some, to make the Conventiclers as few and inconsiderable as might be, the Eighth and Last Article was thus worded; Whether do you think they might be easily suppress'd with the Assistance of the Civil Magistrate?*

Conf. Plea for the Nonconf. Part 1. page 40.

† Sir Matthew Hale in his *Judgment concerning the Nature of True Religion, &c. Part 3; Having a Particular Eye to this Book, thus expresses himself. I do remember when Ben. Johnson made his play of the Alchymist, wherein he brings in Anartus in Derision of the Persons then call'd Puritans, with many of their Phrases in use among them, taken out of the Scriptures, with a Design to render that sort of Persons ridiculous, and to gain Applause to his Wit and Fancy, tho' the Persons reflected on were not in very good Esteem amongst the great Ones and Gallants, yet his Play was dislik'd, and indeed abhor'd, because it seem'd to reproach Religion it self, tho' intend'd only to render the Puritans ridiculous. That which was unseemly in a Poet, who made it his Business to make Plays, was certainly more Fulsome and Unsavoury, in one who was oblig'd by his profession, Prospicere honori Religionis Christianæ, and not to render it ridiculous and contemptible, by railery and scurrilous [??]esting.*

with

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An. 1670.

with weak Passages of some Dissenting Ministers, scrapes them together, for matter of Reproach: And having heard some crude and unmeet Expressions dropp'd by Private Persons, he brings them forth in a way of Dialogue, in which he makes the *Nonconformist* speak as foolishly as he could desire, and only such silly Things as he knew he could easily shame. And thence he argues against *Nonconformity*, which is just as if a Man should go to prove the Religion of Christians or *Protestants* foolish, because there are weak Persons to be found amongst them. This Book was too much suited to the Humours of those who not only bated the *Nonconformists* but were despisers and deriders of serious Godliness; who were thereby confirm'd in their Contempt and Scorn of Religion in General. This Year, viz. 1669, Sir *William Turner* was Lord Mayor of *London*; who never disturb'd the Nonconforming Ministers, or troubled Men for Religion: And their Liberty in *London*, did hearten and encourage so many Preachers thro' the Land, that in all Probability many Souls were the better for it.

The next Year came out a far more virulent Book, call'd *Ecclesiastical Policy*, written by *Sam. Parker*, who was afterwards a Doctor and a Bishop. A Man of extraordinary Parts, who was bred up among the more zealous Party of the Enemies of Prelacy, and seeing some Weaknesses among them, and being one of an eager Spirit, was turn'd with the Times into the contrary Extream. He wrote the mot scornfully and rashly, the most prophanely and cruelly against the *Nonconformists*, of any Man that ever Assaulted them. In a fluent, fervent, and ingenious Style of natural Rhetorick, he pour'd out Floods of odious Reproaches. He was first answer'd by Dr. *Owen*, and afterwards so bandied by the ingenious Mr. *Andrew Marvel*, that he grew much Tamer.

Whilst Mr. *Baxter* liv'd at *Acton*, as long as the Act against Conventicles was in Force, tho' he Preach'd in his Family, but few of the Town came to

hear him: Partly, because they tho't it would endanger him, and partly for fear of Suffering themselves. But when the Act was expir'd, there came

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so many, that he wanted Room. For there came almost all the Town and Parish, besides a great many from *Brainford*, and the neighbouring Parishes. The Parson of the Parish was Dr. *Rive*, Dean of *Windsor* and *Wolverhampton*, Parson of *Haselley* and of *Acton*, and the Kings Chaplain in Ordinary. His Curate was a weak, dull, young Man, that spent most of his Time in Ale-Houses, and read a few dry Sentences to the People but once a Day: And yet because he Preach'd sound Doctrine, and there was no better at Hand, Mr. *Baxter* constantly heard him when he Preach'd. They who heard him before, usually went with him to Church, there being scarce Three that refus'd: And when he Preach'd after the Publick Exercise, they went out of the Church into his House. This the Parson could not bear the fight of: And he was the more Offended, because he came not to the Sacrament with him, tho' he had sometimes done it a few here.

MR. BAXTER'S IMPRISONMENT UPON THE OXFORD ACT.

At length the Parson thus got an Advantage against him. One *Brasgirdle* an *Apothecary* at *Wolverhampton* where he was Dean, wrote him Word that Mr. *Reignolds* the Silencd Minister of that Place had in Conversation told him, that the *Nonconformists* were not so contemptible either for Number or Quality as they were represented; that most of the People were of their Mind; that *Cromwel* tho' an Usurper had kept up *England* against the *Dutch*, &c. And that he marvelled at his Heat against Private Meetings, when at *Acton*, the Dean suffer'd them at the next Door. With this Intelligence the Dean hastens to the King, as if he had some Treason to discover The King upon his aggravating Matters, bid him go to the Bishop of *London*, as from him, and consult with him, about the Suppression of Mr. *Baxter's* Meeting. Two Justices were chosen for their Purpose; *Ross*, and *Phillips*: The former a *Scot*, at *Brainford*, and the latter a Steward of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. They sent a Warrant, to the Constable to apprehend him, and bring him to *Brainford*. When he was bro't before them, and all Persons but themselves shut out of the Room; they told him he was Convict of keeping *Conventicles* contrary to the

Law;

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Law; and so they tender'd him the *Oxford Oath*. He told them, that he took not his Meeting to be contrary to Law; and that the *Oxford Oath* did not concern him; nor could he apprehend they were empower'd by the Act to put it upon him, but they declaring themselves satisfy'd of what they did, and pressing the Oath, he started some Difficulties about it, and desir'd their Explication, but in vain. At length they committed him to *New-Prison* Goal at *Clerkenwell* for Six Months, without Bail or Mainprize. And thus he left *Acton*, the Inhabitants whereof were greatly exasperated against their Parson, for this Fact of his: And really he could hardly have done any Thing more to hinder the Success of his seldom Preaching there. For nothing certainly can have a worse Aspect, in anyone that bears the Character of an Ambassadour from the Prince of Peace, than his seeking to Molest and Disturb his Neighbours, whose desire it is to live in Peace and Quietness, without noise or stir.

HE OBTAINS A HABEAS CORPUS.

In this his Imprisonment, Mr. *Baxter* was manifestly hardly dealt with, for the Act against *Conventicles* was expir'd some Time before. He was never Convict of a *Conventicle* while that Law was in force. The *Oxford Act* suppos'd Persons Convict of a *Conventicle*; and did not enable any to Convict him without another Law: And there was none but the Justices Man, who at all witness'd concerning his Preaching, but such Things were common in those Times. As he was going to Prison, he call'd on Serjeant *Fountain*, to consult with him; who perusing his *Mittimus*, advis'd him to seek for an *Habeas Corpus*. Many at Court mov'd for him: The Earl of *Orery*, Earl of *Manchester*, Lord *Arlington*, and Duke of *Buckingham*, intimated to the King that his Imprisonment was not for his Service. And Sir *John Barber* came to him in Prison, to let him know that the King in Discourse had signify'd to him, that he was not willing to be seen to relax the Law, but that he would not be offended if he sought his Remedy at Law. Accordingly he resolv'd upon doing so. His *Habeas Corpus* was demanded at the *Common Pleas*, and Granted. The Judges declar'd the *Mittimus* Invalid:

Because

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because the Witnesses were not Nam'd; which is a Matter of great Moment. For if Persons may be Imprison'd by Justices upon such an Act as the *Oxford Act*, and the Witnesses be unknown, any Innocent Person might be laid in Prison, and have no Remedy. Upon this he was Discharg'd. His Imprisonment was indeed no great Suffering to him: For he had an Honest Goaler, who shew'd him all the kindness he could, he had a large Room; and the Liberty of a fair Garden; and the sight of more Friends in a Day, than he had at home sometimes in half a Year: And when releas'd, he was very much at a Loss. For he was not acquitted as to the main Cause; the *Mittimus* might be easily amended, and he Confin'd again. He knew not how to bring the main Point to a Try'al, whether they had Power to impose upon him the *Oxford Oath*; and his Counsellours advis'd him to forbear, and not go to Question the Justices for false Imprisonment, lest he were Born down by Power. It was Reported he was enrich'd by his Imprisonment; but without Ground. For all the Presents that he receiv'd, were these: 20 Broad Pieces from Sir *John Bernard*: 10*l.* from the Countess of *Excester*: and 5*l.* from Alderman *Beard*. More was offer'd him, but he refus'd it, for this defray'd his Law and Prison Charges. The same Justices as soon as they heard of his Release, made a New *Mittimus*, to send him to *Newgate*; but he kept out of their Reach. For his next remove was to *Totteridge* near *Barnet*, where he was forc'd to take up with a few mean Rooms for a Year.

HE ATTEMPTS AN AGREEMENT WITH THE INDEPENDENTS.

At this Time, he was projecting an Agreement with the *Independents*, for the strengthening of the Common Interest. Dr. *Owen* in his Catechism had made two considerable Collections, viz. *That the People, have not the Power of the Keys, and that they give not the Power of the Keys, or their Office-Power to the Pastors.* These Concessions he tho't very improbable, and therefore he propos'd to him, that they Two should see how far they could go towards an Accommodation, before the Matter was Communicated to others. The Method he offer'd was this: That they should first fix the Essentials of Religion and

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Communion which are the Terms that all Christians ought to agree in; and then endeavour to find out the Means of bringing both sides to Consent to Communion upon those Terms. He tho't the most likely Method would be the drawing up a Writing, containing all the Points of Discipline, Great

and Small, which the Two Parties were really Agreed in, which would make the few Things they differ'd in seem so Small, as not to be sufficient to hinder Communion. He was for each of them to draw up a Draught, and then consider the Matter together; but The Doctor highly approving the Motion; desir'd him to undertake it. Whereupon he drew up a great many Theses, as the Matter of their Common Concord. He complain'd they were too many, and might be Abridg'd. Whereupon he quickly carry'd him another Draught, of so many of those Things which both *Presbyterians* and *Independents* are Agreed in, as are necessary to their Practical Concord and Communion, with Respect to the Things wherein they are, or seem disagreed. The Doctors Objections were principally Four, that the Particulars insisted on were too many for the first Attempt: That the *Socinians* would Agree to make the Creed as Expounded in the first Four Councils the Test of Orthodoxy; that some Expressions suited to prevent Future Divisions and Separations, would seem to reflect on former Actings: And that the insisting on the Power of the Magistrate, especially as under Civil Coercion and Punishment, was not necessary in the first Attempt. Mr. *Baxter* endeavour'd to Answer his Objections, and desir'd his Amendments; and some Letters past about it, but in Time it was dropt, and came to nothing.

NEW HARDSHIPS PUT UPON THE POOR NONCONFORMISTS.

In the Year 1670. The Act against *Conventicles* was renew'd, and made more severe than ever. Several New Clauses were put in: *As that the Fault of the Mittimus should not disable it; that all doubtful Clauses in the Act, should be interpreted as would most Favour the Suppression of Conventicles; and that they that fled or remov'd their Duelling into another County, should be pursu'd by Execution, &c.* Dr. *Manton*, tho' he had great Friends, and mighty Promises of Fa

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vour, was sent Prisoner to the *Gate-House*, for Preaching the Gospel in his own House, in the Parish when he had formerly been Minister; and for not taking the *Oxford Oath*, and yet coming within Five Miles of a Corporation. And he continu'd there Six Months: And all that Time the Meetings in *London* Were disturb'd by Bands of Soldiers, to the Terror of many, and the Death of some.* About this Time my Lord *Lauderdale* going into *Scotland*,

signify'd to Mr. *Baxter* a Purpose there was of taking off the Oath of Canonical Obedience, and all Impositions of Conformity there, save only that it should be necessary to fit in Presbyteries and Synods with the Bishops and Moderators: And told him he had the kings Consent to offer him what Place in *Scotland* he would choose; either a Church, or a Colledge in the University, or a Bishoprick. From accepting which Motion he excus'd himself, from his Weakness, and Indisposition, and the Circumstances of his Family. After that the Earl of *Lauderdale* was in *Scotland*, Sir *Robert Murray* a great Confident of his, sent Mr. *Baxter* the Frame of a Body of Church Discipline for *Scotland*, and desir'd his Animadversions. The Scheme was handsomely contriv'd, and favour'd of much Moderation; but the Power of Synods was contriv'd to be in the King. Mr. *Baxter* made his Remarks as he was desir'd.

* Mr. Andrew Marvel mentions a politick Engine, who about this Time was employ'd by some Oxonians, as a Missionary among the Nonconformists of the Adjacent Counties; and upon design either gather'd a Congregation of his own, or Preach'd amongst others, till having got all their Names, he threw off the Vizard, and appear'd in his Colours, an Honest Informer. *Rehearsal Transpos'd*, page 54.

In the Year 1671. The Diocess of *Salisbury* was most fiercely driven on to Conformity, by Dr. *Seth Ward* their Bishop. Many Hundreds did he prosecute with great Industry; and among the rest, that Learned, Humble, Holy Gentleman Mr. *Thomas Grove*, an Ancient Parliament Man, of as great Sincerity and Integrity as most in the Land. He stood it out a while in a Law Suit, but was overthrown, and forc'd to forsake his Country, with Multitudes of others. During the Mayoralty of Sir *Samuel Sterling*, many Jury-men in *London* were Fin'd and Im

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prison'd by the Judge, for not finding certain *Quakers* guilty of violating the Act against *Conventicles*. They Appeal'd and sought Remedy. The Judges remain'd about a Year in Suspence; and then by the Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan* deliver'd their Resolution against the Judge, for the Subjects Freedom from such sort of Fines; he dilated upon it in a Speech of Two or Three Hours, which was receiv'd with great Joy and Applause by the People; and the Judges thereupon cry'd up as the Pillars of Law and Liberty.

The Parliament having made the Laws, against *Nonconformists* Preaching, and Private Religious Meetings so severe as hath been represented, the King altho' he consented to those Laws, became the Patron of their Liberty. Not

by any Legal Abatements, but by his Connivance as to the Execution; the Magistrates for the most Part doing what they perceiv'd to be his Will. The Ministers were encourag'd by Sir *John Barber* and others, to make their Addresses to the King, to profess their Loyalty, and acknowledge his Clemency; and they did so. The King told them, that tho' such Acts were made, he was against Persecution, and hop'd e're long to stand on his own Legs, and then they should see how much he was against it. By this Means they gain'd Peace and Quiet in their Meetings in the City: And in all Sir *Richard Fords* Mayoralty (tho' he was suppos'd one of their greatest, and most knowing Adver&ries) they remain'd undisturb'd.

About *January* this Year, the King shut up the *Exchequer*, which caus'd a general Murmur in the City. For many Merchants had put their Money into the Banker's Hands, and they had Lent it to the King, who gave Orders there should be no further Payments, and so their Estates were surpriz'd. Among others Mr. *Baxter* had a 1000*l.* there, which was the greatest Part of what he had of his own then left. Having no Child, he devoted it to a charitable Use, intending to erect a Free-School, as soon as he could meet with a suitable Purchase, with a good Title. He had been Seven Years enquiring, and could not meet with a tolerable Bargain; and let the

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Money lie there till something that was suitable offer'd, and lying there, it was lost; which made him admonish all that afterwards came near him, if they would do any Good, to do it speedily, and with all their might. Presently after the *Dutch War* began, which made the Court think it necessary to grant an Indulgence to the *Dissenters*, that so there might be Peace at home, while there was War abroad. And upon this Occasion they had Liberty given them, tho' much to the Dissatisfaction of those, who had had a Hand in framing all the severe Laws against them.

CHAP. XIII.

An Account of their Case, from the Time of the Indulgence in 1672, till the Death of King Charles the II.

KING CHARLES HIS INDULGENCE.

After that the *Nonconformists* had for several Years struggled with the greatest Difficulties, and convinc'd the World, that they were neither to be influenc'd by Severity to renounce their Principles, nor provok'd by the utmost hardships to any Sedition, which was an Advantage their Enemies waited for, and would have greatly rejoic'd in; at length they had a little Time allow'd them to take Breath, by the Kings *Indulgence*. The Declaration bore Date *March 15. 1671/2*, And to all that gave way to Reflection, was a sufficient Exposition of the Transactions of the Twelve Years past since his Restoration. His Majesty by *Vertue of his Supream Power in Matters Ecclesiastical*, took upon him to *suspend all Penal Laws about them*; declaring that he would *grant a convenient Number of Publick Meeting Places, to Men of all sorts that did not conform: Provided they took out Licenses, set open the Doors to all Comers, and Preach'd not Seditiously, not against the Discipline or Government of the Church of England. Saving that the Papists were to have no other Publick Places, but their Houses, without*

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Limitation or Restriction, to any number of Places or Persons, or any necessity of getting Approbation. This was applauded by some among the *Nonconformists*, while others fear'd the Consequences. For they well knew, that the *Toleratian* was not chiefly for their Sakes, but for the *Papists*; and, that they should hold it no longer than their Interest would allow it them: And withal, they fear'd it would continue the Divisions, which were much better heard by a *Comprehensive*, However they concluded on a Cautious and Moderate Thanksgiving for the Kings Clemency and their own Liberty, and were introduc'd by my Lord *Arlington*. Mr. *Baxter* was not very forward to take the Advantage of this Indulgence: He was desirous of Liberty in another Way, and was fearful what this Method would issue in. But at length, there being no Room to hope for any better Terms, when he saw the Ministers of *London*, generally settled in their Meeting Houses, he had a License also procur'd for him by Sir *Thomas Player*, with this Peculiarity, that it was without the Title of *Independent, Presbyterian*, or of any other Party, but only as a *Nonconformist*.

MR. BAXTER'S LABOURS IN THE CITY, AFTER THE INDULGENCE

The Merchants at this Time setting up a Weekly Lecture on *Tuesday Morning at Pinders-Hall*, Mr. *Baxter* was one. But so ill a Spirit was now got among some of them, who but just before were in a Suffering Condition, that by that Time he had Preach'd Four Sermons there, the City was full of Rumours of his Preaching up *Arminianism*: And many were much offended at his Preaching for Union: and a small Division, or unnecessary withdrawing from each other, and unwarrantable narrowing of the Church of Christ. This gave but a melancholy Prospect; but did not however Discourage him from what he apprehended to be his Duty, On *Jan. 24. 1672/3*, He began a *Friday Lecture at Mr. Tumers in Fetter-Lane*, with great Convenience, and a considerable Blessing; but he never took any thing for his Pains. He refuse'd any settled Place on the Lords Days, and Preach'd only occasionally.

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In *February* the Parliament met, and Voted down the Kings Declaration as Illegal,* and the King promis'd it should not be bro't into President. And thereupon they Consulted of a Bill for the Ease of *Protestant Dissenters*, and many Members profess'd their Resoluton to carry it on.† But when they had granted the Tax desir'd, they turn'd it off, and left it undone: Taking away from the Poor *Dissenters* the shelter of the Kings Declaration, and so leaving them to the Storm of the severe Laws that were in force against them, which by some Countrey Justices were rigorously put in Execution; tho' the most forbore.

* *It is observable that no Man was more zealous in opposing this Declaration in the House, than Alderman Love, a City Member and a noted Dissenter; who declar'd he had much rather still go without their desired Liberty, than have it in a way that would prove so detrimental to the Nation.*

† *On February the 14th, the Commons resolv'd Nemine Contradicente, that a Bill be bro't in for the Ease of his Majesties subjects who are Dissenters, in Matters of Religion from the Church of England. And a Bill pass'd the House accordingly, but was stopp'd in the House of Lords. But the Motion of the Lower House in this Affair was therefore the more remarkable, because it was the same House of Commons, who Ten Years before so warmly Voted the contrary. A good Argument, they were now convinc'd of a greater Danger of Popery, than they could before be persuaded to believe.*

THE LONG PARLIAMENT AWAKEN'D.

The Parliament at length grew into great Jealousies of the Prevalence of *Popery*. An Army (pretended to be design'd for Service against the *Dutch*)

lay encamp'd at *Black-Heath*. Many of the Commanders were *Papists*. It was the generall Apprehension, that having no Hope to get the Parliament to set up their Reiligion by Law, it was their Intention to put down Parliaments, and reduce the Government to the *French* Model, and Religion to their State, by a standing Army. All that Lov'd their Countrey had dismal Expectations, the Parliament made an Act, that no Man should be in any Office of Trust, who would not take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and receive the Sacrament according to the Order of the Church of *England*. Hereupon the Duke of *York* who was General of the Army, and the Lord Treasurer *Clifford*, laid down all their Places. The Parliament met again, *October* the 20th,

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An. 1673.

and Voted against the Duke's Marriage with an *Italian Papist*, a Kin to the Pope. They renew'd this Vote in their next Session, and upon a Message sent to the King about it, receiv'd this Answer; that it was too late to stop it. On *Friday, Dec. 31*. They pass'd a Vote, that no more Money should be given, till they were secur'd against the Danger of *Popery*, and *Popish* Counsellours, and their Grievances were Redress'd. And indeed the warmth and boldness of both Houses against the *Papists* grew very high. In this Session, the Earl of *Orery* desir'd Mr. *Baxter* to draw up Terms of Union between the *Conformists*, and the *Nonconformists*, in order to their joint vigorous opposing *Popery*: And he told him that Sir *Thomas Osborn* the New Lord Treasurer, Bishop *Morley* of *Winchester*, and several other great Men were mightily for it, upon which he sent him Proposals for that Purpose, the Chief of which were these:

PROPOSALS FOR A UNION BETWEEN CONFORMISTS, AND
NONCONFORMISTS.

“That no Covenant, Promise, or Oath, should be requir'd to Ordination, Institution, or Induction, but the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; the Subscribing to the Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church of *England*, as express'd in the 39 Articles, and a general Declaration against Rebellion and Sedition. That till the *Nonconformists* could be better provided for by Vacancies, they should have Liberty to be School-masters, or Assistants to Incumbents, or to Preach Lectures in their Churches, either such Lectures as were already endow'd with Maintenance, or such as the People should be willing to

maintain: And that in the mean Time their Meeting Places that were convenient should be continu'd in Use as Chappels. That Liberty be allow'd for Neighbours joining together in Praying to God, and Praising him, and repeating Sermons, in their Private Houses without Molestation. That for the Liturgy, &c. none be oblig'd to Read the Apocryphal Lessons: That it be eno', if an Incumbent once in a Quarter or Half Year, read the greatest Part of the Service for that Time; and that it be at other Times done by his Curate or Assistant. That Lecturers be not oblig'd to read the Service; or at most that it be eno', if once in

“Half

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“Half a Year, they read the greatest Part of what is appointed for that Time. That Parents have Liberty to Dedicate their own Children to God in Baptism, without being oblig'd to find Godfathers and Godmothers. That the Use of the Sign of the Cross be left to the Ministers Inclination and Discretion. That Ministers be not forc'd to Baptize a Child whose Parents are deny'd the Communion of the Church, unless some Serious Christian undertake for its Education, according to the Christian Covenant. That none be forc'd to receive the Sacrament, while unfit, or averse. That Ministers be not forc'd to deliver the Sacrament to any unbaptiz'd Persons; or to such as wont own their Baptismal Covenant, and publickly profess their Adharence to it; or to such as are guilty of scandalous Immoralities, till they have profess'd Repentance. That Ministers ben't forc'd to Publish an Excommunication or Absolution against their Consciences, upon the Decree of a Lay-Chancellor, &c. or harrass'd by attending their Courts, to bring Witnesses against those, to whom they have refus'd the Sacrament upon the aforesaid Reasons. That it be left to the Discretion of Ministers, whom they will Absolve in Sickness, and to whom they will give the Sacrament, and over whom they at their Interrment will use those few Words, which Import the Justification, and Salvation of the Deceas'd: And that the Sick and Dying have the Liberty of choosing what Ministers they will attend, and assist them, without Restraint. That no Ministers be forc'd to deny the Sacrament, to such as think it unlawful to take it Kneeling. That the Use of the Surplice be left indifferent. And that People who live under an Ignorant or Scandalous Minister, have Liberty to join with those with whom they can better Profit, in any Neighbouring Church of the same Diocess, paying the Incumbent his Dues. That no Ordain'd Ministers be put upon renouncing their Ordination, but upon

Proof of their fitness for the Ministry, receive by Word, or a written Instrument
a Legal Authority to Exercise their Ministry

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“in any Congregation in his Majesties Dominions, where they shall be Lawfully call'd. That no Excommunicate Person as such, be imprison'd or ruin'd. And that after all, Christian Lenity be us'd to all conscientious *Dissenters*; and that the Tolerable be tolerated, under Laws of Peace and Safety. Upon the whole he added, that if the Sacraments were but left free to be administered and receiv'd by none but Volunteers: And Liberty granted to Ministers to Preach in those Churches, where the Common Prayer was read by others: And the Subscriptions contain'd nothing that a Conscientious-man might need to scruple; he tho't it might take in all, even the *Independents*, as well as *Presbyterians*. Mr. *Baxter* gave the Earl of *Orery* these Proposals, and he after some Time return'd them with Bishop *Morleys* Strictures, or Animadversions, which fully discover'd, that all his Professions for Abatement and Concord, were Deceitful, and that he intends no such Thing, for he would not make the least Abatement, in any Thing of Moment.

OTHER MOTIONS THAT WAY.

A little after, some great Men of the House of Commons, drew up a Bill for Accommodation, to take off Oaths, Subscriptions, and Declarations, except the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and Subscriptions to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, according to the 13th of *Eliz.* but shewing it to the Bishop of *Winchester*, he caus'd them to forbear, and broke the Design. And in the mean Time, that it might not seem to be for nothing that he oft pretended to be of so peaceable a Disposition, he further'd an Act only to take off *Assent* and *Consent*, and the *Renunciation of the Covenant*. But when other Bishops were aginst even this shew of Abatement, he told them openly in the House; *That had it been but to abate them a Ceremony, he would not have spoken in it. But he knew that they were bound to the same Things still, by other Clauses, or Obligations if these were Repeal'd.* On Feb. 24. Tho'ts of this Nature were ended by the unexpected Proroguing of the Parliament to *November*, whereby both Houses were much troubled, and Multitudes greatly exasperated, and alienated both from the Court, and the leading Bishops

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shops, as the great Causes of all the Distractions. All this while those of the Clergy that were Men of the Times, and gap'd for Preferment, gave themselves a liberty to Write and Preach at random; to stir up King and Parliament, and all they came near, to Violence and Cruelty, against the Liberty and Blood of the *Nonconformists*, who Liv'd quietly by them in Labour and Poverty, and meddled not with them, besides their necessary Dissent from them. Just before the Dissolution of the Parliament, one of this stamp Preaching to them, set himself to perswade them that; the *Dissenters* were obstinate, and not to be tolerated, nor cur'd by any Means but Vengeance; urging them to set Fire to the Faggot, and teach them by Scourges or Scorpions, and open their Eyes with Gall.

The Toleration however continuing, Mr. *Baxter* held on his Preaching, till Illness disabled him for any other Exercise, save one Sermon a Week at St. *James's* Market-House, where some Persons, had hir'd an inconvenient Place. And here it pleas'd God to give his Labours, abundant Success. But as he was Preaching there, *July* the 5th, 1674. they had a marvelous Deliverance, for a main Beam, before weakned by the weight of the People, so Crack'd, that Three Times they ran in Terrour out of the Room, thinking it was falling: But remembering the like at *Dunstons* in the *West*, he reprov'd their fear as causeless; the next Day taking up the Boards, they found that two Rends in the Beam were so great, that it was a wonder of Providence that the Floor had not fallen, and the Roof with it, to the Destruction of Multitudes. This Crack frightening away many of the Richer sort, especially Women, the greatest Part of the Auditory were Young Men of the most capable Age, who heard with great Attention, and many of them manifested so great a Change, as made all his Charge and Trouble easie to him. Nay a common Reformation was evident in the Neighbourhood, even among the Ruder sort, and that in their Conversation as well as in their Judgment. But he was soon molested.

NEW RIGOURS AGAINST THE POOR NONCONFORMISTS.

For his Majesty call'd the Bishops up to *London*, to give him Advice what was to be done for the securing of Religion, &c. and they after divers Consultations

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tions with the Ministers of State, advis'd him to recall his Licenses, and put the Laws against the *Nonconformists* in Execution. And this was done, by a Declaration, and Proclamation, declaring the Licences long since void, and requiring the Execution of the Laws against *Papists*, and *Conventicles*. No sooner was the Proclamation Publish'd, but special Informers were set on Work to promote the Execution.* A little before the Licenses were recall'd, Mr. *Baxter* openly declar'd in the Pulpit, that it was not in Opposition to the Publick Churches that he kept up a Meeting; but to help the People in their Necessity, who were many more than the Parish Church could hold. Hereupon it was confidently Reported, that he was Conforming. And not long before Preaching for Love and Peace at *Pinners Hall*, 'twas reported that he declar'd for Justification by our own Righteousness, and that the *Papists* and *Protestants* differ but in Words: Upon which he was forc'd to vindicate himself in a Sheet, call'd an *Appeal to the Light*, which stopp'd not the Accusation: For some had the Wisdom and Confidence to say, that that Appeal to the Light did more to strengthen *Poper*y, than ever was done by any *Papist*. Mr. *Baxter* was the first that was apprehended as a *Conventicler* after this Alteration of Affairs. He was taken, Preaching his *Thursday* Lecture at Mr. *Turners*. He went with the Constable, and *Keting* the Informer, to Sir *William Poultners*, who demanding the Warrant, found it Sign'd, by *Henry Montague* Esq; Bayliff of *Westminster*. Sir *William* told them, that none but a City Justice, could give a Warrant for apprehending a Man for Preaching in the City: And so the Informer was defeated, and his Heart adterwards smote him; and he came to Mr. *Baxter* and begg'd Pardon, and promis'd Repentance. He freely forgave him, and admonish'd him seriously to amend his Life. Endeavours were us'd to surprize Dr. *Manton*: But one Mr. *Bedford* Preaching in his Room was apprehended. He had taken the *Oxford* Oath before, and in that respect was not obnoxious: But was Fin'd 20*l.* and the Place 40*l.* which was paid by the Lord *Wharton*, the Countess of *Bedford*, *Manchester*, and *Clare*, and other Hearers.

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* *Of the infamous Lives and lamentable Deaths, of many of these Informers, see Conformists 4th Plea for the Nonconformists, page 71, &c.*

A FRESH ATTEMPT FOR AN ACCOMMODATION OF THE DIFFERENCES.

An. 1674.

Another Session of Parliament approaching, Bishop *Morley*, and Bishop *Ward*, were in Appearance, very sensible of the Danger of *Poper*y, and therefore very forward for Abatements; and taking in the *Nonconformists*, and mov'd it to many. At length Dr. *Tillotson*, and Dr. *Stillingfleet*, desir'd a Meeting with Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Pool*, and Mr. *Baxter*, in Order to consider of an Accommodation, and said they had the Encouragement of several Lords both Spiritual and Temporal. Mr. *Baxter* at first met the two Doctors alone: And they Consider'd and Canvass'd various Draughts; and at length fix'd on one in which they Agreed. This being Communicated to the *Nonconformists*, was agreeable: But when they Communicated it to the Bishops, there was an End of the Treaty; a great many Things could not be obtain'd; upon which Dr. *Tillotson* wrote Mr. *Baxter* Word, That as *Circumstances stood, such an Act could not pass in either House, without the Concurrence of a considerable Part of the Bishops, and his Majesties Countenance, which at the Present, he saw little Reason to expect.* The Terms Agreed. on, were much of the same Nature with those above-mention'd as Propos'd to my Lord *Orey*, with very little Variation.

THE INFORMERS BUSIE.

The Informers in the City went on, but met with many Discouragements. The Aldermen were not fond of them, but often shifted out of the way, when they knew they would come to them; and some deny'd them their Warrants; tho' by the Act they thereby forfeited an 100*l.* Alderman *Forth* got an Informer bound to the Behaviour, for breaking in upon him in his Chamber against his Will. *Strowd* and *Marshall* became General Informers: But were soon fallen upon by their Creditors, and generally hated. Some of them swore against Mr. *Baxter* before Sir *Thomas Davis*; and he went to him and vindicated himself, proving that he was not chargeable with breaking the Law, but would not be regarded. One that swore against him went a little after to *Redriff*, and hearing Three Ministers Pray and Preach, his Heart was melted, he profess'd his Sorrow and Repentance, and left his wonted

Companions. And another of them came to Mr. *Baxter* in the Street, and promis'd be would meddle no more.

When

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An.1675.

When the Parliament met, there was great Heat in the House of Lords, upon the bringing in an *Act*, to impose such an Oath on Lords, Commons and Magistrates, as was imposed by the *Oxford Act* upon Ministers. The Summ of it was, *that none Commission'd by the King, may be by Arms resisted, and that they would never endeavour any alteration of the Government of Church or State.* The great Speakers for it, were the lord Treasurer and the Lord Keeper, with Bishop *Morley* and Bishop *Ward*. The great Speakers against it, were the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Hollis*, the Lord *Hallifax*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*: Who jointly with the Marquis of *Winchester*, and the Earls of *Bristol*, *Berkshire* and *Alesbury*, enter'd their Protestations against it. They pleaded that this Oath would be destructive to the Priviledge, of their House, which was to Vote freely, and not to be præobliged by an Oath to the Prelates. After a great many Debates, tho' the Test was carry'd by a Majority, yet it was so alter'd, as made it incapable of serving the Purposes of those who at first were most Zealous for it; it was not to their Gust, for they reduc'd it to these Words of a Declaration, and an Oath. *I A.B. do Declare, that it is not lawful on any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, and I do abhor the Traiterous Position of taking Arms, by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commission'd by him according to Law, in time of Rebellion and War, in Acting in Pursuance of such Commission. I A.B. do Swear that I will not endeavour an Alteration to the Protestant Religion now Establish'd by Law, in the Church of England, nor will I endeavour any Alteration in the Government of this Kingdom in Church or State, as it is by Law Establish'd.* And when it Past, the Lords got in this Proviso, *that it should be no hindrance to their free Speaking and Voting in the Parliament.*

Keting the Informer, being in Prison for Debt, Wrote to Mr. *Baxter* to endeavour his Deliverance, which he did; he told him in his Letter, that he verily believ'd that God had sent his Affliction upon him, as a Punishment for giving him so much trouble; and earnestly desir'd him to Pray to God to forgive him. Another Informer *Marishal*, dy'd in the

Counter,

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An. 1676.

Counter, where he was clapt up for Debt: And yet others went on. Sir *Thomas Davis* gave a Warrant to Distrein on Mr. *Baxter* for 50 l. for Preaching his lecture at *New-street*. However, he still went on, and Built a New Meeting-House in *Oxenden-street*, the Old, Place over St. *James's* Market-House, being not tho't safe; and when the New Chappel was finished, and he had Preach'd but once, a Resolution was taken to surprize him the next time, and send him for 6 Months to Goal upon the *Oxford Act*. He knowing nothing of it, had taken a Journey into the Country, and Mr. *Seddon* a *Darbyshire* Minister was procur'd to Preach for him; he was taken and sent to the Gate-House, altho' the Warrant suited him not. He continu'd there near 3 Months, and at last was deliver'd by an *Habeas Corpus*. About this time, 12 or;13 of the Bishops dining with that Eminent Citizen *Sir Nathanael Hem* then Sheriff of *London*, and Discoursing with him about putting the Laws against the Dissenters in Execution; he told them, that *they could not Trade with their Neighbours one Day, and send them to Goal the next*. In the next Session of Parliament, the Duke of *Buckingham* made a Notable Speech against Persecution, and desired the Consent of the Lords, that he might bring in a Bill for the Ease of His Majesties Protestant Subjects in matters of Religion; but while he was preparing it, the Parliament was Prorogu'd.

Mr. *Baxter* having been kept an whole Year from Preaching in his New Chappel, in *April* 1676, began in another in St. *Martins* Parish. A little before the King importunately Commanded and Urg'd the Judges, and *London* Justices, to put the Laws against the Nonconformists in Execution; and Sir *Joseph Sheldon* the Lord Mayor, the Arch-Bishop's near Kinsmnan accordingly did so for some time, and many Ministers were clapt up in Goals. Mr. *Baxter* was forcibly kept out of his New Meeting-House in *Swallow-Street*, by a Guard of Constables and Officers, for many Lords Days together, But Mr. *Wadsworth* dying, he Preach'd to his, Flock in *Southwark* many Months in Peace, no Justice being willing to disturb them; and when Dr. *Loyd* succeeded Dr. *Lamplugh*

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An. 1678.

An. 1679.

An. 1680.

in St. *Martins* Parish, he offer'd him his Chappel in *Oxenden-Street* for Publick Worship, and he accepted it.

In 1678, The Popish Plot broke out, which exceedingly alarum'd the whole Nation. The House of Commons after many warm Debates, come to this Resolution, that *there hath been and is an Execrable and Hellish design, contriv'd and carry'd on by Popish Recusants for Assassinating and Murdering the King, for subverting the Government, and destroying the Protestant Religion by Law Establish'd.* Most of their time was spent in searching into this Plot, and in endeavouring to prevent the Fatal Consequences of it. Many suffer'd for it, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of Great Men about the Court to save and screen them. The Particulars may be seen in the Histories of the time. At length on *January* the 14th, 1678/9, this Parliament which so long comply'd with the court in all their Desires, which to Gratifie the Clergy, cast so many Worthy Ministers out of the Church by the Act for Uniformity, and afterwards laid such heavy Burdens on the Poor Nonconformists, which improv'd by setting, and grew more and more concern'd for the Publick Welfare, as they were awakened by a Sense of the Common Danger, was suddenly Dissolved. This Dissolution occasion'd a General Ferment in all Parts of the Country; it was generally esteem'd the Common Concern in the next Election to choose firm Protestants, who should heartily apply themselves to make Provision for the Common Security. The New Parliament had their first Session *March* the 6th following, and they began where the last Parliament left off. When they had Sate some time, they were Prorogu'd to *August* the 14th: But before that time, they were Dissolv'd by Proclamation, and another call'd to Sit at *Westminster* in *October* following; when they assembled, they were Adjourn'd till the 26th of *January*: By which time, a New Plot was Discover'd by *Dangerfield*, which the Papists had contriv'd to lay upon the Dissenters. They were afterwards Adjourn'd several times till *October* the 30th, when they Sate and proceeded to Business. Finding no other way to keep Popery out of the Nation, than by Excluding the Duke of *York*

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from the Succession to the Crown, they bro't in a Bill to Disable him. On *November* the 11th, it passed the Commons; on the 15th it was carry'd up to the House of Lords by the Brave Lord *Russel*, and there at the 2d Reading it was thrown out, by a Majority of 30 Voices, of which 14 were Bishops. This House of Commons had before them a Bill for a *Comprehension*, and another for an *Indulgence*, Both of them were read twice, and were before the Committee. Many leading Men spake in the House for them: As Mr.

Buscoven, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir John Maynard, Sir Francis Winnington, Mr. Paul Foley, Mr. Titus, Mr. Powel, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Hambden, Mr. Finch, Sir Thomas Clarges, Collonel Birch, &c. And several others also against it. One Gentleman when the Bill of Comprehension was Read, was pleas'd to say, *That he tho't it more Convenient to have a Law for forcing the Dissenters to the Church, than to force the Church to yield to them.* But says a Worthy Gentleman who spake afterwards; *What Love, Friendship or Obedience can the Church expect from such Persons, as by the Execution of such Laws may be forc'd to come to Church? How can they be depended on, or the Church be strengthen'd? You may prevent their Conventicles, and force them either to come to Church or pay Fines, or be imprison'd; but you cannot expect that their Opinions or Affections should be alter'd by such Proceedings, without which the Church can never be the stronger:* Afterwards he adds, *if the Oxford Act and other Laws against Dissenters, were projected in favour of the Protestant Religion, it was strange that they were so much promoted, (as 'tis well known they were) by Sir Tho. Clifford, Sir Sol. Swale and Sir Roger Strickland, who have since all appear'd to be Papists.* But they have not time to bring things to Maturity. For the King was dissatisfi'd with their Proceedings; his great want was Money. And they were resolv'd to give none, unless he would pass a Bill to Exclude the Duke of York. Whereupon on the 10th of Jan. they were Prorogu'd: But before they rose, they came to this among other Resolutions: *Resolv'd 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*

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Debate of the House of Commons at the Parliament in 1680. pag. 207, 211, 112.

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An. 1680.

Protestant Interest, an Encouragemnt to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom. After which they were first Prorogu'd and then Dissolv'd. Another Parliament met at *Oxford* in *March* following, but had not time to do any Business.

Notwithstanding that the Fears of Popery were in these times so great and general, and manifestly but too well grounded, yet did Dr. *Stillfleet* then Dean of *St. Pauls* think fit, (prevail'd on as is suppos'd by some great Persons) to represent all the Nonconformists as *Schismatics*: And he did it to purposes (tho' most People tho't very unseasonably) in a Sermon before the Lord Mayor, on *May the 2d*, 1680. This occasion'd a great many Contentious

Writings Pro and Con, while the common Enemy took Advantage by their Scuffle, to advance in his Progress towards their intended ruin.

An. 1681.

The Poor Dissenters were Prosecuted a fresh, in Defiance of the Votes of the Parliament in their Favour. Nay, several zealous Protestants, who had been most Active against the Papists, were tri'd by Mercenary Judges, with Pack'd Juries, upon *Irish* Evidence. The Consequence may be seen in the Common Narratives of those times. Orders and Directions were sent from the King and Council Board to suppress all Conventicles, which were follow'd carefully eno' by the Justices of *Hick's-Hall*, and in the Borough of *Southwark*, and by some of the City Justices also.

An. 1682.

This Year also the Meetings of the Dissenters were oft broken up, and the Laws against them vigorously executed. Many Ministers were imprison'd, and they and their Hearers fin'd. Mr. *Baxter* was suddenly surpriz'd in his own House by a Poor Violent Informer, and many Constables and Officers, who rush'd in, and apprehended him, and serv'd upon him a Warrant to seize on his Person for coming within 5 Miles of a Corporation, and 5 more Warrants to distrain for 195 l. for 5 Sermons. Tho' he was much out of Order, being newly risen from his Bed, where he had been in extremity of Pain, he was contentedly going with them to a Justice, to be sent to Goal, and left his House to their Will. But Dr. *Thomas*

Cox,

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An. 1682.

Cox meeting him as he was going, forc'd him in again to his Bed, and went to 5 Justices and took his Oath, that he could not go to Prison without danger of Death. Upon this the Justices delay'd till they had consulted the King, who consented that his Imprisonment should be for that time for born, that he might Die at home. But they executed their Warrants on the Books and Goods in the House, tho' he made it appear they were none of his; and they Sold even the Bed which he lay Sick upon. Some Friends pay'd them as much Money as they were prais'd at, and he repay'd them. And all this was without Mr. *Baxter's* having the least Notice of any Accusation, or receiving any Summons to Appear and Answer for himself, or ever seeing the Justices, or Accusers: And afterwards he was in constant danger of New Seisures, and thereupon he was forc'd to leave his House, and retire into private Lodgings. Dr. *Annesley* and several others also, had their Goods distrained for Latent Convictions, others were imprison'd upon the Corporation

Act; while others were worry'd in the Spiritual Courts. Warrants were sign'd for Distresses in *Hackney* to the Value of 1400l. and one of them for 500l. *January* 9, 1682/3. Mr. *Vincent* was try'd at the *Surrey Sessions* upon the 35th of *Eliz.* and Cast.

An. 1683.

The same Course was persisted in the succeeding Year. 200 Warrants were issu'd out for Distresses upon *Uxbridge* and the Neighbourhood, for going to Conventicles. Dr. *Bates* and several others were distrein'd upon; and the Gentlemen of Doctors Commons got Money apace. This Year a New Plot was trump'd up, which cost the brave Lord *Russel* and Collonel *Sydney*, &c. their Lives. *July* the 24th, a Decree past in the University of *Oxon* against certain pernicious Books and damnable Doctrines. The 2d of the Doctrines Condemn'd was this: *There is a Mutual Compact Tacit or Express, between a Prince and his Subjects; and that if he perform not his Duty, they are discharg'd from theirs.* The 4th this, *The Sovereignty of England, is in the 3 Estates, King Lords and Commons, &c.* The 7th this: *Self Preservation is the*

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An. 1684.

*Fundamental Law of Nature, and supercedes the Obligation of all others, whensoever they stand in Competition with it.** And some time after, the Grand Jury of *Westminster* made a very Signal, Presentment, viz. *that all those that were for the Bill of Exclusion, might be apprehended and proceeded against; and all Conventicles, &c.* Several that were taken at the Meetings were Convicted as Rioters, and fin'd 10l. a piece; and some Young Persons (of both Sexes) taken at the same Places, were sent to Bridewell to beat Hemp. About this time, one Mr. Robert Mayot of *Oxon* a Pious Conformist who had devoted his Estate to Charitable Uses, gave by his Last Will 600l. to be distributed by Mr. Baxter to 60 poor ejected Ministers, adding, that he did it not because they were Nonconformists, but because many such were Poor and Pious. But the King's Attorney Sir Robert Sawyer, sued for it in the Chancery, and the Lord Keeper North gave it all to the King. It was paid into the Chancery by Order, and as, Providence order'd it, there kept safe, till King William so happily ascended the Throne, when the Commissioners of the Great Seal restor'd it to the Use for which it was intended by the Deceased; and Mr. Baxter dispos'd of it accordingly.

An. 1684.

This Year while Mr. *Baxter* lay in Pain and Languishing, the Justices of the Sessions sent Warrants to apprehend him, he being one in a Catalogue

which was said to contain the Names of a Thousand Persons, who were all to be bound to their good Behaviour. Knowing that their Warrant was not to break open Doors, he refus'd to open to them, tho' they were got into his House. Whereupon they set 6 Officers at his Study Door, who kept him from his Bed and Food by watching all Night: And the

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** It very well deserves enquiry, How the Censurers of these positions, can reconcile the Denial of the second of them with the Declaration of the Vacancy of the Throne upon King James's Abdication, upon which King William was advanced to it. The Convention Declared in so many Words, that King JAMES had endeavour'd to subvert the Constitution of this Kingdom, by breaking THE ORIGINAL CONTRACT BETWEEN KING and PEOPLE, &c. As for the 7th of them, it could not well be deny'd, by any that left King James to go to the Prince of Orange, which certainly was inexcusable, if not upon the score of Self-Preservation.*

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An. 1684.

next Day he yielded. They carry'd, him to the Sessions; when he was scarce able to stand, and bound him in a Bond of 400 l. to his Good Behaviour. He desired to know his Crimes and Accusers: But was told, 'twas only to secure the Government against suspected Persons. He was same time after carry'd again to the Sessions House in great Pain, and forc'd to continue Bound. He refused to stand Bound, not knowing what they might interpret a Breach of the Peace: But his Sureties would be Bound, least he should Die in a Goal. He was carry'd thither a Third time, and still bound, tho' for the most Part he kept his Bed.

MR. ROSEWEL'S CASE

September the 23d, Mr. Thomas Roswell, who was Miinister of a Dissenting Congregation in Redriff was imprison'd in the Gate-House in Westminster, by a Warrant from Sir George Jefferys for High Treason. A Bill was found against him at the Quarter-Sessions at Kingston in Surrey; upon which he was arraign'd on October the 25th, and try'd November the 18th following, at the Kings Bench Bar, by a Surrey Jury, before the Lord Chief Justice Jefferys, and 3 other Judges of that Court, Withins, Halloway and Walcot. The High Treason as laid in the Indictment and sworn by the Witnesses, was that in a Sermon which he Preacht on September the 14th, he said these Words: *That the People* (meaning the Subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King) *make a flocking to the* (said Sovereign Lord the) *King, upon pretence of healing the Kings-Evil, which he* (meaning our said Sovereign Lord the King) *could not do; but that we* (meaning himself and other Traiterous Persons Subjects of our said Lord the King) *and they to whom they* (meaning the Subjects of our said Lord the King)

ought to flock, because we (meaning himself and the said other Traiterous Persons) *are Priests and Prophets, that by our Prayers can heal the Dolours and Grievs of the People. We* (meaning the Subjects of our said Sovereign Lord the King) *have had two wicked Kings* (meaning the most Serene *Charles* the First, late King of England, and our said Sovereign Lord the King that now is) *whom we can resemble to no other Person, but to the most wicked JEROBOAM: And that if they* (mean

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An. 1784.

ing the said evil disposed Persons: then and there so as aforesaid with him unlawfully assembled and gather'd together) *would stand to their Principles*, He (meaning himself) *did not fear but they* (meaning himself and the said evil disposed Persons) *would overcome their Enemies*, (meaning our said Sovereign Lord the King and his Subjects) *as in former time; with Rams Horns, broken Platters, and a Stone in a Sling*. The Witnesses were 3 Women. They Swore to the Words as they stand, without the *Innuendos*; the Trial lasted about 7 Hours. Mr. *Rosewel* made a most full and clear Defence of himself; very modestly and yet strenuously vindicating his Innocence, to the Satisfaction of those who were present; and so as to gain the Applause of many Gentlemen of the Long Robe. The Jury however, after they had been out about half an Hour, bro't him in *Guilty*. The Women who were the Witnesses were infamous Persons, laden with the Guilt of many Perjuries; which had easily been prov'd upon them all, before the Trials, could Justice have been had: But they were screen'd by the Recorder, who was the Person that laid the whole Scheme of the Business, and patch'd up the Indictment, in Terms suited to his known Abilities. But such of them as could be met with, were afterwards Convicted of Perjury, and *Smith* the Chief Witness, was Pillory'd before the *Exchange*. Sir *John Talbot* who was present, represented to King *Charles* the State of the Case as it appear'd at the Trial; and he Ordered *Jefferys* to find an Evasion. Whereupon he Assign'd him Council afterwards, to plead to the Insufficiency of the Indictment in Arrest of Judgment; and the King gave him his Pardon, upon which he was discharg'd.

January 19, Mr. *Jenkyns* Dy'd in *Newgate*, as did also Mr. *Bampfild* and Mr. *Ralpkson*, and several others in other Prisons. And quickly after dy'd King *Charles* himself: *viz.* on *February* 6, 1784/5. Tho' he continu'd the Prosecution of the poor Dissenters, yet they held on their Meetings; Heartily Praying for his Peace and Prosperity: And at last they were as much Concern'd at his Death, as any People in the Kingdom.

CHAP. XIV.

An. 1685.

Their Case in the Reign of King James the Second.

THAT the rigorous Usage of the *Dissenters* in the foregoing Reign was owing to *Popish* Counsels, they themselves never doubted; and tho' some were a long Time before they would see or at least own it, yet it was a great Comfort to them after all their Sufferings, to find such Men as Bishop *Stillingfleet* at last openly acknowledging it. They little expected better Treatment in this Reign, when bare-fac'd *Popery* lifted up its Head among us; but Wise is that Providence which governs the World, which serves its own Ends, even by those very Things, whereby Poor Mortals are most disappointed. It is indeed eno' to amaze anyone, to observe the Measures of this Reign, with their Consequences, whereby all Mankind were disappointed. The Church Party not only expected to have the *Dissenters* wholly under their Feet, but depended so much upon their Merits in their Adherence to the Duke in his Distress, and his Positive Assurances, that they were very Secure, and tho't the Day their own: But on a sudden found their All in such Danger, that without New Methods their Religion and Liberty was gone. The *Dissenters* expected not only greater Rigours and Severities than before, but concluded they should if it were possible, be extirpated: When as, to their Astonishment, they found themselves eas'd of their foregoing Hardships, and Courted and Caress'd, by those who they knew would rejoice in their Ruine, and had left no Method unattempted in Order to The *Papists*, tho't by raising those who had been so long depress'd, to have inflam'd them with Revenge against their Brethren: to have widen'd the Animosities among *Protestants*; that they might also be[??] thereby rendred the more sure and speedy Sacrifice to their Malice and Cruelty; and hereby they did

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* See his Charge to his Clergy, in his Primary Visitation, pag. 49.

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but drive the contending Parties the nearer to other, and make them at last the more vigorous in their united Effort, to avert that common Ruine,

which hung over their Heads. So that all Parties were surpris'd, and found themselves Mistaken; but an infinitely Wise God over-rul'd all for Good.

MR. BAXTER'S TRYAL.

In the Reign of King *James* the Second, which began *Feb.* 6. 1685. The same Methods were continu'd as had been us'd in his Brothers Time. On the 28th of *February*, Mr. *Baxter* was Committed to the *Kings-Bench* Prison, by my Lord Chief Justice *Jefferies's* Warrant, for his Paraphrase on the New Testament, Printed a little before; which was call'd a Scandalous and Seditious Book against the Government. On the 6th of *May*, which was the first Day of the Term, he appear'd in *Westminster* Hall, and an Information was ordred to be drawn up against him. *May* the 14th, He Pleaded not Guilty to the Information. *May* the 18th, he being much Indispos'd, mov'd that he might have farther Time given him for his Tryal, but it was deny'd him. He mov'd for It by his Council; but *Jeffreys* cries out in a Passion, *I will not give him a minutes Time more to save his Life. We have had (says he) to do with other sorts of Persons, but now we have a Saint to deal with; and I know how to deal with Saints as well as Sinners. Yonder (says he) stands OATS in the Pillory (as he actually did at that very Time in the New Palace-Yard;) and he says he suffers for the Truth, and so says Baxter; but if Baxter did but stand on the other side of the Pillory with him, I would say Two of the greatest Rogues and Rascals in the Kingdom stood there.* On *May* the 30th, in the Afternoon, He was brought to his Tryal, before the Lord Chief Justice *Jeffreys* at *Guildhall*. Sir *Henry Ashhurst*, who could not forsake his own, and his Fathers Friend, stood by him all the while. Mr. *Baxter* came first into Court, and with all the Marks of Serenity and Composure, waited for the coming of the Lord Chief Justice, who appear'd quickly after with great Indignation in his Face. He no sooner sate down, than a short Cause was Call'd and Try'd: After which the Clerk began to read the Title of

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another Cause. *You Blockhead you (says Jeffreys) the next Cause is between RICHARD BAXTER and the King.* Upon which Mr. *Baxter's* Cause was Call'd. The Passages mention'd in the Information, were his Paraprase on *Mat.* 5. 19. *Mark* 3. 6. *Marl* 9. 39. *Mark* 11. 31. *Mark* 12. 38, 39, 40. *Luke* 10. 2. *John* 11. 57. and *Acts* 15. 2. These Passages were pickt out by Sir *Roger L'Estrange*, and some of his Companions. And a certain Noted Clergy-man (who shall be nameless) put into the Hands of his Enemies some Accusations

out of *Rom. 13, &c.* as against the King, to touch his Life, but no use was made of them. The great Charge was, that in these several Passages lie reflected on the Prelates of the Church of *England*, and so was Guilty of Seditious, &c. The Kings Counsel open'd the Information at large with its Aggravations. Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Rotherham*, Mr. *Atwood*, and Mr. *Phipps*, were Mr. *Baxter's* Counsel, and had been Feed by Sir *Henry Ashhurst*. Mr. *Wallop* said, that he conceiv'd the Matter depending being a Point of Doctrine, it ought to be referr'd to the Bishop his Ordinary: But if not, he humbly conceiv'd the Doctrine was Innocent, and Justifiable, setting aside the Innuendo's, for which there was no Colour, there being no Antecedent to refer them to (*i.e.* no Bishop or Clergy of the Church of *England* nam'd.) He said the Book Accus'd, *i.e.* the Comment on the New Testament, contain'd many Eternal Truths: But they who drew the Information were the Libellers, in applying to the Prelates of the Church of *England*, those severe Things which were written concerning some Prelates, who deserv'd the Characters which he gave. My Lord (says he) I humbly conceive the Bishops Mr. *Baxter* speaks of, as your Lordship if you have read Church History must confess, were the Plagues of the Church, and of the World. Mr. *Wallop*, says the Lord Chief Justice, *I observe you are in all these dirty Causes, and were it not for you Gentlemen of the Long Robe, who should have more Wit and Honesty, that support and hold up these Factious Knaves by the Chin, we should not be at the Pass we art.* My Lord, says Mr. *Wallup*, I humbly Conceive, that the

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Passages Accus'd are natural Deductions from: the Text. *You humbly Conceive*, says *JEFFREYS*, and *I humbly Conceive: Swear him, Swear him.* My lord says he, under Favour, I am Counsel for the Defendant, and in understand either *Latin* or *English*, the Information now bro't against Mr. *Baxter* upon so slight a ground, is a greater Reflection upon the Church of *England*, than any Thing contain'd in the Book he's Accus'd for. Says *Jeffreys* to him, *Sometimes you humbly Conceive, and sometimes you are very Positive: You talk of your Skill in Church History, and of your Understanding Latin and English: I think I understand something of them as well as you; but in short must tell you, that if you don't understand your Duty better, shall teach it you.* Upon which Mr. *Wallop* sate down.

Mr. *Rotheram* urg'd that if Mr. *Baxter's* Book had sharp Reflections upon the Church of *Rome*, by Name, but spake well of the Prelates of the Church

of *England*, it was to be presum'd that the sharp Reflections were intended only against the Prelates of the Church of *Rome*. The Lord Chief Justice said, *Baxter was an Enemy to the Name and Thing, the Office and Persons of Bishops*. *Rotheram* added, that *Baxter* frequently attended Divine Service, went to the Sacrament and perswaded others to do so too, as was certainly and publicly known, and had in the very Book so charg'd, spoken very moderately and honourably of the Bishops of the Church of *England*. Mr. *Baxter* added, my Lord, I have been so moderate with Respect to the Church of *England*, that I have incurr'd the Censure of many of the *Dissenters* upon that Account. BAXTER for *Bishops*, says JEFFREYS, *That's a merry Conceit indeed. Turn to it, turn to it*. Upon this *Rotheram* turn'd to a Place, where 'tis said, *That great Respect is due to those truly call'd to be Bishops among us: Or to that Purpose: Ay, saith Jeffreys, This is your Presbyterian Cant; truly call'd to be Bishop's*, that is himself and such Rascals, call'd to be Bishops of *Kidderminster*, and other such Places. *Bishops set apart by such Factions, Sniveling Presbyterians as himself: A Kidderminster Bishop he meant. According to the saying of a late Learned Author;*

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thour; and every Parish shall maintain, a Tithe Pig, Metropolitan. Mr. *Baxter* beginning to speak again; says he to him, *Richard, Richard, dost thou think we'll hear thee Poison the Court, &c. Richard thou art an Old Fellow, an Old Knave; thou hast Written Books eno' to Load a Cart, every one as full of Sedition (I might say Treason) as an Egg is full of Meat. Hadst thou been Whipp'd out of thy Writing Trade Forty Years ago, it had been Happy. Thou pretendest to be a Preacher of the Gospel of Peace, and 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 thy Self and I see thou'lt go on as thou hast begun, but by the Grace of God, Ile 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 Donne, and a Doctor of the Party (looking to Dr. Bates) at your Elbow, but by the Grace of Almighty God I'll Crush you all*. Mr. *Rotheram* sitting down, Mr. *Attwood* began to shew, that not one of the Passages mention'd in the Information ought to be strain'd to that Sense, which was put upon them by the Innuendo's; they being more natural when taken in a milder Sense: Nor could any one of them be apply'd to the Prelates of the Church of *England*, without a very forc'd Construction. To Evidence this he would have read some of the Text; but *Jeffreys* cry'd out; *You shan't draw me into a Conventicle with your Annotations, nor your Sniveling Parson neither*. My Lord says *Attwood*, I conceive this to be expresly

within *Roswell's* Case, lately before your Lordship. *You conceive*, says *Jeffreys*, *you conceive amiss: It is not*, My Lord, says Mr. *Attwood*, that I may use the best Authority, permit me to repeat your lordships own Words in that Case. No, *you shan't*, says he. You need not speak, for you are an Authour already; tho' you Speak and Write impertinently. Says *Attwood*, I can't help that my Lord, if my Talent be no better; but it is my Duty to do my best for my Client. *Jeffreys* thereupon went on, inveighing against what *Attwood* had Publish'd: And *Attwood* justify'd it to be in Defence of the *English* Constitution; declaring that he never disown'd any Thing he had

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An. 1685.

Written. *Jeffreys* several Times order'd him to sit down; but he still went on. My lord, says he, I have Matter of Law to offer for my Client; and he proceeded to Cite several Cases wherein it had been adjudged that Words ought to be taken in the milder Sense, and not to be strain'd by Innuendo's. *Well*, says *Jeffreys* when he had done, *You have had your say*. Mr. *Williams*, and Mr. *Phipps* said nothing, for they saw 'twas to no Purpose. At length says Mr. *Baxter* himself, my Lord, I think I can clearly Answer all that is laid to my Charge, and I shall do it briefly: The Summ is contain'd in these few Papers, to which I shall add a little by Testimony. But he would not hear a Word. At length the Chief Justice summ'd up the Matter in a long and fulsome Harangue. *'Tis notoriously shown* (says he) *there has been a Design to ruine the King and the Nation. The Old Game has been renew'd: And this has been the main Incendiary. He's as Modest now as can be: But Time was, when no Man was so ready at Bind your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles in Fetters of Iron: And to your Tents O Israel. Gentlemen, for Gods sake don't let us be gull'd twice in an Age, &c.* And when he concluded, He told the Jury, that if they in their Conscienccs believ'd he meant the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of *England*, in the Passages which the Information referr'd to, they must find him Guilty: And he could mean no Man else. If not, they must find him not Guilty. When he had done, says Mr. *Baxter* to him, Do's your Lordship think any Jury will pretend to pass a Verdict upon me upon such a Tryal? *I'le Warrant you*, Mr. *Baxter* says he; *don't you Trouble yourself about that*. The Jury immediately laid their Heads together at the Bar, and found him *Guilty*. He had Subpæna'd several Clergy-men, who appear'd in Court, but were of no use to him, thro' the Violence of the Chief Justice. The Trial being over, Sir *Henry Ashhurst* led Mr. *Baxter* thro' the Crowd, (I mention it to his Honour) and convey'd him away in his Coach.

On *June* the 29th following, He had Judgment given against Him. He was Fin'd 500 Marks; to lie in Prison till he paid it; and be bound to his good Behaviour for Seven Years.

The

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An 1686.

The next Year the *Dissenters* were prosecuted in the wonted Manner. Their Meetings were frequently disturb'd both in City and Countrey. Fines were Levy'd upon them. The Informers broke in upon Mr. *Fleetwood*, Sir *John Hartop*, and some others at *Stoke Newington*, to Levy Distresses for *Convnticles*, to 6 or 700*l.* and many were Excommunicated, and had *Capiasses* Issu'd out against them; but Particular Persons, upon their making Application to those above, were more favour'd than had been usual.

The Kings Dispensing Power was at length the Subject of much Discourse and Debate. But at last the Matter was thus determin'd by Eleven of the Twelve Judges. 1. *That the Kings of England are Sovereign Princes.* 2. *That the Laws of England are the Kings Laws.* 3. *That the Kings of England have the Sole Power of dispensing with the Penal Laws in Gift of Necessity.* 4. *That the Kings of England are the sole Judges of the Necessity of dispensing with Penal Laws.* 5. *That the Kings of England do not derive this Power from the People, nor can on any Account or Pretence be lawfully depriv'd of it.* 6. *That the Kings of England can never depart from this Prerogative.*

Injunctions went out from several of the Bishops under the Seal of their Offices, to all Ministers in their Dioceses, strictly to Enjoin and Require all Church-Wardens to Present those that did not come to Church, or that receiv'd not the Sacrament at *Easter*. These Injunctions were publicly Read in *Hertfordshire*, and *Essex*, and many other Places. And it seem'd to be a prevailing Opinion, that the *Protestant Dissenters* must be Prosecuted, or *Poper*y could not be suppress'd. And therefore the Juries in some Places at the Assizes this Year presented it as their Opinion, that unless the *Dissenters* were effectually Prosecuted, their Dangers could not be prevented or remedy'd: But the unseasonableness of such Rigours, and the scandalous Villanies and Perjuries of many of the most Noted Informers both in City and Countrey too made sensible Men soon weary.

King

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THE COMMISSION FOR ECCLESIASTIAL AFFAIRS.

King *James* in Order to the carrying on his Designs the more successfully, granted an *Ecclesiastical Commission*, which was directed to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Rochester*, the Earl of *Rochester* Lord High Treasurer, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*, or any Three of them, whereof the Lord Chancellor was always to be one, devolving the whole Care of Ecclesiastical Affairs upon them, in the largest Extent that ever had been known in *England*. They open'd their Commission on the Third of *August*, and settled the Method of Proceeding: But the Commissioners Names were several Times alter'd. They began with suspending the Bishop of *London*, for not suspending Dr. *Sharp* upon the Kings Command. They afterwards depriv'd and suspended Dr. *Peachel*, Vice Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*, and Head of *Magdalen* Colledge, for refusing to admit one *Alban Francis*, a Benedictine Monk, to the Degree of Master of Arts, without taking the Oaths: And Dr. *Hough* the President, and the Fellows of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*; for not complying with the Kings Mandate in the Election of a President. By which Methods all the Clergy in the Kingdom were Convinc'd, that the *Papists* were coming to take Possession. They made hereupon such Exclamations, as plainly shew'd they were unable to bear a small share of those Severities themselves, which had for a long Time been so liberally inflicted upon others.

A Dispensation or License once was set up this Year, where all Comers might have Dispensations, saying only 50 Shillings for themselves and their Families. Many of those who were Prosecuted as Conventiclors, took out Dispensations, which nor only stopp'd all Processes that were commenc'd, but gave them Liberty to keep Meetings for the Future. Many were releas'd from their Imprisonment, and had their Fines remitted by the Kings Pardons. Among the rest, Mr. *Baxter* obtain'd his Pardon by the Mediation of the Lord *Powis*. His Fine was remitted, and on Wednesday *November 24*. Sir *Samuel Astrey* sent his Warrant to the Keeper of the Kings

Bench

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Bench Prison to discharge him: But he gave Sureties for his good Behaviour; his Majesty declaring, (for his Satisfaction) that it should not in him be interpreted a Breach of the Good Behaviour, for him to reside in *London*, which was not allowable according to the *Oxford Act*; and this was enter'd upon his Bail-Piece; *i.e.* the Parchment in which his Bail was given.

Notwithstanding this, he continu'd some time after in the Rules. And on *February* the 28th following, remov'd to a House he took in *Charter-House-Yard*.

THE DECLARATION FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

March the 18th, the King acquainted the Council, that he had determin'd to Issue out a Declaration for a General Liberty of Conscience, to all Persons of what Perswasion soever; which he was mov'd to, by having observ'd, *that altho' an Uniformity in Religious Worship had been endeavour'd to be establish'd within this Kingdom, in the Successive Reins of 4 of his Predecessors, assisted by their Respective Parliaments, yet it had been ineffectual; that the restraint upon the Consciences of Dissenters in order thereunto, had been very prejudicial to this Nation, as was sadly experienc'd in the horrid Rebellion in the time of his Royal Father: That the many Penal Laws made against Dissenters in all the foregoing Reigns, and especially in the time of the late King, had rather increas'd than lessen'd the Number of them: And that nothing could more conduce to the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and an increase of the Number as well as the Trade of his Subjects, than an intire Liberty of Conscience, &c.* And thereupon, he Order'd the Attorney and Solicitor General, not to permit any Process to Issue in his Majesties Name, against any Dissenters whatsoever. The Declaration publish'd for this purpose, bore Date *April* the 11th, 1687.

An. 1687.

The Dissenters were not so fond of hard Usage, as to refuse a Liberty so freely offer'd them; nor did they think it good Manners, to enquire too narrowly how that Indulgence came about, so long as they were shelter'd by it from Oppression. A Letter of Advice to them, was hereupon publish'd by that Accomplish'd Statesman the Marquis of *Halifax*, tho' without his Name, The Letter was written with a

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great deal of Artifice, with design to insinuate a twofold Caution; That their New Friends were to be suspected; and that it would neither be Christianity nor Prudence to hazard the publick Safety, either by desire of Ease or of Revenge. His Cautions were regarded by the wiser Part of them, notwithstanding the uncertainty with what design this Application was made to them; As Thankful as they were for their Ease and Liberty, they were yet fearful of the Issue; neither can any Number of them of any Consideration,

be charg'd with hazarding the Publick Safety, by falling in with the Measures of the Court, of which they had as great a dread as their Neighbours. And as for Revenge, tho' they had a fair Opportunity for it, yet could they not think it a thing desireable, either as Men or as Christians. If the overdid it in their Addresses, they tho't the High Church Party, who had bin so us'd to topping flights of Complement, when returning Thanks for the Dissolving one of the best of Parliaments, had little Reason to Reflect on them. But they were hot many that could be Charg'd: Among the rest, Mr. *Baxter* had no concern in Addressing; but set himself at *Rutland-House* in *Charter-House-Yard*, where he exercis'd his Ministry in Conjunction with Mr. *Sylvester*, to make a peaceable Improvement of the Liberty afforded, so as to do all the good he could without Offence to any. The like did his Brethren in other Places, and therefore they waited in expectation of seeing the Effects of the Marquesses Declaration on behalf of the Church Party; that *all their former Haughtiness* (they are his own Words) *towards the Dissenters was for ever extinguish'd; and that the Spirit of Persecution was turn'd into a Spirit of Peace, Charity and Condescension; that the Church of ENGLAND was convinc'd of its Error in being severe to them; and all thinking Men were come to a General Agreement, no more to cut our selves off from the Protestants Abroad, but rather enlarge the Foundations, upon which we are to Build our Defences against the Common Enemy.*

Monsieur *Dickvelt* who had been sometime here as Agent for the *Dutch* (I am not certain under what

Character)

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Character) had his Audience of Leave, on *May* the 20th. The King told him, that he doubted not but that he should have the Prince of *Orange's* Approbation for the taking off the Penal Laws and Tests; and would have him to acquaint the Prince therewith. *Dickvelt* reply'd, that he was bound to acquaint the Prince with his Majesties Command, and would do so; but he did understand so much of the Princes Sense, that he was bold to say, he was not of that Opinion. *Dickvelt* carry'd it like a Considerable Statesman, and vigorously pursu'd the Interests of the States, and of the Prince of *Orange*. He gave all possible Assurance to all that he Convers'd with, of the Princes firm and settled Resolution to stand up in opposition to Popery, and the Designs of *France*, and to Promote and Maintain the true reform'd Protestant Religion, against all Opposition. He also Privately gave great Assurance to the Nonconformists, that they should find, Respects from that Prince when opportunity offer'd; and that they might be satisfi'd, he was no Friend to

Rigour and Severity in Religious Matters, but a great Friend to Liberty of Conscience.

The King finding that all his Measures would be inevitably broken, if the Penal Laws and Tests were not taken off, by means of which, his Friends stood continually expos'd, resolv'd to leave no Method unattempted, that might Contribute towards his reaching this Design. The gaining the Concurrence of the next Heirs, would have bin a very plausible Plea with the most averse; and therefore not resting satisfi'd with *Dickvelt's* Declaration, he resolv'd to try the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, and be fully certifi'd of their Sense and Inclination. To that end he employ'd Mr. *James Stuart*, who wrote a Letter to *Pensionary Fagel*, who was one in whom the Prince put an entire Confidence, and with whom Mr. *Stuart* pretended to no small Intimacy: The Prince and Princess were so averse to meddling, that it was a long time before they would allow the Pensionary to make any Reply upon so touchy a Point; so that Mr. *Stuart* by Order wrote several Letters before he receiv'd any Answer. At last it being Industriously

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Pensionary Fagel's Letter.

spread Abroad, that the Prince and Princess agreed with the King in the Design of taking off those Laws which the Nation look'd upon as their main Security; and this being made use of as an Argument to bring others to a Compliance, the Prince and Princess tho't it necessary for their own Vindication, to allow the Pensionary to make a Reply, and discover their True and Real Sense of the Matter. Accordingly that Wise Minister of State *Fagel*, in a Letter from the *Hague*, bearing Date *November 4* this Year, sent Mr. *Stuart* Word, that since he gave him to understand that his Letters were Written with the Kings Knowledge and Allowance, he would therefore deal very plainly with him in the Matter and without reserve: And thereupon he proceeds to tell him, *That it was the Opinion of the Prince and Princess, that no Christian ought to be Persecuted for his Conscience, or be ill used because he differs from the Publick and Establish'd Religion: And therefore that they could Consent, that the Papists in England, Scotland and Ireland, should be suffer'd to Continue in their Religion, with as much Liberty as is allow'd them by the States of Holland; in which they enjoy full Liberty of Conscience. And that as to the Dissenters, their Highnesses did not only Consent, but did heartily approve of their having an entire Liberty for the full Exercise of their Religion, without any trouble or hindrance; so that none may be able to give them the least disturbance upon that Account; and that their Highnesses*

were ready to Concur to the Settling and Confirming this Liberty, and Protect and Defend it, and likewise to Confirm it with their Guarantee, which Mr. Stuart had mention'd. And that if His Majesty desir'd their Concurrence in Repealing the Penal Laws, their Highnesses were ready to give it, provided those Laws still remain'd in force, by which the Roman Catholicks were excluded out of both Houses of Parliament, and out of all Publick Employments, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, and likewise those other Laws which Confirm the Protestant Religion, and which secure it against all the Attempts of the Roman Catholicks; But that their Highnesses could not agree to the Repeal of the Test, and those other Penal Laws last mentioned that tend to the Security of the Protestant Religion; since the Roman Ca-

tholicks

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tholicks receiv'd no other prejudice from these, than the being excluded from Parliament and Publick Employments. And that they believed they should have much to Answer to God for, if the Consideration of any present Advantage, should carry them to consent to things, which they believed, would be not only Dangerous but Mischievous to the Protestant Religion. By which full Declaration, the Court was much disappointed, many staggering Persons confirm'd, the Church Party reviv'd, and the Dissenters comforted, in Hope the Liberty they had obtain'd was like to prove Lasting. And yet the King went on, Closetting Lords and Commons, and all Persons that had any Places of Profit or Trust using such Arguments as were most likely to prevail for a Compliance: Many were displac'd upon their Refusal, and succeeded by others that appear'd more Pliable; which did but heighten the General Dissatisfaction of the People, to see themselves like to be gull'd out of their main Security. About this time, Commissioners were appointed by the King, and sent into the several Counties of *England*, to enquire what Money or Goods had been Levy'd upon *Dissenters* upon Prosecutions for Recusancy, and not paid into the Exchequer. Many were afraid of being call'd to an Account; and it was commonly apprehended, that a strict Enquiry would have ctufed great Confusion. Here the *Dissenters* had a fair Opportunity of being reveng'd on many of their bitterest Enemies: But they generously pass'd all by, upon the Promises and Assurances that were given them by leading Persons both at the Clergy and Laity, that no such Rigorous Methods should ever be us'd towards them for the time to come, but that they might depend upon great Temper and Moderation for the future.

That the surer way might be made to the Establishing an Universal Toleration by Act of Parliament, Changes were made in all the Corporations in the

Kingdom, and a certain sort of Men call'd *Regulators*, who were Persons of much Fortunes and Abilities, but great forwardness, were sent into all Parts to examine Mem Opinions. They that would promise to use their Interest in Elections, to bring in

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An. 1688. The New Declaration of Liberty.

The Bishops Petition.

such into the Parliament as would Comply with the Kings Designs, were prefer'd as Mayors, Aldermen, &c. which was propos'd as an Effectual Method to reach his End. But this was so Gross, that the Managers became Contemptible, and few Men of any Reputation would have any Concern with them. On the 27th of *April*, the King renew'd his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, with some Additions and a Promise to get it establish'd by Act of Parliament.

On the 4th of *May*, an Order was pass'd in Council, that the *Declaration of Indulgence* should be Read in all Churches and Chappels in the time of Divine Service, in and about *London* on the 20th and 27th of that Month; and in all the rest of *England* and *Wales* on the 3d and 10th of *June* following; And that all the Bishops in their respective Dioceses, should take Care to have the Order Obey'd. The Refusers were to be prosecuted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The whole Body of the Clergy refus'd (very few excepted) and so were all liable to be Ejected, Seven Bishops interpos'd, and waited upon the King to give him the Reasons of their Refuse to Disperse or Read his Declaration. They were, Dr. *Sandcroft*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Floyd*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, Dr. *Kenn*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Dr. *Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Lake*, Bishop of *Chichester*, Dr. *White*, Bishop of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Bishop of *Bristol*. They deliver'd to the King in his Closet, a Petition in behalf of themselves and their absent Brethren; shewing, *that their unwillingness did not proceed from any want of Duty and Obedience to His Majesty*, nor from any want of due Tenderness to Dissenters, in Relation to whom they were willing to come to such a Temper, as should be tho't fit, when that Matter should be Consider'd and Settled in Parliament, and Convocation: *But among a great many other Considerations; from this especially, because that Declaration was founded upon such a Dispensing Power, as had often been declar'd Illegal in Parliament, and was a Matter of so great Moment and Consequence to the Whole Nation, that they could not in Prudence, Honour or*

Conscience, so far make themselves Parties to it, as the Distribution of it all over the King

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dom, and the solemn Publication of it even in Gods House, and in the time of Divine Service, must amount to a Common and Reasonable Construction, &c. Hereupon they were Imprison'd in the Tower, indicted of an high Misdemeanor, and Try'd at the Kings Bench Bar, but Acquitted, and that with Universal Acclamations.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners on the 16th of *August*, sent forth their Mandates to the Chancellors, Arch-Deacons, &c. of every Diocess in *England*, to make Enquiry and send them an Account, where and by whom the Kings Order about Reading the Declaration had been Obey'd, and where not, that so all that had neglected it, might be severely Punish'd. This would have made most woful Havock all over the Kingdom, had not the Approaching Revolution put an effectual stop. But it was not long before a Rumour began to spread, that the Prince of *Orange* was coming with a Potent Army and Fleet from *Holland*, to rescue the Nation from Popery and Slavery. The King give Publick Notice of it by a Declaration Dated the 4th of *October*. Upon which the Measures of the Court were entirely broken, the Bishop of *London's* Suspension was taken off, the Ecclesiastical Commission dissolv'd, the City Charter restor'd, and other Illegal Sentences revers'd, and which was said to be done out of the Kings meer Grace and Favour: But all the World knew a more Substantial Reason. The Bishops waited upon the King with their Advice, which they drew up in Writing; and among other things, advis'd His Majesty, *to issue out Writs for a Free and Regular Parliament, in which the Church of England might be secur'd according to the Act of Uniformity, Provision made for a due Liberty of Conscience, the Liberties and Properties of the Subject secur'd, and a good Understanding obtain'd between His Majesty and his People.* Great Notice was taken of their so freely mentioning the Dissenters, both in their Petition, and in this Advice. A Writer of that time,* thus Expresses himself upon the Occasion of it. *I do assure you, and am certain I have the best Grounds in the whole Word for my Assurance, that the Bishops will never stir one Jot from their PETITION; but*

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that

* *An Account of the late Proposals of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, with some other Bishops to his Majesty, in a Letter to M. B. Esq;*

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that they will whenever that happy Opportunity shall offer it self, let the Protestant Dissenters find, that they will be better than their Word given in their famous PETITION. On the 5th of November, the Prince of Orange Landed at Torbay in the County of Devon. In his Declaration which was Dated at the Hague, October the 10th, in which he gave an Account of the Reasons of his Expedition into England; he assures the World, that he came upon no other Design, but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament Assembled as soon as was possible; that none might be suffer'd to choose or to be chosen Members, but such as were Qualify'd by Law, and that being lawfully Chosen, they might Meet and Sit in full Freedom; that so the Two Houses might Concur in the preparing such Laws, as they upon full and free Debate should judge Necessary and Convenient, both for the confirming and executing the Law concerning the Test, and such other Laws as nere necessary for the Security and Maintenance of the Protestant Religion: as likewise for making such Laws as might Establish a good Agreement between the Church of England and all Protestant Dissenters, &c. The Body of the Nation heartily fell in with the Prince, and a mighty Revolution was brought about without Blood-shed. Interest wrought a Change in Mens Opinions. They that always condemn'd the Principles of taking up Arms in Defence of Liberty and Property, now tho't it both Lawful, highly Laudable and absolutely Necessary. But one hardship they were under at the time of the Revolution, which was a sensible Conviction to many, of the great Inconvenience of being under a Confinement to particular Forms in Divine Worship; while they privately Pray'd for the Prince of Orange's Prosperity, they were forc'd in publick to Pray according to the Liturgy, that God would be the Defender and Keeper of King James, and give him Victory over all his Enemies. But God to the unspeakable Comfort of the Nation, prefer'd their Private Prayers, before those that were Publick.

The Arrival of the prince of Orange.

There were some who tho' Concurring with the Prince in his Expedition for their own Security, were afterwards, when their Fears were over, for
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compromising Matters with King James, and trusting his Promises afresh, but the Convention that was summon'd by the Prince's Letters, when

assembled together, declared the Throne Vacant, King *James* having *Abdicated the Government, and broken the Original Contract with his People*. Whereupon drawing up a Declaration, for Vindicating the Antient Rights and Liberties of the People, they offer'd the Crown to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, who accepting it, were Proclaim'd King and Queen of *England*, on the 13th of *February* following, with Universal Acclamation; and none had a greater share than the Dissenters in the Common Joy.

CHAP. XV.

THE STATE OF THEIR CAPE IN THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF KING
WILLIAM AND QUEEN *MARY*.

There were great Expectations concerning the Consequences of the sudden Alteration here in *England*. All *Europe* was surpriz'd with the Report of it; and we at home were not soon able to recover out of our Amazement. Never was the Throne of *England* better adorn'd and fill'd than by this noble Pair; and the greatest Contention at first seem'd to be, who should shew the the most Respect. They were no sooner Proclaim'd than the Joy Eccho'd from all Parts. Among the rest, the *Dissenting* Ministers in and about the City of *London*, Presented an Address to their Majesties, at which Time Dr. *Bates* made the Two following Speeches,

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To

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To the KING.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

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“THE Series of successful Events that has attended Your Glorious Enterprize for the saving these Kingdoms from so imminent and destructive Evils, has been so eminent and extraordinary, that it may force an Acknowledgement of the Divine Providence from those who deny it, and raises 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 Humane Power, the more of the Divine Wisdom and

Goodness has bew Conspicuous in it. If the Deliverance had been obtain'd by fierce and bloody Battels, Victory it self had been dejected, and sad, and our Joy had been mix'd 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 magnifie 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 Initrumet of it. Your Illustrious Greatness of Mind in an Undertaking of such vast Expençe; Your Heroick Zeal in exposing Your most precious Life in such an adventurous Expedition; Your wise Conduet and unshaken Resolution in prosecuting Your great Ends, are above the loftiest Flights of Language, exceed all Praise. We owe to Your Majesty the Two greatest and most valuable Blessings that we can enjoy, the Preservation of the true Religion, our most sacred Treasure, and the recovery of the falling State, and the Establishing it upon Just Foundations. According to our Duty we Promise un

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fainting Fidelity, and true Allegiance to your Majesties Person and Government. *We are encourag'd 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 the 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 Englarid the steady Centre from whence a powerful Influence will be deriv'd for the Support of Reformed Christianity abroad: This will bring immortal Honour to Your Name, above the Trophies and Triumphs of the most renowned Conquerours. We do Assure Your Majesty, that we shall cordially embrace the Terms of Union, which the ruling Wisdom of our Saviour has prescrib'd in his Word. We shall not Trespass farther upon 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 encline Your Heart to his Glory, and encompass Your Sacred Person with his Favour as with a Shield, and make your Government a Universal Blessing to these Kingdoms.*

“His Majesty was graciously pleas’d to make this Answer. *I take kindly your good Wishes; and whatever is in my Power shall be employed for obtaining such a Union among you. I do Assure you of my Protection and Kindness.*

To the QUEEN.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“YOUR happy Arrival into Your Native Country, and Accession to the Crown, has diffus’d an Universal Joy thro’ this Kingdom. ’Tis an auspicious Sign of Publick Felicity, when Supreme Venue, and Supreme Dignity meet in the same Person. Your inviolable firmness in the Profession of the Truth, and exemplary Piety, are

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the most radiant Jewels in Your Crown. The Lustre of Your Conversation, unstain’d in the midst of Tempting Vanities, and adorn’d with every Grace, recommends Religion as the most honourable and amiable Quality; even to those who are averse from hearing Sermons, and apt to deespise serious Instructions and Excitations to be Religious. *We humbly desire Your Majesty will be pleas’d 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 Publick Good, will Consent to the Terms of Union, wherein all the Reformed Churches Agree.* We shall sincerely Address our Requests to God, that he will please to pour down in a rich Abundance, his Blessings upon Your Majesties Person and Government, and preserve You to his Heavenly Kingdom.

“Her Majesty was graciously pleas’d to Answer them thus: *I will use all Endeavours for the obtaining a Union, that is necessary for the edifying of the Church, I desire Your Prayers.*

This was a Publick Fact, and the Speeches were afterwards Printed, whereby the *Dissenters* in Effect declar’d to all the World, their readiness to yield to a Coalition with the Establish’d Church: But little Notice was taken of it. They had receiv’d Encouragement to expect great Things. The Bishops and Clergy, the Nobility and Gentry, with great Unanimity before the Revolution, profess’d themselves sensible of the Necessity of making the Ecclesiastical

Foundations wider, and having a closer Correspondence with the *Protestant Churches* abroad, &c. Among the rest, they found a celebrated Writer at the latter End of the forgoing Reign, when Apologizing for the Church, and her pass'd Proceedings, thus* expressing himself. *It is not to be doubted, but tho' some weaker Men of the Clergy may still retain their little peevisish Animosities, against the Dissenters, yet the wiser and more serious Heads, of that great and worthy body see now their Errour. They see who drove them on in it, till they hop'd to have ruin'd them by it. And as they*

have

* *An Apology for the Church of England, with Relations to the spirit of Persecution for which she is accus'd, page 6,*

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have appear'd against Popery, with as great Strength of Learning, and as firm steadiness as can perhaps be met with in all Church-History, so it cannot be doubted, but their Reflections on the Dangers into which our Divisions have thrown us, have given them truer Notions with Relation to a rigorous Conformity: And that the just detestation which they have expressed of the Corruptions of the Church at Rome, has led them to consider and abhor one of the worst Things in it, viz. Their Severity towards Hereticks. And the ill use, that they see the Court has made of their Zeal for supporting the Crown, to justify the Subversion of our Government, that is now set on, from some of their large and unwary Expressions, will certainly make them hereafter more Cautious in meddling with Politicks: The Bishops have under their Hands both disown'd that wide Extent of the Prerogative, to the overturning of the Law, and declar'd their Disposition to come to a Temper in the Matters of Conformity; and there seems to be no doubt left, of the Sincerity of their Intentions in that Matter. Their Piety and Vertue, and the Prospect that they now have of Suffering themselves, put us beyond all Doubt as to their Sincerity; and if ever God in his Providence brings us again into a settled State, out of the Storms into which Our Passion and Folly, as well as the Treachery of others has brought us, it cannot be imagined, that the Bishops will go off from those Moderate Resolutions, which they have now declared: And they continuing firm, the weak and indiscreet Passions of any of the Inferiour Clergy must needs vanish, when they are under the Conduct of wise and worthy Leaders. And I will boldly say this, 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 abandon'd both of God and Man, and will set both Heaven and Earth against her. The Nation sees too visibly, how dear the Dispute about Conformity has cost us, to stand any more upon such Punctilio's: And those in whom our Deliverance is

wrapt up, understand this Matter too well, and judge too right of it, to imagine that ever they will be Priest-ridden in this Point. So that all Considerations concur to make us conclude, that there is no danger of our Splitting a Second Time upon the same Rock: And indeed if any Argument were wanting to compleat the Cer

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tainty of this Point, the wise and generous Behaviour of the main Body of the Dissenters, in this present Juncture; has given them so just a Title to our Friendship, that we must resolve to set all the World against us, if we can ever forget it, and if we do not make them all the returns of Ease and Flavour when it is in our Power to do it.

But the same Celebrated Writer has fin: told the World, how little his and others Expectations in this Respect were answer'd. For says he elsewhere,* *The Bishops in the former Reign had in that Petition upon which they suffer'd so gloriously, express'd, . Readiness to come to a just Temper in all the Matters of Difference among us, when they should be bro't before them in Convocation or Parliament. And among other Messages that were sent over to the King, being then Prince of Orange, one was, that he would use all his Interest among the Dissenters, to hinder them from running into the Declaration, and to the Design that was then promoted, of animating them against the Church. Of this (says he) I may be allow'd to speak confidently, because it pass'd thro' my own Hands; and I drew the Directions that were given to an Eminent Person who was employ'd in it. Upon these Reasons it was, that the Prince promis'd in his Declaration with which he came over, that he would use his Endeavours to bring about the so much desir'd Union, between the Church of England, and the Dissenters. So their Majesties were under Engagements to make the Experiment. It is true, it did not succeed, a form'd Resolution of Consenting to no Alterations at all in Order to that Union, made that the Attempt was laid after I will not enter into any further Reflections on Mens Behaviour at that Time; it plainly appear'd, it was not a proper Season to try to make peace. Attempts that way were more likely to create new Rents, than to heal the old Ones. So that the Dissenters taking this Publick Opportunity of declaring to their Majesties presently after their ascending the Throne, a readiness on their Part, to Consent to the Terms of Union, wherein all the Reformed Churches Agree, must be acquitted by all Mankind from being the Hinderers of the desir'd Agreement. And this worthy Prelate plainly tells us where the Blame must be laid.*

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* *The Bishop of Sarum's Reflections on a Book concerning the Rights of the English Convocation,*

pag. 16.

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Immediately after our Happy Settlement, great Animosities appear among the Church Party, which spread all over the Land. The Difference lay both in Political and Ecclesiastical Matters. The Political Difference referr'd to the taking the Oaths to the New Government, which many scrupled while King *James* was Living, to whom they had sworn Allegiance already. The Ecclesiastical Difference, referr'd to Alterations and Emendations in the Constitution, Worship, and Discipline of the Church, which some were for in Order to the strengthening our Foundations, and others against, as seeing no need of Amendments. Both these Controversies were manag'd with great warmth and eagerness; while the *Dissenters* stood by, making their Remarks, hoping they should be no losers in the Issue by such Debates. And in this Hope they were much encourag'd by observing the good Effects of their former Disputes with the *Papists*, upon such Principles as had for the Authors themselves more Upright than before they had been.

When it was once determin'd the Vacant Throne should be fill'd, the Debate about Alterations and Amendments in the Church quickly made a noise. They who tho't we were arriv'd at Perfection, were apprehensive their Majesties were inclin'd to be too Yielding to *Dissenters*, and therefore us'd great Art and Industry to shengthen their Interest, that so we might continue upon the old Bottom. Things are too fresh in Memory to allow of Particularizing. Some few there were that could hardly think fit to allow the *Dissenters* Liberty; but even those who were so generous as to retam such a Sense of their past Dangers, and the Promises and Assurances then given, as to be Free for Liberty, were generally backward to a Coalition, tho' much prest by many indifferent Standers by.

There were many and warm Debates in the Two Houses of Lords and Commons about a *Comprehension*, and an *Indulgence*; for Bills were bro't in for both; and both were Canvass'd. Some who were of a narrow Spirit, forgetting former Promises, and repeated Declarations, were for keeping the *Dissenters*

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under a brand: But thinking Men, were of a more generous Temper. Their Case was at that Time fairly represented by an impartial Hand, and strenuously Argu'd, in the Compass of a Sheet of Paper, which being liable to be lost, I

think my self oblig'd here to insert it, in Order to their Satisfaction in the Principles and Pleas of the *Protestant Dissenters*, who have not Leisure or Inclination, to peruse larger Writings.

They are under one Common Obligation with the rest of Mankind, by the universal Law of Nature, to Worship God in Assemblies.

Men of all sorts of Religions; that have ever obtain'd in the World, Jews, Pagans, Mahometans, Christians, have in their Practise acknowledg'd this Obligation. Nor can it be understood, how such a Practise should be so Universal, otherwise than from the Dictate and Impression of the Universal Law.

Whereas the Religion profest in *England*, is that of Reformed Christianity, some Things are annexed to the allowed Publick Worship, which are acknowledg'd to be no Parts thereof nor in themselves necessary; but which the *Dissenting* judg'd to be in some Part sinful.

They cannot therefore with good Conscience towards God, attend wholly and solely upon the Publick Worship which the Laws do Appoint.

The same Laws do strictly forbid their Assembling to Worship God otherwise.

Which is in Effect the same Thing, as if they who made, or shall continue such Laws, should plainly say, if you will not Consent with us in our superadded Rites, and Modes, against your Consciences, you shall not Worship God: Or if you will not accept of our Additions to the Christian Religion, you shall not be Christians; and manifestly tends to reduce to Paganism a great Part of a Christian Nation.

They have been wont therefore to meet however in Distinct Assemblies, and to Worship God in a way which their Consciences could approve; and have many Years continu'd so to do, otherwise than as they have been hindred by Violence.

It is therefore upon the whole fit to enquire,

Quest.

The Case of the Protestant Dissenters represented and argu'd in 1689.

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Quest. I. Whether they are to be blam'd for their holding Distinct Meetings for the Worship of God?

For Answer to this, It cannot be expected that all the controversies should be here determin'd, which have been agitated about the Lawfulness of each of those Things which have been added to the Christian Religion and Worship, by the present Constitution of the Church of *England*.

But supposing they were none of them simply unlawful, while yet the misinform'd. Minds of the *Dissenters* could not judge them lawful, tho' they have made it much their Business to enquire and search; being urg'd also by severe Sufferings; which thorough a long Tract of Time they have undergone, not to refuse any Means that might tend to their satisfaction; they could have nothing else left them to do, than to meet and Worship distinctly as they have. For they could not but esteem the Obligation of the *Universal, Natural, Divine Law*, by which they were bound solemnly to Worship God, less questionable than *that* of a *Law*, which was only *Positive, Topical, and Humane*, requiring such and such Additaments to their Worship, and prohibiting their Worship without them.

The Church of *England* (as that Part affects to be call'd) distinguisht from the rest by those Additional to Christian Religion (pretended to be indifferent, and so confest unnecessary) hath not only sought to engross to it self, the *Ordinances of Divine Worship*, but *all Civil Power*, so that the Priviledges that belong either to *Christian* or *Humane Society* are inclosed, and made Peculiar to such, as are distinguish'd by Things that in themselves can signifie nothing to the making of Persons either better Christians, or better Men.

Quest. 2. Whether the Laws enjoining such Additions to our Religion, as the exclusive Terms of Christian Worship and Communion, ought to have been made; when it is acknowledg'd on all Hands, the Things to be added, were before not necessary; and when it is known, a great Number judge them sinful, and must thereby be restrain'd from worshipping the True and Living God?

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An. 1639. *A.* The Question to any of Common Sense, Answers it self. For it is not put concerning such as Dissent from any Part of the Substance of Worship which God hath commanded; but concerning such Additions as he never Commanded. And there are sufficient tests to distinguish such *Dissenters*, from those that deny any Substantial Part of Religion, or Assert any Thing contrary thereto. Wherefore to forbid such to Worship that God that made them, because they can't receive your devised Additions, is to exclude *that which is necessary*, for the *meer want* of that which is *unnecessary*.

And where is that Man that will Adventure to stand forth, and avow the hindering of such Persons from paying their Homage to the God that made them? If we thus expostulate the Matter on Gods behalf and their own? Will you cut off from God *his Right* in the Creatures he hath made? Will you cut

off from *them* the Means of their Salvation *upon these Terms*? What Reply can the Matter admit?

'Tis commonly allerdg'd, that great Deference is to be paid to the Laws; and that we ought to have forbore our Assemblies, till the Publick Authority recall'd the Laws against them. And we will say the same Thing, when it is well prov'd, that they who made such Laws made the World too.

And by whose Authority were such Laws made? Is there any that is not from God? And hath God given any Men Authority to make Laws against himself, and to deprive him of his *Just Rights* from his own Creatures?

Nor if the Matter be well search'd into, could there be so much as a Pretence of Authority derived for such Purposes from the People, whom everyone now acknowledges the *first Receptacle* of derived Governing Power. God can, 'tis true, lay indisputable Obligation by his known Laws, upon every Conscience of Man about Religion, or any thing else. And such as represent any People, can according to the Constitution of the Government, make Laws for them, about the Things they entrust them with. But if the People of *England* be ask'd Man by Man, will they say, they did entrust to their *Representa*

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tives, their *Religion*, and their *Consciences*, to do with them what they please? When it is your own turn to be represented by others, is this Part of the *Trust* you commit? What Dr. *Sherlock* worthily says, concerning a Bishop, he might (and particularly, after, doth) say concerning every other Man, *He can be no more represented in a Council, than at the Day of Judgment; every Mans Soul and Conscience must be in his own keeping, and can be represented by no Man.*

It ought to be consider'd, that Christianity, wherein it superadds to the Law of Nature, is ill Matter of Revelation. And 'tis well known, that even among *Pagans* in the settling Rites and Institutes of Religion,* Revelation was pretended at least, upon an imply'd Principle, that in such Matters Humane Power could not oblige the Peoples Consciences.

We must be excus'd therefore, if we have in our Practise express'd less Reverence for Laws made by no Authority receiv'd either from God or Man.

We are therefore injuriously Reflected on, when it is imputed to us, that we have by the Use of our Liberty, acknowledg'd an Illegal Dispensing Power. We have done no other Thing herein than we did when no Dispensation was given or pretended, in Conscience of Duty to him that gave us our

Breath. Nor did therefore Practise otherwise, because we tho't those Laws dispens'd with, but because we tho't them not Laws.

Whereupon little need remains of enquiring further.

Quest. 3. Whether such Laws should be continu'd? Against which, besides what may be Collected from that which hath been said, it is to be consider'd, that what is most principally grievous to us, was Enacted by that Parliament, that as we have too much Reason to believe, suffer'd it self to be dealt with, to enslave the Nation in other Respects, as well as this; and which (to his Immortal Honour) the Noble Earl of *Danby* procur'd to be Dissolv'd, as the first Step towards our National Deliverance.

And let the Tenour be consider'd or that Horrid Law, by which our *Magna Charta*, was torn in Pie

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ces;

Vindication of some Protestant Principles, &c. p. 52.

* *As by Numa from his Egeria. And their Priests to whom the Regulation of such Masters was left, were generally believ'd to be inspir'd.*

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ces; the worst and most infamous of Mankind, at our own Expencc, hired to accuse us; Multitudes of Perjuries committed; Convictions made without a Jury, and without any hearing of the Persons accused; Penalties inflicted; Goods rifled; Estates seiz'd and embezel'd; Houses broken up; Families disturb'd often at most unseasonable Hours of the Night, with out any Cause, or Shadow of a Cause, if only a Malicious Villain would pretend to suspect a Meeting there. No Law in any other Case like this. As if to Worship God without those Additions, which were confest unnecessary, were a greater Crimc than Theft, Felony, Murder or Treason! Is it for our Reputation to Posterity, that the Memory of such a law should be continued?

And are we not yet awaken'd, and our Eyes open'd enough to see, that the making and Execution of the Laws, by which we have sufftr'd so deeply for many by-past Years, was only, that Protestants might destroy Protestants, and the easier Work be made for the Introduction of Popery, that was to destroy the Residue?

Nor can any Malice deny, or Ignorancc of observing *English Men* over look this plain Matter of Fact: After the Dissolution of that before mention'd Parliament, Dissenters were much Caress'd, and endeavour'd to be drawn into a Subserviency to the Court designs, especially in the Election of after Parliaments. Notwithstanding which, they every where so entirely and unanimously fell in with the Sober Part of the Nation in the Choice of such

Persons for the 3 Parliaments that next succeeded, (two held at *Westminster*, and that at *Oxford*) as it was known would, and who did most generously Assert the Liberties of the Nation, and the Protestant Religion. Which alone, (and not our meer Dissent from the Church of *England* in Matters of Religion, wherein *Charles II.* was sufficiently known to be a Prince of great Indifferency) drew upon us, soon after the Dissolution of the last of those Parliaments, that dreadful Storm of Persecution, thut destroy'd not a small Number of Lives in Goals, and ruin'd Multitudes of Families.

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Let *English* Freeman remember, what they cannot but know, that it was for our firm Adherence to the Civil Interests of the Nation (not for our different Modes of Religion from the Legal way, tho' the Laws gave that advantage against us, which they did not against others) that we endur'd the Calamities of so many Years.

When by the late King some Relaxation. was given us, what Arts and Insinuations have been us'd with us, to draw us into a Concurrence to Designs tending to the prejudice of the Nation? And with how little Effect upon the generality of us, it must be great Ignorance not to know, and great Injustice to deny.

But he that knows all things, knows that tho' in such Circumstances, there was no Opportunity for our receiving Publick and Authoriz'd Promises, when we were all under the Eye of watchful Jealousie; yet as great Assurances as were possible, were given us by some that we hope will now remember it, of a future establish'd Security from our former Pressures. We were told over and over, when the Excellent *Heer Fagell's* Letter came to be privately Communicated from Hand to Hand, how easily better things would be had for us, than that encourag'd *Papists* to expect, if ever that happy Change should be brought about, which none have now beheld with greater Joy than we.

We are loth to injure those who have made us hope for better, by admitting a Suspicion that we shall now be disappointed and deceiv'd (as we have formerly been, and we know by whom) or that we shall suffer from them a *Religious Slavery*, for whose Sakes we have suffer'd so grievous things, rather than do the least thing that might tend to the bringing upon them a *Civil Slavery*.

We cannot but expect from *English* Men, that they be Just and True. We hope not to be the only Instances, whereby the *Anglica fides* and the *Punica*, shall be tho't all one.

But if we who have constantly desir'd, and as we have had Opportunity, endeavour'd the saving of the Nation, must however be ruin'd, not to greaten

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(one Hair) the Wealth and Dignity, but only to gratifie the Humour of them who would yet destroy it; we who are competently inur'd to, Sufferings, shall thro' Gods Mercy be again enabled to endure. But be that fits in the Heavens will, in his own time Judge our Cause, and we will wait his Pleasure; and we hope suffer all that can be inflicted, rather than betray the Cause of Reformed Christianity in the World.

But our Affairs are in the Hands of Men of Worth and Honour, who apprehend how little grateful a Name they should leave to Posterity, or obtain now with good Men of my Perswasion, if under a Pretence of Kindness to us, they would now Repeat the Arts of ill Men in an ill time. Great Minds will think it beneath them to sport themselves with their own Cunning in deceiving other Men, which were really in the present Case too thin not to be seen through, and may be the easie attainment of any Man, that hath enough of Opportunity, and integrity little enough for such Purposes. And 'tis as much too gross to endeavour to abuse the Authority of a Nation, by going about to make that stoop to so mean a thing, as to make a shew of intending what they resolve to their uttermost shall never be.

But some may think by Concessions to us, the Church of *England*, will be ruin'd, and a great Advantage be given to the bringing in of Popery.

To which we say, the Generality of the Dissenters differ from the Church of *England*, in no Substantials of Doctrine and Worship, no nor of Government, provided it be so manag'd, as to attain its true acknowledg'd end: the favouring of us therefore will as much ruin the Church, as its enlargement and additional strength will signifie to its ruin.

And doth not the World know, that wherein we differ from them, we differ from the *Papists* too? And that for the most part, wherein they differ from us, they seem to agree with them?

We acknowledge their Strong, Brave and Prosperous Opposition to Popery: But they have oppos'd it by the things wherein they agree with us; *their difference*

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ferences from us are no more sence against Popery, than an inclosure of Straw is against a Flame of Fire.

But 'tis wont to be said, we agree not among our selves, and know not what we would have.

And do all that go under the Name of the Church of *England* agree among themselves? We can shew more considerable agreements among them, than any can between the most of us, and a considerable part of them. They all agree 'tis true in Conformity: And we all agree in Nonconformity: And is not this meerly Accidental to Christianity and Protestantism? And herein is it not well known, that far the greater Part of Reformed Cristendom do more agree with us?

An arbitrary Line of Uniformity, in some little Accidents, severs a small Part of the Christian World from all the rest: How unreasonably is it expected, that therefore all the rest must in every thing else agree among themselves? Suppose any imaginary Line to cut off a little Segment from any Part of the Terrestrial Globe, 'tis as justly expected that all the rest of the World should be of one mind. If one Part of *England* by Taylors, they might as well expect that all the People besides should agree to be of one Profession.

Perhaps some imagine it dishonourable to such as have gone before them in the same Ecclesiastical Stations and Dignities, if now any thing should be alter'd, which their Judgments did before approve and think fit.

But we hope that Temptation will not prove invincible, *viz.* of so excessive a Modesty as to be afraid of seeming Wiser or better Nature'd, or of a more Christian Temper than their Predecessors.

But the most of us do agree not only with one another, but in the great things above mentioned with the Church of *England* too: And in short, that the Reproach I may cease for ever with those that count it one; they will find with us, when they please to try, a very extensive Agreement on the Terms of King *Charles* the II. his Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs, *Anno* 1660.

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Quest. 4.

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Quest. 4. Whether it be reasonable to Exclude, all that in every thing Conform not to the Church of *England*, from any Part or Share of the Civil Power?

The Difference or Nonconformity of many is so Minute, that it would be as reasonable to Exclude all whose Hair is not of this or that Colour.

And what if we should make a distetermination, by the decision this way or that of any other disputed Question, that may be of as small Concernment to Religion? Suppose it be that of eating Blood; for the decision whereof,

one way, there is more pretence from Gods Word, than for any Point of the disputed Conformity. Would it not be a wise Constitution, *that whosoever thinks it lawful to Eat Black-Pudding, shall be capable of no Office? &c.*

But we tremble to think of the *Exclusive Sacramental Test*, brought down as low as to the Keeper of an Ale-house. Are all fit to approach the Sacred Table, whom the fear of ruin or hope of gain may bring thither? We cannot but often remember with horror, what happen'd 3 or 4 Years ago: A Man that led an ill Life, but frequented the Church, was observ'd not to come to the Sacrament, and prest by the Officers to come; he yet declin'd knowing himself unfit; at length being threatned and terrifi'd came: But said to some present at the time of that solemn Action, that he came only to avoid being undone, and took them to Witness that what he there receiv'd, he took only as Common Bread and Wine, not daring to receive them as the Body and Blood of Christ, 'Tis amazing that among Christians, so venerable an Institution should be prostituted to the serving of so mean purpose, and so Foreign to its true end! And that doing it after the manner of the Church of *England* must be the Qualification! As if *England* were another Christendom; or it were a greater thing to Conform in every Punctilio to the Rules of this Church than of Christ himself!

But we would fain know whose is that Holy Table? Is it the Table or this or that Party, or the Lord's table? If the Lords, are nor Persons; to be ad
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mitted or excluded upon his Terms? Never can there be Union or Peace in the Christian World, till we take down our arbitrary Inclosures, and content our selves with those which our Common Lord hath set. If he falls under a Curse that alters Mens Landmarks, to alter Gods is not likely to infer a Blessing.

The matter is clear as the Light of the Sun, that as many Persons of Excellent worth, Sobriety and Godliness, are entirely in the Communion of the Church of *England*; so that, there are too many of a worse Character that are of it too; and divers Prudent, Pious and Sober minded Persons that are not of it. Let common Reason be consulted in this Case; suppose the Tables turn'd, and that the Rule were to be made the contrary way, *viz.* That to do this thing, but not by any means after the manner of the Church of *England*, were to be the Qualification; and now suppose one of meaner Endowments, as a Man and a Christian, do what is requir'd, and not in the way of the Church of *England*; another that is of much better, do the same thing in that way; were it suitable to Prudence or Justice, that because it is done after the way of the Church of *England*, a fitter Man should be reckon'd Unqualifi'd?

And one of less Value be taken for Qualifi'd because he does it a different way? Then is all that solid Weight of Wisdom, Diligence, Sobriety and Goodness, to be weighed down by a Feather.

It must surely be tho't the Prudence of any Government, to comprehend as many useful Persons as it can, and no more to deprive it self of the Service of such, for any thing less considerable than those Qualifications are, by which they are useful, than a Man would tear off from himself the limbs of his Body for a Spot upon the Skin.

And really if in our Circumstances, we thus narrow our Interest, all the rest of the World will say, that they who would destroy us, do yet find a way to be our Instructors, and our Common Enemies do teach us our Politicks.

P.S. The Names of Mr. *Hale* of *Eaton-Colledge*, and of a Later most renowned Bishop of the Church of *England*, who asserted this Principle, *that if things be*

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impos'd under the Notion of indifferent, which many think Sinful, and a schism follow thereupon, the Imposers are the Schismatics; will be great in England as long as their Writings shall live, and good Sense can be Understood in them.

OF THE SACRAMENTAL TEST.

His Majesty in one of his Speeches to the 2 Houses told them, *he hop'd they would leave room for the admission of all Protestants that were willing and able to Serve him, which was a thing would tend to the better uniting them among themselves, and the strengthening them against their Common Adversaries.* Pursuant hereto, when the *Act for the abrogating of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and appointing other Oaths*, was Read the 3d time in the House of Lords, a Clause was propos'd to be added to this Purpose, that any Man should be sufficiently Qualifi'd for any Office, Employment or Place of Trust, who within a Year before or after his Admission or Entrance thereinto, did receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, 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 2 other Credible Persons, Members of such a Protestant Congregation. The Question being put, whether a Clause of this Nature should be made part of the Bill, it pass'd in the Negative Leave

was given to such Lords as would, to enter their Dissent; and Six Lords did Enter their Dissent in the Reasons following.

“1. Because it gives great Part of the Protestant Freemen of *England* Reason to complain of Inequality and hard Usage, when they are excluded from Publick Employments by Law: And also because it deprives the King and Kingdom of divers Men, fit and capable to Serve the Publick, in several Stations: and that for a meer Scruple of Conscience, which can by no means render them suspected, much less disaffected to the Government.

“2. Because His Majesty, as the Common and Indulgent Father of his People, having express'd an earnest desire of Liberty for tender Consciences to his Protestant Subjects; and my Lords the Bishops having divers of them, on several Occasions, pro

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fessed and Inclination to, and own'd the reasonableness of such a Christian Temper: We apprehend it will raise Suspicion in some Mens Minds, of something else that the Care of Religion, or the Publick, and different from a design to heal our Breaches, when they find that by confining Secular Employments to Ecclesiastical Conformity, those are shut out from Civil Affairs, whose Doctrine and Worship may be tolerated by Authority of Parliament, there being a Bill before us by Order of the House to that Purpose, especially when without this exclusive Rigour, the Church is secur'd in all her Privileges and Preferments, no body being hereby let into them who is not strictly Conformable.

“3. Because to set Marks of Distinction and Humiliation on any sort of Men, who have not rendred themselves justly suspected to the Government, as it is at all times to be avoided by the makers of Just and Equitable Laws, so may it be particularly of ill effect to the Reformed Interest at Home and Abroad in this present Conjuncture, which stands in need of the united hands and Hearts of all Protestants, against the open Attempts and secret Endeavours of a restless Party, and a Potent Neighbour, who is more zealous than *Rome* it self, to Plant Popery in these Kingdoms, and Labours with the utmost force to settle his Tyranny, upon the Ruins of the Reformation all thro' *Europe*.

“4. Because it turns the Edge of a Law (we know not by what Fate) upon *Protestants* and Friends to the Government, which was intended against *Papists*, to Exclude them from Places of Trust, as Men avowedly dangerous to our Government and Religion; and thus the taking the Sacrament, which was injoyn'd only as a Means to discover *Papists*, is now made a distinguishing

Duty amongst Protestants, to weaken the whole, by casting off a part of them.

“5. Because Mysteries of Religion and Divine Worship, are of Divine Original, and of a Nature so wholly distinct from the Secular Affairs of Politick Society, that they cannot be appli'd to those

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“ends; and therefore the Church by the Law of the Gospel, as well as common Prudence, ought to take Care neither to offend tender Consciences within it self, nor give Offence to those without, by mixing their Sacred Mysteries with Secular Interests.

“6. Because we cannot see how it on Consist with the Law of God, Common Equity, or the Right of any Free-born Subject, that anyone be punish'd without Crime. If it be a Crime not to take the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church of *England*, everyone ought to be punish'd for it, which no body Affirms: If it be no Crime, those who are Capable and judg'd fit for Employments by the King, ought not to be punish'd, with a Law of Exclusion, for not doing that which 'tis no Crime to forbear,

“If it be urg'd still as an Effectual Test, to discover and keep out Papists; the taking the Sacrament in these Protestant Congregations, where they were Members and known, will be at least as Effectual to that Purpose.

Subscribed, OXFORD, J. LOVELACE, WHARTON, MORDANT, R. MOUNTAGUE, W. PAGET.

On the 5th of *April*, when the Lords were Debating *upon the Bill for Uniting his Majesties Protestant Subjects*; they had under Consideration, a Commission to be given out by the King, to the Bishops and Others of the Clergy, and it was propos'd that some Laymen should be added in the Commission. The Question being hereupon put, the Votes (taking in the Proxies) were equal and so According to the usual Rule in such Cases, it was taken for a Negative. Leave was given to any Lords to enter Dissents, and accordingly four Lords did enter their Dissents, in the Reasons ensuing.

“1. Because the Act it self being, as the Preamble sets forth, designed for the Peace of the State, the putting the Clergy into Commission, with a total Exclusion of the Laity, lays this Humiliation on the Laity, as if the Clergy of the Church of *England* were alone Friends to the Peace of the State,

“and

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and the Laity less able, or less concern'd to provide for it.

"2. Because the Matters to be consider'd, being barely of Humane Constitution, *viz.* the Liturgy and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, which had their Establishment from King, Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Assembled in Parliament, there can be no Reason, why the Commissioners for altering any Thing in that Civil Constitution, should consist only of Men of one sort of them; unless it be suppos'd that Humane Reason is to be quitted in this Affair, and the Inspiration of Spiritual Men to be alone depended on.

"3. Because, tho' upon *Romish* Principles the Clergy may have a Title to meddle alone in Matters of Religion, yet with us they cannot, where the Church is acknowledg'd and defin'd to consist of Clergy and Laity; and so those Matters of Religion which fall under Humane Determination, being properly the Business of the Church, belong equally to both; for in what is of Divine Institution, neither Clergy nor Laity can make any Alteration at all.

"4. Because the pretending that Differences and Delaies may arise, by mixing Lay-men with Ecclesiasticks, to the frustrating the Design of the Commission, is vain and out of Doors, unless those that make life of this Pretence, suppose that the Clergy Part of the Church have distinct Interests or Designs from the Lay-part of the same Church, and will be a Reason, if Good, why one or other of them should quit this House, for fear of obstructing the Business of it.

"5. Because the Commission being intended for the Satisfaction of *Dissenters*, it would be convenient that lay-men of different Ranks, nay, perhaps of different Opinions too, should be mix'd in it, the better to find Expedients for that End, rather than Clergy-men alone of our Church, who, are generally observ'd to have all very much the same way of reasoning and Thinking.

"6. Be-

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"6. Because it is the mon ready way to facilitate the passing the Alterations into a Law, that Lay Lords and Commoners should be join'd in the Commission, who may be able to satisfie both Houses of the Reasons upon which they were made, and thereby remove all Fears and Jealoulies, ill Men may raise up against the Clergy, of their endeavouring to keep up, without Grounds,

a distinct Interest from that of the Laity, whom they so carefully exclude from being join'd with them, in Consultations of Common Concernment, that they will not have those have any Part in the Deliberation, who must have the greatest in determining.

“7. Because such a restrain'd Commission lies liable to this great Objection, that it might be made use of to elude Repeated Promises, and the present general Expectation of Compliance with tender Consciences, when the providing for it is taken out of the ordinary Course of Parliament, to be put into the Hmds of those alone, who were latest in admitting any need of it, and who may be tho't to be the more unfit to be the sole Composers of our Differences, when they are look'd upon by some as Parties.

“Lastly, Because after all, this carries a dangerous Supposition along with it, as if the Laity were not a Part of the Church, nor had any Power to meddle in Matters of Religion; a Supposition dierectly opposite to the Constitution both of Church and State: Which will make all Alterations utterly impossible, unless the Clergy alone be allow'd to have Power to make Laws in Matters of Religion, since what is establish'd by Law cannot be taken away, but by Consent of Lay-men in Parliament, the Clergy themselves having no Authority to meddle in this very Case, in which the Laity is excluded by this Vote, but what they derive from Lay Hands.

Subscrib'd, *WINCHESTER, MORDANT, LOVELACE.*

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“I Dissent for this and other Reasons; because it is contrary to Three Statutes made in the Reign, of *Henry* the VIII. and one in *Edward* the VI. which impower Thirty Two Commissioners, to alter the Canon and Ecclesiastical Law, &c. whereof Sixteen to be of the Laity, and Sixteen of the Clergy.

STAMFORD.

THE ACT FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

May the 24th, *The Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, Dissenting from the Church of England; from the Penalties of certain Laws; receiv'd* the Royal Assent.

It was hereby Enacted, *That none of the Penal Laws to which they before were liable, should thence forward be Construed to extend to my Persons dissenting from*

the Church of England, that should take the Oaths to the Government, &c. That all Preachers and Teachers among them, taking the Oaths, and subscribing the Articles of the Church of England, excepting the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and Part of the 20th, and Licensing the Places in which they meet, and keeping the Doors of such places unbarr'd, and unbolted, should have free Liberty to worship God according to their Consciences: And that whosoever should come into any of their Congregations, and give them Dishurbance, or misuse any Preacher or Teacher, upon Proof given before a Justice of Peace by Two or more Witnesses, should find Two Sureties to be bound by Recognizance in the Penal Sum of 50l. and in Default of such Sureties be committed to Prison, till next General or Quarter Sessions, when upon Conviction they should suffer the Penalty of 20 l. &c. And that all such Preachers and Teachers in separate Congregations should be thenceforth exempted, from serving upon any Jury, or from being Chosen or Appointed to bear the Office of Church-Warden, Overseer of the Poor, or any other Parochial or Ward Office, or other Office in any Hundred of any Shire, City, Town, Parish, Division or Wapentake, &c.

From the Time they were easie and thankful; tho' many of them would have been glad to have been taken into the National Establishment: some Hopes of which were still left them, because there was a Bill for that Purpose still depending in Parlia

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ment, which pass'd the House of Lords; and when it came down to the House of Commons, they desir'd his Majesty to summon a Convocation, and lay the Matter before them. Accordingly the King summon'd a Convocation; and issued out also another Commission to Thirty Divines to prepare Matters to be consider'd by the Convocation. The Commission was as follows:

THE NEW ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION.

“Whereas the Particular Forms of Divine Worship, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be us'd 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 review'd, 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 prescrib'd 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 and 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 Occasions of the like for the Future, have tho't fit to Authorize and Empower you, &c. And 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 Ecclesiastical Courts, and to consider of such other Matters as

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“in your Judgments may most conduce to the Ends above-mentioned.

Ten of the Commissioners were then Bishops; *viz.* Dr. *Lamplugh* Arch-Bishop of *York*: Dr. *Compton*, Dr. *Mew*, Dr. *Lloyd*, Dr. *Sprat*, Dr. *Smith*, Sir *Jonathan Trelauny*, Dr. *Burnet*, Dr. *Hunfreys*, and Dr. *Stratford*; who were the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *St. Asaph*, *Rochester*; *Carlisle*, *Exester*, *Salisbury*, *Bangor*, and *Chester*. Twenty other Dignataries were added to them: As, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Patrick*, Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Meggot*, Dr. *Sharp*, Dr. *Kidder*, Dr. *Aldridge*, Dr. *Jane*, Dr. *Hall*, Dr. *Baumont*, Dr. *Mountague*, Dr. *Goodman*, Dr. *Beveridge*, Dr. *Battely*, Dr. *Alston*, Dr. *Tenison*, Dr. *Scot*, Dr. *Fowler*, Dr. *Grove*, and Dr. *Williams*.

These Commissioners often met and debated Matters, but were Deserted by Dr. *Jane* and several others. They drew up sundry Alterations, a Copy of which I have by me; but they having never tho't fit to Communicate them to the Body of the Convocation, or to expose them to the view of the World from the Press, I know not how proper 'twould be for me to Print them. But thus much I shall venture to say, that such Amendments as those were, with such an Allowance in the Point of Orders for Ordination by *Presbyters*, as is made 13 *Eliz.* Cap. 12. Would in all Probability have bro't in Two Thirds of the *Dissenters* in *England*. Which being done; and at the same Time a Liberty continu'd to such as could not be Comprehended, would have been greater Service to Religion than can easily be imagin'd.

On *November* the 16th, the Reverend Bishop of *Sarum*, gave an excellent Exhortation to Peace and Union, in a Sermon Preach'd at *St. Lawrence Jury*, on *Acts* 7. 26. 'Tis Pity it should be forgotten. Says he there, *Page* 14. *We here in England have had a long and fierce Contest about Things, which we all Confess are indifferent in their own Nature. This Animosity Works still so high among us, that many take Fire upon the smallest steps that can be made towards the healing so great a Breach; and fill all Places with Tragical Outcries, as if the Church of England were to be pull'd*

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down: *While the chief Promoters of these Reports, known well how false they are, and that instead of Offering at any Thing that can in any sort weaken our Church, every Thing which has been endeavour'd must prove its Strength as well as its Glory, if we are so happy as to weigh all in even Ballances. The Things that are propos'd are of themselves desirable, tho' there should not be one Dissenter gain'd by them; and are such as will tend to the making all the Parts of our Officer both more unexceptionable, and more edifying. But Distempers are far gone, when the Patient Rages at the first mention of a Medicine. We have lost many happy Opportunities, since the first Beginnings of the Reformation among us, for the healing our Breaches: One is sorry to remember them, and wishes that such fatal Errors could be covered from the Knowledge of all succeeding Ages for the sake of the Church, and of those who have govern'd it. But if we do again repeat former Errors, and let the present Advantages that we have now in our Hands slip from us, what is to be said upon it, but that this is of the Lord, who by it is punishing us for our other Sins, for our remissness in our Duties; for our neglect of the Pastoral Care; for our slackning that strictness of Life which becomes our Profession; for our indulging our selves too much in Sensuality and Laziness; and for all those other Sins, by which we have departed from his Law, and have corrupted the Covenant of Levi, and made many to stumble at the Law; and that therefore God will make us become base and contemptible before the People; and that all our Flocks shall be scattered. But we might hope for better Things, if every one would put away all Prejudices, all Wrath, Anger, and Revenge; and would put on Bowels of Mercies and Kindness, remembering that we are Brethren, so that having purify'd our selves from Humour, Passion, Interest, and every Thing else that may corrupt our Minds, unto the unfeigned Love of the Brethren, we would resolve to Love one another with a pure Heart fervently. And if indeed of the Pride of not yielding to one another in any Thing, we should rather engage into a Holy Emulation of trying who could*

yield most for the healing of those Wounds, that have been so often open'd, and that begin now again to bleed afresh. He adds, Page 27. God be thanked for it, that
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Mal. 2:8,9
Jer. 10. 21
1 Pet. 1. 22

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there is an End put to all Persecution in Matters of Conscience; and that the first and chief Right of Humane Nature, of following the Dictates of Conscience in the Service of God is secur'd to all Men amongst us; and that we are freed, I hope, for ever, of all the Remnants of the worst Part of Popery that we had too long retain'd, I mean the Spirit of Persecution. If this gives uneasiness to any, it shews that their Eye is Evil, because the Eye of our Legislators has been good towards those, who tho' they may be mistaken in their Notions, Yet have still the Rights of Men, and of Christians. But after all this, it is to be remembred, that Men may be still Persecutors, tho' they are not able to persecute any longer, according to our Saviour's charging the guilt of intended Sins, on those who never acted them: For as long as we entertain Hatred and Malice in our Hearts, and wish that it were in our Power to do hurt to others, so long we become Guilty before God, and so do wrong to our selves, tho' we are not in Condition to do them any; but if we do them all the wrong we can, we shew what our Tempers are, and that we would do more if it were in our Power. If we Love to keep up old Differences, or to Create New Ones, if we will continue to make the Terms of Communion with us as strait as possibly we can, and shut out all Persons, as much, as in us lies, from joining Labours with us, because they do not in all Things think as we do: If we will by Turns employ all the Interest we have in any Turn of Government that is kind to us, to do wrong to others; either by loading them with false Accusations, by aggravating some lesser Matters, or by an undue Prosecution of real but repented of Faults; all these are the several Instances, in which an injurious Temper shews it self; and while such Things are among us, we are under the Guilt that is Charg'd on these Israelites in my Text, who tho' they were Brethren, yet did wrong one to another.

All the Discourse now was about this famous Ecclesiastical Commission, which was so different from that of the foregoing Reign. Some were earnest for it, and others as warm against it. They that were for it, Asserted* that it was every way agreeable to the Laws of the Land, That it was justify'd by several Precedents since the Reformation, in the Reign of Edward the 6th, Queen Elizabeth, King James,

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* *A Discourle concerning the Ecclesiastical Commission.* Printed for Richard Chiswell, 1689.

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and King *Charles* the 2d, That such a Commission was so far from being Prejudicial to a Convocation, that it was likely to be useful to it, by way of Preparation, to get Things ready for such a Body; which must to be sure to be done by a few. That the result of their Deliberations was *Proposal*; only, not *Impositions*. That the Persons employ'd in this Commission were unexceptionable; all Church-men; such Men as would fit in Convocation; Bishops, Deans, and Arch-Deacons. Men of known Abilities, Probity, and Worth. That all Churches in Process of Time, tho' at first as well constituted as the Age and Case would bear, may admit of Alterations and Improvements. That notwithstanding the Review in 61, the Constitution was still capable of another. That they were Convinc'd, that if they at that Time had Reason for the Alterations they made, which were Computed to be about 600, there was Equal, if not greater Reason for some farther Improvements. That if they at that Time had offer'd to move much further, a Stone would have been laid under their Wheel by a secret but powerful Hand. That the best Church is not absolutely perfect in all Circumstantial Things, nor can it ever be made so here on Earth. That it would be comfortable to the *Conformists*, by fitting Alterations, to have Strength and Beauty added to that House in which they resolv'd to Live and Die: And that as for the *Dissenters* if they were not thereby gain'd upon, they'd be left Inexcusable. That there was then a very fit Juncture for such a Design: Because of the Desire of their Majesties; the Concurrence of the Lords in their *Bill of Union*; and the Expectation of the Reformed Churches, who look'd that something should then be done, that might make for Peace and Union.

VOX CIERI, PAGE 14, 18, &C.

To this it was'Reply'd; to what Purpose is it to begin when we see not where to End? Is it not better to endure some Inconvenienccs (as in all Constitutions some will be) than to expose our Selves to certain Mischiefs? And what can we expect, when the 600 Alterations in 1661, had no competent Effect, but were rejected with Scorn? 'Twas added, that the true *Conformists* were very well satisfy'd with

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their House, and contented to Live and Die in it: But that if the *Dissenters* would go to make Breaches in that House, take Possession, deface its Beauty, and undermine its Strength, and force them to leave it, they could not take it well. That the Desires of their Majesties might be best known by their Living in the Communion of the Establish'd Church, and their Declarations to Favour and Protect it. That the Sense of the Lords must be judg'd by the Sequel. That as for the *Dissenters* they had a Toleration by Statute, which the Church Party could not gain in the Civil Wars for almost Twenty Years together; and they ought to be satisfy'd with it. And that as for the Reformed Churches, they generally admir'd, the *English* Constitution. And to prevent any vigorous Attempt of that Nature, it was Publish'd by many as their Sense; *That no Alterations ought at All to be made in Things pertaining to Religion, but when there was a great Necessity: That there was no such Necessity for Alterations: And that if there were, it was not then a seasonable Time, when so many Fathers of the Church, and eminent Persons of the Clergy, were incapable of acting in the Matter, thro' their Suspension for not taking the Oaths.*

They who were more Moderate, readily granted them, that frequent Alterations would be dangerous to Religion;* but asserted that in the Case under Consideration there was an absolute Necessity. *There lies (say they) an indispensable Obligation upon us to do the utmost we are able to remove this mischievous Schism from among us, which has so long disturb'd the Church of Christ in this Land. The Evil of it most certainly must lie at our Doors, as far as we do not the utmost that in us lieth to remove it. And what other way is there now left of attempting it, but by coming to some Terms of Moderation and Temper with those that Dissent from us. We have already try'd all Methods of Perswasion to mollifie them, all force of Argumentation to convince them; we have try'd also Church Censures and Penal Laws, and what have they avail'd us, but only to heighten the Divisions and encrease the mischief; and therefore what other Remedy is now left us for a Cure of this Evil, but that as far as we are able we abate of that which hath given the Ori-*

*A letter to a Friend, relating to the Present Convocation at Westminster.

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ginal thereto; those excepted Passages in our Liturgy, and those Ceremonies in our Worship, which our Dissenting Brethren cannot Conform with us in? What are those Things which we differ about, that we must forever Sacrifice to them, the peace both of Church and State, without abating the least Tittle for so great a good as that of

the Common Union of Christians among us? Is it not eno', that for the sake of those Trifles, we have for these Thirty Years pass'd driven up our Divisions and Animositities against each other to that height, as that we had almost totally given up our Church in Popery, and our Government to Tyranny thereby? Certainly 'tis now Time to sit down and consider, whether those Things are of such great Value, for the sake of which we bring so much Mischief, to this poor distressed Church and Nation, that nothing must be abated of that unreasonable Rigour whereby we have hitherto maintain'd them. Could but a Union be once effected among our Selves, we need not fear all the Power of France and Rome, in the firmest Union against us.

'Twas Objected, that altering any Thing in a well constituted Church, was like plucking a Beam out of a well built House, which cannot be done without endangering the Fabrick. 'Twas answer'd, if all had been of this Mind, we could Never have Reform'd from *Popery*, because this Argument would have been as strong against all Alterations then as now.

'Twas Objected, if Alterations were begun, there was no knowing where to stop. 'Twas answer'd, when any Thing was propos'd not fit to be done.

'Twas Objected, they that want Alterations, will still be craving more. 'Twas answer'd, that denying them what was just and fitting to be granted, was giving them a great Advantage.

'Twas Objected changing was reproachful. 'Twas answer'd, it was much more reproachful, obstinately to resist a Change when there's good Reason for it.

'Twas Objected, there was no Reason to endeavour to gratifie the *Dissenters*, who were Guilty of great Obainacy and Perverseness. 'Twas answer'd; it therefore became them to Act like Physicians, who don't presently cast off a peevish Patient, but study to suit his Palate and Humour,

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And as to the want of the Suspended Bithops and Clergy, they apprehended the needful Alterations might be made without them, and if they were true to the Publick Interest, or their own Promises, they could not but give their Approbation.

But such Arguings and Pleadings as these, tho' from eminent Persons of their own Church mov'd not those a Jot, who had fix'd their *Ne Plus Ultra*; and were resolv'd never to stir a step by their Good-will, beyond the Measure of their Forefathers.* They said the Acts for Uniformity were much more Effectual for Union, than any Alterations the Church could justly make would be. That if the Act for Uniformity had made one *Dissenter*, Toleration

and Alterations have made Hundreds. *There is (say they), no Necessity that we should expose our Selves to that Reproach, which is endeavour'd to be fix'd on some of us, of being, Ecclesiastical Tinkers, who undertaking to mend one Hole, do usually make Two or Three. We have by standing our Ground, put to flight one formidable Enemy: and is there a necessity, that by giving Ground, we should bring our Selves under the Power of another? What tho' there be some few that are really but causelessly offended at our Ceremonies, must we for their Sakes give Offence to the Church of God? What Necessity is there, that for the sake of a few ignorant, or peevish, and unsatisfiable Persons, that will not be pleased with all that we can do, we should conform them in their Obstinacy, by yielding and complying with their Humours? Is it necessary, say they,† that a Parent should yield to a disobedient Child, upon his own unreasonable Terms? It is necessary that a Church in which all Things necessary to Salvation may be freely enjoy'd, should accuse her self of want of Christian Charity, and in imposing such sinful Terms, for admitting others into her Communion, as were purposely design'd to keep them out, and afterward voluntarily cast off these Things, and thereby confess themselves guilty of so great uncharitableness? Is it necessary we should part with any Thing to them, of whom we have Reason tot suspect, that they will not leave craving till they have all? When these Things, and such as these are prov'd to be necessary, then shall we be ready to make Alterations in our Ceremonies, and other Circumstances: In the mean Time we shall Account our selves Happy in the Number of those English-men, who know when they are well.*

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* *Vox Cleri*, page 45, &c.

† *Ibid.*, page 11.

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This mighty Difference was to be determin'd in the *Convocation*, which met in *December*. The choice of the Prolocutor put an end to the Hopes, of some, and hearten'd others: For Dr. *Jane* was preferr'd to that excellent Person Dr. *Tillotson*, which was an Evidence the *Christ Church* Interest was too strong (or the Moderate Party, and that therefore no Alterations were to be looked for. Dr. *Beveridge* Preach'd a *Latin* Sermon to them, in which among other Things he told them that, *to change old Laws for new; is always dangerous unless such a Necessity constrain; as is otherwise insuperable.* And *Leges Angliæ nolumus mutare*, was the Motto of the Prevailing Party in the Convocation. His Majesty sent them a Message by the Earl of *Nottingham*, intimating that he had summon'd this Convocation, not only because it was usual upon holding of a Parliament, but out of a Pious Zeal to do every Thing that might tend to

the best Establishment of the Church of *England*, &c. and tha he expected that the Things which he propos'd should be calmly and impartially consider'd; he intending' to offer nothing, but what should be for the Honour, Peace, and Advantage, both of the *Protestant* Religion in general, and particularly of the Church of *England*, This Message being read, the Bishops went to the *Jerusalem* Chamber; from whence they sent a Copy of the Kings Message to the Lower-House of Convocation, with the Form of an Address to his Majesty, to which they desir'd their Concurrence. But they were at first for Addressing the King in a Form of their own. They dislike'd this Expression in the Bishops Form, that they thank'd his Majesty for *his Zeal, for the Protestant Religion in General, and the Church of England in Particular*. They were for confining themselves to what concern'd the Church of *England*, and therefore were very Zealous for amending that Clause, if they might not draw up a new Form of their own. Whereupon there was a Conference between some Deputed by the Two Houses. The Conference was chiefly manag'd between Dr. *Burnet* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and Dr. *Jane* the Prolocutor. The Bishop urg'd, that the Church of *England* was not distinguish'd from either *Protestant* Churches, but by its Hierarchy and Revenues, and

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that it was an equivocal Expression; for if *Poper*y should prevail, it would be call'd the Church of *England* still. To which the Prolocutor answer'd, that the Church of *England* was distinguish'd by its Doctrine, as it stands in the Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies, as well as by its Hierarchy; and that the Term of *Protestant* Churches was much more Equivocal; because *Socinians*, *Anabaptists*, and *Quakers* assum'd that Title. The upper House of Convocation desir'd the express mention of the *Protestant* Religion might be inserted in the Address for Three Reasons. 1. Because it is the known Denomination of the Common Doctrine of the *Western* Part of *Christendom*, in Opposition to the Errours and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. 2. Because the leaving out this, may have ill Consequences, and be liable to strange Constitutions both at home and abroad, among *Protestants* as well as *Papists*. 3. Because it agrees with the General Reason offer'd. by the Clergy for their Amendments, since this is expressly mention'd in the Kings Message; and in this the Church of *England* being so much concern'd, the Bishops tho't it ought to stand in the Address. The Lower House fell into a debate upon these Reasons, and Agreed to Thank his Majesty, for *his Pious Zeal and Care for the Honour, Peace, Advantage and Establishment of the Church of England*, and then to add; *whereby we doubt*

not the Interest of all the Protestant Churches, which is dear to us, will under the Influence of Your Majesties Government, be the better secur'd. The Upper House desir'd them to give their Reason, why instead of *the Protestant Religion*, they inserted *Protestant Churches*. They return'd their Reason in these Words; *We being the Representatives of a form'd establish'd Church, do not think fit to mention the Word Religion, any farther than it is the Religion of some form'd establish'd Church.* Then the Upper House would have worded it thus: *Whereby we doubt not, the Interest of the Protestant Religion, in [this and] all other Protestant Churches, which is dear to us, will be the better secur'd under your Majesties Government and Protection.* But the Lower House would leave out those Words, *this and*, and could not be Content to stand upon the Level with other *Protestant Churches*. It is

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not to be wondred at, that they who stuck so much at a Thing of this Nature, should be backward to yield to such Alterations, as would be necessary to heal the Breaches that have been kept open so long in this Church and Nation. After this the Convocation was adjourned from Time to Time, till at last it was with the Parliament dissolv'd, without doing any Thing at all in Pursuance to the Kings Message, and their Commission. Bishop *Burnet* has given us the best Account of this matter I met with any where.* *I shall only (says he) touch on one Particular, which will shew that when Men were disposed to be jealous, they will suspect every Thing; even that which at another Time would be tho't the most Effectual Method to prevent or to cure Jealousie, Princes do commonly prepare the Matters which they propose to such Assemblies, with the Advice of their Council: But upon the Occasion the King and Queen did Create a Council, by a special Commission, of all the Bishops who own'd their Authority, and of the most eminent of the Clergy, gather'd from the several Parts of the Kingdom, that they might consider and prepare such Things as should be offer'd by them to the King and Queen that so their Majesties might propose these to the Convocation. This surely was done in Favour of the Church. But even this was cried out upon, as a limiting the Convocation, with many other hard Words, which I do not love to repeat. It did then appear in many visible Instances, that our Wounds were then too tender to be either handled or healed; so it was tho't fit to let the Matter sleep, and to give no new Occasion to heat or Animosity. But at the same Time to keep the Clergy still ready upon Call, if there should be any Occasion for them during the Sessions of Parliament; yet not to Charge them with a needless Attendance, when the Publick Occasions put them under so many Taxes: It being also observed, that in a hot Time, all unnecessary*

Assemblies are to be avoided; for if they have no Business one Way, they commonly make it another

But whether there should be Alterations, or no Alterations in Ecclesiastical Matters, was not the only Controversie among the Clergy in the beginning of this Reign: For they were much divided about taking the oaths to the Government. The Majority of them by far did indeed Swear Allegiance to King *William*:

* *Reflections on a Book concerning the Rights of an English Convocation*, p. 17.

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Some Swore to him as their Lawful and Rightful King; others Swore to him as King *de facto* only: And a Third Party stood out, and would not Swear at all, They that took the Oaths charg'd those that refus'd them with a needless Niceness and Scrupulosity: And they on the other side charg'd their Brethren, who Swore Allegiance to the Government, with Perjury, and Apostacy, and deserting their Principles. Some that were dissatisfy'd with the Oaths and refus'd them, continu'd Preaching even after the time had claps'd that was fix'd by Act of Parliament for their Compliance; they held on Preaching when they were legally Silenc'd and, so were Guilty of the very Thing they had before charg'd as such a Crime on their Nonconforming Brethren: And the generality of them who continu'd in their refusal, and at length quitted their Preferments, made a New Separation, and refus'd to hold Communion with those who had taken the Oath's to the New Government; and so there was a New Contest begun, which was on several Accounts very remarkable.

The Non-Swearing Clergy represented those who comply'd with the Government, as a pack of Jolly Swearers,* such as betray'd their Consciences for large Preferments. They on the contrary represented them as Schismatics, falling into the same Fault, they had expressed such a Sense of in others. The Non-Swearers find their Separation was forc'd, not Voluntary. They were told by their Brethren, that the Oaths could not force them into it, since they were not made a Condition of Communion. In their own Justification, the Non-Swearers alledg'd; (1.) That the Penalties to be inflicted on them, wanted nothing; of being a Condition of Communion to them as they were Ministers, and the Oaths being impos'd under such unjust and merciless Penalties, and attended with such fatal Consequences, they tho't would warrant a Separation; for at this Rate, all the Churches in *England* might be shut up. To this it was Answer'd* by the *Williamites*, that upon this Argument, there always was a sufficient Warrant for Non-Swearers and Nonconformists; and that it was a joining with Dissenters to complain of unjust and

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* See the Brief Answer to a Discourse concerning the Unreasonableness of a New Separation.

* Vindication of a Discourse concerning the Unreasonableness of a New Separation. pag. 7, &c.

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merciless Penalties. It was added, that tho' taking the Oaths was a Condition of Communion to them as Ministers; yet that was nothing to the People as Church Members; who could not join with them without being guilty of a Notorious Schism: That supposing they were grieved by the Secular Power, and deprived of their Livelihood by an Act of Parliament, they ought not to revenge it upon the Church: And that tho' they might no longer Officiate as Ministers, they yet might join in the same Communion as Lay Men.

2. The Non-Swearing Clergy pleaded, that their Authority was from Christ, and so no Secular Power, could Unbishop and Unpriest, or disable them. *A Clergy Mans Authority (said they) is from God; and notwithstanding any Civil Act to the Contrary, he is bound to take Care of his Office, tho' the most bitter Persecutions attend him for so doing, and therefore if they will Warrant a Civil Act to disable us from dangerous Duties, they must Excuse us if we have those dreadful; Apprehensions of the Account we have to give; that we endeavour to do it as we can at our hazard, when we are not suffer'd to do it in Communion with them.* To this they who were on the other side answer'd, that as the Prince could not give, so neither could he take away the Intrinsick Power of the Word and Sacraments, proceeding from the Keys of Ordination: But the Extrinsical Power and License of Exercising the Ministerial Office receiv'd by Ordination, he can in his Dominions-Confer, and again take away, if the Case so requires; and that if a Magistrate may lawfully deprive, then the Clerk may be lawfully depriv'd: And that if lawfully depriv'd, he is bound to submit to such Deprivation. They added, that this was true Doctrine against the *Dissenters* when time was; he was a schismatick who gave this as a Reason for his Separation: And therefore told their Non-Swearing Brethren, that if they proceeded upon the same Principles with the Dissenters, and took up their Arguments, there was as much Reason to Charge them with Schism, as they had to Charge the Dissenters.

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3. The Non-Swearing Clergy pleaded, that they were found to Obey their Bishops and Metropolitan; for that tho' they were depriv'd by a Secular Act,

yet it was not for any Crimes for which the Censures of the Church depose them; and that therefore they were Bishops still, and bound to take Care of their Churches; and their Churches to live in Subjection to them. They were Answer'd by those that comply'd with the Government, that if there were any thing in this, then they who were of the Province and Diocesses where their Metropolitan and Bishop took the Oaths, were obliged to adhere to them also, and ought to separate themselves from those that set themselves against Authority, and refus'd to Swear Allegiance to it, as they on the other side tho't they might and ought to Separate from those that do Comply with it. But that they could not see how they were oblig'd to follow their Church Guides into Schism. *When (say they) did Christians in Antient times ever refuse Communion with a Church, because of Matters of State; or divide from others, because those they divide from tho't it Lawful, and their Duty to Swear Allegiance to the Sovereign Power?*

So that here was a strange Inversion. Whereas there were Two Principles of which the Prelatical Party had all along from the time of his Restauration of King *Charles*, discovered a peculiar Fondness; I mean, *the Power of the Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Matters*, and *Passive Obedience without any Limitations*; they were both of them now oppos'd by some among themselves. An unlimited Passive Obedience was superseded by those who deserted King *James* and fell in with King *William*, for which they were sufficiently upbraided by their Non-Swearing Brethren. The Power of the Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Matters was no longer own'd, by those who fell under the displeasure of the Government; but they set up for an inherent right in the Church; some of them went as far as to the Kirk of *Scotland* to borrow New Principles, of which they who were on the other Side, did not fail of giving them frequent Items. Those who were of the high flown Stamp, and had formerly had the least Charity for their Dis

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senting Brethren, were forc'd to borrow Pleas from them, to defend themselves from the Charge of Schism: And they who were more Moderate to Dissenters, but true to King *William*, found themselves hard put to it, to defend themselves in the change of their Notions and Schemes of Government, upon which the other Party with ill Nature and Bitterness eno' insulted over them. But the Dissenters still kept their Ground, and adher'd to the same Principle as they had acted upon all along; they were hearty to the Government; and thankful for their Liberty; and tho' they could not prevail for any, such

Alterations in the Ceremomes, Worship and Discipline of the Church, as should pave the way to a Coalition; they yet carri'd it with more Respect both to Civil and Ecclesiastical Governors, than many that had formerly valu'd themselves upon their Submissiveness: And tho't that none could have the Face: henceforward to put them upon waiting in Hopes of Alterations and Amendments, when so favourable a Juncture as this was past by and produc'd nothing: And they were at the same time fully Convinc'd, that it must be some very peculiar Providence indeed, that must satisfie those of a Necessity of a Coalition between the contending Parties, who discover'd so much backwardness to lay hold of Two such Happy Opportunities, as the Restauration of King *Charles* and the late *Revolution*, for the healing of our uncomfortable Breaches.

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CHAP. XVI.

Mr. Baxters Manifold Temptations. His Improvements and Alterations as he advance'd in Years. His Deliverances and Supports. His last Sickness and Death: And Interest in Men of Note and Figure in the Days he Liv'd in.

BUT that we may return to Mr. *Baxter*, from whom Publick Matters have diverted us. I shall pick up some remarkable Things, concerning him that would not have been aptly reducible to any of the former Chapters, and then Accompany him to his Grave.

Few ever had more Weakness and Bodily Illness to imbitter their Lives than he had. It has been observ'd how this Heighten'd and Cherish'd the peculiar Seriousness of his Spirit: Which could not indeed be any other than remarkable, when he apply'd himself to every thing as one that was just upon the brink of Etrnity; just upon entering another World.

But once being under an unusual bodily Distemper, which put him upon the present Expectation of his Change, going for Comfort to the Promises of the Covenant as he us'd to do; the Tempter strongly assaulted his Faith, and would have drawn him into the height of Infidelity. Before his Entrance upon the Ministry, his apprehension of the hardness of his Heart and doubtings of his own Sincerity, gave him the most Disturbance: But afterwards, his most troublesome Temptations were to question the Truth of the Scriptures, and the Life to come, and the Immortality of the Soul. Which sort of Temptations did, not assault him as they usually do Melancholy Persons with

vexing importunity, but with the whew of Sober Reason. Hereupon he blam'd himself for so long neglecting the well setting of his Foundations, while he spent so much time about the Superstru

cture.

Mr. Baxter tempted to Infidelity.

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cture. So that being this way assaulted, the Reasons of his feeble Faith were suddenly enervated, and he had bin overset, if God had not bin his Strength. But it was a Mercy, (and he esteem'd it so) that he had some experimental Acquaintance with Vital Religion, before he was this way shaken. Had he bin sooner so terribly assaulted, his Recovery had bin much more difficult: Not but that Temptations of this Nature had before bin occasionally Started, but he cast them aside, as fitter to be Abhor'd than Consider'd: But he could not now be any longer satisfi'd that way, but was forc'd to dig to the very Foundations, and seriously to Examine the Reasons of Christianity, and to give a Hearing to all that could be said against it; that so his Faith might be indeed his own; and at last he found, that nothing is so firmly believed, as that which hath bin some time doubted of it.

In a Storm of this Temptation, he questioned a while, whether be were indeed a Christian or an Infidel, and whether Faith could Consist with such Doubts as his. For he had oft found it Asserted, that if a Man should lead a Godly Life, from the bare Apprehensions of the Probability of the Truth of Scripture, and the Life to come, it would not Save him, as being no true Faith or Godliness. But Dr. *Jacksons* Determination in the Case, satisfi'd, and much supported him: That as in the very assenting Act of Faith, there may be such Weakness as may make us Cry *Lord encrease our Faith: We believe, Lord help our Unbelief:* So when Faith and Unbelief are in their Conflict, it is the Effects must shew us, which of them is Victorious; and that he that hath so much Faith as will cause him to deny himself, take up his Cross and forsake all the Profits, Honours and Pleasures of this World, for the Sake of Christ, the Love of God and the Hope of Glory, hath a saving Faith how weak soever: For God cannot condemn the Soul that truly Loves and Seeks him; and those that Christ bringeth to Persevere in the Love of God, he bringeth to Salvation and there were divers things that in this Assault, prov'd great Assistances to his Faith. As,

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HIS RELIEF UNDER TEMPTATIONS OF THIS KIND.

That the Being and Attributes of God were so clear to him, he being to his Intellect like the Sun to his Eye; by which he saw it self and all things. On which Account he could not but look upon him as Mad, who question'd whether there were a God; or could Dream that the World was made by a Conflux of Irrational Atoms, or that Reason could come from that which had no Reason, or that Man or any inferiour Being was Independent; or that all the Being Power, Wisdom and Goodness; that we continually Converse with, had not a Cause which in Being, Power, Wisdom and Goodness Excell'd all that it had Caus'd in the World, Being herein firmly fix'd, when the Devil went to Assault him here among the rest of his Temptations, the rest were the more easily overcome, because of the overwhelming cogent Evidences of a Deity, which were always before the Eyes of his Mind.

And it help'd him much to discern that this God must needs be Related to us as our Owner, our Governor and our Benefactor, in that he is Related to us as our Creator: And that therefore we are Related to him as his own, his Subjects and his Beneficiaries: Which as they all proceed by undeniable Resultancy from our Creation and Nature, so do our Duties thence arise, which belong to us in those Relations, by as undeniable Resultancy; so that Godliness is a Duty so undeniably requir'd in the Law of Nature, and so discernable by Reason it self, that nothing but unreasonableness could Contradict it.

And then it seem'd utterly Improbable and Inconceivable to him, that this God should see us to be loafers by our Love and Duty to him; or that Persons should be the more Miserable, by how much the more Faithful they were to him: And he saw that the very Possibility or Probability of a Life to come, would make it the Duty of a Reasonable Creature to seek it, tho' with the loss of all below. Withall he saw by undeniable Experience, a strange universal Enmity between the Heavenly and the Earthly Mind, and the Godly and the Wicked, as fulfilling the Prediction, *Gen. 3. 15.* And he saw no other Religion in the World, which could stand in

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Competition with Christianity. *Heathenism* and *Mahumetanism* are kept, up by Tyranny and Beastly, Ignorance, and Blush to stand at the Bar of

Reason, and *Judaism* is but Christianity in the Egg; and *meer Deism* which is the most Plausible Competitor, is so turn'd out of almost all the World, as if Nature made its own Confession, that without a Mediator it cannot come to God. And he perceiv'd that all other Religions leave People in their Worldly, Sensual and ungodly State: Even their Zeal and Devotion, in them, being commonly the Servants of their fleshly Interest: And the Nations where Christianity is not, being drown'd in Ignorance and Earthly, Mindedness, so as to be the shame of Nature, And he saw that Christ brought up all his Serious and sincere Disciples to Real Holiness, and Heavenly Mindedness; and made them new Creatures, and set their Hearts and Designs and Hopes upon another Life, and brought their Sense into Subjection to their Reason, and taught them to resign themselves to God, and love him above all the World; neither is it conceivable, that God would make use of a Deceiver for such a real Visible Recovery and Reformation of the Nature of Man. And here he saw an admirable suitableness in the Office and Designs of Christ to the Ends of God, and the Felicity of Man: And how excellently supernatural Revelations fall in, and take their place in subserviency to Natural Verities; and how wonderfully Faith is fitted to bring Men to the Love of God, when it is nothing else but the beholding his Amiable attractive Love and Goodness, in the Face of Christ, and the Promises of Heaven, as in a Glass, till we see his Glory. He had withal felt much of the Power of his, Word and Spirit upon himself, doing that which he found must be done; and could not Question his Physician, when he had done so much of the Cure, and recover'd his depraved Soul so much to God. And as his Faith had these Assistances, so he perceiv'd that whatever the Tempter had to say against it, was grounded on the Advantages he took from his Ignorance, and his Distance from the Times and Places of the Matters of the sacred History and such like things, which every

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Novice meeteth with in all other Sciences at the first. These Assistances were at hand, before he came to the immediate Evidences of Credibility in the sacred Oracles themselves. and when he set himself to search for these, he found more in the Doctrine, the Predictions, the Miracles, Antecedent, Concomitant and Subsequent, than ever he before took Notice of: As may be seen at large in his Reasons of the Christian Religion. From this Assault, he was forc'd to take Notice! that it is the Belief of the Truth of the Word of God, and the Life to come, that is the Spring that sets all Grace on Work, and with which it rises or falls, flourishes or decays, is actuated, or stands still;

and that it is from Unbelief, arises the Love of the World, boldness with Sin, and neglect of Duty. For he easily observ'd in himself that if Satan at any time did more than ordinarily shake his Belief of Scripture and the Life to come, his Zeal in every Religious Duty abated with it, and he grew more indifferent in Religion than before. He was more inclin'd to Conformity, in those Points which he had taken to be Sinful; and was ready to think, why should he be Singular and offend the Bishops, and make himself contemptible in the World, and expose himself to Censures, Scorns and Sufferings, and all for such little things as these, when the Foundations themselves have so great Difficulties, as he could not overcome. But when Faith reviv'd, then none of the Parts or Concernments of Religion seem'd small, and Man seem'd nothing to him; and the World a Shadow, and God was all At first he doubted not of the Truth of the Scriptures, or of the Life to come, because he saw not the Difficulties that might cause doubting: After that he saw them and doubted, because he saw not that that should fully satisfie the Mind against them: Afterwards having seen both Difficulties and Evidences, his Faith was much the Stronger, and the more Confirm'd; and yet till the last, he found Cause to make it his daily Prayer, that God would encrease his Faith. From first to last he had his Exercises, and yet found a great Difference between his Younger and his Elder Years.

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THE DIFFERENCE BE OBSERV'D IN HIMSELF, BETWEEN YOUTH AND AGE.

He found the Temper of his Mind alter something with the Temper of his Body. When he was Young, he was more Fervent, Vigorous and Affectionate in Preaching, Conference and Prayer, than he could ordinarily be in his advanced Age: But then he found his Judgment more Fix'd and Solid; his Understanding when Young was quicker, and could more easily manage things presented on a sudden: But Age and Experience better acquainted him with the ways of Truth and Error, and with it multitude of common Mistakes. In his Youth he was quickly past his Fundamentals, and was running up into a multitude of Controversies, and greatly delighted with Metaphysical and Scholastick Writings: But the Older he grew, the smaller stress he laid upon these Controversies and Curiosities, as finding a great deal less Certainty in them and less Usefulness, even where there's the greatest Certainty, than he before apprehended; the Fundamental Doctrines of the Catechism he most highly Valu'd, and daily tho't of, and found most useful to himself and

others. The Creed, Lords Prayer and Ten Commandments, found him the most acceptable and plentiful Matter for his Meditations; they were to him as his daily Bread and Drink. And as he could Speak or Write of them over and over again, so he chose rather to Hear or Read of them, than of any of the School Niceties which once so much pleas'd him. Among Truths certain in themselves, he did not find all equally certain unto him; and even of the Mysterries of the Gospel, the subjective Certainty he found could not go beyond the objective Evidence: And therefore the Older he grew, the more clearly he discern'd the Necessity of a Methodical Procedure in maintaining Christianity, and beginning at Natural Truths, as presuppos'd Fundamentally to Supernatural. In his Younger Years his trouble for Sin was most about his Actual Failings, in Tho't Word or Deed: But afterwards, he was much more troubled for inward Defects, and Omission or want of the Vital Duties or Graces in the Soul. His daily trouble was most for his Ignorance of God, and Weakness of Belief, and want of greater Love to God, and strangeness to

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him and to the Life to come, and for want of a greater willingness to Die, and longing to be with God in Heaven. Had he all the Riches of the World, he'd have given them for a fuller Knowledge, Belief and Love of God and Everlasting Glory: his Defects here, were the Burthen of his Life, At first he plac'd much of His Religion in tenderness of Heart, and grieving for Sin, and Penitential Tears, and less of it in the Love of God, and Studying his Love and Goodness, and in his Joyful Praises than afterwards: Then he was little sensible of the Greatness and Excellency of Love and Praise, tho' he spake freely in it's Commendation: But afterwards he was less troubled for the want of Grief and Tears, and his Conscience look'd at Love and Delight in God, and Praising him, as the Top of all his Religious Duties, for which he valu'd and us'd the Rest. His Judgment was afterwards much more for frequent and serious Meditation on the Heavenly Blessedness, than in his Younger Days. Nothing so pleas'd him at first as the Doctrine of Regeneration, and the Marks of Sincerity: Which was, because these things were then most suitable to him. But afterwards, he had rather Read Hear or Meditate on God and Heaven, than on any other Subject; for he found that 'tis not only useful to our Comfort, to be much in Heaven in our Believing Tho'ts; but that it must Animate all our other Duties, and Fortifie us against every Temptation and Sin; and that the Love of the End, is it that is the Poise or Spring, which setteth every Wheel a going, and must put on to all the Means;

and that a Man is no more a Christian indeed than he is Heavenly. At first he Meditated most on his own Heart, and was wont to dwell all at home and look little higher: He was still poring on his Sins or Wants, or examining his Sincerity: But afterwards, tho' he was greatly Convinc'd of the need of Heart Acquaintance and Employment; yet he saw more need of an higher Work, and that he should look oftener upon God and Christ and Heaven, than upon his own Heart. At home he could find Distempers to trouble him, and some Evidences of his Peace: But Above he found he must seek matter of

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Delight and Joy, Love and Peace it self. As his Knowledge encreas'd, he also observ'd he grew more Acquainted with his own Ignorance. He had also a far greater Opinion of learned Persons and Books at first than afterwards: And therefore was more apt to take things upon an Authors Credit at first, than when he came to Consider things more maturely; for thee he could dissent in some things from him that he lik'd best, as well as from others. At first he was greatly inclin'd to go with the highest in Controversies on one side or other: But he afterwards so easily saw what to say against both Extreams, that he was much more inclinable to reconciling Principles; and whereas he in his more injudicious Age, tho't that Conciliators were but Ignorant Men, that were willing to please all, and would pretend to Reconcile the World by Principles which they did not understand themselves; he afterwards perceiv'd, that if the amiableness of Peace and Concord had no hand in the Business, yet greater Light and stronger Judgment usually is with the Reconcilers, than with either of the contending Parties. At first the Stile of Authors took as much with him as the Arguments, and made the Arguments seem more forcible; but at length he came to that Pass, as not to judge of Truth at all by any such Ornaments or Accidents, but by its naked Evidence. His Judgment of Persons much alter'd with Age. He found few so Good when he came near them, as he apprehended them at a distance; and few so bad, as the Malicious and the Censorious do imagine. In some indeed, he found Humane Nature corrupted into a greater likeness to Devils, than he tho't any had on Earth bin capable off: But even in the wicked, he found there was usually more for Grace to make Advantage of, and more to testifie for God and Holiness, than be once could believe there had bin. He by Degrees became a less Admirer of Gifts of Utterance, and a bare Profession of Religion. For he by Experience found what odious Crimes may consist with high Profession;

and that great Piety and Devotion, may lie comparatively conceal'd and unobserv'd in an unexpected Quarter. He grew by Degrees, less Narrow
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in his special Love, and in his Principles of Church Communion. He was not for robbing Christ of any of his Flock; and yet he grew more and more apprehensive of the Use and Need of Ecclesiastical Discipline: For that nothing could be more to Christs Dishonour, than when the Church shall be as vitious as Pagan and Mahometan Assemblies, and differ from them only in Ceremony and Name. He grew more and more sensible of the Evil of Schism, and the Pernicious tendency of Pride, Selfconceit and Faction in Professors: And yet more sensible also of the Sin and Mischief of using Men cruelly in matters of Religion, and pretending their Good and the Order of the Church, for Ads of Inhumanity or Uncharitableness. His Charity grew much more Extensive in his advanced Age. His Soul was more afflicted with the Tho'ts of the miserable World, and more drawn out in a desire of their Conversion than before. He was not so inclin'd to pass a peremptory Sentence of Damnation upon all that never heard of Christ. He was not so severe in his Censures even on the Papists as formerly. At first it would disgrace any Doctrine with him, to hear it call'd Popish and Antichristian; but he afterwards learn'd to be more Impartial, and to dislike Men for bad Doctrine, rather than the Doctrines for the Men; and to know that Satan can use even the Names of Popery and Antichrist against a Truth. He grew more deeply afflicted for the Disagreements of Christians, than in his Younger Days. He spent much of his Time in Studying the Terms of Christian Concord, and found that the true Terms of Peace were obvious and easie to an impartial willing Mind. He laid very little stress upon the External Modes and Forms of Worship, one way or another. He grew much less regardful of the Approbation of Man, and set much lighter by Contempt and Applause, than in his Younger Days. He grew more and more pleas'd with a solitary Life, in order to the closer Converse with God and Conscience, and the invisible World. He found it easie to be loosed from this World, bur hard to live by Faith Above: Easie to despise Earth, but not so easie to be Acquainted and Conversant in

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Heaven. He grew more and more Apprehensive of the Odiousness, and the Danger of the Sin of Pride and Selfishness. He more and more lamented

the Unhappiness of the Nobility, Gentry and great ones of the World, who live in such Temptations to Sensuality, Curiosity and wasting of their Time; and saw more of the Goodness of God in fixing Persons in a middle State, without either Poverty or Riches. He grew more and more sensible, that Controversies generally have more need of right Stating than Debating. He became more Solicitous about his Duty to God, and less Solicitous about his Dealings with him, as being assur'd that he will do all things well. Tho' he never had any Tho'ts of proper meriting, yet one of the most ready, Constant, undoubted Evidences of his Uprightness and Interest in the Covenant, was the Consciousness of his living as devoted to God. He found a great Mutability however, as to degrees of Grace; and that he could never have kept himself, if God were not his Keeper. He grew much more cautelous in the Beleif of History, seeing so many byast by Interest and Faction, in the Age he lived in; and look which way he would, he found great Cause to lament his Defects and manifold Disorders, for which he was ready to beg Pardon both of God and Men: Which Frame and Temper he carri'd with him to his Grave.

HIS REMARKABLE DELIVERANCES.

He was from first to last very observant of Providence, and took great Notice of Gods Dealings with him. God doth indeed often Manifest a Particular Care of those that are his; and were Divine Appearances in their Favour duly Noted and wisely Recorded, they would much recommend a Holy Life. Mr. *Baxter* had many strange deliverances which he never could forget. When he was 17 Years of Age, as he Rode out on a Great unruly Horse for Pleasure, which was wont on a sudden to get the Bit in his Teeth, and set a running; as he was in a Field of high Ground, there being on the other Side a quick set Hedge, a very deep narrow Lane about a Stories Hight below him, suddenly the Horse got the Bridle in his Mouth, and ran most violently; and on a sudden turn'd aside, and leapt over the Hedge into that Lane. He was at the Ground a little before the

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Horse; and as the Mire sav'd him from Hurt in the Fall, so it pleas'd God the Horse never touch'd him; but 2 of his Feet came to the Ground on one side of him, and 2 on the other; tho' the Place made it seem strange, how his Feet could fall besides him. At another time about the same Age, he had a marvelous Deliverance from a Great Temptation to be a Gamester. Being

at *Ludlow*-Castle, where a great many Idle Gentlemen had little else to do, he was learning to play at Tables of the best Gamester in the *House*. Once playing with him, when his Opposite had so much the better that was an 100 to one, besides the Difference of their Skill, he still held on, tho' both he and the standers by all laught at him for not giving up, and told him the Game was lost. He was so Confident of it as to offer an 100 to one, and actually laid down 10 Shillings to 6 Pence. When the Wager was laid, he told him there was no Possibility of the Game, but by one Cast often; and it so fell out, that he had that same Cast for several times successively; so that by that time one could go Four or Five times about the Room his Game was gone, which caus'd great Admiration. He took the Hint, feard that the Devil had the Ruling of the Dice, and did it to entice him to be a Gamester, and so gave him his 10 Shillings again, and resolv'd never more to play at Tables whilst he liv'd. At another time Travelling from *London* into the Country about *Christmas* in a very deep Snow, he met on the Road a loaded Waggon, where he could not pass by, put on the side of the Bank; passing over which, all his Horses Feet slipp'd from under him, and all the Girts broke, so that he was Cast just, before the Waggon Wheel, which had gone over him, but that it pleas'd God the Horses suddenly stopp'd, without any discernable Cause, till he got out of the way. Many a time was he brought very low While he was at *Kedermister*, so as to receive the Sentence of Death in himself, when his Poor honest Praying Neighbours there met together, and upon their Fasting and earnest Prayers, he hath bin recover'd. Once when he had bin very low for 3 Weeks together, and was unable to go

Abroad, the very

Some remarkable Answers of Prayer.

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Day

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Day that they Pray'd for him, which was *Good Friday*, he suddenly recover'd, so as to be able to Preach, and Administer the Sacrament to them, the next Lords Day. Another Time, he had a Tumour Rose on one of the Tonsils of his Throat, white and hard like a Bone; above the hardness of any Schyrrous Tumour. He fear'd a Cancer, and apply'd such Remedies by the Physicians Advice as were tho't fittest; but without Alteration, for it remain'd hard as at first. At the End of a Quarter of a Year he was under some Concern that he had never prais'd God Particularly for any of the Deliverances he had formerly afforded him. And thereupon being speaking of Gods Confirming our Belief of his Word, by his fulfilling his Promises, and hearing Prayers (as it is Publish'd in the Second Part of his *Saints Rest*.) he Annex'd some thankful

mention of his own Experiences, and suddenly the Tumour Vanish'd, leaving no Sign where it had been, remaining: Tho' he neither Swallow'd it down, nor Spit it out, nor, could ever tell what became of it.

Another Time, having read in Dr. *Gerhard* the admirable Effects of the swallowing of a Gold Bullet upon his own Father, in a Case much like his: He got a Gold Bullet, between Twenty and Thirty Shillings weight, and having taken it, he knew not how, to be again deliver'd of it. He took Clysters and Purges for about Three Weeks, but nothing stirr'd, it: And a Gentleman having done the like, the Bullet never came from him till he Dy'd, and it was cut out. But at last his Neighbours set a part a Day to Fast and Pray for him, and he was freed from his Danger, in the beginning of that Day. At another Time being in Danger of an *Ægilops*, he had also sudden Relief by their Prayers. God marvelously honour'd his Praying Neighbours at *Kedemminster*, by Hearing their Prayers in a great many Instances. One Mrs. *Giles* had a Son of about 14 or 15, who upon the removal of a fever fell into a violent *Epilepsy*; and had Four or Five violent Fits in a Day, in which they were forc'd to hold a Key between his Teeth, to save his Tongue. The Physicians us'd all Ordinary Meas for a long Time in vain, but at last

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the People of the Town, at her Request, kept a Day of Fasting and Prayer at her House; and the second Day, he was suddenly Cur'd, and never had a Fit afterwards. One Mr. *Cook*, removing from *Kinvar* to *Kedemminster*, and meeting with Difficulties in his Concernments, fell first into a Melancholy, which afterwards turn'd to Madness. He continu'd in it several Years, the best Means that could be, being us'd to little Purpose. Some were for setting upon Fasting and Prayer on his Account; but Mr. *Baxter* discourag'd it, having no hope of Cure, his Distemper being Natural or Hereditary to him; his Father, having much about his Age, fallen Mad before him, and never Recover'd. When he had continu'd in this Condition about Ten or Twelve Years, some would not be dissuaded, but Fasted and Pray'd at his House with great Importunity, and continu'd it once a Fortnight, for several Months: At length he sensibly Mended, and by Degrees finely Recover'd.

At another Tune Mr. *Baxter* riding upon a great hot metled Horse, as he stood upon a Doping Pavement in *Worcester*, the Horse rear'd up, and both his hinder Feet slipt from under him; so that the full weight of the Body of the Horse fell upon his leg, which yet was not broken, but only bruis'd; when considering the Place, the Stones, and the Manner of the Fall, it was a wonder his leg was not broken all to Pieces. Another Time as he sate in

his Study, the weight of his greatest Folio Books, brake down Three or Four of the highest Shelves, when he sat close under them; and they fell down on every side of him, and not one of them hit him, except one upon the Arm. Whereas the Place, the Weight, and Greatness of the Books was such, and his Head just under them, that it, was a wonder they had not beaten out his Brains, or done him an unspeakable Mischief: One of the Shelves just over his Head, having Dr. *Walton's Polyglot Bible*; all *Austin's Works*; the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; and *Marlorate, &c.* Another Time, *viz. March 26. 1665.* As he was Preaching in a Private House, a Bullet came in at the Window, and pass'd by him, but did no hurt. It was also a very remarkable Preservation, which be receiv'd over St.

James's

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James's Market-House mention'd before. And indeed his being carry'd thro' so much Service and Suffering too, under so much Weakness, was a constant wonder to himself, and all that knew Him, and what he us'd himself often to take Notice off with Expressions of great Thankfulness.

He continu'd his Publick Work as long as he was able; which was much longer than either he or any one else could have imagin'd, he should have done. After his Settlement in *Charter-House* Yard, with Mr. *Sylvester*, he gave him and his Flock his Pains *Gratis* every Lords Day in the Morning; and every other *Thursday* Morning at a Weekly Lecture. And thus he continu'd for about Four Years and a Half, and then was altogether disabled by his growing Weakness from Publick Service: And still he continu'd even for the small Residue of his Life, to do good *in his own hired House*; where he open'd his Doors Morning and Evening every Day, to all that would come to join in Family Worship with him; to whom he Read and Expounded the Scriptures, with great Seriousness and Freedom. But at length his Distempers took him off from this also, and confin'd him first to his Chamber, and after to his Bed. Then he felt the Approaches of Death, which usually reveals the Secrets of the Heart.

HIS LAST SICKNESS AND DEATH.

But Mr. *Baxter* was the same in his Life and Death. His Last Hours were spent in preparing others and himself to appear before God. He said to his Friends that visited him, *You come hither to Learn to Die: I am not the only Person that must go this Way; I can assure you, that your whole Life be it never so long is little eno' to prepare for Death. Have a Care of this vain deceitful World, and the*

Lusts of the Flesh. Be sure you choose God for your Portion, Heaven for your Home, Gods Glory for your End, his Word for your Rule, and then you need never fear, but we shall meet with Comfort. His resign'd Submission to the Will of God in his sharp Sickness was eminent. When Extremity of Pain constrain'd him earnestly to Pray to God for his Release by Death, he would check himself and say: *It is not fit for me to prescribe; when thou wilt, what thou wilt, how thou wilt:* Being often ask'd by his Friends, how it was

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with his inward Man, he Reply'd, *I bless God, I have a well grounded Assurance of my Eternal Happiness; and great Peace and Comfort within;* but it was his Trouble he could not Triumphantly express it, by Reason of his extream Pains. He said, *Flesh must perish, and we must feel the perishing of it:* And that *tho' his Judgment submitted, yet Sense would still make him Groan.* He gave excellent Counsel to Young Ministers that visited him, and earnestly Pray'd to God to bless their Labours, and make them very successful in Converting many Souls unto Christ. And express'd great Joy in the hopes, that God would do a great deal of Good by them, and that they were of moderate and peaceful Spirits; He often Pray'd, that *God would be merciful to this miserable, distracted World: And that he would preserve his Church and Interest in it.* During his Sickness, when the Question was ask'd him how he did, his Answer was *almost well.* And at last he Expir'd, on *December* the 8th, 1691. And was a few Days after Interr'd in *Christ Church*, whither his Corps was attended by a most Numerous Company, of all Ranks and Qualities, and especially of Ministers, some of whom were *Conformists*, who tho't fit to pay him that last Office of Respect. There were Two Discourses made upon Occasion of his Funeral; one by Dr. *Bates*, and the other by Mr. *Sylvester*, which are both since Publish'd. The former may be met with in the Doctors Works, and the latter at the End of Mr. *Baxter's* Life in *Folio*.

He had set his House, and all his Concerns in order, some Time before he left this World. It had been his Custom all along, to keep a *Will* continually by him. His Last Will bore date, *July* the 7th, 1689. The beginning of it was Peculiar, and pretty Remarkable. It ran thus;

His Will.

"I *Richard Baxter* of *London* Clerk, an unworthy Servant of Jesus Christ, drawing to the End of this Transitory Life, having thro' Gods great Mercy the free Use of my Understanding, do make this my Last Will and Testament, revoking all other Wills formerly made by me. My Spirit, I commit with

Trust and Hope of the Heavenly Felicity, into the Hands of Jesus my glorify'd Redeemer,

and

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“and Intercessor; and by his Mediation into the Hands of. God my reconciled Father, the Infinite Eternal Spirit, Light, Life, and Love, most Great, and Wile, and Good, the God of Nature, Grace, and Glory; of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all Things; my absolute Owner, Ruler and Benefactor; whose I am, and whom I (tho' imperfectly) serve, seek, and trust to whom be Glory for ever, *Amen*. To him I tender most humble Thanks, that he hath filled up my Life with abundant Mercy, and Pardon'd my Sin by the Merits of Christ, and vouchsafed by his Spirit to Renew me, and Seal me as his own, and to moderate and bids to me my Long Sufferings in the Flesh, and at Last to sweeten them by his own Interest, and comforting Approbation, who taketh the Cause of Love and Concord as his own, &c.

He ordred his Books to be distributed among Poor Scholars: And all that remain'd of his Estate, after a few Legacies to his Kindred, he dispos'd of for the Benefit of the Souls and Bodies of the Poor. And he left Sir *Henry Ashhurst*, *Rowland Hum* of *Boraton* Esq; Mr. *Thomas Hunt* Merchant, *Edward Harley* Esq; Mr. *Thomas Cooke* Merchant, Mr. *Thomas Trench* Merchant, and Mr. *Robert Bid* Gentleman, His Executors.

He was one that was always fond of a retired Life, and yet it was not in his Power, so to conceal his Worth, as that it should not be observ'd and respected, both by such as were near him, and such as Liv'd at a remote Distance from him.

My Lord *Broghill* (afterwards Earl of *Orery*, and Lord President of *Munster*) had a great Value for him, nominated him as one of the Committee to State the *Fundamentals* of Religion: And entertain'd him very respectfully at his House.

While he continu'd there, he became Acquainted with the Pious and Learned Arch-Bishop *Usher*, who then Liv'd at the Earl of *Peterborough's* in *Martins Lane*; and their mutual Visits and Interviews were frequent. There having been a Difference between Dr. *Kendall*, and Mr. *Baxter* about the Extent of Redemption, they by Agreement met at the Arch-Bishops

Lodgings,

His Conversation with Arch-Bishop Usher: And Interest in many others

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Lodgings, leaving it to him to Arbitrate between them: Who freely declar'd himself for the Doctrine of *Universal Redemption*, and own'd that he was the

Person who brought both Bishop *Davenant*, and Dr. *Preston* to acknowledge it. Having given his Judgment, he perswaded both to forbear a farther Prosecution of the Controversie, which they readily promis'd.

In his Conversation with Bishop *Usher*. He desir'd his Judgment about his Proposals for Concord with the Episcopal Party; which were these. *That a Pastor be Governour as well as Teacher of his Flock. That where there are several Presbyters in a Parish, one be the Stated President. That in each Market Town, (or some such Division) there be frequent Assemblies of Parochial Pastours for Concord, and mutual Assistance in their Work, with a stated President also. That in every County or Diocess there be a General Assembly of the Ministers, once in a Quarter, half a Year, or Year; having likewise a fixed President, without whom nothing be done in Ordination, or any Matters of Common Concernment, and that the Coercive Power or Sword be appropriated to Magistrates.* He told him they were sufficient to unite moderate Men; but would be rejected by others. And in Discourse about his Predictions as to the return of *Popery* he declar'd, he pretended not to any Prophetical Revelation, but only was under that Apprehension from his Converse with the *Apocalypse*. The Bishop also gave him his Judgment for the *Validity of Presbyters Ordination*; and told him that the King at the Isle of *Wight*, ask'd him where he found in Antiquity, that *Presbyters* Ordain'd any alone; and that he Reply'd, he could shew much more, even where *Presbyters* alone successively Ordain'd Bishops; the *Presbyters* of *Alexandria* choosing and making their own Bishops, from the Days of *St. Mark*, till *Heraclas* and *Dionysius* [all saith *St. Hierom in Epist. ad Evagrium.*] He moreover own'd to him, *that the Reduction of Episcopacy to the Form of Synodical Government, which went about, was his: And with a great deal of Assurance gave it him as his Judgment, that Synods are not properly for Government, but for Agreement among the Pastours; and a Synod of Bishops,*

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are not the Governours, of any one Bishop, there present.

While the Debates continu'd, after the Restauration of King *Charles* about an Accommodation of Ecclesiastical Matters, Mr. *Baxter* as appears from the foregoing Account, was often with the Earl of *Clarendon*, lord Chancellour, who carry'd it with a great shew of Respect to him: And his Interest in him was such as to engage him to do Good Service to the People of *New-England*, on whose Behalf, he oft pleaded with him. The Case was this.

Mr. *Elliot* having learnt the *American Language*, and Converted many of the Barbarous Natives to Christianity, was desirous of settling Regular Churches among them. In Order hereto, it was first necessary to build them

Houses and draw them together (who were us'd to live dispers'd like Wild Beasts) and to get a Maintenance for Ministers to Preach to them, and Schoolmasters to teach and instruct their Children. For this Purpose *Cromwell* in the Time of his Government, had a General Collection thro' the Land. The People gave Liberally for so good a Work; and the Money was put into the Hands of a Corporation settled on Purpose to dispose of it to the best Advantage; who keeping some in Stock, Purchased 7 or 800 *l.* a Year in Land, which was appropriated to the Service of the Gospel in those Parts. The Land was bought of one Col. *Beddingfield*, a *Papist*, and an Officer in the Kings Army. Upon the Kings Restauration, the Collonel seiz'd the Land again for his own Use, and refus'd either to surrender it, or Repay the Money, pretending the Corporation was Illegal and Null. Hereupon Alderman *Ashhurst* who was Treasurer, call'd the Corporation together, perswaded those who were Members of it, that were Obnoxious, to recede, that he might see if the rest might be continu'd, more fit Men added, and the Land recover'd. Mr. *Baxter* urg'd the Lord Chancellour about it, and found him Hearty. When the Matter had depended a Twelve Month, he granted a Decree for a New Corporation. Some Lords were made Members of it; Mr. *Bayle* was made President; and Mr. *Ashhurst* continu'd Treasurer, and

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the Matter was happily settled. Whereupon Mr. *Baxter* receiv'd Letters of Hearty Thanks, from the Court and Governour in *New-England*, and from Mr. *Elliot*, and Mr. *Norton*, All acknowledging the Signal Service he had done them.

After Mr. *Baxter* was Silenc'd with the rest of his Brethren, he had Letters from Foreign Divines full of Respect, and courting him to a Correspondence with them, which he durst not Yield to, for fear it should be Misinterpreted. Among others, he receiv'd a Letter from Monsieur *Amyrald*, upon Occasion of a Word of Dr. *Louis du Moulin*, who had said that he had heard that *Amyrald* had spoken slightingly of the *English Nonconformists*: And another from Monsieur *Sollicoffer*, a Minister in *Switzerland*, who desir'd his *Advice* about setting up the Work of Ministerial Instruction of the Particular Families and Persons of their Charge. But fear of Offence, prevented his Answering these and other Letters from Foreign Parts, tho' he was often apply'd to.

In the worst of Times, he had several even at Court and about the King, who were very respectful to him. Among the rest Duke *Lauderdale* profess'd great Kindness to him. But he being a Person generally tho't ill off, and one whom the Parliament Voted an Evil Counsellour, many were offended at

his having any Correspondence with him: Which he gave way to, partly to avoid Rudeness after abundant Civilities, and partly that he might make use of his Interest in him for the doing Good upon Occasion: In which he sometimes was not without Success.

While he liv'd at *Acton*, he had the Happiness of Free Conversation with that Mirrour of Justice, that Ornament of King *Charles* his Reign, the Worthy Sir *Matthew Hale*, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who liv'd in his Neighbourhood; their Conversation ran much upon the main Points of Religion, the Immortality of the Soul, and Certainty of a Future State, &c. His Converse was highly pleasing and Profitable. He found him a great Lamerter of the Extremities of the Times, and the Violence of some of the Clergy, and a great desirer of such Abatements as might take in all useful Persons. He Manifested

his

Duke Lauderdale.

*Sir Matthew Hale*⁶⁸⁸

his Respect to Mr. *Baxter*, by giving an High Encomium of him, both for Piety and Learning, before all the Judges at the Table at *Serjeants June*, at the time when he was in Prison upon the *Oxford Act*; and by leaving him a Legacy of 40 Shillings in his Will.

The Earl of *Balcarres* who was driven out of *Scotland* by *Cromwel*, and went to King *Charles* in his Exile, had also a great Value for him; which was occasion'd by his reading Mr. *Baxter's* Books, upon the Lord *Lauderdale's* Recommendation. This Earl of *Balcarres* was a very Considerable Man, and taken for the Head of the Presbyterians with the King; but unhappily he fell out with the Lord Chancellor, and was afterwards forbid the Court, and in same time dy'd of a Consumption. The Lady *Balcarres* Was not short of her Lord in Respects to Mr. *Baxter*.

When he was Building a New Meeting-House in *Oxenden-street*, tho' he medled not with it himself, he had Contributions sent in freely by many Persons, to Mr. *Thomas Stanley*, who undertook the Care of the Dibursement, &c. Alderman *Ashhurst* and Mr. *Booth* sent in 100 l. Collected among their own Acquaintance; Sir *John Maynard* 40 l. The Lady *Armine* 60 l. The Countess of *Warwick* 20 l. Mr. *Brooke Bridges* 20 l. Sir *James Langham* 20 l. The Countess of *Clare* 10 l. Sir *Edward Harley* 10 l. Mr. *Trench* and Mr. *Brand* 20 l. The Countess of *Treconnel* 6 l. The Lady *Clinton* 5 l. The Lady *Eleanor Hollis*, 5

1. The Lady *Fitz James* 6 l. The Lady *Richards* 5 l. Mr. *Hampden* 8 l. Mr. *Henly* 5 l. and many others, other Summs.

THE RESOLUTION OF A CASE OF CONSCIENCE

He was much consulted about Cases of Conscience. Scarce a Man in *England* had more applying themselves to him upon that Account than he. One Passage is too remarkable to be past by. In 1665, the Lord *Ashley* sent a Letter to Sir *John Trevor* at *Acton*, signifying that a good Friend of his, in whose Case the King did greatly Concern himself, had all his Fortunes cast upon Mr. *Baxter's* Resolution of this one Case. *Whether a Protestant Lady of strict Education, might Marry a Papist, in hope of his Conversion, he*

promising

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promising not to disturb her in her Religion. The Lady told those that were concern'd, that she would not Consent, unless Mr. *Baxter* satisfi'd her that it was Lawful. The Case was Nice; be weigh'd it well: And this was the Substance of his Resolution.

In General, it cannot be said to be simply, and in all Cases unlawful to Marry an *Infidel* or *Heathen*, much less a *Papist*. Nay, it may be Lawful in Case of true Necessity where better is not to be had; and in Case it be very likely to prove some great Commodity to Church or State. But ordinarily 'tis Sinful, what Hopes soever there may be of the Husbands Conversion. For a Husband ought especially to be a meet helper in Matters of the greatest Moment; and he that is no helper in Religion, must needs be a hinderer: Marriage is none of the Means that God hath requir'd in order to Conversion: A Wife in such a Case, may rather fear being Chang'd by a Husband, than reasonably hope to work a Change upon him: Or if she be so happy as to escape Perversion, there is little hope of her escaping a sad Calamitous Life: His Religion will not allow him to Love her otherwise than as a Child of the Devil, in a state of Damnation may be Lov'd. And therefore it can neither be for the Glory of God, nor the true Comfort of the Party concern'd.

In the whole Course of his Life he had scarce a Friend whom he more Valu'd and Respected, and by whom he was more Belov'd, than that Noted Citizen Mr. *Henry Ashhurst*, commonly call'd Alderman *Ashhurst*; who was the most exemplary Person for Eminent Sobriety, Self-denial, Piety and Charity, that *London* could Glory off. He was a Christian of the Primitive Stamp, and did good to all as he was able, especially needy, silenc'd Ministers: To whom in *Lancashire* alone, he allow'd 100l. *per Annum*. He left behind

him the Perfume of a most Honour'd Name, and the Memorials of a most Exemplary Life, to be imitated by all his Descendents. Mr. *Baxter* gave him his true Character in his Funeral Sermon.

Many Foreign Divines wrote to him with abundance of Respect. As particularly Monsieur *Brunse-*

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nius, Chaplain to his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburg*; who sent him Word, that he had employ'd several Persons to Translate some of his Practical Works into *Latin*, which were Dispers'd and Sold throughout that Country, and offer'd him his utmost Service in any thing wherein he was Capable of obliging him.

Dr. *Spencer* also, Chaplain to the Duke of *Saxony*, directed Mr. *Christopher Martin* a Divine who liv'd in his House, to Write a very kind and respectful Letter to Mr. *Baxter*, and tell him how much his Books had promoted Practical Religion in those Countries, since they were Translated into *Latin*, and how wonderfully God had Blest them for the good of many.

In short, Living and Dying, he was as much Respected by some, and as much Slighted by others, as any Man of the Age.

CHAP. XVII.

His Works and Writings:

ITS well known Mr. *Baxter* was a Considerable Writer, and few ever Writ to better Purpose. His Books for their Number and Variety of Matter in them, make a Library: They contain a Treasure of Controversial, Casuistical, Positive and Practical Divinity. This at least was the Sense of the Judicious Dr. *Bates's*.* Neither was he alone in this Sentiment; for the Excellent Bishop *Wilkins* did not stick to say, that he had Cultivated every Subject he handled. A Compleat List of his Works is therefore added for the Satisfaction of the Curious.

* *His Sermon at his Funeral.*

The first Book he Publish'd, was his *Aphorisms of Justification and the Covenants*, &c. This was displeasing to many, on Account of some Peculiarities. He Receiv'd and Answer'd Objections sent him against it, by Mr. *Burgess*, Mr. *Warren*, Dr. *Wal*

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lis, Mr. *Catwright* and Mr. *Lawson*: And to the last adher'd to the Substance of it; tho' he could have wish'd some things a little otherwise express'd, and that he had let Persons alone when he touch'd upon their Errors. It first came out in 1649. 12s. He desired that his Confession of Faith (after mention'd) might be taken for a fuller Explication of this Book.

In 1650. He published his *Saints Everlasting Rest*, 4to. which he wrote in a Very Languishing Condition, which in the Suspence of Life and Death, and yet it has the Signatures of a most Holy and vigorous Mind. This is a Book for which Multitudes will have Cause to Bless God for ever. Among others, Holy Mr. *John Janeway* was thereby Converted.*

See his Life, p. 6.

The same Year he Publish'd, *Plain Scripture Proof of Infants Church Membership and Baptism*, 4to. which were the Arguments us'd in a Publick Dispute with Mr. *Tombes* the Anabaptist at *Bewdley*; which Book recover'd many from *Anabaptism*, and Establish'd more.

1659, He Publish'd *the right Method for Peace of Conscience and Spiritual Comfort, in 32 Directions*; 12s. He Wrote it for the Satisfaction of Colonel *John Bridges*, his Lady. This Book pleas'd Dr. *Hammond*, and Comforted many. A little after, he publish'd his *Judgment about the Perseverance of Believers*, to remove some Objections upon that Head, started upon Occasion of the foregoing Discourse.

The same Year he publish'd his *Christian Concord*, or, the Agreement of the Associated Pastors and Churches of *Worcestershire*, with its Explication and Defence, 4to.

As also, the *Worcestershire* Petition to the Parliament, for the Ministry of *England*, with the Defence of it, 4to.

In 1654, He publish'd two Assize Sermons, entituled *true Christianity*. One of Christs Dominion, and the other of his Sovereignty over all Men as Redeemer, 8vo.

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The same Year he publish'd his *Apology*, in Answer to Mr. *Blake*, Dr. *Kendal*, *Ludiomæus Colvinus*, or *Ludovicus Molinæus*, Mr. *Crandon* and Mr. *Eyres*, 4to.

In 1655, He publish'd his *Confession of Faith*; in Defence of his *Aphorisms*, and in Opposition to *Antinomianism*, 4to.

The same Year came out his *Humble Advice* to the Honourable Members of Parliament: Being the Substance of some Directions he Deliver'd in a

Sermon in *Westminster Abbey*, in Order to Church Reformation and Peace.

As also a Sermon of making Light of Christ; and another of Judgment.

He this Year also put forth the *Quakers Catechism: Or the Quakers question'd*, 4to.

And the *Unreasonableness of Infidelity*, 8vo.

In 1656. He Publish'd his *Gildas Salvianus, or Reformed Pastour*, 8vo. Prepar'd to be deliver'd at a Day of Fasting and Prayer among the *Worcestershire* Ministers, and afterwards Enlarg'd.

The *Agreement* of the said *Worcestershire* Ministers for *Catechising* or Personal Instructing all their willing Parishioners, 8vo.

Certain Disputations of *Right to Sacraments*, and the True Nature of Visible Christianity, against Mr. *Blake*.

In 1657. He Publish'd, the *Safe Religion* against *Popery*, 8vo.

A Treatise of Conversion, 4to.

Several single Sheets, for their better Spreading As a Winding Sheet for *Popery*. A Sheet for the Ministry against Malignants. A Sheet against the *Quakers*. A Second Sheet for the Ministry. A Sheet Direcing Justices in Corporations to Discharge their Duty to God.

A *Call to the Unconverted*. A Book bless'd by God with marvelous Success in reclaiming Persons from their Impieties. Six Brothers were once Converted by Reading that one Book.* Twenty Thousand of them were Printed and Dispers'd in a little more than a Year. It was Translated into *French*, and *Dutch*, and other *European* Languages: And Mr.

Elliot

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Elliot Translated it into the *Indian* Language: And Mr. *Cotton Mather*, in his Life, gives an Account of an *Indian* Prince, who was so affected with this Book, that he sate reading it with Tears in his Eyes till he Dy'd, not Suffering it to be taken from him. 'Twas Translated also into *Welch*.

In 1658. He Publish'd, *The Crucifying of the World by the Cross of Christ*, 4to. *Of Saving Paith*, 4to. In Answer to Serjeant *Shepherd*, and Dr. *Barlow*.

Confirmation and Restauration, the necessary Means of Reformation and Reconciliation, 8vo. This Book is highly Commended by Dr. *Patrick*, now Bishop of *Ely*, in his *Aqua Genitalis*, page 471.

Directions and Perswasions to a sound Conversion, 8vo. Which Book hath been marvellously Useful to many Souls, by preventing those Mistakes in Practical Religion, which are often Fatal.

Five Disputations of Church Government, 4to. A Book Pleading for Moderation, at the Time, when Bishops, Liturgy and Ceremonies, were most decry'd and oppos'd.

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Advertiserment.

I Desire that Mr. *Hodges* of *King Stanley*, who is represented in *Page* 338. of this Book, as Conforming after his Ejection, may be transferred to the *Nonconformists* of *Glocestershire*, among whom I am inform'd he continu'd.

And that *Line 37. of Page 391.* may be Read thus: The Noble Earl (Father of the now Duke) of *Devonshire.*