

EDMUND CALAMY

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

1713



AN  
ABRIDGEMENT  
OF  
**Mr. Barter's**  
HISTORY  
OF HIS  
**LIFE and TIMES.**

WITH  
An Account of the Ministers, &c.  
who were Ejected after the Restauration,  
of King *Charles II.*

Their Apology for themselves, and their Adherents,  
containing the Grounds of their Nonconformity:  
Their Treatment in the Reign of King *Charles,*  
and King *James;* and after the Revolution: And  
the continuation of their History, to the passing  
of the Bill against Occasional Conformity, in 1711.

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The Second Edition: In Two VOLUMES. Vol. I.

By EDMUND CALAMY, D. D.

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LONDON:

Printed for *John Lawrence,* at the *Angel* in the *Poultry;*  
*J. Nicholson,* and *J. and B. Sprint* in *Little-Britain;*  
*R. Robinson* in *St. Paul's Church-yard,* and *N. Cliffe,*  
and *D. Jackson* in *Cheapside.* 1713.



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This is a proof-reading draft of this volume. When all five volumes have an accurate text we will import the biographical material of the ejected ministers into a database for collation and sorting and will then output the information in a variety of ways, some for electronic publication and some for print publication.

Each line of the main text corresponds to a line in the original, to aid proof reading. This results in stretched text. Some of the footnote text is treated in the same way. But in the original footnote material started in the margin and then moved below the main text. Text in dark red is the text that starts in the margin, and sometimes this results in just a few words in the first line. It is the intention, after proof-reading, to arrange the text so it appears the same as in the original, but with a modern and more readable font.



TO THE  
Duke of *Devonshire*.

May it please Your GRACE,

**Y**our Acceptance of  
the former Edition of  
this Work, emboldens  
me to lay the Second at Your  
GRACES Feet, with its pre-  
sent Additions and Amend-  
ments.

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It can be no surprizing Thing  
to your GRACE, that Your De-  
scent from one who appear'd so  
early in the Glorious Cause of  
Liberty, and Your own firm Ad-

*herence to the Principles of the Revolution, in which Your Noble Father was so Active: Your declar'd Aversion to Bigotry and Persecution; and Your Zeal for the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover; should make the Protestant Dissenters (who are not capable of having any secular Interest to serve, opposite to that which in Your GRACE is so heartily engag'd,) Ambitious of securing Your good Opinion.*

While

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*While some pursue them with furious Invectives, which they can easily despise, they are apt to Flatter themselves, that a just Sense of Honour, will plead for them*

*with those of Your GRACES Noble Disposition: And produce a Tenderness for a Body of Men, who endur'd great Severities from the Laws of their Country, before they could be Tolera- ted; and have been rudely insulted since they have been under the shelter of the Act of Indulgence; and are at last rendred incapable of any publick Service; and yet are exceeded by none in a disinterested Affection to their QUEEN and Country, or in an irreconcilable Aversion to Popery and Slavery.*

It

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*It is indeed a great unhappiness, that Protestants should be so much divided, and that where there is such an Harmony in Points of Faith, there should be such a want of Charity in Matters of*

*meer Opinion: But upon comparing the Account here given, with the Narratives of others, Your GRACE will easily pass a Judgment on which Side Charity is most wanting. The Two proper Seasons for an Accommodation in 1662 and 1688, which were so studiously lost, will be sufficient to determine that Point; together with the History of that Occasional Conformity, which was design'd to be expressive of Charity to those, who have unkindly represented it as intended to serve*

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*a Turn; though its well known to have been practis'd, before there was any Turn to be serv'd by it.*

*I can assure Your GRACE I have been Faithful and Impartial,*



*according to the best Light I could obtain: And whatever else I may be mistaken in, am well satisfy'd in this, that Your GRACE has too Noble a Spirit, to be for our being run down with Obloquy and Contempt, meerly because we can't speak and act as some would have us, from whom we cannot justly be said to differ more, than they do among themselves.*

*That Your GRACE may be long continu'd a Patron of Liberty, a Supporter of the Reform'd Religion, of our present Government,*

*and*

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*and the Protestant Succession, as it is happily Establish'd by Law among us; and leave a Race of Patriots behind You, Eminent for the same Hereditary, Spirit of Grandeur and*

*Beneficence, to transmit Your  
Name and Honour unstain'd to  
succeeding Ages, is the Prayer of  
many, Besides,*

May it please Your, GRACE,

Your GRACES

Most Humble and

Most Obedient Servant,

Edmund Calamy.

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THE  
PREFACE.

**I**T is well known to many, that Dr. *Henry Sampson*, who at first design'd for the Ministry, and was afterwards an eminent Physician for many Years in this City, had taken a great deal of Pains in collecting Materials for a History of Nonconformity, and

Memoirs concerning the Ancient and Modern Nonconformists. Several of his Papers having been kindly put into my Hands, and of use to me in this Work, especially in the Second Part; and amongst the rest, having by me a Plan of his Design, I shall here Communicate it to the World. It was to be Entitled,

“*An Essay of the History of PURITANISM and NONCONFORMITY: Declaring what the Men of those Characters have done and suffer’d, since the Reformation of Religion in ENGLAND.*” It began with,

*The Introduction, or a Preface, shewing what were the Things contended for, and the Points of Difference, as well in Doctrine as Discipline, Government, Liturgy, &c. wherein they desir’d Reformation. And Twenty six Chapters were to follow in this Order:*

*Chap. I. Of such as are said to have Acted or Suffered in the Cause of Reformation during the Reign of King Henry VIII: Particularly, Tindal, Frith, Barnes, Binney, Lambert, Garret, Hierom, &c. shewing how far they agreed with the Dissenters, or disagreed from them.*

With an *Appendix* concerning *Tindal’s* Translation of the *Bible*.

*Chap. II. Of those that were the great Promoters of the Reformation in the Days of Edward VI. How far they inclin’d to Puritanism and Nonconformity, (so call’d in after Times) or how averse thereto;*

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*viz.*

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*viz. of Ridley, Hooper, Cranmer, Latimer, Ferrar, Harly, Taylor, Poynt, and others, compilers of the Common Prayer: Of the Misrepresentations given of them by Dr. Heylin.*

An *Appendix* of the several *English Bibles* in publick Use hitherto.

*Chap. III. Of the Attempt that was made for the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, in King Edward’s Days; Its beginning, progress, and frustration in that, and in Queen Elizabeth’s Reign afterwards.*

*Chap. IV.* Of other principal Persons that suffer'd in the *Marian* Days; how far they seem to own the *Puritan* Doctrines and Principles: *viz.* *Rogers, Sanders, Bradford, Samuel, Careless, &c.*

*Chap. V.* Of such as were Exiles in Queen *Mary's* Reign. Their Congregations and Discipline at *Frankford, Zurich, Strasburgh, Arrow, Geneva, Basil, &c.*

With an *Appendix* of the Translation of the Bible, and singing Psalms at *Geneva.*

*Chap. VI.* Of those that return'd from Exile in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and became Dignitaries in the Church: Their Temper and Disposition toward. the Nonconformists: *viz,* *Grindal, Sands, Parkhurst, Cox, Pilkington, Nowel, Whittingham, Cole, Humphrys, Turner, Horn, Jewel, &c.* With an *Appendix* concerning that Translation of the Bible call'd the *Bishops Bible.*

*An. 1566. Persecution I.*

*Chap. VII.* Of the Queens *Injunctions*, and the Controversie moved thereupon, about Conformity to the *Attire*, whereupon divers refus'd Preferment in the Church, and others that had already been preferr'd were now depriv'd; amongst which were some that came from Exile: As *Coverdale, Bale, Leaver, Sampson, Pulleyn, Carlisle, Fox, Whitehead, Gilby, Crowley, Goodman, &c.* Others were of the same Mind, and suffer'd in like Manner, but had never been Exiles: As *Gilpin, Horton, Cheston, Kingsmill, Withers,* (Fellow of Queen's College *Cambridge*) &c,

*Chap. VIII.* Of the Opinion of some Foreign Divines about these Controversies and Sufferings; their interposing by Letters to the Queen or Bishops: Such as *Calvin* (once and again before it came to Deprivation) *P. Martyr, Zanchy, Beza, Bullinger, Gualter.*

*Chap.*

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*Persecution II.*

*Chap. IX.* Of the *Admonition* to the Parliament; the Authors and Defenders thereof, and Sufferings thereupon; and other Troubles that fell upon divers others from the 13th of the Queen, till the Death of Archbi-

shop *Parker*: Which were *Edward Dearing, Crane, Wilcox, Standon, Field, Cartwright, Robert Travers, Fenn* of *Coventry, Greenham, Fulke, Marbury, Gawton, &c.*

*Chap. X.* Of the quiet Time whilst *Edward Grindal* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the great coalescence of Minds, whilst by so much Moderation and industrious Piety, he presided in the Church: With Reflections upon *Dr. Heylin* and others, as to what they say about *Grindalizers*.

*Persecution III.*

*Chap. XI.* Of the first Storm under Archbishop *Whitgift*, upon the coming out of his Three Articles, and requiring Subscription to them. Of several Troubles occasion'd to the Nonconformists by the publishing of *Martin-Mar-Prelate*, the spreading of *Brownisme*, the Madness and Treason of *Hacket*, &c, which some did endeavour to fix on them. Of the several Persons that were troubled, deprived, and silenc'd by this Archbishop or his Agents, in the High Commission Court, the Star-Chamber, and the Courts Ecclesiastical: *viz. Udal, Travers, Dudley Fenner, Gifford, Rich. Rogers, Perkins, Brown, Leverwood, Chark, Gardiner, Snape, Bainbrig, Johnson, Penry*, old *Mr. Cawdry*, &c: *John Reynolds* of *Oxon*, and *W. Whitaker* of *Cambridge*, not escaping his frowns and menaces.

*Chap. XII.* Of the Patrons and Favourers of the Nonconformists during the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, by whose Means under God they weather'd out all these Storms: As the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, the great Earls of *Bedford, Warwick, Leicester* and *Huntington*, the Lords *Grey* and *Howard*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Amiens Paulist*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, *Mr. Beale*, &c. in the Court; besides divers eminent Gentlemen in the House of Commons, and in the Country.

*Chap. XIII.* Of their principal Adversaries amongst the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy: Those that acted or wrote most keenly against them; as the Archbishops *Parker* and *Whitgift*, the Lord Chancellors

*Hatton* and *Bromley*; the Lord Keeper *Pickering*;  
The Bishops *Elmer*, *Cooper*, *Bridges*, *Bancroft*;

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Dr. *Sutcliff*, Dr. *Cozins*, Dr. *Stanhope*, Mr. *Rogers*,  
Mr. *Hooker*, &c.

*Chap.* XIV. Of the entrance of King James. The Conference at *Hampton-Court*. Of the four Persons nominated by the King to represent the Case of the Nonconformists; *viz.* Dr. *Reynolds*, *Sparks*, *Chaderton*, and *Knewstub*; with an Appendix concerning a Translation of the Bible, following hereupon, commonly call'd the Kings Translation.

*Persecution IV.*

*Chap.* XV. Of the Convocation that follow'd not long after, and the Constitutions there made; and the depriving, silencing, suspending, and admonishing of above 300 Ministers, during the Time Dr. *Bancroft* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*; some of which bore these great Names, *Hildersham*, *Dod*, *Parker*, *Sherwood*, *Midgeley*, *Burgess*, *Bourn*, *Bain*, *Bradshaw*, *Taylor*, *Paget*, *Carter*, *Bates*, *Rothwell*, *Broughton*, *Brightman*, *Wootton*, *Jacob*, *Pike*, *John Nicoll*, &c. With a full Catalogue of the rest.

*Chap.* XVI. Of their Troubles during the Time of Dr. *Abbots* being Archbishop, which was a tolerably quiet Interval, especially in the latter part of it, and produc'd many Moderate Conformists, but such as were uneasy enough under the Ceremonies, and were reputed Puritans: Such as *Bolton*, *Sibbs*, *Preston*, *Barnard*, *Stoughton*, *Ward* of *Ipswich*, *John Downham*, *Pemble*, *Byfield*, Dr. *Gouge*, &c. Of such as were troubled in other Dioceses, *viz.* *Ames*, *Hind*, *R. Nichols*, &c.

*Persecution V.*

*Persecution VI.*

*Chap.* XVII. Of their great Vexations whilst Dr. *Laud* was Favourite, and Archbishop, and had his Creatures acting in their several Dioceses; such as Dr. *Wren*, *Peirse*, *Lyndsel*, &c. Partly by pressing the legal Conformity to

the height, and introducing some Things that were call'd new Conformities; partly by putting down and silencing all Lecturers, and partly by suspending such as refus'd to read *the Book of Sports*: Whereupon above a hundred fled into *New-England*, and divers into *Holland*: And many were forc'd to abscond, or suffer the trouble of the High Commission; some of which were, *Hooker, Cotton, Elliot, Stone, Sheppard, Bulkly, Knowles, Mather, Goodwin, Simson, Jof. Simmonds, Ward, Herring, Burton, Hoxley, Edwards, Carter, Thomas, Crook, Newton, Jennison, Wroth, Wilson, Valentine, Archer, Capel, &c.*

*Chap;*

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*Chap. XVIII.* Of the entrance of the Long Parliament, the calling of the Assembly of Divines, the Names and Characters of those that sate, their Business in their many Sessions from 1643 till 1647, with a Vindication of such of them as *Ant. a Wood* hath aspersed in his *Athenæ Oxon.* Of the solemn League and Covenant, which in this interval was composed, and in many Places rigorously impos'd, to the prejudice of their Cause, and sequestering many of the Episcopal Clergy.

*Chap. XIX.* Of the State of Religion, and Carriage of those heretofore reputed Nonconformists, from the Time of King *Charles* the First's Death, till the Restauration of King *Charles* the Second.

*Chap. XX.* Of their Interest and Agency for the King's Restauration; and their endeavours for a Reformation after he was restor'd. Of the Conference at the *Savoy.* The King's Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

*Chap. XXI.* Of the Depriving and Silencing no less than 2000 Ministers by an Act of Parliament, that took Place *Aug. 24* 1662. Of another Act against Conventicles the Year following.

*Persecution VIII.*

*Chap. XXII.* Of a Third Act of Parliament procur'd against them, by which they were oblig'd to quit all

Corporations, and the Places they Preach'd at, to live Five Miles from them, or be imprison'd.

*Persecution IX.*

*Chap.* XXIII. Of a Fourth Act procur'd against them, whereby their Preaching to above Four Persons, others than of the Family, was declar'd a Conventicle; the Preacher to pay 20*l.* and the House 20*l.* more, &c.

*Chap.* XXIV. Of his Majesty's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, *March* 15. 1671/2, and of the Liberty of Meeting and Preaching thereupon taken for some few Years.

*Persecution X.*

*Chap.* XXV. Of the abrogation of that Declaration: And the protracting of Liberty notwithstanding, in some Places till the Year 1680: From whence the severest of these Persecutions ensued.

*Chap.* XXVI. An Account of those 2000 Nonconformists that were depriv'd and silenc'd after the Restauration of King *Charles* the Second; exhibiting a List of their Names; some short Account of the Actings, Wri-

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tings, and, Sufferings of several of the most Eminent amongst them; and the Characters of such of them as *Ant. a Wood* hath injuriously reflected on, and falsly represented, modestly Vindicated.

Had this Work been finish'd, and appear'd in the World, it might have been a means of convincing some, that Nonconformity hath all along had a closer connexion with both our Civil and Religious Interest, than they are willing to allow: And that the present Nonconformists, (as much as they are inveigh'd against) Act in the main upon the same Principles with those who have been most Eminent for serious Religion ever since the Reformation. But he did not live to accomplish his Design, and his Papers have since been scatter'd. Mr. *Roger Morrice* also had made great Collections for the same Purpose, which might yet help in such a Design,



when one of suitable Ability is at leisure for that purpose.

These Two Volumes which I now publish, take in the Nine last Chapters of Dr. *Sampson's* Plan; and if the other Seventeen Chapters were brought within the compass of another Volume of the like bulk, I apprehend it would be an useful Work.

I here take for my Foundation, Mr. *Baxter's* Narrative of his Life and Times, which has been Extant for several Years, and has met with the same Treatment as he in his Life time was so much us'd to, both as to his Person and Writings; It has been much valu'd by some, and as much slighted by others: But where it has been most freely censur'd, it has been generally acknowledg'd to contain a Collection of many valuable Things of 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 first to undertake it. If I had thought that would have wanted an excuse, I had never medled: And therefore than only say, that thinking I might this Way profitably employ some Time and Pains, I was willing to do what I could to make my Abridgement of general Use. In order to it, tho' I have endeavour'd to say much in a little, yet I have not willingly omitt'd any Thing that I tho't Material. I have reduc'd [[This into??]] that Method that appear'd to

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me man proper. Personal Reflections and little Privacies I have dropt, and Things which were out of dare 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 a little Connexion: And perhaps have this way taken more Pains, than it needed 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.

When Mr. *Baxter* in his History comes to the Act of Uniformity, he subjoyns 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 Quarto; which contains the Sum of his Thoughts that are any where extant, upon the several Points in Debate. I have reduc'd the substance of them within the compass of my *Tenth Chapter*, which I have 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 been Written upon the same Argument by others, with references to the several Tracts, where those Things 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 call 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, though they parted with their Livings. I have added the Grounds upon which many People held themselves oblig'd to adhere to them, while they continu'd their Ministry; how both Ministers and People were defended 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

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kept up a stat'd 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.

However, that Chapter having drawn me into a Controversie with Mr. *Ollyffe* and Mr. *Hoadly*, who thought it necessary to Vindicate themselves, from one who had not the least thought of assaulting them, and was only Historically relating the Sentiments of others with their Reasons; and there having been several Books publish'd on each Side, which all have not leisure to read distinctly, and which few that do, are able to retain afterwards; I have taken the Pains in this Second Edition, to give the substance of the Arguments in this whole Controversie on both Sides, referring to the several Tracts, where the Matters under consideration may be seen more at large: And though I don't suppose it easie to satisfie some that they are not misrepresented, unless all their Words are given at large, (which quite excludes that compendious way of considering things, which to many is the most agreeable) yet I can safely say there is not any Thing that I have designedly misrepresented, nor is there any Thing that appear'd to me to be Material, that I can remember I have wholly wav'd. My doing this has considerably enlarg'd that Chapter, but could I have entertain'd a Thought that the generality of Readers would have thought that to be to their damage, it might have sav'd me not a little Pains.

But if any should think that Chapter dry or tedious, it may perhaps make the other pans of the Volume relish the better, it having been my endeavour, so to order it, that there should be a convenient mixture of History and Argument running through it: And as this has made it the more agreeable to many, so I have some reason to think, that some have been the more disgusted upon that very Account. Besides the summary of the main Controversie in the Tenth Chapter, there are several considerable Points that are elsewhere canvass'd, and inferred in the most proper Places in the Narrative.

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As for Instance, A Debate concerning the Necessity of a clear and uninterrupted Succession in the Ministry, which some lay such a stress upon; page 122, 123, &c: And another, about unwarrantable Impositions, and the true Sense of that celebrated Text, *Rom. 14.* 1, 2, 3. pag. 166. The warrantableness, the prudence, and the consequences of the *Bartholomew* Ejection is freely Debated, pag. 183, &c: And the Account given of the several Attempts in order to an accommodation of the Difference, will appear to 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 in my former Edition, besides additional Passages cast all along into the Margin, which I thought might not be disagreeable, I added a continuation; containing not only an Account of Mr. *Baxter's* Trial, that was never publish'd before, (in which I had the concurring Testimony of several who were at that Time present in the Court) but also the State of the Dissenters in the Reign of King *James*, and in the first Years of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*; And enter'd on the Debates that were on Foot soon after our last happy Revolution; endeavouring to represent them with all possible fairness; particularly that about a *Comprehension*, which the Dissenters had at that Time some reason to have expected; nor were they wanting in any requisite or becoming step in order to it; nor was it their fault that it was not effected. When so fair an Opportunity will return again, God only knows.

In this Second Edition, besides several not inconsiderable marginal Additions all along, by way of Confirmation and Elucidation; and an Account of several controversial Writings on both Sides, inferred in their

proper Places; and Remarks on those Passages in the Third Volume of *the Compleat History of England*, in Folio, which unkindly reflect on the Persons or Cause of the Nonconformists, there is a continuation of the History through King *William's* Reign, and Queen *Anne's*, down to the passing the *Occasional Bill* the last

Year,

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Year. These Additions make up a full Third Part of the present Volume. They contain among other Things, some Account of the Concessions of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1689: The Carriage of the Dissenters after their Liberty, their Differences among themselves, and their Treatment from their Brethren of the *Church of England*: The whole Controversie about *Occasional Conformity*: The Differences of those of the Establish'd Church among themselves, about the Nature, Power, and Priviledges of Convocations, &c; with a faithful Representation of the substance of several Treatises about *Toleration*, *Church Power*, *Liberty*, and divers *Ecclesiastical Matters*, that were publish'd from 1688 to 1711. And in the close I have subjoyn'd the *Reformed Liturgy*, which was drawn up and presented to the Bishops in 1661; that the World may judge how fairly the Ejected Ministers have been often represented as irreconcilable Enemies to all *Liturgies*.

I am far from having any reason to repent of my publishing the former Edition of this Work, notwithstanding all the angry Reflections I have met with. The repeated Thanks I have had from all Parts, from Persons of very different Characters and Denominations, are to me more than a Compensation for all the Gall and Venom that others have pour'd forth so plentifully. I am far from expecting that this present Edition will be to the gust of such as were incens'd by the former. But they may take their own Way; I appeal to Posterity, for whom I have taken some Pains: And

I hope they'l judge of Things more coolly, than the inflamed Age we live in.

I have indeed had my share of Reproach, and yet am far from being discourag'd. For some Years, there was scarce a Pamphlet came out on the Church side, in which I had not the Honour of being refer'd to in the invective Part of it: But the keen Edge of their Authors seem'd to have been somewhat abated, upon my taking no notice of their Attacks, till a Writer who came out the last Year\* is pleas'd to discover his fear lest I should be suffer'd to remain quiet, by representing me

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\* See an *Apology for the Church of England, &c.* By John Lewis, late of Exeter-College in Oxford, and Minister of Margate.

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alone too much byass'd, to have any Thing I say, concerning the Party I have espous'd, believ'd on my bare Word. This is a flight that I must confess I little expected from one of Mr. Lewis's Character. Time has been when I have had the happiness of that Gentleman's Conversation, and his Discourse and Carriage was such as made me apprehensive he was desirous to have the Credit of singular Temper and Moderation. If my Memory does nor fail me, (and I believe I could produce the Hand of a Voucher that was an Ear Witness, if it was needful) he was pleas'd very generously to give me Thanks for my *Abridgement*. Which way I have incurr'd his Displeasure since, I am not aware. However, if it may be any Satisfaction to him, I here give it him under my Hand, (and I'll certainly stand to it) that I have not half the Zeal for the Dissenting Party, as some he knows have for another Party, that are too much for monopolizing the Covenant Mercy of God, and the profitable Favour of Men, to those of their own Stamp and Character only. And that he mayn't be put upon *believing this on my bare Word*, I can give him this Evidence of it; that I would go much further in parting with the known Faults, and Infirmities and Imperfections of the Dissenters, than the Gentlemen I refer to, would with the Disor-

ders and Irregularities of the Party they have fallen in with, which when they have done their best, they cannot justifie or excuse.

I would gladly have so ordred Matters, as that they that had purchased the former Edition, might have had the present Additions by themselves: But the Nature of the Work would not bear it. However, I can now undertake that in any future Editions, care shall be taken to prevent any Complaints of detriment in that Respect. I have made some Alterations in the Course of this Work at the desire of Friends, and sometimes have had the benefit of help from my Enemies, whom I can at any time thank for what Light they help me to, while I heartily pity them for their Heat and Bigotry.

I have nothing to add, but this, as before, that if I have miss'd of Truth in any Point, it has been

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unwillingly, and upon better Information I shall be ready to own my Error. I have not been free in Personal Reflections, which 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 enough 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.

Post-

## Postscript.

**T**HERE being some who may be willing to search into the bottom of that Controversie that hath been 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 further Reformation, in order to an happy Settlement; I have been 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 suidry 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.

*De Politeiâ, Ecclesiastica Christi, & Hierarchichâ Oppositâ, Libri Tres: Authore Roberto Parkero Anglo, ad Regnum Dei doctissimo.* An. Dom. 1621. in Quarto.

A Scholastical Discourse against Symbolizing with Antichrist in Ceremonies, especially in the Sign of the Cross. *An.* 1607. in Fol.

Concerning this Book see *Ames's* fresh Suit, p. 41.

*Didoclavii Altare Damascenum,* Quarto. 1623.

*Dav. Blondelli Apologia pro Sententia Hieronymi de Episcopii & Presbyteris.* Amstel. 1646, Quarto.

*Ames's* fresh Suit against Ceremonies, Quarto. 1633.

*Gillesby's* Dispute against *English, Popish* Ceremonies, &c. Quarto, 1637.

*Smectymnus,* Quarto. 1640. The First and Second Part.

The Papers that pass'd in the Conference at the *Savoy*, in 1661, which were Printed first in Quarto, a little af-

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ter 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,* Quarto. 1662.

Mr. *Corbet's* Remains, Quarto. 1684.



Mr. *Baxter's English Nonconformity*, as under King *Charles II.* and King *James II.*, truly Stated and Argu'd, Quarto. 1690.

Mr. *Tong's Defence of Mr. Henry's* brief Enquiry into the Nature of Schism, Quarto. 1693.

*Vindiciæ Fratrum Dissidentium in Anglia, Adversus V. Cl. Gulielmi Nichosii, S. T. P. Defensionem Ecclesie Anglicanæ; Auctore Jacobo Peircio Presbytero,* Octavo. 1710.

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 been so oft brought against them, and as often answer'd. What were this but to perpetuate a Dispute, the accommodating 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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THE  
LIFE  
OF THE  
REVEREND

Mr. Richard Baxter.

CHAP. I.

*HIS BIRTH AND EDUCATION, EARLY  
SERIOUSNESS,  
AND ENTRANCE INTO THE MINISTRY.*

**F**AR 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 Terroure 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.

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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 En-

vy 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 Wise Man's Censure, found to be Vanity.

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 Ri-  
 chard I hope was Sanctify'd from  
 the Womb: for when he was a lit-  
 tle Boy in Coats, if he heard other  
 Children in Play speak Profane  
 words, be in 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 Greatest 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 Consumptlon, 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 Benefit he receiv'd from a Pious Education.*

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 four competent Preachers all round the Country, and tho' all except one were Conformable, they were Derided by the Com-



mon 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 acknowledged, 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 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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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 sottish 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 Schoolmasters 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 wondred 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 hatefulest 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 positively 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 itself 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 increas'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 Twenty 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 inclin'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 Pre-lacy 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 Lan-

guage 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 Madstard*. 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 *Old-*

*bury* 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 enjoin'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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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 Ap-

probation of those Canons wherein this Oath was enjoin'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 Priviledge 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 convin-

\* *Bishop Hall declares that he never tender'd this Oath to any one Minister of his diocess. See some Specialities of his Life, drawn up by himself, p. 43.*

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uned, 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, 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 Subjecting 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 row'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, prov'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.

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### *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. 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 Distraint. 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 *Bridgewater*, 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 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 Common-Wealth, and permitted the Bishops to impose upon the Church

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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 clear.* 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'd 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 littletime. 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.

#### *A Reformation of the Clergy intended.*

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 Complaints against them. Multitudes

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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 enclin'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: 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.

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### CHAP. III.

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

HE spent Two Years at *Kederminster* 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 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*

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*were sav'd without a Saviour, and were no Christians, and why they Baptiz'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 Compny 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 *Fri-day-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 assk'd him Forgiveness; and confess'd, *That one of his neighbours* (his 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

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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 sorrily, 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 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 pro-

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pos'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 Gossipings, if she were able, kept a Day of 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 first *Thursday* in the Month was a Meeting held of the Neighbouring Ministers for Discipline and Disputation; in which Disputations he was generally Modera-  
 tour, 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 Con-

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versation, '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 forbore Reviling, as if any Wrong were done, them. And as for those unruly Young Men who were Excommunicated, 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

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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 pay'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 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 itself, 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

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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 afflict 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 Mes-

sage, 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, Humble 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*

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*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 encreas'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 Objections, 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

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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 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*,

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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 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.

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*An amazing Instance of an Incurrible 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 publicly; 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 Prophesy 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, 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*,

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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 Necessity 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 40*l*.

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*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 three or four 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 Tythes 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 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 *Kedderminster*, 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

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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 publicly if they had rather) an Account of their Faith. And if any Father were a Scandalous Sinner, be 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 uncapable.

***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.*

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***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 have 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, *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 Vi-

car, 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

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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 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 Ship-

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Money. 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 subvert 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 Preference, least they should be tho't to seek themselves, or set their Fidelity to sale. At length the Earl of *Strafford* 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,

\* *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 *Strafford*? 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.

*It may perhaps contribute to the Reader's Satisfaction to compare the Account here given in the Text and Margin, with Bishop Hacket's Life of Arch-bishop Williams, Part. 2. pag. 161.*

That

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*An. 1641.*

*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.*

There was Great Heat among the Members of Parliament 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 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 overthrow'n: 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*

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*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 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 *Deterr'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

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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-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 whatever 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

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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 five of their Members, *viz.* Mr. *Pim*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Strowd*, and Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, and and 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 before-hand, 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 Errour 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.*

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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 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 King *Charles* the Second, to sue for the Restitution of it. The D. of *Ormand* 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, and 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 King *Charles* wrote to the Duke 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,

*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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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 after in *London*, the Poor People all the Countries over, were ready either to run to Arms, or hide 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 he more disagreeable

to them, who were, afraid least 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*

*\* I have in many Pamphlets been reflected on with great Severity, fer inserting this Passage of the Marquess of Antrim. The House of Commons has been told of it, in a Letter to them, spread amongst them before the 30th of January; and I have had hard Names given me by several. But if they would consider that I report it from Mr. Baxter, it might abate their Censures. If he was impos'd upon in this Matter, I cannot help it. I don't look upon my self as responsible for the Truth of it. And yet had I found they had any of them disprov'd it, I should have forborn inserting it. That some of the Irish Rebels did counterfeit the King's Commission, it was call'd in Question by this Relation. That may have sufficient Proof: And yet if a Letter was actually produc'd in the House of Commons, from King Charles the First to the Marquess of Antrim, empowering him to take up Arms, I don't see how He can be charg'd with any such Counterfeiting. And if King Charles was thereupon satisfy'd to let the Marquess keep his Estate, I cannot see why others should be so disturbed that Posterity should know it. But let the Fact of the Letter be disprov'd; let a true Copy of the Letter that was read in the House of Commons, (the Original of which I am inform'd was once in the Paper Office wherever it is now) be publish'd to the World, with Evidence of its being genuine; and let it appear that that Letter gave the Marquess no Order or Commission to take up Arms, and no further Disturbance need be feared from this Story. I shan't give any Credit to it my self; and would readily use my Endeavours to satisfy others, if they should be so weak as still to believe it. And I don't see that any Thing farther can be reasonably desir'd of me. Whoever was the Author of the Pamphlet call'd Murder will out, if he was the Author of the Letter too; or if the Letter was not to the Purpose mention'd, 'tis an horrid Imposition on the World: But if the Letter was Genuine, and to the Purpose mentioned, it deserves Consideration: And till this was disproved, Out-Crys are insignificant.*

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*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 in to him there; whereas the *Londoners* quickly fill'd up a Gallant Army for the Earl of *Essex*, and the Citizens bro't in their Money 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.*

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*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*, *Essix*, *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 sacred Seasons, that plac'd all their *Religion* in going to *Church*, and hearing *Common-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 *Diocesans*, and the *English Liturgy* and *Ceremonies*, that they might

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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* instead 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 Discourag'd, Rebuk'd, and by Law Suppress'd. The Discourag'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 been 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, 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

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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 Vicious 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 encreas'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 Prophane 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 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 Inno-

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ventions, 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.

Having afterwards the Advantage to be on the Rising side, it had undoubtedly been 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, of 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 like-

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

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ly 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 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*

*\* This is contradicted by Bishop Hacket in his Life of that Arch-Bishop.*

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*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.*

#### ***A further Account of the War.***

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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. *Marton* 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 Infor-

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mation. 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 desired to live Peace-

ably at home, when the Rage of Soldiers and Drunkards would not suffer them. Some stay'd 'till they had been 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.

*Of the laying aside the Earl of Essex.*

*An.* 1644.

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

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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 would be 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 Extreems,

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 Prevalence 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 carried 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 two 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 been 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

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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.*

*An. 1646.*

*An. 1647.*

***Cromwel's Interest in the New modell'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 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 go for*

Ireland, *part be Disbanded, and part 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

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Engagement to stick together, and were drawing up a Declaration of their Grievances. Col. *Edward Harley* acquainted the House with it. *Cromwel* stily 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 against eleven 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 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 pre-

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serv'd

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serv'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 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 *Agitatours* 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 Common-wealth. *Cromwel* seems to be against them; and while they were con-

tending, a letter came to Col. *Whalley*, (from an unknown hand) intimating a Design of these *Agitators* 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, some Propositions to be consented to in order to his Restoration. Some of them he Granted, and

others

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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 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 Confidents, 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

\* *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*

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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 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,

*had been 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 Ro-*



manists 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. Agreeable where-to 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 Terrour 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

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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.

*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. Prynns Account may be added, who in 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 Glocestershire, 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 been (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 Glocestershire 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-

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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

to England and would take Arms in the *Independent Army*, and endeavour to be *Agitours*.

Notwithstanding the Abundant Evidence of the Concern of the Papists 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.

In December, 1648. The General, and the Army sent in several of the City Ministryers to meet the Officers of the Army, in their Consultations about

*Matters of Religion. Some of them, as Mr. Calamy, Mr. Marshal, Mr. Ash, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Sedgwick, &c. attended them, and manifested their dislike of their Actions: And afterwards above 40 of the City Ministers sent a Letter to the General testifying their Concurrence with their Brethren aforesaid; freely declaring against their Seizing and Imprisoning the Person of the King, &c. And afterwards, when the King's Trial came on called they publish'd a Vindication of themselves; declaring before the whole World, that that which put them upon appearing for the Parliament at first, was the Propositions and Orders of the Lords and Commons, June 10. 1642. for bringing in of Money and Plate; wherein they were assur'd it should be no otherwise employ'd, than to maintain the Protestant religion, the King's Authority, His Person in his Royal Dignity, the free course of Justice, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Priviledges of Parliament, against any Force which should oppose them. Then, they were wholly unsatisfy'd with the Proceedings, since the Exclusion and Imprisonment of the Members of the House of Commons; and held themselves bound in Duty to God, Religion, the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, to profess before God, Angels and Men, that they verily believ'd, the taking away the Life of the King in the way of Trial then depending, was not only not agreeable to any Word of God, the Principles of the Protestant Religion, (never yet stain'd with the least drop of the Blood of a King) or the Fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom; but contrary to them: As also, to the Oath of Allegiance, the Protestation of May 5. 1641. and the Solemn League and Covenant, from all which, or any of which Engagements, then knew not any Power on Earth able to Absolve them or others. And lastly, they warn'd and exhorted in the Name of the great God, all that belong'd to their Charges and Ministry, to keep close to the Ways of God, the Rules of Religion, and Fundamental Constitution and Government of the Kingdom, not suffering themselves to be seduc'd from it, by being drawn to subscribe the late Models, or Agreement of the People, which directly tended to subvert the Fundamental Government; and to mourn bitterly for the Sins of all degrees of*

And

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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.

*Men; and beg of God that he would restrain the violence of Men, that they might not dare to draw upon themselves and the Kingdom the Blood of their Sovereign. This was subscrib'd by,*

Cornelius Burges, D.D.  
Will. Gouge, D.D.  
Ed. Stanton, D.D.  
Tho. Temple, D.D.  
George Walker,  
Edm. Calamy,  
Jer. Whitaker,  
Dan. Cawdrey,  
Will. Spurstow, D.D.  
La. Seaman, D.D.

Charles Off-spring,  
Samuel Clark,  
Jn. Wall,  
Francis Roberts,  
Samuel Bolton,  
Mat. Haviland,  
John Sheffield,  
William Harrison,  
William Jenkyn,  
John Viner,

Thomas Manton, D.D.  
Thomas Gouge,  
William Blackmore,  
Robert Mercer,  
Ra. Robinson,  
John Glascock,  
Thomas Warely,  
Jonathan Lloyd,  
John Wells,  
Benj. Needler,

Simeon Ashe,  
thomas Case,  
Nic. Proffet,  
tho. Thorowgood,  
Edw. Corber,  
Hen. Roborough,  
John Downham,  
Arthur Jackson,  
James Nalton,  
Thomas Cawton,

Elidad Blackwell,  
John Crosse,  
John Fuller,  
William Taylor,  
Peter Witham,  
Francis Peck,  
Christ. Love,  
J. Wallis, *D.D.*  
Thomas Wattson,  
William Wickins,

Nath. Staniforth,  
Steven Watkins.  
Jacob Tice,  
John Stileman.  
Josias Bull,  
John Devereux,  
Paul Russel,  
Joshua Kirby,  
Arthur Barlam.

The publishing of this Paper, which was Intitled, A serious and faithful Representation, of the Judgments of the Ministers of the Gospel within the Province of *London*, in a Letter to the General and Council of War, *Jan. 18. 1648.* delivered by some of the Subscribers; *was a plain running a great hazard as Things then stood, and may be justly reckon'd an Evidence of the great Integrity and Honesty of the Persons that subscribed it: And therefore a late Author,\* who does not always pass the most favourable Censures that might be desir'd upon Men of their Character, declares, That in Justice to the greater part of the Presbyterian Ministers, it must be acknowledg'd, that when they saw too late the sad Issue of Things, they did then labour to prevent the Execrable Fact of putting the King to Death. But, he adds, alas (which was more we hope than they knew) it was all to no purpose. But if he would really have done them Justice, he should have own'd this to have been a very bold and courageous Action as the Times then*

\*Compleat History of England in Folio, Vol. 3. p. 175.

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.

*were, because they hereby exasperated those who had the Power in their Hands, in the last degree: And if he would have added Chastity to Justice, (which makes a good mixture) he might have forborn his last Reflection, unless he had good Proof at hand, that they intended their Representation only for an insignificant Flourish, without any effect; which in their Circumstances was not very likely. And so suspect ant Thing of that kind, of Persons in whose Carriage the Credit of religion is concern'd, unless there be Proof, will not easily be excus'd from Censoriousness. For them in their Circumstances to make such a Declaration, was to discharge their Consciences in the view of the greatest Danger, which alone is sufficient Evidence that they were in earnest: Whereas, if Men say and unsay upon the same Subject, and declare one Thing one Year, and another the next, and have Interest to sway them to diminish what they have said, and are afraid to stand to what they know to be true and Right, (which is a Case that has been sometimes known) 'tis truly hard to know when they are in Earnest, or when Posterity may depend upon them.*

## 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 laid 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.

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Mr. *Sympson* 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 been so Celebrated among us. But the Moderate Church Party and the Presbyterians refus'd it.\*

### *Cromwel's 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

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 dispatch'd 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,

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\* *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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An. 1650.

*His Success in Scotland.*

and renouncing the Wars, and the Blood: that had been 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, 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 *Englnd*: 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 March-

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*The Fight at Worcester.*

ing 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*, and summon'd *Shrewsbury* in vain; as he pass'd thro' *Shropshire*. But when all tho't he was hastening 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,

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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.

**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*, Mr. *Thomas Case*, *Ralph Robinson*, and Mr. *Rich. Heyricks* &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 Timeously, 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 been

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 dreadfullest 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

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*An. 1653.*

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 Moneey 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 further 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 Commonwealth 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

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\* *The Act Order'd, That the Persons to be Married should come before some Justice of the Peace: That the Man and Woman should pronounce the Words before him, and he pronounce them lawfully Married. See Scobel's Collection of Statutes. Thus says Mr. Tallents of Shrewsbury in a Letter to me, I and others have Married many before a Justice, he saying nothing, but only declaring the Marriage was Valid.*

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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 Christians 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

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*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*, 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 if 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 stead admitted of any that were able serious Preachers, and liv'd a Godly Life, of what Opinion soever they were that was tolerable.

**An. 1656. Cromwel's Conduct while Protector.**

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 up on the promoting of their Way and Party, that he doth

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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 suppress them, and carry'd it so obligingly to all, that he was generally belov'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 Feaver, 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 higher 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,

\* *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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him, 'till he began to reek the Crown, and the Establishment of his Family: And then there were so many 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 he 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 to Respect the Ministers call'd *Presbyterians*,

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*An. 1659.****And Deposition.***

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 some others of their Temper, 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 re-



sign'd it by a Writing under his Hand, and retired himself, and left them to govern as they pleas'd. His 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.

#### **King Charles's Restauration.**

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 should 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 *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

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*An. 1660.*

into the City by Sir *Thomas Allen*, then Lord-Mayor, he joyn'd with them against the *Rump*, which was the verry 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 Parliamnt.* 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.* parti-

cularly 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.

*Mr. Baxter's Conduct of Himself during these Publick Comotions and frequent Alterations. His Behaviours 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.*

**E**XTREAMS 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 stop in a more Temperate Region. Such is their Eagerness, that nothing but what is *violent* and *furious* 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 side or the other, any farther than a Cogency of Rea-

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

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***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 been 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, ei-

ther 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 Fire-works 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.

**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*

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*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 *Keder-*

*minster*, 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 impatient 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

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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 that 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 *Kedminster* desired his return, least 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 Prince Rupert's Men were plundering the Waggons 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 been 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

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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 enclin'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, 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.

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Mr. *Brumskill*. 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*, *Cambridgshire*, 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 *Kederminster* 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 Praying 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, eight 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 hop-

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*An. 1643*

ing 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 carried 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 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 for 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.*

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*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 taken 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.

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*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*, Bishop *Westford*, Bishop *Prideaux*, Bishop *Brownrigg*. Dr. *Sanderson*, Dr. *Hacket*, and several others to joyn with them; but they refus'd to come because it was not a Legal Convocation, and

\* *My Lord Clarendon in his Memoirs Vol. I. p. 415. speaking of the Members of this Assembly, says, some of them were infamous in their Lives and Conversations; and most of them of very mean*  
*Learning, if not of scandalous Ignorance: And of no other Reputation, than of Malice to the Church of England.—This is a very Heavy Charge upon such a Body of Men as they were. Tho' my Lord Clarendon was undoubtedly a very great Man, yet this Censure won't recommend his History to Posterity, who will be hard put to it, to find Men of more Exemplary Piety, and more eminent Ministerial Abilities, among their Progenitors in any Age, than these were whom he endeavours at such a Rate to expose. Who can give Credit to him as an Historian that shall represent such Men as Dr. Twiss, Mr. Gataker, Bishop Reynolds, Dr. Arrowsmith, Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Lightfoot, &c. as Men of scandalous Ignorance, or mean Parts? Or who runs down such Men as Dr. Gouge, Mr. Oliver Bowles, Mr. Vines, Mr. Herle, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Newcomen, Mr. Coleman, &c. as Persons of no other Reputation than of Malice to the Church of England? I have added the List of this Assembly. Let the World Judge of the Historian by the Assembly, or the Assembly by the Historian as they see Occasion. I can't discern the least Reason to fear the Consequence, where Persons are not over-run with the grossest Prejudice and Partiality. And therefore I should have tho't the Compiler of the Compleat History of England, who in Vol. III. p. 134. takes Notice of this Reflection of my Lord Clarendon's, might have spar'd a Word*

or two upon it, when he is so liberal of his Censures upon other Occasions, with far less Reason. It deserves his Consideration; whether his saying nothing to so undeserv'd a Reflection on such a Body of worthy Men, has not made it his own; and whether that be likely to conciliate Credit to his Historical Labours among those that shall rise up after us.

because

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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 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 all Sides

\* *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. Sergeant Wild. Oliver St. John Esq; his Majesty's Solicitor. Sir Benjamin 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 Brampton Bryan. Mr. Richard Heyricke of Manchester. Mr. Tho. Case of London. 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 Waddesdon B.D. Mr. Richard Vine of Calcot. Mr. Nicolas Prof-fet of Marlborough. Mr. Stephen Marshal of Finchingfield B.D. Dr. Jo-*

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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 Catechism: But when they came to Church

*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 Peale of Compton. Mr. John Green of Pencombe. Mr. Andrew Pern of Wilby. Mr. Samuel 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 Cawdreay. Mr. Henry Painter of Execestre 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. Matth. 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 Waterville. Mr. William Carter of London. Mr. Peter Smith. Mr. John Maynard. Mr. Willl. Price of Paul's Covent-Garden. Dr. John Whincop of St. Martin's 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 Hickers 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.

Government:

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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 Time to strengthen them-

*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 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 refer'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 Ordi-*

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selves 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.

nance for the present settling (without further delay) of the Presbyterial Government in the Church of *England*, *Jan.* 5. 1646. Remedies 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 two 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. Reignolds, Ecclesiastes. Mr. Smalwood who was recommended by Archbishop Usher, did 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 two 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 Extrems together. Many Common Soldiers, and some of the Officers, were *honest, sober and orthodox* 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 fewer in Number than the rest. They tho't *Providence* would cast the Trust

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, 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

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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 *Coven-try*, an Invitation to come and be their Pastor; which was universally subscrib'd. He sent them a Denial, re-proving 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 Invisitation 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*

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***Becomes a Chaplain to a Regiment.***

*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 Acquaintance with such Matters, had been 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 Democracy*; sometimes against *Forms of Prayer*, and sometimes against *Infant Baptism*;

sometimes

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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*; and 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 these 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 Mischief 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

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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 been 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.

#### *His Motions with the Army.*

He march'd with the Army Westward against my Lord *Goring*, and was at the taking of *Bridgwater*, and 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 Be-

siege

\* *We may very well suppose some of those Emissaries mention'd pag. 58, &c. to have bin here at Work. And had other Regiments been 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 been bro't to light.*

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An. 1646.

***His publick Dispute with the Sectaries.***

siege 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 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 Gangræna*, 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

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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 been 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.

***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; be 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

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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. *Lawrence* 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.

*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 under-standing 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 allow-eth, 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

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"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 last  
 “attempting to pull them all down: Only they did  
 “it more Prophane than the Prophane, in that they  
 “said, *Let the Lord be glorified, Let the Gospel be pro-*  
 “*pagated;* 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;  
 “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 Mem-  
 “bers, 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  
 “three Kingdoms follow’d them, and even their Pa-  
 “stors were ready to lead them to consent.

“And all this began but in *unwarrantable Separati-*  
 “*ons and too much aggravating the Faults of the Churches*  
 “*and Common People, and Common-Prayer Book, and*  
 “*Ministry;* which indeed were none of them with-  
 “out 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

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“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, Anti-  
 “christianism, 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 them-  
 “selves 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 Com-  
 “municate with them that had broke their Vow and  
 “Covenant with God 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 Re-  
 “proaches: 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 *Pe-*  
 “*ter*; but will open and shame their Sin to all Gene-  
 “rations: 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 two  
 “Malefactors; the Profane and Formal Persecutors  
 “on one hand, and the Fanatick Dividing Sectaries

“on

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“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 them-  
 “selves and us, and silenc’d so many hundred Mini-  
 “sters, and scatter’d the Flocks, and made us the Ha-  
 “tred 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 them-  
 “selves and their Misdoings, and the Penitent Male-  
 “factor 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, that all  
 “the Calamities which have befallen us by our Divisi-  
 “ons, were long foreseen by many, and they were  
 “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 fol-  
 “low’d a few self-conceited Teachers to this Misery,  
 “and no Warning or Means could ever stop them.

“A few *Dissenting Members* of the *Westminster Sy-*  
 “*nod* 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 Divi-*

“sions. Afterwards they encrcas’d, and others joyn’d  
 “themselves to them, who partly by Stiffness and part-  
 “ly by Policy, encreas’d our flames, and kept o-  
 “pen 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 hin-  
 “dred 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 Fa-  
 “ction hide! One would have tho’t that if their *Opi-*  
 “*nions* 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 been so  
 H “regarded

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“regarded by the *Dividers* in *England*, as that the Safe-  
 “ty 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 should  
 “want their Lace.

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

#### ***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 Go-  
 vernour 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 Ac-  
 count. *One Mrs. Dyer, a Chief Person of the Sect, 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 help to recover~~  
~~him.~~ *Mrs. Hutchinson, the chief Woman among*  
 them, and their *Teacher*, (to whose Exercises a Con-

gregation 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 within the House, that *Cromwel* was without. His great Zeal to inflame the War, and to cherish the Sectrics, and especially

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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. *Sterry* is tho't to have been 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 two

Courses in which he had most Success, and spake most plainly, were his *Earnest Plea* for *Universal Liberty of Conscience*, and against the Magistrates intermeddling 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 Par-

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liaments 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, particularly the *Presbyterians*, abhor'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  
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from speaking. No Man could die with greater Appearance of a Gallant Resolution, and Fearlessness than

he did, tho' before suppos'd a Timerous Man. Inso-much, that the manner of his Death procur'd him 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 been 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 a-bominable 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 un-

grounded Novices in Religion tendeth, and whither they may be carry'd in the Stream of Sects and Factions. 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

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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 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 suddenly 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 extreme 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 Vomitings 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,

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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, and 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 *Pro-selytes*. 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 *Kederminster* 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 *Worcester-shire*, 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 this was meer Juggling and Jesting with Matters too great to be jested with: And

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that as it might be easily known that the Imposers 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 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*

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*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 been, 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 Towns-men, 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 Success 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

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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 College 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 Enmity 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

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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 Govern-  
 'ment, we may not do any thing against it, much less  
 'to the Destruction of it, under pretence of resisting  
 'an Usurper, or of restoring the Rightful Governour:  
 'If the Universities be overthrown, the Fabricks demo-  
 'lish'd, the Lands alienated, the Ministers put down,  
 'the Tythes sold or given to the People, to engage 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 Governour but  
 'the King, or take an Engagement, or Oath of Alle-  
 'giance 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 Go-  
 'vernment, obligeth him to do all the Parts of the Gover-

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'nour'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 U-  
 'surpation: Even as we may demand Justice of a Ge-  
 'neral of Rebels, or a Captain of Thieves; or of Py-  
 'rates that shall surprize the Ship that we are in, but we  
 'are not bound to consent to his Government, or for-  
 'mally 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.

***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  
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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 been 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 four or five 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 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 Pacificatory Endeavours and other ways.*

**I**N 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 been 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 to persuade 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 Pow-

er; 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 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

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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 every one'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 Delay, 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 as their own. And indeed there was not a Party in which 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*

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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.*

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

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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 upon. 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.

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***The Worcestershire Agreement for Church Order and Concord.***

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 con-

tending 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 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

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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 Reignolds* of *Wolverhampton*. Mr. *Joseph Rocke* of *Rowley*. Mr. *Richard Wolley*, of *Salwarp*. Mr. *Giles Walley*. Mr. *Humphrey Waldern* of *Broome*. Mr. *Edward Bowchier* 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, they 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* 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 *Keder-*

*minster* 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

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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 prayed 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 publickly 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 publickly admonish'd, and pray'd for by that Church, usually three 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 Ministers of *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland* fell also upon 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 re-

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main'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 30l, 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 four 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 they 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 continu'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,

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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 denomine, 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 *Orery*, 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, 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. *Cheyne*, 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

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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 Scrip-*

tures, 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 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.

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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, like Rural Deaneries, 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*, (afterwards Minister of *Spalding* in *Lincolnshire*,) 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.

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

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.

1. He urg'd the *Seriousness of our Divines in their Endeavours to prove, That our Bishops in the Days of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth were Ordain'd by Bishops, against the Calumnies 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 been 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 been 'such a Succession, before the Necessity of it is assert-'ed. However, since he took the other Way, he '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 a-'gainst the Papists, was really so: But besides that 'there is no Consequence in that, where there is an ac-'knowledg'd Fallibility; it is withal observable, that 'the English Bishops might have other ends in endea-'vouring 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

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'as those mention'd, were nigh upon the Matter as  
'zealous against Queen *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 *immedi-*  
'*ately*. 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 Media-  
'tion of the written Word, *he answers*, 'tis no fit Me-  
'dium 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 incommunicable Adjunct that might distin-  
'guish them, nor gives any such general Description  
'which may be personally and particularly ascrib'd to a-  
'ny of them. Were there any such general Description,  
'that could give Authority, it must be in Words to this

‘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.

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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 deriva-  
 ‘tively from him, and by his Commission; and the  
 ‘general way of Man’s giving it, must be by the sig-  
 ‘nification of God’s Will; and so far as that can be  
 ‘sufficiently discover’d, there needs no more to the Con-  
 ‘veyance of Power. Men *mediate* three Ways, in the  
 ‘Nomination of the Person. When they have, a Go-  
 ‘verning Authority over others, they convey, efficient-  
 ‘ly 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 No-  
 ‘mination 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 Instru-*  
 ‘*ment*; Abilities, Willingness, and Opportunity  
 ‘(which are necessary to qualify) concurring. The

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‘Constitution of Magistrates, in Case of a failure of  
 ‘Ministers, is a farther Medium, distinct from Scrip-  
 ‘ture. When, Ministers fail, Magistrates are the Judges;  
 ‘if both, fail, the People have a Judgment of Discre-  
 ‘tion, without any Governing Power: Their Judgment  
 ‘of Discretion hath a sufficient Discovery of God’s Ef-  
 ‘ficient Constitution, in the law of God, in the Per-  
 ‘sons 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 describ'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 receiving 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

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'sible 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 Or-  
 'dainers 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 Preservation, but to the appa-  
 'rent 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 Ordi-  
 'nation 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 un-  
 'certain 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 Mini-  
 'stry 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 suc-  
 'ceed 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 too;

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‘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 Worship: 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 pre-  
'vails; and there is the same Reason why *Salus Eccle-*  
'*sia*, 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,

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'*Circumcision*, that was so strictly enjoyn'd, was di-  
'spens'd with for 40 Years together in the Wilder-  
'ness: 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 Succes-  
'sion 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 hath bin so oft Inter-  
'rupted) had bin long ago dissolv'd: But this is a  
'Conclusion evidently Destructive of all Civil Govern-  
'ment. Now, there is not a greater Necessity of an un-  
'interrupted, Succession in the Conveyance of *Ecclesia-*  
'*stical Power*, than there is as to that which is *Secular*:  
'And therefore Mr. *Baxter* put Mr. *Johnson* upon apply-  
'ing what he said of a Minister's receiving his Eccle-  
'siastical Power *mediately* or *immediately*; and if *me-*  
'*diately*, 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 Argu-  
'ment. Again, want of Authoritative Ecclesiastical  
'Ordination, in Case of Necessity, will no more null  
'the Actions of Church Governours now, than un-  
'deniable 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, ap- 'pears 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 ir- 'regularly 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

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'Ordination, if they find him fit for, and faithtul in, 'the the Ministerial 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 Christ himself 'by Personal Succession. Again, if the Administra- 'tions even of Usurpers were null, (and so the Ordi- 'nation of such) then innocent Persons and Churches 'would suffer, nay be ruin'd, meerly thro' other Men's 'Faults. If the Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, or the Vice- 'Roy of *Naples* were dead, and one should so counter- 'feit 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*, and 'put in *Zadok* into the High Priesthood: And the 'Power of Magistrates in Church Matters was no Ce- 'remony, 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 cen- 'sur'd null. This appears from *Ezra* 2. 62. *Nehem.* '7. 64, 65. and 13. 29, 30. and if so, their Ordina- 'tion was not null: Nor can it be, upon a like Sup- 'position, in our Times.

'Further; The Individual Person to be the Subject 'of the *Ministerial Power*, may be determin'd of or- 'dinarily (or sometimes at least) by the Peoples E- 'lection, 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

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'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 quali- 'fy'd, and then present them to the Apostles, then were 'they competent Discerners of the Qualifications. 'And in the Case of Ministers, several Councils 'have decreed Ordinations invalid, without the People's 'Election; yea? if they were but affrighted,, and over- 'aw'd, and did not act freely, The Scripture is suffi- 'cient 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 cho- 'sen 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 Descrip-  
 ‘tion. 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 Per-  
 ‘son 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 con-  
 ‘ceived of in this Form: *I do Authorize the Persons*  
 ‘*that shall be justly determin’d of, according to this De-*  
 ‘*scription.* And because *Ministerial Determinations*  
 ‘are the ordinary regular way with the Peoples Con-  
 ‘sent, 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 with-  
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‘out 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 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 Contro-*

'versy 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 People's 'Hearts are mov'd towards him; and there is no Com-'petitour, 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 Fit-'ness, where there are other, Judges of God's Ap-'pointment. 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 Men's 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 Individual 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 al-'low'd as to Secular Government, we should scarce 'have any Magistrates in the World but by a Violent *In-*'justice, which is far worse than *Popular Election*. 'Now the *Scripture* meddles no more with *Individuals* 'for *Magistracy* than for *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 obli-*  
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ges all Men to do what Good they can when they have Opportunity, 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, Christ's 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.

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

To this Mr. *Baxter* reply'd: That he did not take  
'*Imposition of Hands* to be absolutely essential to *Ordi-*  
'*nation*. 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 ne-*  
'*cessary not to the Being, but the Well-being of Ordina-*  
'*tion*. 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 Subje-  
'ction with all Gravity, it therefore follows that it  
'is Essential to a Bishop to have Children? How  
'interrupted must this make the Succession! Or be-  
'cause '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 Instru-

'ment 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 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

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'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, *κατ' ἐπιείκειαν*, 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 Jour-

'ney. *Gregory Nyssen* mentions it, in his *Orat. de Vit. Thaumatis*; and tells us, *That when Gregory avoided the Hands of the Bishop, he by Prayer and solemn Words sets 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.

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

***His treating with the Anabaptists.***

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*

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*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 joyn't 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.

***With the Independents.***

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 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

***With the Episcopal Party.***

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, publickly 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 Responsible 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 two Years before the Accusation. And

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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. 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.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VIII.

*The Transactions in order to the Healing  
pass'd Breaches, after King Charles his  
Restauration. The Savoy Conference;  
and Sits fruitless Issue.*

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. *Case*, Mr. *Baxter*, &c. to the Number of Ten or Twelve of them were 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 begging that only Things necessary might be the

Terms

\* 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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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 re-'solv'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 ami-'cably adjusted, there would be little danger of dif-'fering in other things. *And withal, he desired them 'to set down the most that they could yield to.* They told 'him, 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 ta-'ken; 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

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'better form'd, as to the Probability of Success. *And*  
'*the King promis'd them it should be so.*

***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  
three 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 Hum-  
"ble Address to His Majesty, and 4 Preliminary  
"Requests, viz. *That serious Godliness might be Counte-*  
"nanc'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 Pre-  
"sidency in the Church with a due mixture of Presby-  
"ters, in order to the avoiding the Corruptions, Par-  
"tiality, 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 de-*  
"puting 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 Hundred worthy Ministers  
 were displac’d, and cast out of  
 their Charges because they were in  
 Sequestrations where others had been  
 cast out by the Parliament. The  
 Ministers waiting upon his Maje-  
 sty with their Proposals, signify’d  
 their full Satisfaction that all  
 such should be Cast out, as were  
 in any Benifice belonging former-  
 ly to one that was not grosly In-  
 sufficient or Debauch’d: but hum-  
 bly begg’d that all who had suc-  
 ceeded *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 in capacitated 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 Sub-  
 scriptions, nor no Renunciation of Orders might be re-  
 quir’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 been 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 *siding in his Cure*,\* nor how far that Word may be extended, nor what farther Provision can be made

"for

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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.*

"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 Differences*, 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 farther 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 Syno-*

*dical Government receiv'd in the Antient 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 Years 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.*

\* *ποιμανειν*, 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 Divinæ, nam & judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumq; futuri Judicii Prejudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a Communione Orationis, & Conventus, & omnis Sancti Cumericii 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, *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* us'd the receiv'd Form of (*b*) 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 Indiffe-



rent 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 Incurrible, 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 referr'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, (call him which you will) or in his Absence by one of the Suffragans, whom he should depute in his stead to be Moderator

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\* Ἐπισκοποι(χ)ντες, *i.e.* Superintendentes, unde & nomen Episcopi tractum est. *Hieron. Epist. 85. ad Evagrium.*

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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 referr'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; And 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 with it 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 Particulars 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

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*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 *Dur-*

ham, Dr. Gauden Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Hacket, Dr. Barwick, and Dr. Gunning, &c. on one side: On the other Part stood Dr. Reynolds, 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 been 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 be permitted to Meet for Religious Worship, so be it, they do it not to the disturbance of the Peace; and that no Justice of Peace 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, lest 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 Majesty 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 two 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. Bax-

ter reply'd, that they understood the Question to be, whether those Laws should be executed or not; upon which the Matter

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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 four 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 Learn'd 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 '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 Episcopa-  
 ‘cy 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 con-  
 ‘tracted. For the better doing whereof, we intended upon  
 ‘our first arrival in these Kingdoms, to call a Synod of Div-

‘ines:

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‘ines: And in the mean time Publish’d in our Decla-  
 ‘ration 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 De-  
 ‘gree diminish’d by our Condescensions, not Perempto-  
 ‘rily, 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 pre-  
 ‘sent; but may even lessen that Piety and Devotion for  
 ‘the Improvement whereof they might be first intro-  
 ‘duc’d, and Consequently may well be dispen’d with.  
 ‘And we have not the least doubt, but the present Bi-  
 ‘shops will think the present Concessions now made by  
 ‘us, to allay the present Distempers, very just and rea-  
 ‘sonable, and will very cheerfully Conform themselves  
 ‘thereunto.’ Of these Concessions, this was the Sub-  
 ‘stance: ‘The King declar’d his Resolution to pro-  
 ‘mote the Power of Godliness, to encourage the Exer-  
 ‘cises 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 Mini-  
 ‘sters, should not he permitted in the Church. That  
 ‘no Bishops should Ordain, or Exercise any Part of Ju-  
 ‘risdiction, 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 assemble 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

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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 Arch-bishop 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. *Connant,* 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. *Thorndike;* 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 been 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

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

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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. Reynolds, 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 Persuasion.] 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, 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 and Vigils 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

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\* It is not unworthy Observation, that this material Proposition is wholly omitted by our late Historian, in the Third Volume of the Compleat History of England, in Fol. Pag. 235. tho' it as much deserv'd to be taken Notice of, as the others. I'll leave the Reader to guess at the Reason why that should be pass'd by, when what went before and follows, is particularly recited. This is more likely to have been a designed than an accidental Thing.

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‘*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 Commu- ‘nion to be Regenerated (while due Care is not taken ‘about the Exercise of Discipline) might be Reform- ‘ed; And that the Petitions in the Prayers might have ‘a more orderly Connexion, and the Forms be of a ‘more competent length, which would be more to E- ‘dification, 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 or- ‘dinarily 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 not necessary in them- ‘selves, and that had for above an Hundred Years, ‘caus’d sad Divisions and been the Fountain of mani- ‘fold Evils, 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; of ‘which these that follow are the Chief.—‘As to the ‘Morning and evening Prayer, they excepted against ‘that Part of the Rubrick, which speaking of *Orna- ‘ments* to be us’d in the Church left room to bring back ‘the Cope, Albe, and other Vestments: Against the ‘leaving out the Doxology at the end of the Lord’s ‘Prayer, the frequent Repetition of *Glory be to the Fa- ‘ther*, &c. the singing of the Lessons, Epistles, and Go-

'spels; and against the using of the *Benedicite*, rather  
 'than a Psalm or Scripture Hymn.—In the *Litany* they  
 'excepted against the Expression *deadly Sin*, and mov'd it  
 'might be chang'd into *heinous* or *grievous*: Against the  
 'Expression *sudden Death*, which they mov'd to  
 'be chang'd into *dying suddenly and unpreparedly*: And  
 'against praying for *all that travail by Land and*  
 'Water,

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'Water, &c. so universally, which they desir'd to  
 'have put indefinitely, *those that Travel*, &c. In the  
 'Collect for *Christmas-Day*, they excepted against the  
 'Word *this Day*, us'd two or three Days successively;  
 'and they excepted against several Expressions in  
 'divers other Collects for Festival Times. In the  
 'Order for the Administration of the Lord's-Supper,  
 'they excepted against the Time assign'd for giving  
 'Notice to the Minister, as too short, when confin'd  
 'to *over Night* or in the *Morning*, as to Persons who de-  
 'sign'd to Communicate. They excepted against the  
 'Rubrick about the Ministers keeping unqualified Per-  
 'sons from the Lord's Table, as not sufficiently clear  
 'and strong: As to the rehearsing the Ten Command-  
 'ments there, they excepted against leaving out the  
 'Preface to them; against the Way of reading the  
 'Fourth Commandment; against Kneeling at the  
 'reading of this, more than other Parts of Scripture;  
 'and against the short intermix'd Prayers of the Peo-  
 'ple, when the Minister's concluding with one suita-  
 'ble Prayer would be much better. As to the *Exhor-*  
 '*tations*, they excepted against some of them, as un-  
 'seasonable, to be read at the Communion. And  
 'whereas 'tis said, 'tis *requisite that no Man should come*  
 '*but with a full trust*, they excepted against it, as tend-  
 'ing to discourage Persons under Trouble of Mind.  
 'They excepted against the Prayer at the Consecration,  
 'as not sufficiently explicate and distinct, the breaking  
 'the Bread not being so much as mention'd; and a-

'gainst requiring the Minister to deliver the Bread and Wine into every particular Communicant's Hand with distinct Words to each; and against the obliging all to Kneel; and every Parishoner to receive three Times in the Year. As to *Baptism*; they objected against being oblig'd to Baptize the Children of all Comers; against the shortness of the Warning mention'd when a Child was to be baptiz'd; against covenanting Sureties, to the overlooking of Parents in whose Right the Child is baptiz'd; against confining Baptism to the Font; against that Expression in the first Prayer, of *sanctifying Jordan and all Waters*, by Christ's Baptism: Against the promising and answering of sureties in the Name of the Infant; against the Expression in the second Prayer of *receiving*

*Remission*

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'*Remission of Sins by Spiritual Regeneration*; against that Expression in the Prayer after Baptism, which insinuates as if every Child that is baptiz'd, was regenerated by God's Holy Spirit; and against the Cross. In the *Catechism*, they excepted against the mentioning God-fathers and God-mothers as giving the Name; against the intimation of Regeneration as universally attending Baptism; against rehearsing the Commandments any otherwise than according to the New Translation; against the mentioning two Sacraments only as generally necessary to Salvation, when there are Two only: Against seeming to found Baptism upon Actual Faith and Repentance, and that especially as perform'd by the Promise of the Sureties; and against the omitting a particular Explication of Faith, Repentance, the two Covenants, Justification, Sanctification, Adoption, and Regeneration, Against the Rubrick asserting the *certain undoubted* Salvation of baptiz'd Infants, without Exception, Against the slight Use of *Confirmation*. Against the Supposition in the Prayer, that all that

‘come to be Confirm’d, have the Spirit of Christ,  
 ‘and the Forgiveness of all their Sins. Against the  
 ‘founding Confirmation upon Apostolical Practice, in  
 ‘the Prayer after Imposition of Hands: and against  
 ‘making the Receipt of Confirmation absolutely neces-  
 ‘sary to the Holy Communion. In *Matrimony*, they  
 ‘excepted against the necessary Use of the Ring; a-  
 ‘gainst that Expression, *with my Body I thee worship*, &c.  
 ‘In the Order for the *Visitation of the Sick*, they ex-  
 ‘cepted against the Form for Absolution, as not suffi-  
 ‘ciently Declarative and Conditional; and against in-  
 ‘joining the Minister to give the Sacrament to every  
 ‘sick Person that desires it, In the Office of *Burial*,  
 ‘they excepted against the Ministers being oblig’d to  
 ‘meet the Corps; against the common Use of that  
 ‘Expression of God’s *taking to himself* the Souls of all  
 ‘that are offer’d to Burial, which is not true of Persons  
 ‘living and dying in open and notorious Sins. Against  
 ‘giving God hearty Thanks for delivering all that are  
 ‘offer’d to Burial, out of the Miseries of this sinful  
 ‘World, &c. which may harden the Wicked, and is  
 ‘inconsistent with the largest Rational Charity: And  
 ‘against *hoping* that those *rest in God*, who have not by

‘their

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‘their Actual Repentance given any Ground for the  
 ‘Hope of their Blessed Estate, &c.

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. And that the World may judge what sort of Forms they were, which the Ministers desir’d to have Liberty to use instead of the Forms that were in Use before, or instead of some of them where they scrupled any Part of the Service Book, this *Reform’d* Liturgy is here added at the Close of this Volume at large, as it was then drawn up.\*

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\* *The Compiler of the Third Volume of the Complete History of England, in folio, p. 235. here passes this Censure.* When the drawing up the Additions or New Supplements to be made to the Liturgy, was by his Brethren committed to him alone, he drew up an absolute Form of his own, and stil'd it the *reformed Liturgy*; as if he had the Modesty to think that the Old Liturgy comil'd by a Number of very Learned Confessors and Martyrs, must now give Place to a New Form, composed by a single Man, and he by Education much inferiour to many of his Brethren. *But has this Gentleman been so just, as to have read the Reasons which Mr. Baxter gave, for his doing that which he represents as so assuming, he'd have seen little Occasion for his Reflection. For the Design of this Liturgy was not to juttle out the Old one, where Persons were satisfied with it, but to relieve such as durst not use the Old one as it was, by helping them to Forms taken out of the Word of God. Or suppose we, that the Old Liturgy had in the Opinion of many fallen short of this New one; others are at a Loss to discover why this should appear so preposterous, unless it be unaccountable for Persons to Prefer a Liturgy intirely Scriptural, to one that is made up of Humane Phrases, and some of them justly enough exceptionable. It must be own'd that the Old Liturgy was fram'd by Sundry Confessors and Martyrs, and upon that Account it deserves respect: And it was a great Step for them to cast so many Corruptions out of the Publick Service as they did, at that time, when this Liturgy was drawn out of the several Forms that were in Use in this Kingdom before. But it was but a Pursuit of their Design, to render the Publick Service yet more Scriptural: And had they risen from the Dead, there's good Reason to believe that they would generally have approved of it; and been so far from looking upon it as a detracting from them, that they would have applauded it as a good Superstructure upon their Foundations. Suppose then he that drew up this Reformed Liturgy was by Education much inferior to many of his Brethren, it neither follows from thence, that he must really be so far inferior to them in useful Knowledge and valuable Abilities, as this Author would seem to intimate; nor can it justly be thence argu'd that his Performance was contemptible; nor that there was any want of Modesty neither, when his Brethren put him upon the Undertaking. And besides, they giving their Approbation when they penus'd it, and joyning in the presenting it, made it in Effect their own, as suf-*

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During this Interval, the *Convocation* was chosen, which was Politickly deferr'd till now\*. Had it been call'd when the King came in, the Inferiour Clergy would have been 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 Twenty Years together, while Bishops were

laid aside, had been 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 three Voices. But the Bishop of *London*, having the Power of choosing two out of four, or four out of six, 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*

\* *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 1. Pag. 37.*

*ficiently appear from the Preface prefix'd: And some of them (it is well known) had Academical Education, and great Applause in the World too, and yet tho't not Mr. Baxter at all their Inferior. Nay, some Persons that were not very likely to be prejudic'd in Mr. Baxter's favour, have tho't this Performance of his, to be the best of the kind that they ever saw.*

† *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 1. 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, a good Doctor came out at last with great Joy, that they had carry'd it for Bell and the Dragon.*

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*London*, for the Choice of a President and Assistants for the new Year. Some of the *Presbyterians* upon a pettish Scruple absenting themselves, the Diocesan 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.\*

\* *Some time after an Act pass'd for Confirming and Restoring of Ministers; by which it was enacted, That every Ecclesiastical Person or Minister, being ordain'd by any Ecclesiastical Persons, before the 25th Day of December last preceding, being of the Age of 24 Years, and having not renounc'd his Ordination, who had been formerly since the Year of our Lord 1642. nominated to, or placed in, and in actual Possession, and taking the Profits of any Ecclesiastical Benefice, Rectory, Parsonage, Vicaridge, Church, Chappel, Cure, or other Ecclesiastical Promotion with Cure of Souls, within this Realm of England, &c. which hath been become void either by Death, Voluntary Resignation, or Surrender, or other Avoidance to the Patron, or any other Person pretending to have Title to accept of Resignations, since the said 1st Day of January, and before the said 25th of December last preceding, and was on the said 25th Day of December in Possession, and receiv'd the Profits thereof, being in the Gift, Donation, Presentation, Collation or Nomination of the King's Majesty, or of his Royal Father, in Right of the Crown, or by Reason of Wardship or any other Title, or of any Archbishop, Bishop, Dean and Chapter, Prebendary, Arch-deacon, Body-Politick or Corporate; should be, and was thereby declar'd, adjudg'd, and enacted, to have been, be, continue, the real and lawful Incumbent, Parson, Rector, Vicar, and Possessor of the said Ecclesiastical Benefices, Livings and Promotions respectively, to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever, as if he or they had been nominated, presented, collated, admitted, instituted and inducted thereunto, or plac'd therein in due Form of Law, and had read and subscrib'd the Articles according to the Statute in that Case made and provided; and notwithstanding any other Matter or Thing by him or them done, or omitted to be done,*

*Sometime after, the same Year an Act also past, for the well Governing and Regulating Corporations, in which among other Things it was enacted, That none should be in Office in any Corporation, that should not within a Year before his Election, have taken the Sacrament according to the Rites of the Church of England.*

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 A-

*bating*

An. 1661.

*bating 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 Liturgy*, 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 stifly 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,  
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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 declar'd, 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 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.* The Ministers 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 publickly 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 been 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 Agree-

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ment, 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-

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 two

*\* It may be well wondered that Bishop sanderson who was present at this Debate, should not take this Opportunity to clear and vindicate the Authority of the Bishops to make Laws Ecclesiastical. It may be the rather wonder'd at, because in his warm Preface before his Sermons, which was written in 1657. (but five Years before this Conference) he thus sums up the Controversy, between the Imposers and the Refusers of Ceremonies. This, says he, is the plain Case in short, The Bishops require Obedience to the Laws Ecclesiastical: These Men refuse to give it, so began the Quarrel at first; and upon the same*

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(after

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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.

Terms it continued. If that Obedience challeng'd, were indeed due to those Laws, then did our Brethren, says he, both begin the Quarrel and hold it on; if it were not, then must the whole Blame lie upon those that claimed it unjustly, and not upon them: So that upon the winding up of the Business, the whole Controversy will devolve upon this Point, whether to the Laws Ecclesiastical, Obedience is due or not?

*What Pity it was, that this single Point was not now canvass'd, when there was so fair an Opportunity! Let any Man judge where the Blame lies, when the Ministers were so forward, and the Bishops so backward.*

***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 Minister 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,*

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*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 Articles, 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 enjoying Ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not Kneel;* and it was drawn out to a considerable Length.

\* *Our late Historian, in the Complete History of England, Par. 3. p. 235 says, it seems very strange that these Men should undertake to mention Eight unlawful Things in the Liturgy, when they could not affirm any one of those Things to be in it self unlawful, but argu'd altogether upon the unlawful Imposition of them, which they might as well have done by the same Argument in Eight Hundred of other indifferent and most innocent Matters: And he adds, it must be confess'd to be stranger still, that of the Eight sinful Things which they here enumerate, Two of them, the Fifth and the Sixth, are positively false in the Supposition of them: For by the Liturgy the Minister was not forc'd either to administer the Sacrament, or the Absolution to unfit Persons Had this Gentleman consider'd that the unwarrantableness of keeping such Impositions in the Church was the Thing that Mr. B—— and his Brethren offered to prove, in opposition to those who were zealous for retaining them, and how little in this Case depends upon the simple unlawfulness of the Things impos'd (abstracting from all Circumstances in a Metaphysical Sense) the strangeness of their Proceedings would have disappear'd. For thou the same Argument would have done in Eight Hundred indifferent Things (had there been so many so impos'd,) yet it does not follow but that it would be good and valid in the Eight Things mentioned, in which they tho't they should be bound up by the Ecclesiastical Constitution, (if they really must have been so Confin'd,) while they would not discover their Compliance to be lawful. And though this Author declares that the Fifth and Sixth Things mention'd were positively false in the Supposition of them, yet he must allow it to appear strange to others, he should mention this with so much Assurance, when he himself cannot be insensible that there has all along been a Party in the Church, that have represented Ministers as under an Obligation to administer the Sacrament, and Absolution, to all that desire either, without Distinction, and that this Party has not wanted Power to run down those, whose Apprehensions have herein been different from theirs.*

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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 enjoying Ministers to deny the *Communion* to all that dare not receive it Kneeling as a Sinful Imposition, in that it was an enjoying 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 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 Com'manded, 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.

\* See the Argument for forbearance in Rulers to impose Things unnecessary, strenuously urged from this 14th to the Romans, in the Protestant Reconciler, Part 1. chap. 4.

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(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 Com-manded,* and partly *Commanded.* It was *not Com-manded* 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 com-manded 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 Re-ception; and cannot do any thing towards their Re-jection upon the Account of any such Weakness without flat Sin, without breaking the Law of God, who hath requir'd that such persons should not be rejected on the Account of things in themselves In-different. For the things spoken of by the Apostle, were not only *not Com-manded,* but forbidden to be Com-manded, 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 Com-

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mand 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 Reason: Because the first Act

commanded may be accidentally Unlawful, and be 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 denied 'for the foregoing Reasons: Intimating that such a Command hath not necessarily all Things in it requisite to

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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 accident a Sin: And if to Command such an Act may be a Sin, then every Command must 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, be-

cause

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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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cause '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.*\*

\* *Our late Historian (in the Complete History of England, Vol. 3. p. 235) might if he had pleas'd have consider'd this, before he grac'd his Margin with the Dis-ingenuity of Mr. Baxter. He should have try'd to disprove this, least his Readers should be tempted to retort the charge.*

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.

† *Our late Historian (See Compleat History of England, Vol. 3. p. 236.) when he mentions the End of this fruitless Conference, says, That the Presbyterian Divines depended too much on the Encouragement they had receiv'd from the King, and his Chief Ministers; and on the Assurances given them by some of the leading Members of Parliament; in which he is very likely to be in the right: But when he adds, they were mistaken in the Merits of their Cause, he triumphs before a Victory; unless he had made a suitable Reply to their Petition for Peace, which was the only Cause they espous'd or pleaded for.*

Bishop

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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 referr'd himself to Bishop *Shel-*

don, as fully instructed by the King. He died *An.* 1664.  
Bp. Morley† of Worcester, afterwards of Winche-  
ster,

\* *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 Lord 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 Ejection: 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.*

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ster, 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 died *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 Will and 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 Bishop *Sheldon* and Bishop *Morley*, manag'd all things.

Bp. *Sanderson*† of *Lincoln* was there now and then, but spake nor often. His great Learning and Worth are known

† *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,*

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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 ac-

count 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. Bishop *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 Bishop *Reignolds*. He meddled not in any Dispute or Point of Learning, but had a calm, fluent, rhetorical Tongue, and if all had been of his mind, there had bin an Accomodation effected. But when by many Days Conference in the Beginning, the Ministers had got some moderating Concessions from him, (and from Bishop *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 Bishop *Nicholson* of *Glocester*, and Bishop *Griffiyths* of St. *Asaph*, tho' no Commissioners. Bishop *King* of *Chichester* did not appear; nor Bishop *Warner* of *Rochester*, except once or twice, and that without speaking. Bishop *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 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. Bishop *Laney* hereupon cry'd out, *That Justify'd Persons*

*have*

\* 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, ἀκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ νόμθ, 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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*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 Accommodation 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 timorous 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. *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.

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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. *Pierson* (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, their Character may be seen in the other Volume.

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 Majesty's Happiness and Contentment; but after all their Debates were disagreed of the Means; and this was the End of the Assembly and Communion.

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*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 Majesty 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, Be-

seeching you to Prosecute such a Blessed Resolution till it attain Success. We must needs Believe that when your 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 Sense, that tender Consciences were to be forc'd to Practice all which they judg'd Unlawful, and not have so much as a Ceremony abated 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 Disputing 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 con-

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'tinu'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 Impedi- 'ments 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 Interest 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 rising in the World, who quickly found out what was most pleasing to those whose Favour they must rise by, and so set themselves Industriously 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!

*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*

\* 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

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*Sparry*

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*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 Neigh-

bour whom be reprov'd for Adultery, 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*

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 *Churn*, 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 *Kidderminster*, 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 500l. 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 weary, most of them were discharg'd paying their Fees. But the Captain, Mr. *Sparry* and the two *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 Sentinels 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

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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 many Letters, and put all up again except this, and went away. He carried 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. Os-

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 Six 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 presently 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*

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*land* was suppos'd therefore to have been 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. 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

*Arms on Wednesday next in the Night; you know already where they must meet. There will come to Oxford Two Hundred 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 myself. And I pray give the Bearer hereof 5l. out of the Stock: And I pray remember me to the Six 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 Faulkland, 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 two 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 been 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 Fourth plea for the Non-conf. 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 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 Stirs 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 Ad-journment, made a Speech wherein are these words.—I am sorry to find that the General Temper and Affection of the Nation are not so well*

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in London, and had been 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.

*compos'd as I hop'd they would have been, 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 disturb 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 *Worcestershire*. 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.

## CHAP. IX.

*The Act of Uniformity; and Reflections upon it: And the Ejecting and Silencing of many worthy Persons by it.*

**N**otwithstanding 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 disappointed; it was rejected.\* And so the Declaration did not only die

\* *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 been 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.*

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, clogg'd on Design to make the weight of Conformity heavier than ever. Reasoning, Petitions and Entreaties back'd with ever so many weighty Considerations, were disregard-



ed as vain Things. It seem'd to be accounted the One Thing Necessary by those who had gotten the Reins in their Hands; a Thing 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 cast 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 been 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, or 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 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

\* *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 strait, 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: and that some who were against it were kept from the House by Strategem.*

‡ *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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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 be talk'd 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. This Act of Uniformity which made such an Alteration in all Parts of the Land, by Ejecting so many valuable and useful Persons, (of whom a more particular and distinct Account is now given in a separate Volume) was past in a Heat, but its Effects have been lasting. Personal Piques too much influenc'd several 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 Heroical: But it was a Prologue to a Tragedy, that has not yet reach'd its final Period. Others have attempted to Vindicate it:\** But it would be hard to do

\* *The Compiler of the 3d Vol. of the Compleat History of England, p. 236. speaking of the Act of Uniformity, says, it was found necessary for the Peace and Safety of the State, as well as for the Good and Glory of the Church. As for the Peace and Safety of the State, How did these Ministers endanger it? Many of them had suffer'd for the King, and contributed all that in them lay to his Restauration: They generally received him with great Joy, and center'd in him; and wanted but Liberty of Conscience,*

to make them, and all that they could influence as chearful and dutiful Subjects as any in the Land. Had it not been for such shame Plots, as that of Captain Yarrington mention'd before, there had been no tho't of Danger, to the Publick Peace or Safety; such an Awe and Restraint as he speaks of, could not have appear'd upon any Account Expedient. But its hard when Men set their Wits on Work to make Necessities, that they may have something of an Excuse to bear hard on others when they hear Ill-will unto, to answer those Necessities. And as for the Church if this was for its Good, I know not what would have been to its Damage: If this were for its Glory, it would be hard to say what would have been a Difference to it. To his Judgement, I'll oppose that of Mr. Pierce (which is not the less to be regarded for his not being a Dignitary) who says, I think that common Christianity hath suffered much, by their Silencing and Disparagement. *Preface to the Conformist's Plea for the Nonconformists, Part 1.*

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it upon Scriptural Principles. 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*, buried at once in a common Grave.

They were not a poor inconsiderable Handful, a few Scores only of acceptable and useful Ministers, who were by this Act cast out of the Church, but many Hundreds. 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 *Petition for Peace*, but were repuls'd. They were not cast out because not needed to carry on the Work of the Gospel in the Land: For there were, and still are among us many desolate Quarters, that are over-run with Ignorance and Profaneness: And there was more to be done 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 Two Thou-

sand 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

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turn'd into so many Mutes, and laid aside as useless Persons. I have read of Two Hundred 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 Protestant Religion, in the room of the Papal Superstition: But it was nothing comparable to that which was made among us upon the resettling of Diocesan Episcopacy. Formerly there were Eighty Rectors of Churches, Fifty Prebendaries, Fifteen Masters of Colledges, Twelve Arch-

Deacons, Twelve Deans, and six Abbots and Abbesses ejected: But how much better were they spar'd, than Two Thousand preaching Ministers, who were unwearied 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 Extra-essential, 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?

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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 Fifth Part to those who were sequestred, whatever were the Cause;

Yea, tho' it were insufficiency or Scandal. Many things were done in the Parliament-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 o-

*\* The Grand Objection here is taken from the Ordinance of Parliament of August 23. 1645. for the more effectual putting in Execution the Directory for Publick Worship, &c. the Purport of it was, that that of any Person or Persons whatsoever, should at any Time or Times afterwards, use the Book of Common Prayer, or cause it to be so us'd, in any Church, Chappel, or Publick Place of Worship, or in any private Place or Family; that every Person so offending, should for the first Offence forfeit and pay the sum of 5l. of Lawful English Money; for his second Offence the sum of 10l; and for the Third Offence should suffer one whole Year Imprisonment, without Bail or Mainprise. Every Minister that did not use the Directory, was for every Time that he did offend, to forfeit the Sum of 40s. And any that should Preach, Write, or Print, or cause to be Written or Printed, any Thing in the Derogation or Depraving of the said Book, should forfeit for every such Offence, such a Sum of Money, as should at the Time of his Conviction be thought fit to be impos'd upon him, by those before whom he was tried; Provided it was not less than 5 l. and not exceeding the Sum of 50 l. And all such Fines were ordered to go to the Use of the Poor. This Ordinance is I confess an Evidence, of what is too plain to be denied, that all Parties when they have been uppermost, have been to apt to bear hard on those that have been under them. But it deserves a Remark, that even by this Ordinance as severe as it was, no Encouragement*

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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 Carriage to those of the opposite Stamp after King *Charles's* Restauration, it is left to any Persons to judge, whether there be any Thing Parallel in the Two Cases, if it be but consider'd that notwithstanding *Presbytery* is the Government esta-

blish'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. And many such are continu'd in their Livings there without Molestation, to this very Day.

was given to mercenary Informers: And the Instances of Persons dealt with according to this Ordinance were very few: I wish I could say the same with respect to the Act of uniformity, the Five Mile Act, and the Act against Conventicles, which were pass'd against the Nonconformists after the Restauration.

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.* 145.) they would have rejoic'd in; with a due Indulgence to those of their Brethren, whose Latitude was not so great as theirs. Had they however been loose in 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 de-

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fie their greatest Enemies to produce in any Age or Country, 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 *Kedderminster*, Mr. *Bowles* of *York*, Mr. *Newcom* of *Manchester*, Mr. *Reyner* of *Lincoln*, Mr. *Elkanah Wales*, Mr. *Hieron* of *Breadsal*, Mr. *Angier* of *Denton*, Mr. *Hughes* 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 Humoursake 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 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. *Fair-*



*clough*, 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 *En-*

*gagement*,

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*gagement*, 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 Thousands 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' they offer'd (as some of them did) to Preach for nothing, it must not be allow'd them. They only beg'd Liberty of Conscience, to Preach and Worship God, according to the Primitive Rule and Simplicity, and that they might not be Ejected and Excommunicated, and forc'd to beg their Bread, because they could not consent to what they could not Believe, not Vow against their Duty. But they were cast off with Disdain. And what was all this for, but to promote *Uniformity*? A charming *Word!* (For the Thing itself is yet to be so't for, even among themselves, by any one that knows the Difference between Cathedrals and Parish Churches)

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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 Ministers and People! Its but an odd sort of *Uniformity*, that hinders *Unity*, by turning the Church into a Party! 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; no-

thing 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? 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 Christiani-

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ty, nay, and Humanity too? But instead of yielding their Practice 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 Conscience? 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 Persons as any in the Land, who are really its Strength, in order to the gratifying the looser Sort, whose Principles and Practices weaken the Bands of Government, and open a gap for Confusion? Or was it the most likely Way to keep out *Po-pery*, 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 See*, or a Revolt to a Foreign Jurisdiction; to which some of their 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 before-hand by the Rigor of

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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 *clear and 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 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

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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 Dignifie had all along blow'd the Coals, and done the hottest Part of the Service? Can this ever be forgot? Who can brag or boast of their Gain in the Strife for Uniformity? Were the busie *Informers* below'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 whom he observ'd that though they were oft 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 Livings to those, who left their Livings for the sake of their Consciences. They were driven first out of their Freeholds, and afterwards from all Corporations, on Purpose that they might be separated from their kind Neigh-

bours. Cautions were entred against them, in all ways of Lively-hood they were capable off; and yet they Liv'd comfortably, and maintain'd their Families credibly;

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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 there be some who through Dissatisfaction, cannot fall in with the National Establishment, and will continue Nonconformists, they must have some to Minister to them in Holy Things, And if they have not some to Officiate as Ministers among them that have a Learned Education, and take Pains to Acquire the necessary Qualifications in order to it, they will be likely to choose some that are not so well qualified, from among themselves for that Purpose. And if those among the Dissenters whom God hath inclin'd to the Ministry, and qualified for it, should have turn'd to other Employments, the Dissenters would have been worse provided, and the Common Interest of Religion would have suffer'd in the Issue. And tho' we, who come after those who were Ejected in the Ministry, have our Call and Authority call'd into Question by some, yet if we can approve ourselves to God, we need not be uneasie. If we, who rise up in the Room of those who in so noble a Manner adher'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 Ends 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 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 Sup-*

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port us, we are fearless of the Issue; we need not envy any their Preferments, we may be satisfy'd of the Goodness of our Cause, we need not fear our being able to approve ourselves 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.*

**I**T 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 Complainants. 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 desire 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 Ser-

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vice in the Establish'd Church were these Five. They must be *Re-ordain'd*, if not Episcopally Ordain'd before. They must declare their *unfeigned 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 Sacraments, 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 Commissionated 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. I'll view them distinctly, in the Order in which I have mention'd them.\*

\* *I should have this that my barer hearing the Reasons that had been given by others, had been no sign of my Approbation of all that I Re-hearse; notwithstanding that I am one of those who dare not Conform: But it seems it has been taken otherwise by those that have Written against this Chapter. And how justly, let the World Judge.*

I. They must be *Re-ordain'd*, if not Episcopally Ordain'd before. This was plain in the *Act 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 which the Act pass'd, and *Bartho-*

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*lomew* 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 Reformed 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 to invalidate their Past Ministrations, but to qualifie them for Service in the National, Establish'd *English Church*: That the Ordinances they had before admi-

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nistred 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 Lay-

men, 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 look'd 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 foregoing 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

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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.*

† *Mr. Ollyffe, who first wrote against this Tenth Chapter, was at first for laying aside the Consideration of this Re-ordination: Def. of Min. Conf. p. 4. But upon Second Tho'ts added an Appendix to prove it Lawful, from Scripture Practice, and the Reason of the Thing. Which Postscript I answer'd, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 1. p. 36. Mr. Hoadly also declares for Re-ordination, Reason of Conf. p. 6. &c. He gives this Grand Reason; because Episcopal Ordination is the Regular, Orderly Ordination in the Church, of Christ; and the departing from it tends to the Overthrow of all Order. And he Asserts that persons are wholly unqualified to Act as Ministers without it, &c. In return to him, I in Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 1. p. 54. &c. Plead, that he takes that for granted in this Case which is the main Thing in Question: And declare that his Way of Reasoning the less affects us, because 'tis like the Reasoning of the Papists against the Protestants; it reflects on many of the Suffering Witnesses of Christ, who haw stood up in Defence of the Truth and Purity of the Gospel, and on most of the Reformed Churches now in being; it lays more stress upon a Nicety than on the main Substance; and is such that it would not be born with, if resorted: After which, I from Scripture and Reason, justifie Presbyterian Ordination, and shew the Insufficiency of what is usually alledg'd from the Fathers, to invalidate it, or make Re-ordination needful. Mr. Hoadly on the other Side, in his Defence of Episcopal Ordination, argues thus. He says that Bishops have the Sole Power: They have had it in Possession for 1550 Years, they have all the Right that Prescription can give. But it does not follow, they have a Scriptural Right to any such Exclusive Power: And meer possession tho' of never so long a Continuance, gives no Right properly so call'd. He adds, That there's no Instance in the New Testament of Ordination performed by Presbyters; or without some Church Officers Superiour to them: But though there were in the beginning, when Ordination was manag'd by the Presbytry, some Church Officers concern'd who were Superiour to Presbyters, yet is there no hint in the*

are directed to Superiour Church Officers. *But it no more follows from thence, that in after Ages none but Superiour Officers might Lawfully Ordain, than it does, that none but such, might Lawfully Administer the Lords Supper, or perform any other Part of the Ministerial Office, because the Ministerial Commission was given to such directly. He goes on, and says, That the Apostles settled Bishops in the Churches of Christ, and left the Power of Ordaining Presbyters in their Hands, which is prov'd by the Testimony of Writers in that and the following Ages, which Testimony is as Universal and Unanimous as can reasonably be expressed or desir'd. All that can be clearly prov'd, is, That the Apostles and their Assistants settled Congregational Bishops. This is shewn by the Learned Blondel at large: And more lately by the Ingenious Author of the Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church; Chap. 2, & 3. And if they did not settle such as our Modern Bishops, they could not leave the Power of the Ordination in such Hands, to the Exclusion of others. And the last Link in his Chain is this, That this Evidence ought the rather to be accounted sufficient upon the Head of Episcopacy, because 'tis generally own'd such, upon the Head of the Scriptures of the New Testament, which cannot be prov'd to have been extant from the Days of the Apostles, and to have been Written by the Apostles, or by Persons approv'd of by them, by any other Evidence. I Reply, That the Testimony given by the Ancients with Reference to such Episcopacy as our Debate runs upon, and with Reference to the Writings of the New Testament, is very different, as to Earliness, and Unanimity, and Universality, and Collateral Evidence. The Testimony they give to the Scripture is a bare Matter of Fact, the credibility of which depends upon their Integrity: But the Testimony any of them give to the Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy, relates to a matter of Fact with their Judgment, the Credibility of which depends on the Proof they produce, They generally resolve their Proof into Scripture; but as long as we can't find it there, we are rather to follow our own Judgment than theirs, and that especially when some among them plainly represent it as a meer prudential Institution, design'd to prevent Divisions and Schisms. Whereas, if we refuse to credit their Report as to the Writers of the New Testament, we refuse the best Evidence of the Kind, that the Matter will bear.—Mr. Hoadley afterwards takes a great deal of pains to Strengthen and Support the Testimony from the Fathers upon this Head, in Opposition to my Objections; And I have a particular Reply by me, which had long since seen the Light, but that I was unwilling to divert him from his better Employment. But having weigh'd all that has been said, I am still to seek for Proof, that Diocesan Episcopacy, or the Confinement of Ordination to Superiour Bishops to the Exclusion of Presbyters, was of Apostolical Institution. And if not, then Presbyters may warrantably Ordain, as well as Preach and Administer Sacraments; and qualify'd Persons Ordain'd by such have no Occasion to be Reordain'd.*

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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, Intitled, 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 Nonconformists, Page 56.*

The Act of Uniformity requir'd that this Declaration should be publicly made by Word of Mouth by all that would keep their Places, on some Lords Day before *August* 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 Seven Thousand 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

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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 wonder'd, 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,

\* Mr. Ollyffe in his Def. of Min. Conf. p. 5, 6. says, *That he and his Brethren are not concern'd in this. But tho' they are not, concern'd in this. But tho' they are not, 'twas a Hardship most certainly, wherever this was the Case. To take it off, he reports from an aged Minister in their Parts, that he and his Neighbours sent to London, and had the Amendments and Alterations copied out: And adds, that it is to be hoped, that the Charge here brought is groundless against so many Thousand Ministers, &c. To this my Return Def. of Mod. Non-conf. Part 2. p. 100, 101, is this, that perhaps that might be a peculiar Favour, because I have it under the Hand of another worthy ejected Minister (who is since dead) that this was true in Fact; and that several Ministers even in London, never read it before they gave their assent and Consent; and that in Middlesex, few Parishes had the Book; till a Week, Fortnight, Three Weeks or a Month after. But as for written Copies of the Amendments, they were so liable to Abuse and Mistakes, that 'tis dubious how far they might be safely depended on. And being he is so willing to suppose there might be a Mistake, I'll give him one of his own Church, for a Confirming Witness; viz. the worthy Author of the Conformists Plea for the Nonconformists, who, Plea 2, p. 55. says, that a Divine of Years and Learning in the Diocess of Lincoln, gave this for one Reason in his Farewel Sermon, that he was to be silenc'd by Law, for not subscribing and assenting to, a Book which he had not seen: And he adds, that it was the Case of many more in that Diocess: And that Mr. B. of W. in the County of L. was ejected by Sir Edward Lake, altho' he gave that Reason, that the Book was not brought him before the 24th of August, nor before he was declar'd depriv'd by the Commissary.*

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 Consciences, and attempting at once to impose upon God and Man.

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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 testifie 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

† *A Letter from a Minister to a Person of Quality, shewing some Reasons for his Nonconformity.* A loose sheet. Page 1.

\* See his Anniversa-  
ry Sermons on the 30th of January: Particularly that An. 1656.

‡ Mr. Ollyffe Def. of Min. Conf. p. 13, 14, seems not a little displeas'd at my here mentioning Dr. Swadlin, who, he says, is represented by Mr. Wood as in a Manner distracted: And seems to wonder that I should speak of Persons Idolizing the Common Prayer Book, Mr. Hoadly also expresses himself with some Heat, he owns it in so many Words, Reason of Cont: p. 33, that I should cite this Passage of the Common Prayer Book's being dictated by the Holy Ghost: And both of them also touch upon it afterwards. If it may therefore be to their Satisfaction, I have found better Authority to the same Purpose. For when the Liturgy was first fram'd in the Days of Edward VI. it was by the King sent to the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. who upon Perusal of the Book, declar'd in their Act of Thanks, that it was done by Aid of the Holy Ghost, An. 2. Edw. VI. 1. And as much as these Gentlemen contemn poor Mr. Swadlin, yet I hope they'll own Bishop Sanderson to have been a great Man. Now Bishop Walton in the Account of his Life,

that is prefix'd to his Sermons, with a great deal of Gravity assures us, that he told him that the Holy Ghost seemed to assist the Composers of the Common Prayer. There was one Abbot, who wrote of Church Forsakers, who cry'd up the Liturgy of the church of England to that height as not to be Asham'd to say that the Wit of Men and Angels could not mend it, and that it is a sufficient Discharge of the Ministers Duty but to read it. And Mr. Pierce (Conformists first Plea for the Nonconformists, p. 20.) says, That he has known some that tho't no Worship Divine, without the Common Prayer. For my Part I cannot help counting this an idolising of the Common Prayer.

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was not only pleas'd to Assert this, but he tho't fit to prove it too. His Argument is so adinirable for its Peculiar-ity, 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 be-seeches Almighty God to bless the Couple to be Mar-ried, 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; there-fore by his Dictate to them. If by them, without 'him, then they would have made it accordinig to Hu-mane 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 *Rebec-cah*. And there is no Humane Reason for this, but a 'Divine Reason there is, and that is this; *Abraham* 'had his *Hagar* in *Sarah's* Time, and his, *Keturah* after-wards. *Jacob* had his *Leah*, his *Zilpah*, and his *Bil-hah*; But *Isaac* had none but his *Rebecca*. And there-fore 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 Pre- tence 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 required of them

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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

\* *Mr. Ollyffe* , in his *Def. of Min. Conf.* p. 20. &c. says, *That Assent and Consent are Law Terms, and may be taken either absolutely or comparatively; and intimates that it is enough, if being persuaded of the Lawfulness of the Things enjoined, they unfeignedly Assent and Consent thereunto, and judge it much better and more eligible to use it, than by Refusal to lose the Legal Opportunity of exercising their Ministry. He says, the Assent and Consent is only to be understood of all Things enjoin'd to be us'd and practis'd, Mr. Hoadly also says much the same; Reason. of Conf: p. 36. &c. declaring that Assent and Consent is to be confin'd to the Use of what is contain'd and prescrib'd in the Book, and p. 39. he says, that it is absolutely determined by the very Parliament that made the Act, that it was meant so. And the Nature, Manner, and Form of all Laws Deeds and Publick Declarations, he says, require this Way of Interpretation, and condemn the other: Whereas on the Contrary, I have given as good Evidence as need to be desired in 2d Def. of Mod, Nonc. p. 119, that the Legislators have given their Sense to the same Purpose with the ejected Ministers in this Case. The Lords and Commons agreed that to understand the Declaration of Assent and Consent only as to the Use of what was prescrib'd, was not enough to an-*

*swer the Law. For from the very Journal of the Lords, I have given a true Account of the State of the Case thus:*

*On July the 18th, 1663, A Bill was sent up from the Commons to the Lords, intituled, An Act for Relief of such Persons as by Sickness or other Impediment, are disabled from subscribing the Declaration in the Act of Uniformity, and Explanation of Part of the said Act. At the Second Reading in the House of Lords it was committed. Some Alterations and Amendments were made by the Committee, and a Clause added of this Tenor: And be it enacted and declared by the Authority aforesaid, That the Declaration and Subscription of Assent and Consent in the said Act mention'd, shall be understood only as to the Practice and Obedience to the said Act, and not otherwise. This Additional Clause was agreed to by a Majority: But Twelve Lords protested against it, as destructive to the Church of England as now establish'd. When the Bill was sent back to the Commons, they desir'd a Conference, which was yielded to by the Lords. The Commons vehemently declared against the Amendments and Alterations of the Lords, and the Additional Cause; and it was openly declar'd by one of the Managers on the Part of the*

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Common Prayer, &c. They found such Marks of Humane Infirmary, 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.

**Commons that what was sent down to them touching this Bill, had neither Justice nor Prudence in it.** When the Conference was over, the Lords voted an Agreement with the Commons, and dropp'd the Additional Clause before recited.

*Nothing need be desir'd more plainly and fully to give the Sense of the Legislators in the Case, than this of which Mr. Baxter had given an Hint before. This I tho't might have been allow'd to determine this Part of the Controversy. But Mr. Ollyffe 2d Def. of Min. Conf. p. 106. will suppose that I had it from some Ancient Gentleman, and that it makes not so much to my Purpose as I represent: And Mr. Hoadly in Def. of the Reason, of Conf. p. 1. says, he has heard the Truth of my Account much contested. In the mean Time I quoted the Journal of the Lords for my Vouchers, and referr'd them and others thither for Satisfaction: And it is no difficult Thing for any Gentleman to get a Sight of it. If anyone will be at the Pains to take a View of that, and still remains dubious as to the Sense and Intention of the Legislators, I shall wonder at it, and despair that arguing will answer any End. The Lords aim'd at declaring, that a bare Use was intended, that a Number might be that Way eas'd; and the Matter had been clear on that Side had the Commons concurr'd: But they refusing to allow of bare Use as sufficient, and drawing over a Majority of the Lords, in Effect determin'd, that they who put that Sense upon the Declaration of Assent and Consent, that it was to the bare Use and no more, leaving Persons still room for disapproving any Thing contain'd or prescrib'd in the Common Prayer Book, wretchedly mis-*

*terpret it, and assume to themselves a Power of interpreting contrary to the Legislators themselves.*

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, are 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.

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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, or 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 Second Commandment; that *he would punish the Iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children, unto the Third and Fourth 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

\* *Mr. Hoadly insinuates as if I produc'd this Text for the Damnation of Infants; Reason. of Conf. p. 46. and often harps upon it afterwards: Whereas I really had it not in my Thot's, and I believe the same as to the ejected Minister from whom I took it. For my Part I'm not for positively damning, without good warrant; and least of all should I be for being severe towards Infants: But yet sending all Infants undoubtedly to Heaven that are baptiz'd is certainly too lax. God's visiting the Sins of the Fathers upon the Children, is not here produc'd as an Argument that he dooms Infants to Hell for the Sins of their Parents; but as a Proof, that it becomes us to be more wary than to talk of undoubted Salvation, in the Case of all baptiz'd; for that where God visits for Sin, (tho' he'll take Care to do it consistently with his Justice) there may not be that Evidence of Salvation, as can in any tolerable Sense be called undoubted.*

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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 immediately 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 their sure and unquestionable Passport for Paradise) even in Charity and Kindness immediately 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

★ *The Bishops and Divines who met in the Jerusalem Chamber, in 1641, were for leaving out the Words undoubtedly sav'd, out of the lap Rubrick of the Office for Confirmation, from whence it was remov'd into the Office for Baptism in the New Common Prayer Book. And Mr. Baxter tells us, (see his Life in Fol. p. 428.) that when in the Publick Debate with the Bishops, he instanc'd in one of his Parishoners that was a Profess'd Infidel, and yet said he would come and make the Common Profession for his Child for Custom sake; even Dr. Sanderson Bishop of Lincoln, answer'd (and none of the Bishops contradicted) that if there were Godfathers it had a sufficient Title, and Bishop Morley and others confirm'd it. Now these Godfathers (says Mr. Baxter) being not Adopters, nor Owners, we cannot see it certain in Gods Word, that all those are sav'd whom they present to Baptism; no, nor whom Ungodly and Hypocritical Christians present, For how can the Covenant save the Child, as the Child of a Believer, which saveth not the Parent as a Believer himself? And several Gentlemen even in the House of Commons, who were of the Church Party, declar'd that they could not have subscrib'd this Rubrick, as to the certain and undoubted Salvation of Baptized Infants; and Sir Lancelot Lake, Knight of the Shire for Middlesex, Son to one of the Secretaries of King Charles the First, who had had Bishop Andrews and Bishop Lake for his Godfathers was one of them, But Mr. Ollyffe, says, (Def. of Min. Conf. p. 26. &c.) that this Rubrick is no Part of what is prescrib'd for Use; and yet thinks to mollifie the Matter by*

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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 aiming 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

*asserting a Baptismal Regeneration; Mr. Hoadly also, Reason, of Conf. p. 44, &c. says, That this refers not to the Use assented to and consented to: But pleads that Baptism admits Persons into a State of Favour with God; and that if they die without having done any Thing to put them out of this State, they shall be saved. And to the Objection taken from the admitting all Comers, he answers, that he knows not that Baptism may not be denied to the children of Atheists, Jews, and Infidels: For the Office supposes a Christian Country, and Christian Parents, &c. My Return, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2, p. 134, &c. is this: That take the Rubrick at the End of the Office for Baptism, the Thanksgiving in the Office immediately after Baptism, and the Office of Confirmation, as referring to Baptism preceeding, all together, and they discover that Laxness upon the Head of Baptism, as a Regenerating; Ordinance, as may prove a Temptation to many, to think that Ordinance a sufficient Passport for Heaven; and that the bare receiving it, is an abundant Evidence that Persons are the Children of God, as much as they need desire to be so. And for my part I must confess, I think that the ejected Ministers are to be commended rather than blam'd, for refusing to encourage such a Tho't, as if children are therefore undoubtedly sav'd, because baptiz'd, and that the Case of all Children is alike, if but baptiz'd: and for; being desirous to make a Difference, between the Application of the outward Sign, and the reaching the Blessing signified: And for being afraid of encouraging this Notion, that real Regeneration is a needless Thing in the Case of baptized Persons. He that would see more of this Matter, may consult, Def. of Mod. Nonc. P. 2. p. 135. 2d Def. of Min. Conf. p. 129. Def. of the Reason. of Conf. p. 34. and Def. of Mod. Nonc. P. 3. p. 317, 384, &c.*

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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 a Minister 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 argued: 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.\*

\* Mr. Ollyffe, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 33. &c. denies that Parents are excluded or justled out by the Use of *Godfathers*; and says, That their Right is secured, and their Benefit consulted thro' the Whole. And tho he owns the too common Carelessness of *Godfathers*, yet wont allow that the Assent and Consent required, at all encourages it. And he applauds the Care taken by some to prevent Abuses, of which he declares his own Abhorrence. Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. p. 52, &c. says, That Parents are to provide the Sponsors, and that the devoting their Children by them to God, is as much their own Act and Deed, as if they had no Sponsors: and that the greatest Abuse of an Institution, is not a sufficient Argument against that Institution it self. He can't see how the Method of the Church tends to the profaning the Ordinance. And tho' he bewails the little Regard many *Godfathers* have to the serious Part of their Office, he yet hopes there are some so sensible or their Obligations, that they omit no Opportunity of doing their Duty, &c. In return, I say, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2, p. 150 &c. That the Grievance her is, That *Godfathers* and *Godmothers* according to the Method of the Church are taken in as Parties in the Federal Stipulation between God and the Baptiz'd, which Parents must not be admitted to, tho' it is their proper Work. If Parents may not be allowed this (which is notorious) then they are excluded. And where the Right to devote or bind lies in the Parent, he cannot transfer it. And when Substitutes are pitched on to bind the Children of others to be the Lords tho' they have no Right to bind them, and they Covenant for them, and the Children as they grow up are taught that they are bound by their Promise; and this Promise and Vow of theirs in their Name, is in the Office represented as that on which their Interest in the Blessings of the Covenant is suspended. I can't see that this Affair stands upon a right Bottom. A Divine Institution is not to be set aside when abused; but its otherwise as to a purely Humane Institution, especially when it is in it self liable to just Objections, as this is, which has been justly complain'd of by many (both in the Church and out of it) as a great Occasion of the general Profanation of this Ordinance. And therefore while these Gentlemen bewail the little Regard many *Godfathers* have to the serious Part of their Office, (which as far as it goes is well) I beg leave (in Conjunction with the ejected Ministers) to bewail the

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This they esteem'd sinful, not only because it justled 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 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

*gross Corruption which is this Way crept in to the solemn Ordinance of Baptism, which according to the Ecclesiastical Constitution, Ministers can do little or nothing to rectify in their respective Cures. Tho' there are some Godfathers that mind that which is their Duty when once they have promis'd it, yet they are so very few (and there's little Hope as Matters stand, that it will be otherwise) that it won't be very likely they should much credit the Institution. The Questions also in the Baptismal Office are justly exceptionable. Musculus says, That the Custom of interrogating Infants is so absurd that it cannot be defended. And the Learned Spanheim says, that this mimical Profession of the Sponsors, which is ascrib'd to the Infant, will scarce be found to have taken Place before the Eight and Ninth Age, when Superstition prevailed. These Interrogatories should be referr'd for grown Persons, who have no need of Sponsors, which the Church officiously provides for them. He that would see more of this matter, may consult Mr. Ollyffe's 2d Def. of Min. Conf. p. 140. Mr. Hoadley's Def. of the Reason. of Conf. p. 49. And my Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 3. p. 318, & 387.*

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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 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.\*

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Baxter's

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conformity *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. *Baxter's 2d. True Defence of a meer Nonconf. Ch. 12.* page 167.

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3. This Assent, Consent, and Subscription, would have oblig'd the Ministers to have denied 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

\* *Mr. Ollyffe, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 40. &c. says, he never promis'd to exclude all that have not Sponsors; and that there is no such Word in the Book which he has subscrib'd to: And asks me, if I do not know that there is a Form in the Book for Baptism without Godfathers? And adds, that this Form is to be us'd, when there shall be any great Cause and Necessity; and the Minister is left sole Judge or this Cause and Necessity; and that if Persons immoveably scruple Godfathers this is a great Cause or Necessity; and that he and his Neighbours knew of no Obligation Dr. F. was by Law under, to be so stiff as my Margin represents him, If this will hold, I should be glad; but I doubt it won't, and have given my Reasons why, Def. of Mod. Nonconf. P. 2, p. 172, &c. What honest Mr. Rastrick said to Bishop White of Peterborough in his Visitation, deserves Mr. Ollyffe's Consideration: I have observed; said he, That when such as your Lordship comes to enquire into the Practise of some of us, you examine it by the Letter of Conformity, understood and expounded in the most strict and rigid Sense that can be: You urge upon us our Promises and Subscriptions; and you aggravate the least Omission to the Heighth: So that we are insnar'd in this Case; first courted in by plausible Constructions, and then rack'd and seru'd, and squeez'd at no Rate, &c. See his Letter to me, at the End of Def. of Mod. Nonconf. Part 3. p. 28. May Mr. Ollyffe never have Reason for a like Complaint say I.*

*Mr. Hoadly takes this 3d, and the 4th, and 5th Head together; and jointly considers the denying Baptism to such as had not Sponsors, and to such as would not submit to use the Sign of the Cross and denying the Communion to such as would not receive it Kneeling, as Terms of Communion, and Impositions, Reason. of Conf. p. 56. &c. And he asserts, 1. That Bishops have Authority to Prescribe these Things which are so grievously complain'd of. They have this Authority he says, as they are oblig'd to provide for the Presentation of Order, and as it results from the Nature of all Societies, that the Governors should have a Power of ordering what seems to them most for the Beauty and Advantage of them. He intimates the ejected Ministers would have join'd with the Bishops in imposing and prescribing some Things, about Time, Place and Liturgy; and says, that the Bishops have Authority to prescribe in the one Case as well as the other; and thence forms an Argument that he seems to think unanswerable. He adds, p. 78. that the Governors of the Church in requiring*

*such Things as these mentioned have ordered nothing, but what if all would seriously comply with, is certainly for the good of the Church, and therefore have done their Duty, and cannot be charg'd with Sin: And that the disproportionableness of the Penalty does not make the Command unlawful; for that then the Governours of the Church, could injoin nothing at all. And if any suffer in these Cases, 'tis not to be charg'd on the Commands which are design'd to be*

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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. Conse-

*a Fence against Disorder, but upon the Weakness of those who don't comply. He pleads also for the retaining such Impositions when once fix'd; because the Prejudices and Scruples against them are unreasonable and groundless, and strike at the Ecclesiastical Authority; and because the parting with these Things, if they did not part also with other Things would signify nothing. 2. He asserts that St. Paul says nothing against this in Rom. 14. par. 88; &c. And 3. He also asserts that Mr. Baxter's practise, and the Practise of the Independents has been for, and not against, such Impositions, as are the Foundations of the heaviest Charge against the Church, p. 96, &c. But as for this Plea of his for the Episcopal Power, and the Impositions proceeding from it, I have distinctly answer'd it in the Introduction to the 2d Part of my Defence, from § 30. to §. 40. What he says upon Rom. 14. is consider'd in the same Introduction, § 40, 41, &c. And the Practise of Mr. Baxter and the Independents, is also consider'd in p. 43. And in the Close of that Introduction I make this fair Offer: Let it but be clearly prov'd from Scripture, that our Saviour has given a Commission to any to fix General Regulations in his Worship, besides necessary, or at most expedient Circumstances: Let the Bounds of the Commission be plainly fix'd and limited, so as that it may be known when 'tis us'd regularly, and when exceeded: Let the Persons to whom the Commission is given, be describ'd in their necessary Qualifications: And let it be shewn distinctly, what these Ecclesiastical Regulations are that are to be obeyed, and what Obedience is due to them; and let it be prov'd that such Obedience is a Duty; and let the Proof of it be direct rather than Consequential; or if an Argument is drawn from the Consequences of the Refusal of Obedience on one Side, let the opposite Argument from the Consequences of yielding such an Obedience be weigh'd also on the other Side: And since this Obligation if Real must arise from the Will of God; let that be evidenced in a Degree of Plainness that may bear some Proportion to the Degree of Positiveness with which it is asserted; Let but such Things as these be cleared, it will be found we are open to Conviction. But it could not be accepted: I am told, that were all the Things I mention capable of a strict Demonstration as true as any in the Mathematicks, it would be a very great Absurdity to put in so important a Cause upon this Issue, because so few of those whose Concern it is, are capable of understanding such a Demonstration of many of these Points, Def. of Episc. Ordinat, p. 386. Whereas it is as not Mathematical Demonstration, that we desired, but such Proof as the nature of the Things will bear,*

*and such Proof as may be express'd in Matters or this Nature; and such as is Accommodated to the Capacities of those concern'd: And till this be given, I for one, must be excus'd, if my Notions of Ecclesiastical Power and Authority, run but low.*

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quently 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, even tho' the Parent be ready to do his own Part, Professing his Faith, Dedicating his Child to God, and promising a Religious Education.

*\* Some it must be own'd have herein given themselves a Latitude; but how far they could justifie 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 preffess 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 griev'd at the unhappy Condition of my self 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 forbad 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.

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‘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 one 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.\*

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.†

\* Baxter’s *Nonconformity Stated and Argu’d*. pag. 69. *His Plea for Peace* pag. 174. *Defence of the Plea for Peace*, pag. 30.

† *The Bishops and Divines who met in the Jerusalem Chamber in 1641. observ’d that in the Ancient Liturgies, no Cross was sign’d upon the Party Baptiz’d, but where Oil also was us’d: And therefore conceiv’d that Oil being now omitted, so may also that which was Concomitant with it, the Sign of the Cross. But Mr. Ollyffe, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 44. says, that there is another Office of Baptism in the Liturgy which the Minister is authoris’d for great and necessary Causes to use, in which this Sign is not prescrib’d. And as for the use of the Sign of the Cross, he says it is not in, but after Baptism; and he indicates the use of it; And among the Addenda, he says, that grown Persons may be Baptiz’d without promising to submit to the use of it; and if when the Baptism is finish’d, the*

*Baptiz'd Person shall refuse the Sign of the Cross, the Minister cannot help it. Mr. Hoadly also, Reason. of Conf. p. 57, 58. says, they must be very injudicious Persons indeed, that can imagine that the Church supposes any Grace is wrought by the Sign of the cross or the use of it, and therefore there's no need of regarding them. That Baptism is sufficient without one Prayer; and yet that is no Objection against the Use of Prayers in that Solemnity, nor is it stronger against the Use of the Sign of the Cross. And as for the signing the Infant with it, he says, 'tis not a Sign of any Spiritual Grace, nor pretended to be ordain'd by Christ, nor us'd as a Means whereby we receive any Grace, or pledge to assure us of it. And he declares that he does not think it a sufficient Reason for the total neglect of this Sign, that we may Witness our dislike and Detestation of the Vanity of the Papists herein. To this I have*

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As for the using the tign of the Cross in Baptism, some were much 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

*answer'd, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 183, 184, &c. That I can't find the Common Prayer Book leaves so much to the Ministers discretion as Mr. Ollyffe would be willing it should. That it makes no great difference in the Matter, whether the Sign of the Cross be made in or*



after Baptism, If it excludes the Children of such as are dissatisfied. The Cross as us'd in the Church of England, is a Sign of the merits of Christ, a dedicating Sign, intended to incite, and thererore may be justly scrupled. It was so by the Ejected Ministers, because it encourages so many to ascribe Vertue meerly to the Sign of it attending upon Baptism: And the more so, because they found so many, Men of Learning and Eminence run that Way, as well as the more Vulgar and Injudicious. 'Tis an evident Weakness to lay stress upon the Sign, when Learned Men cannot to this Day agree in the true and proper Form of the Cross; And to deny Baptism to Infants, because their Parents scruple it, is an unpeakable hardship, and not to be justified. He that would see more about this, may consult Mr. Ollyffe's Second Def. of Min. Conf. p. 172. Mr. Hoadly's Def. of the Reason. of Conf. p. 59. and my Def. of Mod. Conc. Part 3. p. 327, & 393: After all, for my Part I am of Bishop Taylor's Mind; that a symbolical Rite of Humane Invention, to signifie what it does not effect, and then introduc'd into the Solemn Worship of God, is so like those vain Imaginations and Representments forbidden in the Second Commandment, that the very Suspicion is more against Edification than their Use can pretend to. Duct. Dubit. B. 3. Ch. 4. p. 681.

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'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 faith- 'ful 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 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 Thing of this kind would be resented by an earth-

ly 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 them-

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selves 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 unfeignedly Assent and Consent to the retaining of this Sign.

But their Offence at it was much the more heighthened, in that the Use or Neglect of it was not left to the Ministers Discretion, but wheresoever it was refus'd, Bap-

tism was to bedeny'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.

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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 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.\*

\* *It was a Rule in the Common Prayer Book set forth in King Edward's Time, An. 1540; as touching Kneeling and other Gestures, they may be us'd or left, as every Man's Devotion serveth. But no such Liberty could be allow'd by the New Common Prayer Book. Mr. Ollyffe in his Def. of Min. Conf. p. 54, here very frankly leaves the Imposers to shift for themselves: But defends the Posture of Kneeling. He says, that the posture us'd by our Saviour is generally alter'd; and demands Proof of his using a Table Posture: And intimates that he and his Brethren never entred into the Secret of those, who were for keeping a way such as did not Kneel; and that the Canon about this Matter is nothing to the Declaration and Subscription. My Reply, in Def. of Mod. Nonconf. Part 2. p. 200. is this: That if I submitted to Impositions out of regard to the Authority of Imposers, I should think myself oblig'd to regard their Sense of those Impositions. I give him Reasons why 'tis probable that our Lord might use a Table Posture at the Ecclesiastical Supper; And add that since he and his Brethren are not in the Secrets of High Church, 'tis pity they should support them in their Methods, and be their Drudges to defend their Cause, and that upon Principles which they will not own. And if it be the Sense of the Church that requires Kneeling, that all should Kneel; and this Kneeling as requir'd by the Church be one of the Ceremonies Assented and Consented to, then must the Declaration and Subscription made in compliance with the Act for Uniformity, be an Agreement to exclude such as refuse Kneeling, which the Ejected Ministers durst not concur in. He that would see more of this Matter, may consult Mr. Ollyffe's 2d. Def. of Min. Conf. And my Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part . p. 329.*

*I shall only add, that Kneeling at the Communion was ordered by Pope Honorius, An. 1214. Here the Sacrament was made an Idol, says Bp. Jewel in his first Book against Harding. See Decretal, L. 3. Tit. 1. Cap. 10. Reg. p. 67. And this I think well deserves more Consideration in the case of any that scruple Kneeling, than Mr. Hoadly, seems to allow for; who compares a Mans scrupling Kneeling at the Sacrament, for fear of symbolizing with the Romanists in their Idolatry, with his scruplings to receive the Sacrament at one particular Time rather than another, which is a Thing that never was pretended, nor pleaded, nor can it with the least shadow of Reason. See his Reason of Conf. p. 72, 73.*

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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 Com-

munion; 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 Kneeling 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, 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 Com-

munion, (In the Account of their not daring to go against the Practise of the Apostles, and the Universal Church

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\* See the Argument upon this Matter before produc'd in this Narrative, p. 166.

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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 has 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

\* *Mr. Ollyffe, in his Def. of Min. Conf.* p. 58, 59, &c. owns that the Assent, Consent, and Subscription does allow this, as to the Three Distinct Orders; But says, that the Objection against it dwindles into a strife about Words: For that Bishop and Presbyter may be the same Order in one respect, and different Orders in another respect. *Mr. Hoadly in his Reason. of Conf.* p. 105. &c. seems to think, That the Assent, Consent, and Subscription, does not oblige to agree to this; or if it does, he says, the Objections against it are hard and unreasonable. For that this Assent implies no more than that it is a plain Truth that there have been the Three Orders in the Church, from the Time of the Apostles, which has been generally acknowledged, and that by Mr. Baxter among others. *My Reply, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2.* p. 209. &c. is this, that if Bishops and Presbyters Act by the same Commission in the several Parts of Ministration and Jurisdiction, (of which I think their is good Evidence, and such as I never yet could see disprov'd) then there cannot be distinct Orders, by Divine Ap-

pointment, or from the Days of the Apostles, which with me is all one. And of Preaching Deacons, (which are the Deacons of the Church of England) were unknown in the Apostles Days, (which admits of easie Proof) neither then can there be Three Distinct Orders from their Time. And take it at best, 'tis hard, where the Thing depending is a Matter of Fact, to put a Man upon declaring or acknowledging that that is Evident to all diligent Readers, which has been contested by as diligent and impartial searchers into

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in the Book of Ordination which was as much to be Assented and Consentsd to, as the Common Prayer Book itself, it is asserted, *That it is evident to all Men diligently Reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient 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.

*Antiquity, as any the Protestant Churches have afforded. And as for Mr. Baxter, tho' he owns Episcopacy to be Ancient, yet I cannot find that he ever acknowled'd Three Distinct Orders from the Apostles Time. But let it once be fairly prov'd, that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, had from the Time of the Apostles, those distinct Powers which are now assign'd them by the Church of England, and if any afterwards Cavil about the Term that should be given them, and whether they shall be call'd Three Orders; Offices or Degrees, they would be needless Litigious. See more of this Matter, in Mr. Ollyffe's Second Def. of Min. Conf, p. 196. Mr. Hoadly's Def. of the Reason. of Conf. p. 66; and my Def. of Mod. Nonc. P. 3. p. 332. & 396. I shall only add a Passage out of Cassander, whose Judgment and Sentiments may in this Case deserve some regard: 'Tis this; An Episcopatus inter Ordines ponendus fit, inter Theologos & Canonistas non convenit: Convenit autem inter omnes, olim Apostulicorum ætate, inter Episcopos & Presbyteros discri-men nullum fuisse, Constat autem Sacros Ordines proprie dici diaconatum & Presbyteratum, & quos solos Primitivam Eccleliam in usu habuisse legatur. Georgii Cassandri Consultatio, Artic. 14.*

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*, *Calderwood*, *Cartwright*, *John Reynolds*, *Ames*, *Ainsworth*, and many more such eminent *Protestants*, who had quite different 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

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of Government, had been altogether unconvertant 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, 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.

\* *Spelmanni 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 Inerest inter Missalem Presbyterum & Episcopum, quam quod Episcopus constitutus sit ad Ordinationes conferendas, & ad visitandum seu inspiciendum curandumque ea quæ ad Deum pertinent, quod ni-*



*mīa crederetur Multitudini, si Omni presbyter hoc idem faceret Ambo siquidum UNUM tenent EUNDEMQVE 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,

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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 peremptorily, 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 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,

\* *Dr. Stillingfleet in his Preface to the Unreasonableness of Separation, p. 92; owns that some Expressions in this Office for the Burial or the Dead, suppose the strict exercise of Discipline, and had better be left at Liberty. Dr. Olryffe in his Def. of Min. Conf. p. 63.*

&c. says, that the silenc'd Ministers were not put to that which they were so afraid of, nor was he neither, He pleads that this Office may be safely us'd at the Graves of some; but says that consenting to use the Book, does not oblige to use this Office at the Graves of all, And tho' there is a Canon that threatens Suspension to Ministers who, refuse to Bury any but the Excommunicate, yet he intimates, that where a Minister scruples using this Office, he need not take his Horse and ride out of Town, and can be in no great danger upon that Account: Or else he may leave out what is liable to be misconstrued, &c. Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. p. 112, &c, says, he wont trouble himself or us with searching out some possible sound Sense, in which some of the Passages in this Burial Office that are excepted against might be understood. He frankly owns that in such Cases as those that are mention'd, of Men cut off in the midst of Notorious Sins, as Drunkenness, Adultery, Murder, &c. this Office is wholly improper. Only he pleads for God's taking to himself, the Soul of a departed Brother, in the Common Way: And is still for hoping beyond what others can see Reason for: But after all, does not think that a Minister is oblig'd to use these Expressions excepted against, in such Cases as those mentioned; or is likely to suffer the least inconvenience for omitting them. And he asserts, that the omitting of these Sentences in such Cases, is not contrary to the design of the Church in prescribing this Form, but more agreeable to it, than the using them.

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## Swearing,

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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 saith expressly, that neither Adulteres, not Fornicators, not 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

*When I afterwards mention'd a remarkable Fact, which was this; Dr. Tillotson frankly owning in a Sermon, that the Dissenters had some plausible Objections against the Common Prayer, Archbishop Sancroft sending for him to Reprimand him, he stood to what he had asserted; The Archbishop ask'd him which Parts of the Common Prayer he meant; And he mention'd this Burial Office; upon which that Archbishop own'd to him, that he was so little satisfied with that Office himself, that for that very Reason he had never taken a Cure of Souls; Mr. Ollyffe passes it by as a Private Story; and Mr. Hoadly says, that he finds the Truth of it much question'd; and therefore to give them Satisfaction, I shall not tell them that I have it under the Hand of Mr. Stancliffe, who wrote that Passage (among many other Things of his own Knowledge) in the Margin of p. 519. of my Abridgement, and afterwards was so kind as to send me his Book for my own Use, And I suppose none that knew him, and knew his Freedom with Dr. Tillotson, will demur upon crediting the Relation. He that would see more upon this Objection, may Consult, my Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 219. &c. Mr. Ollyffe's Second Def. of Min. Conf. p. 203. Mr. Hoadly's Def. of the Reason. of Conf. p. 80. And my Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 3. p. 323, & p. 403.*

*I shall only add, that the Bishops and Divines who met at the Bishop of Lincoln's in Westminster, in 1641, about Alterations, were for changing the Phrase in the Office, in sure and certain Hope of the Resurrection to Eternal Life, and putting it thus; knowing assuredly that the Dead shall rise again.*

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## Writings

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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 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 hopeles Schismaticks.\*

\* *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 t

† \* *Mr. Ollyffe, in his Def. of Min. Conf. p. 70, 71. asks why they mayn't consent to use a good rule that generally holds good, because in a Revolution of scores of Years it has been found to have some Exceptions? Mr. Hoadly of Conf. p. 122. says, that supposing this Rule false, a Man might with a safe Conscience, both declare his Assent and consent, and Subscribe: And adds, that the supposed falsity of this Rule, is wholly founded upon a mistake of our*

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there is a Rule for finding out the moveable Feasts and Holidays. *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,

*own. The Rule neither contradicts the Table in the Common Prayer Book, nor the Common Almanacks which agree with the Table. Only we (he says) judge of the Moon by the Common Almanacks, which are there set down according to the Reformation of the Kalendar; and the Rule speaks of the Moons, as they are to be found in our own Kalendar, according to the Account in Use*

before that Reformation. Hereupon, I, in my Def. of Mod. Nonc. Conf. Part 2. p. 241, added some Particular Remarks of a Worthy Friend, who is reckon'd to have a good Mathematical Head, by all that know him, to shew that our Brethren had no such great Cause of Triumph upon this Head. But Mr. Hoadly it seems will have nothing to do with him, till he Learns more Manners (not to say Religion) than to ridicule and insult the Common Prayer Book, and more Wit than to meddle with what he understands nothing of.

Mr. Hoadly himself, (nay even as Great a Man as Dr. Wallis,) has since been charg'd with not rightly understanding this Matter, by one that professes with great Pains to have fully clear'd it. I desir'd my Friend once more to consider the Matter, with the help of this new Light, and give me his Tho'ts, which he hath accordingly done; and with his leave I here offer them to the World.

"That we may rightly judge whether the Rule in the Common Prayer Book, to find out Easter for ever, is fit to be Assented and Consented to, "as what will hold always (or indeed, at all) True, we must first know "what is to be understood by *EASTER-DAY*. If a Yearly Memorial "of our Lord's Resurrection, which he would have the Christian Church "observe in all Ages and Places, we can't but vehemently suspect (if not "firmly believe) there is no such Thing to be found by any Rule what-"ever, especially whilst we have a *Weekly* Memorial of it by Scrip-"tural Authority, as we are well perswaded. We do indeed find "the word *Easter*, Acts 12. 4, put into the Text by our Translators, "who were too plainly willing to favour the *Thing*; but even they have "own'd in the Margin, that according to the Greek ( $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\alpha$ , Pascha) it "should have been, the *Passover*, and means no doubt, the plain down-"right *Jewish* Passover, which *Herod* would have clos'd and crown'd with "the Martyrdom of *Peter*. We think 'tis but little in Favour of Easter-"day and the other Moveable Feasts depending on it, or the fixt Ones "which attend them, that *St. Paul* hath said to the *Galatians*, (Ch. 4. 9, "10, 11.) *How turn ye again to the weak and beggarly Elements, where-"unto ye desire again to be in Bondage? To observe Days, and Months, and*

may

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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

"*Times and Years I am afraid of you, lest I have "bestow'd upom you Labour in Pain, Nor can we, yet possibly come up "to the Assurance express'd in a Synodal Epistle of the First Council "of Nice (Lit. Constant, Eccles. & Epist. qui Concilio non inter suc-"runt;)* that whatever is decreed in the Saered Councils of the Bi-"shops is all to be taken for the Mind of God: We want a surer "Word for it, than any we have yet met with; since, as *Protestants*, "we look on all Men to be fallible; and with the Church of *England* hold, "that even Councils may Err, and have erred. We yet can't see that the "Canons ascrib'd to the Apostles are truly Canonical, or indeed Ge-"nuine; so that (according to the Seventh or Eighth of them) if any "Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon keep the Sacred Paschal Day (*Sacr.*

“*Pascha Diem*) before the Vernal Æquinox, with the *Jews*, he is to be “depos’d. It does not appear that the *Nicene* Council had any such Ca-  
“non lying before them.

“If it be said (as it seems to be agreed by all who defend the Rule  
“for finding out Easter) that *Easter-Day* is, that which the Council of  
“*Nice* has directed; it might perhaps bear a Question, whether the more  
“Ancient and Original *Pascha* of the Christians were not a well design-  
“ed compliance with the *Jews*, who were so generally zealous of the Law;  
“that is as far as Christianity could admit; it may be as to the use of  
“Unleavened Bread, or the like.

“Ev’n the Apostle *Paul* says to the Disciples at *Ephesus*, (Acts 18. 21.)  
“*I must by all means keep this Feast that cometh in Jerusalem*. It may be  
“other Christians who could reach it might do the like; and that at least  
“the Christian *Jews*, who were scatter’d up and down amongst the *Gen-  
“tiles* would pay some regard to the Time of the Passover. And it may  
“be question’d, whether, if there were to be a Christian *Pascha* (so it  
“was ever call’d, by the same *Greek* Name with the *Jewish* Passover) it  
“should not have been still guided by the Time of the *Jewish* Passover,  
“as founded upon God’s own Appointment, *Exod.* 12. They who would  
“keep a Yearly Memorial of our Saviour’s Resurrection, could not do it  
“more properly, than shortly after that Solemnity, which would natu-  
“rally bring to remembrance his Crucifixion, *WHEN CHRIST OUR  
“PASSOVER was Sacrificed for us*, (1 Cor. 5. 7.) It might not in-  
“deed be so agreeable to keep the very Day of the Passover for that Pur-  
“pose, as the *Quarto decimam*, who had the Name from observing the  
“Fourteenth Day of the First Month as their Easter; nor that they should  
“be Feasting, when the greater Part of Christians were solemnly Fast-  
“ing, as is intimated in the foremention’d Epistle: Yet they are not  
“there censur’d for counting the First Month after the Manner of the  
“*Jews*, as it might be alter’d, and made later by their Embolisms, or the

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and Consented to, that was inconsistent with itself.  
“How could they *Assent* and *Consent to all; and every  
“thing contain’d* in this Book, when they found in it a-  
“mong other Things a Table and a Rule that clash’d,

“intercalating of a Thirteenth Month (which  
“they call’d *Ve-Adar*, *q.d.* another *Adar*) chiefly to bring up their Lu-  
“nar Year to the Vernal Equinox, of which it must fall short about E-  
“leven Days in the first Twelve Moons, and about Twenty-two in the  
“next, and therefore they added a Thirteenth Month to the Third Year,  
“and after as occasion requir’d.

“The Synodal Epistle does indeed insinuate (but darkly) as if the  
“Council reckon’d it scandalous, that the *Jews* had any Occasion to boast,  
“that the Christians could not keep their Moveable Feasts without the  
“help of the *Jewish* Doctrine or Directions. It may be for some such  
“Reason, and for an easier way of reckoning the *Nicene* Council might  
“be for a First Month of their own, without being ty’d to that of the  
“*Jews*; yet still were for guiding their *Pascha*, or Easter, by the Four-  
“teenth Day of the First Month, but not without attending to the Vernal  
“Æquinox.

“It does not indeed appear that the Council did by their Canons or any way direct any Thing farther about *Easter-day*, than that they judg’d it right the whole Christian World should observe one and the same Day: And reckon’d it very absurd that the Jewish Custom should be follow’d in keeping that Feast, They appear to have left the Fixing or Finding of it, to the Measures and Rules then used by the Roman Church, without intimating what they were. But it seems to have been presumed rather than proved, that the Council, or however the Roman Usage, fix’d *Easter-day* to be the next Sunday after the first Full Moon, which happens on, or next after the Vernal Æquinox; but, if that Full Moon fall upon a Sunday, then the Sunday next following to be *Easter-day*.

“Now instead of saying the First Full Moon that happens on, or next after the Pernal Æquinox, the Rule in the Common Prayer Book to find Easter for ever, says, the first Full Moon that happens next after the One and twentieth Day of March, ’Tis true that at the Time of the First Council of Nice, it was all one to say, the Vernal Æquinox, or the One and twentieth of March, on which it then fell. But if they either said, or intended the Vernal Æquinox for all Time coming, our Rule cannot always show the Easter-day by them design’d: When as the Vernal Æquinox falls now about the Ninth or Tenth of March: Nor can it be reasonably thought, but that the Council of Nice design’d that *Easter-day* should attend the real Vernal Æquinox; otherwise there should have been no mention of that, but only of the One and twentieth of March, which at that time only happen’d to be the Vernal Æquinox, and would not

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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

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“be so in Time to come. If therefore it might be allow’d, that the Rule in our Common Prayer Book were fairly capable of the sense lately put upon it, as if it had been said, the Full Moon (on, or) next after the One and twentieth of March, yet it would not show the true Easter-day, or that which the Church of England has profess’d to take for true; since the Council of Nice is what it has pretended to follow.

“But as to the Sense, which has been so lately put upon the Rule, it appears altogether forc’d and taken up only to serve a Turn, For let it be observ’d, That the Word [After] is three Times used in the same Rule. *Easter-day (on which the rest depend) is always the first Sunday after the first Full Moon*, here ’tis intended after that Full Moon, together with the Day on which it falls is over and ended: And so again in the last Part of the Rule. *And if the Full Moon happens upon a Sunday, Easter-day is the Sunday after*; that is, after the former Sunday with its following Week-days are over and ended. But now where ’tis said in the same Rule, *the first Full Moon that happens next after the One and twentieth Day of March*. They would have the Sense to be After the Beginning of the One and twentieth Day of March: A Construction very differing from, and indeed contrary to the foregoing and follow-

“ing Usage of the same Word, and to the *English* Idiom, or rather to “the proper Way of speaking in whatever Language: Nor does it appear “that there is an Instance parallel to what they would here make. The “learned Dr. *Wallis* who has given a large Account of the inclusive Way of “reckoning in other Languages, does yet expressly observe, that it is but “so much in *English*, ‘Tis true, that in our Version of the Bible, “there are some literal Translations which could not so well be justify’d or “excus’d, if there were not sometimes a Doubt about the Sense, and that “it is so well known to be a Translation. But neither does it appear, “that the Rule under Consideration is translated, nor is there any Notice “given that the first [After] is to be understood otherwise than as is usual “in *English*. And let us put the Case, that the Moon comes to be Full the “first Moment of *March* the Twenty-first, can it fitly be said to be Full after “the Twenty-first, when ‘tis not Full after any Part of it, for ‘tis known to be “immediately, though not visibly decreasing after its Opposition to the “Sun: Or if we will have it called still a Full Moon to the End of “Twenty-four Hours, let us then suppose that the last Moment of its “Twenty-four Hours, falls in with the first Moment of *March* the “Twenty-first, shall it then be said, that a Full Moon happens upon *March* “the Twenty-first, and also upon the Day foregoing? What Confusion “would that make?

## ¶ 4

## “Upon

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Livings, because they could not  
Assent to both; tho’ in many  
Years, they were directly contra-  
ry to each 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 Ca-  
ses 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 for Two Months together, but all of them also under the Title and Noti-



“Upon the Whole, If I could see that the Rule might be *fairly* so understood, as to reconcile it to the Table in the Common Prayer-Book “for Forty Years and to the Common Almanacks, I would congratulate “the Success of so many several Essays, and so much Pains bestowed, Nor have I the Leisure or Inclination to lay out half the Time “or Labour, to condemn the Rule, as perlnps four or five learned “Men have severally done, one after another, to clear it. But if it “would well bear the Sense put upon it at last, I cannot yet think it “would agree with the Council of *Nice*, as it is not *only* pretended “but strongly pleaded. It might be added, that the Nineteen Years Cycle “of the Moon, depended on for fixing of *Easter*, is known by the Learned “not to be exact, but would sensibly fail in length of Time. What has “been here said may serve I hope at least to excuse Non-conformists in suspecting the Rule for finding out Easter: and if either they have not sufficient Skill, or use not the requisite Application to take it right; let it “be considered, that this Point was always far from being, or being by “them accounted their only or main Objection to Conformity.

“Whether I may less displease in being less pleasant now than before “with the Ecclesiastical Moon, I know not: But as that was confessedly “no Creature of God’s, so neither did I then apprehend it to have been “such an Ordinance, or Creature of Man as I might nor make free with, “but I now heartily beg Pardon for any Thing that might be, or seem in “me unbecoming in my former Paper. But I am afraid whether any “Thing will be admitted to clear the poor Dissenter’s, till Providence “plead their Cause; as I can’t but think it will sometime do, to the Con- “viction of their unkind Brethren,

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on 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.\*

\* *Mr. Ollyffe in his Def. of Min. Conf. p. 71. &c. won’t grant that Ministers are ordered to read the Apocryphal Lessons, but will have it left to their Discretion: And says, that when the Minister begins or ends an Apocryphal Lesson, he may tell the People that it is Apocryphal, and so prevent all Abuse. Mr. Hoadly in Reas. of Conf. p. 123, 124; cannot see that it is unlawful to read Books in the Church in which there are many useful and excellent Things, as well as some few Relations suspected to be Fabulous; and say, that if it may be done without Sin, ’twere much better to read a great many useful Things, and amongst them a Fabulous Story once or twice in a Year, than to divide the Church under this pretence. And adds, that the Church has sufficiently distinguish’d between Apocryphal Books and Canonical Scripture: That some Canonical*

*Chapters may be improper, and unintelligible, and many Apocryphal Lessons are of more Use, and more to Edification: And affirms, that we cannot prove any one was ever led by the Order about reading the Lessons, to equal the Apocryphal Books with the Canonical; and he never knew or heard of an Instance. My Reply may be seen, Def. of Mod. Nonconf. Part 2. p. 247. &c. in which, among other Things, I give Mr. Hoadly an Instance of one in the surprizing Storm of Wind in 1703 who being affected, was for reading a Chapter, and fix'd on one in the Apocrypha; and being reprov'd by a Grave Minister, (from whom I had the Passage) freely told him, that he took the Apocrypha to have been as truly the Holy Scripture, as any that was bound up in his Bible. And he that would see more on this Head, may besides that Reply of mine, consult Mr. Ollyffe's Second Def. of Min. Conf. p. 219. Mr. Hoadly's Def. of the Reason. of Conf. p. 94. and my Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 3. p. 335, & 408. All which put together, may I think, help any one to judge in this Matter.*

*I shall only add, that the Reading Apocryphal Lessons was contrary to the Ancient Council of Laodicea, Can. 59. which forbids their being read in the Church. The Words are these: Non oportet Libros in Ecclesiâ legere, qui sunt extra Canonem; sed solos Vac N. T. Canonicos Libros: And that the Reading Lessons of Canonical Scripture, instead of the Apocrypha, was one of the Amendments agreed to by the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Ward, Dr. Bronwrigg, Dr. Featly, Dr. Hacker, &c. when they met together by the Order of the Lords, at the Bishop of Lincoln's in Westminster, in 1641.*

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This

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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 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 ejectis in Anglii Ministris*, page 50, &c.

4. They must Consent to the Mistranslation of the *Psalter*.†

† Mr. Ollyffe, in his Def. of Min. Conf. p. 74, &c. says it if only a Mistranslated *Psalter* they consent to use at worst, without consenting to the Mistranslation. But he does not know that he's oblig'd to use it. A Minister he thinks is at Liberty to choose which Version he pleases: And he does not see why the old Version may not be Lawfully us'd. Mr. Hoadly, Reason of Conf. p. 132. says, that the Declaration of Assent and Consent touches the Translation no farther, than to oblige to the Use of it in Publick Worship: And if a Translation, tho' faulty, may not be us'd in the Church, 'twould he says, be hard to shew a Translation that is Perfect, or one that has not greater Failings than what is here produc'd. My Reply, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 259, &c. was this, That when a Man Assents and Consents to the Use (to go no farther) of the Common Prayer Book, he seems to Assent and Consent to the Use of the *Psalter* in the Common Prayer Book, which is also mentions in the Title Page of it; and I can't see how he is afterwards at Liberty to exchange it for another *Psalter*: That while the Ministers who were Ejected apprehenaed the last Translation of the *Psalter* better, they might well be backward to bind themselves to Use a worse: That it was a great hardship for them to be put upon owning that there was nothing in the *Psalter* that was a Part of the Common Prayer Book,

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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.

*contrary to the Word of God, when (to say the least) they did not know but there might. He that would see more of this Matter, may consult Mr. Ollyffe's Second Def. of Min. Conf. p. 232. Mr. Hoadly's def. of the Reason of Conf. p. 101. And my Def. of Mod. Nonc. p. 338.*

*I shall only add, that the Reading Psalms according to the New Translation, was another Thing agreed to, by the Archbishop of Armagh, and other Bishops and Doctors at the Dean of Westminster's in 1641.*

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 believe 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 Dam-n'd, which was an uncharitable Censure, in which

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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 allעד' d than they could meet with, on the behalf of this Principle; *That whosoever did not punctually believe the Athanasian Creed must undoubtedly Perish.* †

\* Mr. Ollyffe in his Def. of Min. Conf. p. 15, 16; seems to think I had forgot our subscribing the Eighth Article of the Church of England, in Order to our being qualified for the Publick Exercise of our Ministry, according to the Toleration Act, when I mention'd this Objection from the Athanasian Creed: And he pities me upon that Account, p. 80: But I confess I can't see why that should hinder my mentioning this Exception which it is well known they very generally made and laid stress upon. And Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. p. 134; says, that tho' there is nothing in the Athanasian Creed but what may be said with a good Conscience, yet he don't see how the Publick Service would suffer, were there no damnatory Sentence ever read in it, Nay, he's of Opinion, that the Doctrine of the Trinity would be better secur'd, and this very Account of it better receiv'd without such Sentences than with them. In my Reply, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 264, 265; I tell Mr. Ollyffe (which he seems to have known nothing of) that the Dissenting Ministers about the City, in a Body gave in their Sense of the Articles when they subscrib'd them, and among the rest or this Eighth Article; in the Gloss upon which the damnatory Clauses of this Creed, are expresly excluded the Subscription, tho' ('tis there added in so many Words) they are part of the Liturgy, Assented and Consented to. This was Printed under the Title of, Richard Baxter's Sense of the Subscribed Articles of Religion; Printed for Benjamin Cox in Ludgate-Street, 1689. in Quarto. And there was something of the same Nature done in several Parts of the Country. We that have subscrib'd the Articles, have in this respect only made it known to the World, that we believe this Creed, but we have by no means declar'd our Belief that all those should everlastingly Perish, or cannot be Sav'd, that are of another Belief as to some Clauses in it. And I know several, who did they discover any Reason to think this would not hold, would Renounce their Subscription to the Articles, as Publickly as ever they made it. He that desires to see more about this, may consult Mr. Ollyffe's Second Def. of Min. Conf. p. 237. Mr. Hoadly's Def. of the Reason. of Conf. p. 102. And my Def. of Mod. Nonc. p. 338. & 411.

† *The Peaceable Design*, page 14, 15. *Baxter's Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, p. 143. *His Plea for Peace*, Page 191. *Corbet's Remains*, page 154.

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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.\*

\* Mr. Ollyffe Def. of Min. Conf. p. 83; says, *That Persons may be desirous to be Confirm'd, who yet by some Things scrupled in the Office, may be hindered from being actually Confirm'd.* Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. p. 134, says, *This is, a great Grievance indeed, that all admitted to the Communion should be oblig'd solemnly before the Bishop to own their Baptismal Covenant, and have his Prayers!*

*&c. But it seems to have been the aim of the Ecclesiastical Settlement, to have Persons kept from the communion for their Scruples in this Case, which the ejected Ministers durst not concur in: And whosever made light of it, it was to them a great Grievance for Persons to be kept from the Communion, 'till a Bishop laid Hands on them, and certify'd them by that Sign of God's Favour and Gracious Goodness towards them, which is the Expression us'd in the Office, to such as are Confirm'd. They could not see how this could be justified. See more in my Def. of Mod. Nonc. p. 2. p. 264. &c. Mr. Ollyffe's 2d Def. of Min. Conf. p. 237. Mr. Hoadly's Def. of the Reason. of Conf. p. 102. Def. of Mod. Nonc, Part 3. pag. 338. and 411.*

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 becoming 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 justify. 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 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.\*

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*mity Stated and Argu'd, page 97. &c.*

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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.\*

\* Mr. Ollyffe in his *Def. of Min. Conf.* p. 86; says, *That this Notion of Swearing to the Canons, was first started by Mr. Baxter in 89: and is not consistent with what he had advanc'd elsewhere: And would insinuate that the Canonical Oath no more obliges to submit to the Canons, than the Oath of Allegiance does; and charges the Notion advanc'd with many Absurdities.* Mr. Hoadly also, *Reason. of Conf.* p. 136, &c; is displeas'd with my inserting; according to the *Canons* of the Church, which Words are not in the Oath: and intimates that a Man may be ordain'd in the Church of E. without taking the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*: (some would have thank'd him, if he had told them where, and by what Bishop;) and says, that the Meaning of the Oath is no more than this: I swear that I will yield such an Obedience as is due, according to the *Laws* of Christ's Church, from an inferior Presbyter to his Bishop, provided he enjoin nothing but what I apprehend in my Conscience to be lawful and honest. Which Oath (he says) supposes, that every Thing he commands may be unlawful; and can have no Reference to the *Canons*, but as they are the Matter of a particular Bishop's Injunctions; and then leaves a Liberty of demurring upon them; and can refer to none but future Commands. And therefore he gives it as his Opinion, that the Objections here drawn from the *Canons*, are no more Objections against taking this Oath, than against taking the Oath of Allegiance. To which I reply, *Def. of Mod. Conf. Part. 2. p. 274: That the proper Meaning of the Word Canonical, is according to the Canons: And therefore Canonical Obedience, must be Obedience according to the Canons.* When we swear Allegiance we bind ourselves to the *Laws* that provide for the Defence and Support of the Person, Crown, and Dignity of our Prince, and the Succession as settled: Other *Laws* we are oblig'd to under our Constitution, by Vertue of the Consent given by our Representatives in Parliament; which I cannot find the *Canons* of 1603, have, to make them binding: But they that swear to their Ordinary, are by that Swearing design'd to be bound to obey him Canonically; and the *Canons* are explain'd and inforc'd by the Bishops in their Justification Discourses; and they are the Standard by which they try such as swear Obedience to them. These *Canons* are the *Laws* according to which Obedience is due from an inferior Presbyter to his Bishop, in that Part of Christ's Church which is call'd the Church of England. And therefore I should think the Oath should have some regard to them. Bishops are not here at Liberty to require what they please. They are as much oblig'd

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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 submit-*

*ting 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 Successors in all Lawful and Honest Things.*

*to the Canons in their higher Sphere, as Presbyters in their lower Capacity. And therefore I not only say as Mr. Hoadly, That whoever designs to officiate as a Minister in any Church, acts not fairly and honestly if he do not first satisfy his Conscience about the Lawfulness of Obedience to such Rules and Prescriptions, as have been laid down and agreed upon by the Governors of this Church, for the Regulating the Behaviour of all that minister in it, and resolve to obey them: But that as far as I can judge, he Acts neither fairly nor honestly to swear he'll obey his Ordinary, when his Conscience is against those Canons by which this Obedience is to be regulated. And this I think, may receive not a little Light from the History of Canonical Obedience, from its first Entrance into the Church, down to the present Time, which I have given, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 298, &c. In short; If Obedience to the Canons, when they become the Commands of a Particular Bishop is promised in this Oath (which is acknowledged) then the Oath must be design'd to give the Church Assurance, that Persons will obey the Canons when they are call'd upon to do so. And they that consider the Canons may do this if they please; but for my Part, I cannot wonder that the ejected Ministers should be averse to it. They that would see more of this Matter, may consult, Mr. Ollyffe's 2d Def. of Min. Conf. p. 246. Mr. Hoadly's Def. of the Reas. of Conf. p. 105. Def. of Mod. Conf. Part 3. p. 340, and 411.*

Herein they could not Comply, for the Reasons following.

1. 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 Dispen-

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sation. 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'll 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 Conventions, 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 Recantation of such his wicked Error.\*

\* *This Fourth Canon, Mr. Ollyffe declares they have no manner of Concern with, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 96. I confess I can't but think otherwise: Because it lays the Foundation of a Command to publish an Excommunication of the Breakers of the Canon, which a Minister may be requir'd by his Ordinary to publish, by Vertue of the Oath he had taken. And therefore this seems to me to be one of those Canons that concern an inferior Clergyman's own Behaviour and Conduct*

*in his Office, tho' Mr. Hoadley declares himself of another Opinion. See more of this Matter; Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 308. Mr. Ollyffe's 2d Def. of Min. Conf. p. 284, &c. Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 3. p. 355.*

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They could not bind themselves to conform to this *Canon*, because tho' it should be allow'd to be an Error, to bring such a Charge against the Book of Common Prayer, yet could they not see that it must therefore be an Error of that Magnitude and Wickedness, as to deserve *Excommunication*. If all, that have worse Errors 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 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 Superiors, 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.\*

\* *Baxter's Nonconformity Stated and Agreed*, page 106, &c.

By the Fifth Canon, 'All those are to be *ipso facto*, 'Excommunicated, &c. who affirm any of the Thirty 'Nine Articles agreed upon in Convocation in 1562, to 'be erroneous; or such as he might not with a safe Conscience subscribe to.†

† *This is another of those Canons with which Mr. Ollyffe says, they have no manner of Concern, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 96. I reply, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 310: That I cannot but reckon they have a great Concern in it, when they may be called on to publish Excommunications according to it: And I recommend it to Mr. Hoadly's Notice, That this Canon is so far from being repeal'd, that its rather confirm'd*

by the Toleration Act.

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,

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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 endless Strife and Division.†

† Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 109. &c.

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 being 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.\*

\* *This also Mr. Ollyffe says, They have no Concern with, Ibid. But he should have added, unless they are call'd upon to publish such Excommunications as it threatens, which I know not who can secure them from, for all Times to come. For tho' some are for letting these Canons lie asleep, yet others are earnestly desirous they should be awaken'd.* Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 311.

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 should 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.‡

‡ *Baxter's Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 111. &c.

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

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that bear Office in the same, is Repugnant to the Word of God.\*

\* *This Canon also Mr. Ollyffe declares they have no Concern with*, *Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 96. But for my Part, I can't see how its repeal'd by the Act of Toleration, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 312. Or if it is repeal'd, I can't think it will be any Thing the worse, either for Ministers or People in the Church, that it continue repeal'd, without ever being in Force again.*

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.†

† *Idem, Ibid* page 112.

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.‡

‡ *This also is another Canon that Mr. Ollyffe declares he has no Concern with, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 96. And I shall be very well pleased, if the Ecclesiastical Courts let him always alone, without calling upon him to publish any Excommunication that should convince him of his being concern'd with it.*

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 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.\*

\* *Idem Ibid*, page 114, &c.

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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 Excom- 'municated, and only restor'd by the Arch-Bishop.\*

\* *These Three Canons also Mr. Ollyffe declares he has no Concern with, ibid. But if he had a Living*

*in some Bishops Dioceses, in the latter End of King Charles the Second's Reign, he'd have found he had a Concern with them to his Sorrow, unless he'd have publish'd Excommunications against some as honest Men as any in his Parish.*

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 Error, yet could they not see how their Errors 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, Error 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 Errors 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*

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*Righteousness*; 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.†

† *Mr. Ollyffe can't tell how to suppose that a Bishop should cast an humble scrupulous Person from the Communion for the sake of a Gesture: But if he should, and the Minister comes to be suspended (he says) he must submit, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 99. But methinks, it were better for him to avoid binding himself to such insnaring Canons, Def. of Mod.Nonconf. Part 2. p. 315, 316.*

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 re-quir'd to refuse Communicants coming from other 'parishes.\*\*

\*\* *Mr. Ollyffe says, if the Minister find any Hardship in this, he must shew his Submission to the Bishop by petitioning or Suffering, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 100. But I hope he'll give others their Liberty to think it both wiser and safer to avoid coming under any Obligation, than to run the Hazard of being so hamper'd, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 317.*

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 repent-  
ing of his Subscription, or afterwards omitting any  
of the prescribed Forms or Ceremonies, is first to be

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suspended, and then Excommunicate, and then de-  
pos’d from the Ministry.\*

\* *With this Mr. Ollyffe de-  
clares they have no Concern, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 96. But this was as like-  
ly to be insisted on, as any in all the Body of the Canons, in the Year, 1662,  
and afterwards, which was the Time that this Chapter peculiarly referred to,  
Def. of Mod. Nonc. P. 2. p. 318.*

This they apprehended might in many Cases be  
to Consent to cast a Man out of the Church, for be-  
ing 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 Bap-  
tism for their Children, or the Communion for them-  
selves 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 Ex-  
communicated.‡

‡ *With this also  
Mr. Ollyffe thinks they have no Concern, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 96. And  
I heartily wish he never may find himself cramp’d by any Thing of this  
Kind: But should the Act of Toleration ever be repeal’d, perhaps some that  
he wishes well to, Ministers and People, may be in no small Danger by it.*



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 Ministering the Sacraments, or 'other Rites of the Church, was requir'd to wear a 'decent and comely Surplice with Sleeves, to be provided at the Charge of the Parish, and that under 'Pain of Suspension.

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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.†

\* *Mr. Ollyffe here kindly explains the Word Symbolical to me, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 101. He can't see that the Surplice is any more than a Distinctive Garment, 2d Def. of Min. Conf. p. 293. But Bishop Taylor says, it signifies Purity and Truth. Others have said it signifies Light, and others Alacrity, Integrity, and the Expectation of Glory, &c. Now the Ministers that were ejected, knew of no Authority any have to threaten Suspension upon a Failure in so small a Matter; and therefore could not here join in, Def. of Mod. Nonc. P. 2. p. 320.*

† *Idem 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.‡

‡ *Mr. Ollyffe says They are not oblig'd to Baptize all Comers, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 26. and p. 102. He says That there is no Difference between the Practice of Conformists now, and the Nonconformists when they were in their Places, and that if this be vigorously pursued, there must be a Submission; and that 'tis not to be wonder'd at, That a good Man should in some Cases be under a Necessity of suffering, &c. 'Tis answer'd, the Canon is very express. And to go into the Church, and swear to the Ordinary, and yet not regard this Canon, is not fair. When the Nonconformists heretofore were in Publick Churches, they were at Liberty to refuse to Batize the Children of those Parents, as were either known not to be Christians, or to be grossly Scandalous; which is not left by this Canon, as was own'd at the Savoy Conference, &c. Def. of Mod. Nonc. p. 322, 323.*

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, Hereticks or Blasphemers; who might upon Occasion, be offer'd as well as others) were so far

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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 Men's Faith, to command Obedience in this Point upon Pain of Suspension. And they Apprehended swearing Obedience herein, to be a consenting in Effect, to the Profaning of one of the most Sacred Institutions of our Religion.

*Id. Ibid.*

By the Seventy Second Canon, 'Ministers were de-barr'd the Liberty of keeping private Fasts upon any

‘Occasion, or so much as being present at them, without exposing themselves to Suspension the First Time, Excommunication the Second Time, and Deposition the Third Time.\*

\* *Mr. Ollyffe, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 103, 104. says, That the allowed Times of Fasting by Law and Publick Authority do so frequently return, that there can be no possible need, that a Minister should appoint any other: And that the Canon forbids Fasts only for Seditious Ends and Purposes. I answer Bishop Grindal as well as the Old Puritans were of another Mind. The seditious Meetings referr'd to in the Canon were Grindal's Prophesyings; and such Sort of Meetings, none that Love serious Religion should concur to discouraging, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 324.*

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.

*Id. Ibid. pag. 122.*

By the 112th Canon, ‘The Minister jointly with the Parish Officers is requir'd, every Year within Forty Days after Easter, to Exhibit to the Bishop or his Chancellour, the Names and Surnames of all his Parishoners, which being of this Age of Sixteen Years, did not receive the Communion at Easter before.

† *Mr. Ollyffe here says, That a Minister may give an Account of the State of his Parish to his Bishop, and yet he not prosecute the Non-communicants, &c. and adds, that the Minister is not bound to this by any Promise; for the Oath does not oblige to a*

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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 Pa-*

*rishioner 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 Goal till they die, by vertue of the Writ, de Excommunicato Capiendo.*

*dishonest thing, Def. of Min. p. 105: But methinks it does not become wise Men to make such a Promise, or take such an Oath, as if kept would draw the into Sin, when it may easily be foreseen, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 327, 328.*

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 Goal, 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 Terror, who are Conscious of their Unfitness; or those Melancholy Christians 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

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that their Canons and Constitutions were despicable, &c.†

† *These three last Canons, Mr. Ollyffe declares they have no Manner of concern with, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 96. But they may when call'd on by their Bishop. And in such Things as these, 'tis a little hard for Persons to bind themselves to lie at the Mercy of another.*

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 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

\* *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 Proctours 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-Dedconries* of their Diocess; fa that the inferiour Clergy can in no 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.*

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but that they would very well bear Canvassing,† it seem'd to them strangely and needlessly severe, that an Excommunication must presently be Thundred out a-

† *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, 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 Deceat, 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 a-*

mong 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 scruing it up to the utmost hight and vigour against their poor*

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gainst 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 recommended 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 War-rant, but unsuitable to a true Christian Spirit, and therefore could not swear Submission.

*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 these Gentlemen 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 that Ecclesiastical Authority, which our Blessed Lord the great Lawgiver 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 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 refu-*

*sing, 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.*

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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 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*

\* *Mr. Ollyffe says the Case of a Minister, is not like that of a Justice of the Peace. Def. of Min. Conf. p. 107. Mr. Hoadley says the same, Reason of Conf. p. 150. But how far is it so, and how far not, may be distinctly see in my Def. of Mod. Nonc. part 2. p. 333, &c.*

† *Ib. Ibid. pag. 33.*

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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

\* *Mr. Ollyffe says that Ministers are not bound by Oath to these Courts. The Oath of Canonical Obedience has not the Word Ordinary in it. And he asserts that no part of the Pastoral Power is taken from the Ministers that Christ has given them, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 109. But if the Word Ordinary is not in the Oath, 'tis in the Ordination Promise, which comes much to one. It leaves a great ambiguity; and as Things stand is insnaring. For the King is Supream Ordinary. The Archbishop is the Ordinary of the whole Province that is under him. The Bishop is Ordinary in his Diocess: And yet under this Word are compriz'd all such to whom Ordinary Jurisdiction in causes Ecclesiastical doth of Right belong, whether by priviledge or by Custom. See Godolph, Repert, Canon, p. 23.— Mr. Ollyffe adds, p. 113. That Ministers are not bound blindly to follow the Determination of the Courts in any Thing, especially not in Excommunications and Absolutions: And no Constitution can be so perfect, in which Conscientious*

*Persons may not some time or other be expos'd to Sufferings. Mr. Hoadly says, Reason. of Conf. p. 152, that he can't see how this touches the Matter before us. He does not think I can produce any Instances of Ministers that have suffer'd any Thing considerable for refusing Obedience. But after all, he declares it not fair, and that it Looks not sincere, for Men first to offer themselves to the Ministry in the Church, which is in effect to profess that they are ready to Conform to such of the Canons as relate to their Behaviour, and are now in Force, and afterwards to act as they think fit, without regard to these Canons. To which let it be added, that the preventing any Thing of this kind, was one end of the Oath (which is highly probable,) and I don't see that we need desire much more, in favour of our Nonconformity in this Respect. These Things I have distinctly consider'd, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 2. p. 342, &c. To which the Reader is refer'd: And he that would see more of this Matter, may consult, Mr. Ollyffe's Second Def. of Min. Conf. p. 297: Mr. Hoadly's Def. of the Reason. of Conf. p. 133. And my Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 3. p. 356. &c. & p. 417, 418.—For my own Part, I should think it a great hardship to oblige myself, To follow with a glad Mind and Will the godly Admonitions, and submit to the godly Judgments, of Courts manag'd by the Canon Law, which really have the Ecclesiastical Power in their Hands, according to our Constitution, while the Bishops have but the Name.*

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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 fame time apprehended that an Appeal in such a Case, would be much more properly Lodg'd with a Synod, (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 Days 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 *Ordinarys* (whether they were meer Lay-men, simple Pres-

† *The Bishops and Divines who met in the Jerusalem Chamber in 1641, represented this Rubrick (which the Gentlemen I have had to do with so much justifie) as needing clearing. And it certainly does so, if what is advanc'd in the Case of Regale & Pontificate, p. 179. will hold, (as I don't see but it will) viz. That an Action lies against the Minister who shall refuse the Sacrament, to them who he knows, sees and hears in their Conversation and Principles, to be never so much unqualified.*

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*Id. Ibid. pag. 34,*

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byters, 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.\*,†

\* *Mr. Baxter declares that in the* 25

*Years Time that he liv'd under Bishops, he never knew one that was kept from the sacrament except a Puritan, who scrupled to take it kneeling. 5 Disputat. of Church Government. Advert. p. 16.*

† *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 compleat 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 dread-fullest of all Censures, is new become the most Scorned and Despised. Abridgment. pag. 369.*

*Neither in this the only great Defect which this Worthy Bishop has observ'd among us. For in his noble Discourse of the Pastoral Care, p. 95, 96, he hath taken notice of Pluralities and Non-residence, as allow'd by an Act which past in the reign of Henry VIII. which he says has been the occasion of much Disorder and Scandal in this church: Adding, that he had not been able to find, that any such Act ever past, in any Kingdom or State in Christendom. And the the Council of Trent, had in these respects made Provisions against Abuses, which are still supported by Laws among us.*

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 Pasto-

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ral 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, lest they should be chargeable with their Irregularities and Abuses; and be the Instruments of molesting, worrying, and ruining, as Religious

*\* Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, in his Preface to his Two Mysteries; declares that he could produce an Order under the Kings, own Hand and Seal, wherein he forbids, that any Church Man or Priest in Holy Orders, should be a Chancellor; And this he represents as the occasion of all manner of Corruptions. Some have been deliver'd over to Satan for a Groat, This was made Excommunication contemptible. For 'tis hard to persuade weak Understandings that that can be of God, which has but one punishment for all sorts of Crimes: Or that treats those as ill that scruple a Ceremony, as the Committers of Whoredom or any other deadly Sin. Bishop Taylor in his Ductor Dubitantium tells us, that for a trifling Cause to cut a Man off from the Communion of the Church, is to do as the Man in the Fable, who espying a Fly upon his Neighbours Forehead, went to beat it off with an Hatchet, and so strook out his Brains. And yet a grave Adviser, who sent me a Packet of Hints lately, put together with great Warmth and Zeal, here so far forgets his Character, as to tell me in so many Words, That the Queen and Parliament may Pass an Act if they please, that any Man that beshits himself shall be Excommunicated. Which, methinks discovers little real respect either to Church or State, in one that pretends so much Zeal for both.*

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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 Contempt, and therefore they were unwilling to give an helping Hand.\*

\* *Id. Ibid.* Page 105.

And to take such an 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 standing 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,

† *This Abjuring the Covenant was reckon'd a very great hardship by the generality of the Ministers who were Ejected in 1662. This kept several from Conformity, who comply'd after 1682, when they were no longer oblig'd to it: And yet Mr. Ollyffe when he wrote against this Chapter, would lay aside all Consideration of it, Def. of Min. Conf. p. 4. Nor does Mr. Hoadly think fit to say any Thing concerning it, I shall therefore add nothing farther concerning it, except a remarkable Passage which comes to me well Attested, which shews how easily Persons may be drawn in to do as their Neighbours, taking Things by the Great, without due Consideration. A Certain Kentish Gentleman finding himself decline through Age, look'd over a considerable Collection of Papers he had by him, which he had been making for many Years, and divided them into two Heaps; intending the one for the Flames, and the other to be preserv'd for the use of Posterity. Being thus employ'd, he was visited by the Minister of the Parish; who inquir'd the Reason of his thus dividing his Papers, which the Gentleman freely told him. It so fell out, that a Copy of the *Solemn League and Covenant* before it past the Two Houses, presented itself among the rest in the Clergyman's View. The Clergyman desir'd the perusal of it, saying that he had never yet read the *Covenant*. The Gentleman told him that was very strange, since he had in express Terms renounc'd it, and declar'd to all the World that it oblig'd none that took it. Which was a Thing he was so little aware of, that the Gentleman was forc'd to fetch his *Common Prayer Book*, and turn him to the Declaration in the *Act of Uniformity*, for his Conviction*

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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, appear'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 unpresidedented 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*:

\* *King Charles took the Covenant Three several Times: At the Consummation of the Treaty on the other side of the Seas; at his landing in Scotland, and at the Time of his Coronation there.*

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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 farther 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. Corbet's *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 Acknow-



ledgment 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.*†

† *'Tis well observ'd by Mr. Pierce in his Conformists Plea for the Nonc. Pt. 1. p. 19. That that which all the art, and Wit, and Interest, of som Men in great Place and Power in the House of Lords, could not make to pass, but was oppos'd with that clearness, and cogency of Reason and that Resolution, as if they were saving a Nation, by resisting the Test, (he refers to the Year, 1675,) which could not pass into a Bill, must needs be hard to be impos'd on Ministers.*

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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 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

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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 thefe as deceived and in the wrong.\*

And in reality, after all the Clamours 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,

\* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*. page 134. *Short Survey 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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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.

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

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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 publickly; but the Generality of them, could not be satisfy'd upon many Accounts. They fear'd the Guilt of perfidious-breaking their, *Ordination Vow*, (1.) 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 very 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

(1) *Mr. Hoadly in his Reason. of Conf. Part 2. p. 10, &c. says, he knows not what these Ministers expresly promis'd when they devoted themselves to the Service of God, but nothing ought to be imply'd in such a Vow and Dedication, that is contrary to the Service of God, and inconsistent with the good of the Christian Church. And that therefore if their Ends might be better promoted, by forsaking the Ministry than continuing in it, they would neither have been perfidious nor sacrilegious if they deserted it, but rather if they continu'd in it. My Reply, in Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 3, page 6, &c. is this: That when Persons duly qualified do devote themselves to the Service of God in the Work of the Ministry, 'tis necessarily imply'd (whether it be exprest or no) that they engage to make that the Business of their Lives. And when they are thus engag'd, though a change of Circumstances may occasion a Variation in the manner of their exercising their Ministry, yet no change of Circumstances tall make their Continuing in the Ministry, (as far as they have a Natural and Moral Capacity, and real Opportunity) cease to be their Duty. Nor can I see how their acting in this Sacred Office, according to the Rule of the Word, can ever be contrary to the Service of God, or really inconsistent with the Good of the Christian Church.*

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Things, beg'd they would not Desert them. (2.) 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

*(2.) Mr. Hoadly's Reason. of Conf. P. 2. p. 16. &c. says, That he doubts not but many of the People of the ejected Ministers, might be induced by their own Affections to them, and many by their Discourse with them, to request them still to Minister to them; but that he cannot see that it follows from thence, that therefore they ought. And he asks, if they never remov'd from the People who thus intreated them? He frames a long Speech for the silenc'd Ministers to their People, and says, they might have made such a Speech with a safe Conscience. But had he had the Care of the Souls of a Parish and been own'd by God, and done much good: Had he then been silenc'd by Authority for not complying with some Things as to which his Conscience after his utmost Enquiries remained dissatisfied: Had his Place been for some Time unsupply'd; so that if he continued not his Ministry among them, they must have had no Ordinances, no Publick Worship amongst them; (which actually was the Case of Mr. Quick, and some others) and had the poor People whom he had been Pastor to, adjured him by all that was sacred, that if he had any Value for their Souls, he would continue his Ministry among them: I can hardly question whether he would have comply'd with them; or should he have refus'd, I know not how he could have answered for his so doing. But it by no Means however follows, That a Minister must necessarily think himself stak'd down for Life in the Congregation to which he is once related as a Pastor, because he tho' prohibited by Authority, thinks himself oblig'd to continue his Labours among a People, that God has made him useful to, and to regard their Cries and Entreaties on that behalf, as long as they are either wholly destitute of a Minister, or have one sent to Officiate among them,*

who is notoriously unfit for that same Work, &c. Def. of Mod. Nonconf. P. 3. p. 11, &c.

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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; (3) 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. (4) And at the

(3.) *Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. P. 2. p. 24; says, He denies not but that many of them might have been very profitable Servants in the Ministry, had they continu'd in the Establish'd Church; but he denies that they should have been condemned as unprofitable Servants, had they laid down the Publick Exercise of that Office, when they could not join with the Establish'd Church: Because he thinks by doing so they would have consulted the Peace of the Church, and the Honour of God, without putting themselves out of all Capacity of doing good to the Souls of Men. My Reply, Def. of Mod. Nonconf. p. 20, &c. is this. If they would have been profitable in the Ministry had they conform'd, it must be because they were well qualified for Service. If then for Peace sake they had remain'd unemployed, their Talent had remain'd unoccupied; and therefore, they had been Unprofitable Servants in the truest Sense: And that there's no Comparison between the helping many Souls to Heaven that would have been consequent in one Case, and an Agreement in Forms and Ceremonies under the Notion of promoting the Peace of the Church; which was the only Thing follow'd in the other Case, In the mean Time, the Ministers that were ejected, begg'd for Peace, and refus'd nothing in order to it that they could do, without dishonouring God, and doing Violence to their Consciences: And as Things were manag'd, had they comply'd, and been altogether silent, they had been so far from consulting the true Peace of the Church that they had encourag'd Church Tyranny and Imposition, which when once given Way to; is hardly capable of any Bounds.*

(4.) *In answer to this Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. P. 2. p. 28. says, that it is not sincere to alledge in Vindication of their Publick Ministrations what they themselves knew was not the true Reason of their continuing them. And that such a Practice as their's could not possibly be founded upon such a Reason as this. He by no Means owns any real Necessity for their Publick Ministrations: But says, this could not be the true Reason of their Practice, and therefore ought not to be alledg'd in Justification of it. My Reply, Def. of Mod. Nonc. P. 3. p. 21, &c. is this, That having a Talent which they were bound to improve to the Honour, of the Donor, and the Good of thier Fellow-Servants; the Consideration of the Necessities of the People in most Parts of the*

*Nation, helps to clear their Way: In as much as it presents them with an Opportunity of some Service, and room for being in some Measure useful, not-*

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same Time without being at all Censorious, it was too evident to them, that sundry of them were insufficient and unqualify'd. (5.) 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. (6.) *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. (7.) 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

*withstanding the loss of the Magistrates Favour for want of complying with unnecessary Impositions.*

(5.) Mr. Hoadly, denies not, Reason. of Conf. P. 2. p. 35, &c. but there may be insufficient Ministers in the Establish'd church and yet won't allow this a sufficient Reason for the People to join with separate Churches: Because still the Church has made sufficient Provision for them. And he adds, That in the Places where this plea might be urg'd with the best Grace, 'tis odds whether the People get any Thing by forsaking their Parish Minister, &c. I answer, That let the standing provision of the Church for the assisting; Persons in their Way to Heaven, be ever so good of the Kind, it yet does not follow either that an honest Christian in 1662, was bound to prefer an ignorant careless Minister that was sent as a Successor before his former pastor, under whom he had found much of God's Presence; or that the Minister that had such a Successor was bound to be silent upon his coming, though the People earnestly pressed for the Continuance of his Labours, &c. Def. of Mod. Nonc. P. 3. p. 33.

(6.) Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. P. 2. p. 48, says, That supposing there once was a Conveyance of the Ministerial Office, yet there is nothing in any of these passages which intimates the Duration of it contended for: And he examines them particularly for several Pages together, I reply, that it is eno' to answer the End for which these Passages are produc'd, if they prove, that the Ministerial Office is for Life, where the Ends of it are secur'd; which I endeavour to manifest and confirm by particular Reflections on the several Scriptures cited, Def. of Mod. Nonc. P. 3. p. 45. &c.

(7.) Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. P. 2. p. 60, &c, says, He knows none that maintains that the meer Command of the Magistrate, is sufficient to oblige a Minister to lay aside the publick Exercise of his Office: But adds, That there may be Considerations sufficient enough to induce a Minister to com-



*ply with such a command of the Magistrate; and that these, Texts have nothing in them against this. My Answer may be seen, Def. of Mod. Nonc. P. 3. p. 49.*

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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. (8.) 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 appeared to them most conducible thereunto. (9.) 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.\*

*(8.) Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. P. 2. p. 65, says, That supposing upon such Considerations as he mentions, taken from the Publick Good, they had ceased from their Labours in Publick, he cannot see any Thing in this Petition, but they might have said without mocking God. I answer, That nothing is a more proper mocking God, than a pretending earnestly to beg of him, what we ourselves will not contribute to, according to our Ability; than a seeming Earnest for that which is neglected by us, as far as he has put it in our Power; which would have been the Case of these Ministers, had they ceas'd from their Labours, Def. of Mod. Nonc. Part 3. p. 50.*

*(9.) Mr. Hoadly, Reas. of Conf. P. 2. p. 69. intimates, That these Arguments won't hold for such as have been ordain'd to the Ministry among us, since the Act of Uniformity. I answer, they were not produc'd for that Purpose; and yet they have a Force in our Case too, as far as there is an Agreement of Circumstances, See Def. of Mod. Nonconf. P. 3.*

p. 58, 59.

\* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd.* pag. 156. *His Plea for Peace.* pag. 229. *His Apology for the Nonconformist Ministers in Quarto,* where the whole matter is distinctly canvass'd. *His Sacrilegious Desertion of the Holy Ministry rebuked,* Octavo, and Allen's call to Archbishopus. Quarto.

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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 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 these Ministers before they were ejected, and thereupon tho't themselves oblig'd to stick to them. (1.) Finding them cast off without having any suitable Crime alledg'd against them, they tho't it Inhumane and Barbarous to desert them. (2.) Nay being (some of them) convinc'd of

(1.) *Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. P. 2. p. 81. says, That this Argument can be produc'd to little Purpose but to make up the Number, because few of the ejected Ministers confin'd themselves to the Places where they were ejected; and few of the Dissenting Laity make any Scruple of forsaking a Pastor, on the Account of any Little Difference or groundless Dissatisfaction, how suitable soever they have found his Gifts, &c. If this Argument were wholly wanting, he thinks there would not be a Dissenter the less in England. Whereas, I on the contrary, firmly believe that that if this Argument had been wanting, there had been but few Dissenters. For it was the Benefit that the People apprehended (at least) they had receiv'd by their Attendance on the ejected Ministers, that engag'd them to adhere to them in 1662. And the same is the Reason at this Day, with those that act upon a Principle, in adhering to their Successors: Which is very consistent with their changing Pastors, upon a change of their Circumstances, Def. of Mod. Conf. P. 3. p. 72, &c.*

(2.) *Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. p. 86, says, That the Ejected would have had some Establishment, and some Terms and Conditions impos'd, by which all that come into the Church should have been oblig'd, in which Case some would still have been ejected, And he queries, Whether they should have been esteem'd barbarous that had desertr'd them? And intimates that*

there is not more Reason for the Charge now, than there would have been, had the Settlement been agreeable to the Ejected. He adds, That this Argument can signify little to our present Times, without laying a Foundation for constant Divisions from an Establish'd Church tho' ever so perfect. I answer, They were against such, an Establishment, as should have excluded any well qualify'd, useful and laborious Ministers from all Capacity of Publick Service. Had the Terms been such as few excepted against but few would have been shut out by the Establishment: And had there been a Toleration for those few, all had been easy. Could they but have had what they earnestly begg'd for, viz. Unity in Things necessary, Liberty in Things indifferent,

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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 (3.) 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. (4.) 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.

and Charity in all, none had been aggrieved But it is yet to be prov'd, that any Establishment is so perfect, as that Severity towards such as can't fall in with it, merely because they are dissatisfied, can be justified: Or that it is reasonable to condemn Persons without any Proof of Guilt, &c. Def. of Mod. Nonc. p. 83.

(3.) Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. P. 2, p. 93, &c. says, That Ministers and People might have continu'd in Communion with the Church of England, without thinking it so perfect as to need no Amendments; and without forsaking the Cause they were engag'd in: That they did not attain to Perfection or a greater Degree of it, in the separate Churches they erected: That to separate from a Church in Order to obtain a farther Reformation, is not reasonable or defensible: That the Method taken by them and their Successors, is not likely to make the Church of England one Degree more perfect than it is already: And that if this be a good Argument for a Separation, there will always be a Necessity for one; and that their own Amendments would not make the Church so perfect, but that this same Pretence for Reformation would remain. These Suggestions I have distinctly consider'd and answer'd, Def. of Mod. Nonconformity, Part, 3. p. 93, &c.

(4.) Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. P. 2. p. 143, &c. says, That this Ar-

gument is fallacious. For if the People were not on other Accounts oblig'd to attend on their Ministrations, they could not be oblig'd to it meerly to support and encourage them, nor would they have done it for that Reason only. I answer, Def. of Mod. Nonc. P. 3. p. 148, 149, &c. It is supposed they had Reason to value their Labours, having profited by them, and that they were convinc'd of the Justice of the Cause they suffer'd for; and of their own Obligation to engage in the same Cause: And having evidenc'd this, in Conjunction with the Obligation of the Ministers to continue their Labours as Opportunity offers; it necessarily follows that all thus perswaded, were bound so far to support and encourage them, as to give them an Opportunity of exercising their Ministry, by attending chearfully on their Labours; and to maintain them too, as they were able. And that the rather, because they and their Families were sought to be beggar'd and starv'd by those in Power.

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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 Necessity. 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. (5.) And therefore as they tho't

\* 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 Pastor, 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 Presenta-

tion 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.

\* Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. P. 2. p. 148, says, That this Right to choose their own Pastor, doth not according to ourselves so belong to the People; as that they may not lawfully recede from it upon some Considerations; nay, as that they ought not in Duty to do it. That in Parishes where the People chuse their own Ministers, there are the greatest Divisions and Quarrels, as unqualified Minister as in other Places, and perhaps the greatest Number of Dissenters: That the Constitution can never be so ordered or so happily contriv'd, as that every particular Christian should be under the Ministry of the Person whom he would choose above all others. That Mr. Baxter had such a Sense of the Advantages of Parochial Communion, that he advised his People of Kederminster to attend upon their Parish Minister: and that supposing an unqualified Minister settled in a Parish, his Parishioners are not presently in so desperate a condition as is represented: All which Suggestions I have distinctly consider'd and answer'd, in Def. of Mod. Nonconf. P. 3, p. 154. &c.

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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 Pastor, 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.†

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

\* Cyprian, *Lib. 1. Ep. 4.* says, *It is God's Ordinance that the People should elect their own Pastor. See upon this Head La Rocques Conformity of the Ecclesiastical Discipline of the protestants of France to the Primitive Church, p. 16, 17, &c. A particular Church is a Society voluntarily conjoin'd for the Purposes of Divine Worship: And it is contrary to the Nature of it, that they have Pastors or be members without their free Consent. Ministers cannot do the proper Work of Pastors without this Consent.*

† Baxter's *Nonconformist Stated and Argu'd* pag, 163. &c.

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let another impose a Pastor 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 Diet 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.\*

\* *Mr. Hoadly, Reason. of Conf. Part. 2. p. 164; says, That a few Observations which we won't deny to be true, will sufficiently answer these Queries: As for Instance, That there is sufficient Provision for the People in the Establish'd Church; that the People have no Right to chuse whom they please for their Pastor, when their Necessities are provided for in an Establish'd Way; that they may have the same Opinion about their Original Right to chuse their own Pastors, and yet most heartily conform to the Church of England; and that the Question between us, is not who has this Right; but in such a Constitution as ours, in which its generally settled in the Hands of a Patron, are the People to acquiesce in the Establish'd Way, or separate from it to assert a Right, which cannot be asserted in this Method, without the Destruction of Charity, and the Subversion of Peace and Order? See my Reply, in Def. of Mod. Nunc. P. 3. p. 170, &c.*

The want of *Discipline* in the Church, was another considerable Plea they urg'd. (6.) And in this they but

(6.) *Mr. Hoadley, Reason. of Conf. P. 2. p. 168; declares, he can't see the Consequence of this Argument. He can't set any need of a Separation, on the Account of the want of Discipline; or that Discipline can be promoted by it, &c. I answer, That a Separation may contribute to Discipline among those that separate; and it may also necessitate those whom they separate from, to give Way to it, if ever they would effect a Coalition, &c. Def. of Mod. Nonconform. P. 2. p. 174, &c.*

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follow'd the Old *Puritans*, and their Pious Progenitors, 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 Carelessly 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

\* *A late zealous Writer for Discipline in the Establish'd Church, is forc'd to Acknowledge, [the Church of England's Wish for the Restoring of the Primitive Discipline consider'd, p. 271, 272.] That the subordinate Officers and Ministers in our Ecclesiastical Courts do at present, as all the World sees, manage but very ill the Power of the Church; converting it chiefly to their own Advantage, with little or no Regard to the Ends of Religion; insomuch, that the Strictness of Discipline is wholly abated, the Exercise of that which is, corrupted; the Proceedings against Offenders Partial and Dilatory: and if any Penances are enjoined, 'tis with almost no respect to true Repentance, nor is much Consideration of that had in the Relaxation of such Censures: So many Subterfuges and Evasions are also found almost in every Case, that the good Rules of Discipline seldom take Place.*

Bishops

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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 compleat 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 willingly 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 publicly 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 in-

\* *A late Author (in a Tract stil'd the Church of England's Wish for the Restoring of Primitive Discipline, consider'd, &c. this expresses himself, pag. 5. Wishes are indeed Marks of a good Intention, and an acceptable Zeal, where no more is possible to be done; but ever to Wish, and make no Attempt towards the Thing wish'd for, if it be Zeal, is such, as is a Reproach to it self.*

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serting 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.\*

*Id. Ibid. page 176.*

\* Thomas Rogers on the *Thirty Nine Articles*, Intituled the *English Creed*, Printed 1585, in a small Folio, in the *Epistle to the Reader*, says of the great Subscription urg'd the last Year, What the Event will be, God knows, some are of Opinion much hurt thereby, hath redounded to the Church of God: And they think not amiss in divers Considerations. Others think that it makes nor a little to God's Glory. As for the *Common Prayer Book*, not one that I know hath simply refus'd to Subscribe to it. Some withhold from approving it in every Point by Subscription, yet none Contemn it, but use it in Publick Churches, always and only: And many have set their Hands to it, and all I doubt not would, were that which is Offensive Reformed, and that which is Crooked made Strait, and that which is doubtful made evident and plain; which Things are but few, and therefore may more easily be remov'd, and remain for the most part in the Directions and Rubrick, and therefore with the less Offence may be taken away. We all of us acknowledge the good Things we enjoy, and that the Church would Flourish much better, if the good Laws already made, were faithfully put in Execution, and the true *Discipline* of Christ, so greatly and so long wish'd for, were firmly Establish'd.

Many of the Laity, were also afraid of Sinning in Baptizing their Children with *Godfathers and Godmothers*. (7.) 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;

(7.) *Mr. Hoadly*, Reason of Conf. P. 2. p. 173, 174, say, That as to this, and the Two following Impositions of *Godfathers and Godmothers*, the Cross, and Kneeling at the Communion, it is not advanc'd in the Name of Moderate Nonconformists. He claims it of us Ministers, as a piece of Common Justice to the Establish'd Church, that we assure the People

*that it is our Opinion they may lawfully be complied with. But if Persons will not be Perswaded that a compliance with these Terms is Lawful, he owns it his Opinion, that it is as much their Duty to separate from the Church of England; as it is the Duty of those of that Church to separate from the Church of Rome. See my Reply, Def. of Mod. Nonconf: Part 3. p. 184, 185, &c.*

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or desire them (with an appearing 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. lbid. 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, of whom they might receive it in a Table Posture. Others not

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apprchending Kneeling at this Ordinance a Thing in itself 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, lest 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

(8) *This Mr. Hoadly says is nothing but invective: Reason of Conf. Part 2. p. 76. But as light as he makes of it one while, and as solemn as he is in his Appeal or Adjuration another while, p. 79; This influenc'd many, and some of them very considerate and understanding People too: And the Occasional Bill, has not a little reviv'd and heighten'd the Impression. And indeed the Spirit of the Church ought to be consider'd in this Case. For when they that had the Ascendant, would require all to comply with their Humours and Fancies; to conform to such Impositions as were not warranted by Scripture; to comply with some Things that they judg'd unlawful, or else they must be cast out of the Church. When such a Constitution as ours is must be settled, in opposition to all the Perswasions, Arguments, and Entreaties us'd by the Managers of the Conference at the Savoy; when such irregular Methods were us'd to settle this Constitution; and after it was once settled, to strengthen and confirm it; Methods altogether Unscriptural; Methods destructive of Christian Charity, and highly prejudicial to the Souls of Men. Methods directly tending to weaken the Protestant Interest, and much to deserve Religion in General among us; when they that had the Management discover'd such a Spirit, I think they who were for making the Scripture their Standard, and the more Reason to withstand their Encroachments, (which were likely enough to improve in time) unless they would run the hazard of the intire loss of their Purity and Liberty too, and have a Hand in betraying both their Civil and Religious Rights Def. of Mod. Nonconformity, Part 3. p. 192, 193: And I may think I may very rarely add, that this Argument has lost nothing of its Force, since the Clergy in the General, have in this Reign been so unwearied in their Endeavours to get an Act against Occasional Conformity; in the compassing which at last, they so much Triumph.*

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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 Commissioned by the King, which they knew not but in time they might be oblig'd to, by his breaking the Original Contract with his Peo-

ple; 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 Cereimonial Part, were yet ready eno' many times to make considerable Abatements, in those things in which lies the main of their 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

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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 Practical 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. 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.

*See this Branch of the Argument handled at large in Mr. Howe's Letter to a Person of Quality, who took offence as Dean Stillingfleets Sermon.*

In the mean while, among other Charges that were bro't against them, none made more Noise than that of *Schism*. (1.) Both Ministers and People upon the Account, of their separate Assemblies, were cry'd out upon from Press and Pulpit as dangerous *Schismatics*, and under that Notion bro't under a Popular *Odium*, and laden with unspeakable Reproach. A great Dust was rais'd, with which the Eyes of many were too

(1.) *Mr. Hoadley, Reason of Conf. Part 2. p. 225; says, it imports little to debate this Point of Schism. I am satisfy'd: But whenever we at that are Dissenters are charg'd as Schismatics, it must necessarily be a main Point how the Word Schism is us'd in Scripture; because if the Sense of the Word which is there usual, be not applicable to us, we are not Schismatics in the Sense of Scripture. And then let Men give us that Name ever so long, or ever so freely, while we are not chargeable with that Incharitableness which is the Scripture Badge of Schismatics, we may be easie. Def. of Mod. Nonc. p. 204, 205.*

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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 schismatics.***

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 *Schismatics*, as gave them abundant, Satisfaction they were Free from guilt in this Respect, 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

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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 infer'd, that there may be some just grounds of Separation, even in the Sense of the 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 *damnab*le *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

\* Cypriani Epist. 68. & Lib. 1. Epist. 4. See also the *Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church*, page 144. & page 215.

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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 Restoration.

They farther Pleaded, that if there were a *Schism* among us, it most properly lay at their Door, who laid 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 enjoind, in their proper Natuarl Indiffe-

rence. They found that the main inlet of all the Distractions, Confusions, and Divisions 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

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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 ei-

*ther 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 profession 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

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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 Tong's 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; 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.

† *This Part of the Debate about Occasional Conformity, Mr. Hoadley largely canvasses, reason of Conf. P. 2. from p. 180. to p. 224. And I follow him distinctly, Part III. of Def. of Mod. Nunc. from p. 217. to p. 272. But cannot think it needful (especially as Things stand) to repeat the Arguments on one side or t'other.*

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

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*constant* Communication.\* But here-  
 in 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 *absol-  
 utely*, but only *respectively*: It is not  
 pleaded, that they are of the Num-  
 ber 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 Cir-  
 cumstances than we commonly  
 Observe. Tho' no Action can be  
 done, but it must have Agent, Ob-  
 ject, Manner, End, Time, Place,  
 and other Circumstances attending  
 it; yet it may be consider'd with-  
 out 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 im-  
 proper, the Object suitable or unfit; and the like.  
 Thus plentiful Eating and Drinking may be morally  
 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 In-  
 temperate and Dangerous in Point of Health. So also  
 Fasting is laudable and praiseworthy, when so ma-  
 nag'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 depau-  
 perated, and the Person concern'd unfitted for the Ser-  
 vice either of God or Man.

\* *It has been commonly pleaded, that if Occasional Communion be Lawful, Constant Communion*

*is a Duty. But it does not follow. There's a Fallacy in the Terms. By Constant Communion, they mean full Communion, and exclusive of all other. Now our Occasional Communion is not of that Nature. We do not say either by Word or Practice that that is Lawful: We only communicate with you Occasionally in those Things in which we are satisfy'd that we may; ought we therefore to join with you in those Things in which we are disatisfy'd, which yet we must do in Order to Full and Constant Communion?*

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

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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 a sufficient Guard against such Publick, and more forcible Lan-

guage, 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 Christ's 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

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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 Com-



munion in the Establish'd Church to be simply sinful, (*i.e.* that it is 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 there-to, 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'

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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 in-

deed 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 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 enough 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

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would Counter-act the very design of their yielding such a Compliance. Before they could Insinuate them-

selves 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 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 look-

ing 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,

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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 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 dear 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 Things 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;

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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 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 ease 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 differing 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 Communicating with the Establish'd Church which they tho't Lawful, led others in imitation of

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them, to such a compliance as they judg'd sinful. Their Reply was not to seek. Were occasional Communion 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 falling heartily in with them. In which case they had thus to say for themselves; that the largest Charity is always 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 upon) 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 desirable*, and which (they yet conceive) *will at last be found Necessary to our common Security*.

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## 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. Protector

*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 clanuestine 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, &c.***

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 A-*



greement; 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 any particular Terms of Peace. He spake much for Liturgys, and against Extemporary Church Prayers: And at length declar'd that the *Jansenists* were numerous among the Papists, and many among the *French* inclin'd to Peace, and that to his Knowledge, if it were not for the Hindrances 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* 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

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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 *Kederminster*, (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 Chauncellor after the King's return, he when he refus'd the offers of a Bishoprick, begg'd his Lordships Favour, about a Settlement at *Kederminster*. 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, 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

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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 Day's 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 there-upon 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 offer'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

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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 Auditory 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. *Warmestry* 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.

*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 Pri-

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vate: 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 *Kederminster*, except one that had been an Officer in the King's Army, and most of the Twenty five Inferiour Burgesses also were turn'd out, tho' very few of them had taken the *Covenant* themselves. It was said, 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 written 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!

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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 afterwards. 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 having 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 him, for strengthning 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

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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 *Kedderminster*: 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 Reserve 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 Countrey. 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



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Gentleman was many ways exceeding helpful to the Town of *Kederminster*: 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 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 drove 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 Galle-

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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 Shoe 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 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

\* *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 shall pass away, and the Elements melt in fervent Heat; the Earth also and the Works therein shall be burnt up, &c.*

much

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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

## CHAP. XII.

An. 1662.

*His own and his Brethrens Treatment after their Ejection,  
till the Indulgence in 1671/2.*

§ *The Case of the Nonconformists after Bartholomew Day.*

THE Ejected Ministers, continu'd for Ten Years  
T<sup>H</sup>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

\* *There had been many Writings publish'd Pro and Con, from the Time of the Restoration, and they were continu'd in 1661, and 1662. Bishop Gauden wrote for the Necessity of a Liturgy. Another wrote a sober and temperate Discourse concerning the Interest of Words in Prayer, the just Antiquity and Pedegree of Liturgies, or Forms of Prayer in churches, with a View of the State of the Church when they were first composed and imposed; together with a Discovery of the Weakness of the Grounds upon which they first brought in; or upon which Bishop Gauden hath lately discours'd the Necessity of a Liturgy, &c. Lond. 1661. Qu. There was also publish'd a short, sober and pacifick Examination of some Exuberances in, and Ceremonial Appurtenances to the Common Prayer, by William Prinne, esq; The Liturgical Considerator considered; or a brief View of Dr. Gauden's Considerations touching the Liturgy of the Church of England, by G.F. There was also a Controversy warmly carried on, 1662, and 1663, between Mr. Zach. Crofton, and others, concerning Communion with the Church under her present Corruptions; how far it was lawful and warrantable, and how far not so. But these Debates affected not those that had Power in their Hands, nor did they afford the Sufferers any Relief.*

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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 King's coming in were so much caress'd,

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† *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.

\* As far as the Act of *Uniformity* took Place, more Plots were hatch'd, to keep up the same Spirit, as *Yanington's Plot* first stirr'd up. *Thomas Tongue*, *George Philips*, *Francis Stubbs*, *James Hind*, *John Sallers*, and *Nathaniel Gibbs*, were tried for *High Treason*, and were condemn'd in December, 1662, and an Account of it publish'd, entituled, A Brief Narrative of that *Stupendous Tragedy*, late intended to be acted by the *Satanical Saints* of there *Reforming Times*. But whoever reads their Trial, will see Reason to conclude that the Court was very willing they should be tho't Guilty, to inflame the Populace against such as did not fall in with the Church of England, and serve some other Purposes which were then on foot.

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An. 1662.

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 Feaver, 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 were 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 Restoration) Mr. *Norman* of *Bridgewater*, Mr. *Allen* of *Taunton*, and Mr. *Bampfild*, Mr. *Ince*, and Mr. *Sacheverill*, and others in *Dorsetshire*, &c.

An. 1663.

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

\* *This Year* 1663. was publish'd an *Antidote* to cure the Calamities of their Trembling for fear of the Ark. by Dr. *Womack*; who th't it worth his While to send into the World a labour'd Performance, in Opposition to an Occasional Extemporary Sermon of my good Old Grandfather's *The World smil'd at it; but he had his End. His Dedication is Remarkable. It runs thus:* To the Strenuous Impugners of Schism and Rebellion; the ingenuous Assertors of the King's Supremacy, Crown and Dignity; the zealous Patrons of the Churches Hierarchy and Liturgy, the vigorous Champions of Decency and Uniformity in God's Publick Worship; the Honourable Representative of all the Commons of *England* now in Parliament assembled, under the most Excellent and Auspicious Majesty of *Charles* the Second, *Lawrence Womack*. D.D. Arch-Deacon of *Suffolk*, dedicateth these his Occasional Meditations, in Justification of the present Settlement of God's Solemn Service in the Church of *England*, against the Schismatical Fears and Jealousies, and the Solicitous Hints and Insinuations

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*An. 1665.*

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 encreas'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 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 replied, that they would Suffer any Thing rather than promote Popery.

*of Mr. Edmund Calamy. The Author in Time had his Reward. He was made a Bishop, soon after there came out a Book of another Nature called, Ichabod, or Five Groans of the Church, prudently foreseeing, and passionately bewailing her Second Fall threatened, by these Five Dangerous, tho' undiscern'd Miscarriages that caus'd her First, viz. 1. Undue Ordination. 2. Loose profaneness. 3. Unconscionable Symony. 4. Careless Non-Residence. 5. Encroaching Pluralities. Humbly presented to her Supream Head and Governor, the King's most Excellent Majesty, and his Great Council the Parliament, &c. This Book tho' high eno' for the Hierarchy, and the Ceremonies, and the several Parts of Conformity, was yet written with a very grave and serious Spirit, and warmly complains of above Three Thousand Ministers admitted into the Church, who were unfit to teach because of their Youth: and of One Thousand Five Hundred debauch'd Men Ordain'd: And of many Unlearn'd Men Ordain'd: And of One Thousand Three Hundred Forty-two Factious Ministers a little before Ordain'd: It complains also (among other Things) that of Twelve Thousand Church Livings, or thereabouts, Three Thousand and more being inappropriate, and Four Thousand One Hundred Sixty-five being Sine-Cures or Non-Residents*

*Living, there was but a poor Remainder left for a Painful and an Honest Ministry, for the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls. Mr. Cawdrey also this Year wrote against Conformity, &c.*

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Mr. Baxter

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*An. 1663.*

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 conducive 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 Sum 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

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*An. 1663.*

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.

★ *Our new English Historian, Vol. 3. p. 249, says, That this is a wrong Complaint, and a Reflection upon many other of our wholesome Laws, which could never be executed, if Evidence upon Oath before a Justice of Peace, could not make him so far a Judge, as to pronounce the Penalty express'd in the Letter of the Law, without the Formality of a Court and a Jury. It is sufficient (says he) that the greater Offences, and the greater Penalties affecting Life, or Liberty, or Estate, shall not be determin'd by any private Justices, but in the more solemn Manner of Court, and Judge, and Prisoner, and Jury. And so it was by this very Act accordingly provided, that no one should be convicted of the Third Offence, which incurred Banishment, without a regular, Trial by a Jury. And hereupon his Margin is decently grac'd with the Mistakes of the Author of the Abridgment. But had the Author ever had his Goods seiz'd and taken from him, so as not to have had so much as a Bed left to lie on, (which was the Case of several of the ejected Ministers) purely for acting according to his Conscience; and this upon the Evidence of a scandalous Informer, and Villains hir'd by him to swear what was for his coveted Gain, which Mr. Pierce honestly observes was the Case of the Nonconformists when this Act was executed against them. (See his Third Plea for the Nonconformists, p. 75:) I can hardly suppose he would have applauded the Law for its Wholesomness, or have reckon'd the charging this with being an Hardship, as any very great Mistake.*

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

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all

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*An.* 1665.

all the Body of Christ. But others were vehement for an entire Separation.\*

\* *This Year was publish'd Mr. Allein's Call to Archippus: Being an Humble and Earnest Motion to the Ejected Ministers by way of Letter, to take heed to their Ministry that they fulfil it.*

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 Lord's-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.

*An.* 1665.*The Plague.*

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 Terrours; 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.

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*An. 1665.*

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 Vanities; and Religion took that hold on the Peoples Hearts, as could never afterward be loosed.

*Of the Oxford Act.*

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

† *In the Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country, in the Second Volume of the State Tracts of King Charles's Reign, this Matter is thus express'd.* This was strongly opposed by the Lord Treasurer *Southampton*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Ashley*, and others; not only in the Concern of those poor Ministers that were so severely handled, but as it was in itself a most unlawful and unjustifiable Oath; however the Zeal of that Time against all Nonconformists easily Passed the Act, pag. 42. See also Conformists Second Plea for the Nonconformists, pag. 20, 21. *That in a Time both of War and of a Plague, such an Act as the Five Mile Act should have past, will amaze all that do not know the Secret of that Time: Says Bishop Burnet, in his Speech in the House of Lords, about the Occasional Bill, in 1703. And in another Speech of his, in the House of Lords, on March 16. 1709/10. upon Occasion of the Articles against Dr. Sacheverel, he has these Words: To the Word Commission'd by the King, some moved that the Word Lawfully might be added, to make all plain. This was pressed in the House of Commons by Vaughan, after-*

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*An. 1665.*

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 them-

selves 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

ward Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, The Attorney General, afterward Lord Chancellor *Nottingham*, answer'd, That was not necessary for the Word *Commission* imported it; since if it was not lawfully issued out, to lawful Persons, and for a lawful Reason it was no *Commission*; and the whole House assented to this: Yet in the House of Lords the same Word *Lawfully* was press'd to be added by the Earl of *Southampton*, who was answered by the Earl of *Anglesey*, to the same Purpose with what had been said in the House of Commons. He indeed insisted to have the Word added, because it would clear all Difficulties with many, who not having heard of the Sense given in both Houses, might fancy that any Sort of *Commission* being granted it would not be lawful to resist it. He did not prevail; for it was said, That his Explanation being the Sense of both Houses, it would be soon spread and known over the Nation. *And yet our Late English Historian, Part 3: p. 259: says, That the Matters of Fact here delivered, are very much to be question'd. I really think not, after this Elucidation of my Lord of Sarum's, which shews us, what Grounds my Lord Keeper Bridgman had to proceed upon. He adds, That there hardly appears to be any Distinction in a private Person's Lawfully or Unlawfully endeavouring any Alteration of the Government in Church or State, since whoever endeavour's it, will he sure to think it Lawful so to endeavour. Notwithstanding which there still remains as great a Difference between them, as between Right and Wrong, Good and Evil, Just and Unjust. And he intimates, that there ought rather to have been a Distinction at the round Expression of not taking up Arms against those Commissionated by the King, in pursuance of such Commission: And he says, they might rather have desir'd to have it thus explain'd or understood; those that are Legally Commissionated, in a Legal Pursuance of such Commission. But I don't see why both Explications were not, very desirable.*

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Question

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*An. 1665.*

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 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 change Church Government, was meant *only Unlawful Endeavour*. Upon which Declaration, he and sundry other Nonconformists, to the num-

ber of Twenty, took it at the Sessions, to avoid the Imputation of Seditious Doctrine.†

† *In the Year 1665, Orders were sent from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the several Bishops of his Province, whom several Heads, of which this was one; that they should make a return of the Names of all Ejected Nonconformist Ministers, with their Place of Abode, and manner of Life. It bore date on July 7th, this Year. And our late Historian, Vol. 3. p. 259. tells us, that the Returns of the several Bishops hereupon, are still preserv'd in the Lambeth Library.*

After

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*An. 1666.*

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 very great.

#### ***The Fire of London.***

*September* 2. 1666, began that dreadful Fire, whereby the best and one of the finest Citys in the World, was turn'd into Ashes and Ruins in three Days Space. The Season had been exceeding dry before, and the 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 Libraries 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

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*An. 1666.*

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 Shops and Libraries, &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.

But that they might discover their Charity to those from whom they differ'd, a considerable Number of the Ejected Ministers in the City, met together soon after the Fire, to consider whether they ought not to join sometimes with the Parish Churches in the Sacrament; and whether their total forbearing it might not tempt those of the Establish'd Church to believe that they took their Communion for Unlawful. It was generally agreed that such Communion was Lawful and Meet, when it would not do more harm than good.

In

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*An. 1667.*

In the Year 1667. the Lord Chancellour *Hide* was Impeach'd and Discarded: 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 openly to their Meetings without Fear. This encourag'd the Country Ministers, who did the like in most parts of *England*, and Crowds of the most Religiously enclin'd People were their Auditors.†

\* 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.*

† In 1667. There were many Pamphlets publish'd about Toleration and Indulgence. As, *Indulgence and Toleration, consider'd in a Letter to a Person of Honour*. Qu. *A Peace Offering in an Apology and humble Plea for Indulgence and liberty of Conscience, by sundry Protestants differing in some Things from the Present Establishment about the Worship of God*. Mr. Corbet publish'd a Discourse concerning the Religion of England; and the Settlement of Reformed Christianity in its due Latitude: In Two Parts. To which an Answer was Published, call'd *Dolus an Virtus. A Proposition for the Safety and Happiness of the King and Kingdom. The Inconveniencies of Toleration. Or an Answer to a late Book, Intituled a Proposition made to the King and Parliament, for the Safety and Happiness of the King and Kingdom*. Qu. *A Defence of the Proposition. Or some Reasons rendred why the Nonconformist Minister who comes to his Parish Church and Common Prayer, cannot yet yield to other Things that are injoy'n'd, without some Moderation, &c.*

‡ Our Late Historian, Part 3. p. 271, says, it should be added to the foot of this Account, that it could be no great Credit to the Dissenting Party, to have had the Earl of *Clarendon* their Opposer, and the Duke of *Buckingham* their Promoter. The first opposing them upon no worse Principle than a Zeal to the Establish'd Church, as the most effectual Bulwark against Popery, and the other appearing in their Interest upon no better Account than a strong Affection to the Universal Liberty of Opinion and Practice. *But I should think if such Considerations as these are here bro't in, the Church will have no great Cause to boast, who was help'd to her strongest Laws against the Poor Nonconformists, by those who (it appear'd plainly afterwards) were carrying on a Popish Interest: And yet when they suffer'd under those Law's,*

*they*

***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 any one) 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 Lord Keepers, or Dr. Wilkin's Proposals were these:*

***In Order to a Comprehension, it is humbly Offer'd.***

“I. **T**HAT such Persons as in the late Times of Disorder  
“have been Ordain'd by Presbyters, shall be ad-  
“mitted to the Exercise of the Ministerial Function, by  
“the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishop, with this or  
“the like Form of Words: Take thou Authority to Preach

*they were willing to accept Relief from any Hand; as knowing that whatever Principle they might be of, that appear'd for them, there was too much of an implacable Spirit in such as were against them. Nor can I see they can justly be blam'd for rather choosing Lenity and Mildness from a Man of no principle, than Fining, Imprisonment, Banishment, and Ruin, from one of strict High Court Principles.*

“the

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*An. 1668.*

“the Word of God, and to Minister the Sacraments in  
 “any Congregation of the Church of *England*, where  
 “thou shalt be Lawfully appointed thereunto. *An ex-*  
 “*pedient much of the Nature was Practic’d and Allow’d of,*  
 “*in the Case of the Catharists and Meletians. Vid. 8th*  
 “*Canon Conc. Nic: And Synodical Epistle of the same*  
 “*to the Churches of Egypt, Gelasius Cyzicenus, Hist.*  
 “*Con. Nic. Second Part.*

“2. *That all Persons to be admitted to any Ecclesiastical*  
 “*Function or Dignity, or the Employment of a Schoolmaster,*  
 “*(after the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy) shall (in-*  
 “*stead of all former Subscriptions) be requir’d to Subscribe*  
 “*this or the like Form of Words. I A. B. Do hereby*  
 “*Profess and Declare, that I do approve the Doctrines,*  
 “*Worship and Government Establish’d in the Church*  
 “*of England, as containing all Things necessary to Sal-*  
 “*vation; and that I will not endeavour by myself or*  
 “*any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any*  
 “*Doctrine contrary to that which is so Established:*  
 “*And I do hereby Promise, that I will continue in*  
 “*the Communion of the Church of England, and*  
 “*will not do anything to disturb the Peace thereof.*

“3. *That the Gesture of Kneeling at the Sacrament,*  
 “*and the use of the Cross in Baptism, and bowing at the*  
 “*Name of Jesus, may be left indifferent, or may be taken*  
 “*away, as shall be tho’t most expedient.*

“4. *That in Case it be thought fit to review and alter*  
 “*the Liturgy and Canons for the Satisfaction of Dissenters,*  
 “*that then every Person to be admitted to Preach, shall,*  
 “*upon his Institution, or Admission to Preach, upon some*  
 “*Lord’s Day (within a Time to be limited) publicly*  
 “*and solemnly read the said Liturgy; and openly declare*  
 “*his Assent to the Lawfulness of the use of it, and shall*  
 “*Promise, that it shall be constantly used at the Time and*  
 “*Place accustomed.*

In Order to Indulgence of such *Protestants* as cannot be

Comprehended under the Publick Establishment, it is humbly Offered,

“1. That such Protestants may have Liberty for the Exercise of Religion in Publick, and at their own Charges to build or procure Places for their Publick Worship, either within or near Towns, as shall be tho’t most expedient.

“2. That

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“2. That the Names of all such Persons who are to have this Liberty, be Registred, together with the Congregations to which they belong, and the Names of their Teachers.

“3: That every one admitted to this Liberty; be disabled to bear any Publick Office; but shall Fine for Offices of Burden.

“4. And that upon shewing a Certificate of their being Listed among those who are indulg’d, they shall be freed from such Legal Penalties, as are to be inflicted on those who do not frequent their Parish Churches.

“5. And such Persons so indulged shall not for their meeting in Conventicles, be punish’d by Confiscation of Estates.

“6. Provided that they be obliged to pay all Publick Duties to the Parish where they inhabit under Penalty.

“7. This Indulgence to continue for Three Years.

That the Liturgy may be alter’d by omitting, &c;

“By using the Reading Psalms in the New Translation:  
 “By appointing some other Lessons out of the Canonical Scripture instead of those taken out of the Apocrypha.  
 “By not enjoining Godfathers and Godmothers when either of the Parents are ready to answer for the Child.  
 “By omitting that Clause in the Prayer at Baptism, By Spiritual Regeneration. By changing that Question, Wilt thou be Baptized, into wilt thou have this Child. Baptized. By omitting those Words in the Thanksgiving after Publick and Private Baptism, to Regene-

“rate, this Infant by thy Holy Spirit, and to receive  
 “him for thy Child by Adoption: *And the first Ru-  
 “brick after Baptism*, it is certain by God’s Word, &c.  
 “*By changing these Words in the Exhortation after Bap-  
 “tism*, Regenerate and Grafted into the Body, into re-  
 “ceived into the Church of Christ. *By not requiring  
 “reiteration of any part of the Service about Baptism in  
 “Publick*, when it is evident that the Child hath been  
 “*lawfully Baptiz’d in Private*. *By omitting that Clause  
 “in the Collect after Imposition of Hands in Confirmation*,  
 “after the Example of thy Holy Apostles, and to cer-  
 “tify them by this Sign, of thy Favour, and gracious  
 “Goodness towards them. *And by changing that other  
 “passage in the Prayer before Confirmation*, who hast  
 “vouchsafed to Regenerate, &c. into who hast vouch-

“safed

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An. 1668.

“safed to receive there thy Servants into thy Church  
 “by Baptism. *By omitting that Clause in the Office of  
 “Matrimony*, with my Body I thee Worship: *And that  
 “in the Collect*, who hast Consecrated, &c. *By allowing  
 “Ministers some Liberty in the Visitation of the Sick*, to  
 “use such other Prayers as they shall judge expedient. *By  
 “changing that Clause in the Prayer at Burial*, Forasmuch  
 “as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great Mercy  
 “to take unto himself, &c. into, Forasmuch as it hath  
 “pleased Almighty God to take out of this World,  
 “the Soul, &c: *And that Clause*, in a sure and certain  
 “Hope, &c. into, in a full Assurance of the Resur-  
 “rection by our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. *By omitting  
 “that Clause*, We give thee hearty Thanks for that  
 “it hath pleased thee to deliver this our Brother out  
 “of the Miseries of this sinful World: *And that other*,  
 “as our hope is this our Brother doth. *By changing  
 “that Clause in the Communion Service*, our sinful Bo-  
 “dies may be made clean by his Body, &c. into, our  
 “sinful Souls and Bodies may be cleansed by his Pre-  
 “cious Body and Blood. *By not injoining the Reading  
 “of the Communion*. *That the Liturgy may be abbrevi-  
 “ated as to the length of it*, especially as to Morning Ser-  
 “vice, *by omitting all the Responsal Prayers*, from O  
 “Lord open thou our, &c. to the Litany: *And the Li-*

“tany: *and all the Prayers from, Son of God we beseech thee; &c; to, We humbly beseech thee, O Father, &c. By not enjoying the use of the Lord’s Prayer above once, viz. immediately after the Absolution, except after the Ministers Prayer before Sermon. By using the Gloria Patria only once, viz. after the reading of Psalms. By omitting the Venite Exultemus, unless it be tho’t fit to put any, or all of the first Seven among the Sentences at the beginning. By omitting the Communion Service at such times as are not Communion Days; excepting the Ten Commandments, which may be read after the Creed: And enjoying the Prayer, Lord have Mercy upon us, and incline our Hearts to keep these Laws only once at the end. By omitting the Collects, Epistles and Gospels, except only on particular Holydays. By inserting the Prayers for the Parliament into the Litany, immediately after the Prayer for the Royal Family, in this or the like Form: That it may please thee to direct and prosper all the consultations*

of

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*An. 1668.*

“of the High Court of Parliament, to the advantage of thy Glory, the good of the Church, the Safety, Honour and Welfare of our Sovereign and his Kingdoms. *By omitting the Two Hymns in the Consecration of Bishops, and the Ordination of Priests. That after the first Question in the Catechism; What is your Name? This may follow, When was this Name given you? And after that, what was promis’d for you in Baptism? Answer; Three Things were promis’d for me, &c. In the Question before the Commandment it may be alter’d; you said it was promis’d for you &c. To the Fourteenth Question, How many Sacraments hath Christ Ordained? The Answer may be, Two only, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.*

Mr. *Baxter* and his Brethren mov’d for other Things to be added: And Dr. *Wilkins* profess’d himself willing of more, but said that more would not pass with the Parliament. The Things desir’d to be added, were such as these.

That such as had been Ordain'd by Presbyters, and were in this Way Admitted into the Establish'd Church, might have leave to give in their Profession's, that they renounc'd not their former Ordinations, &c. That the Subscription might be only to the Scriptures, and the Doctrinal Articles of the Church, &c. That the Power of Bishops, Chancellors, and other Ecclesiastical Officers to suspend or silence might be more limited; That there might be an explicit owning the Baptismal Covenant insisted on in the Case of all admitted to full Communion: That a Conjunction of honest Neighbours for private Religious Exercises might not be taken for Conventicles: And that such as deride or scorn at Christianity or the Holy Scriptures, might be numbered with the scandalous Sinners mention'd in the *Canons* and *Rubrick*, and not admitted to the Communion, &c.\*

*\* In this Year, 1668, The Controversy of the last Year was continu'd. There was now publish'd a Discourse of Toleration, in Answer to the Discourse of the Religion of England. A Letter to a Member of this present Parliament, for Liberty of Conscience. The Toleration Intolerable: And in Answer to it, Liberty of Conscience the Magistrates Interest. Vindiciæ Cultûs Evangelicî, Or the Perfection of Christ's Institutions and Ordinances about his Worship, Asserted and Vindicated, from all Ecclesiastical or Humane Inventions, &c. But after all the Discourse and Debates upon this Subject, there was a Proclamation this Year publish'd, for inforcing the Laws against Conventicles; and a Vote pass'd in the House of Commons for renewing the Act against them for Three Years.*

Y

After

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*An. 1669.*

After a long Debate a Bill was drawn up 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. Jacob, 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 with weak Passages of some Dissenting Ministers, scrapes them together, for matter of Reproach: And having heard some crude

\* *Bishop Wilkins who was a Candid, Ingenious, and open hearted Man, acquainting Bishop Ward with the whole Matter, hoping to have prevail'd for his concurrence in it, he bestir'd himself and all his Friends, and made such a Party that nothing could be done in it.*

† *This Year Articles were sent down, into the Country to the Clergy with Private Orders to some, to make the Conventicles as few and inconsiderable as might be, the Eighth and Last Article was thus worded; Whether do you think they might he 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 Alchemist, 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*

and

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.

*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 raillery and scurrilous Jestings.*

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

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An. 1670.

the Act was expir'd, there came 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 Silenc'd 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 Archbishop 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; and so they tender'd him the *Oxford Oath*. He told them, that he took not his Meeting to be contrary

to

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An. 1670.

to Law; and that the *Oxford Oath* did not concern him; nor could he apprehend they were impower'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.\*

\* *In* *September*  
 this Year (1670) was the Trial of Mr. William Penn, and Mr. William Mead, at the Old Bailey. The Court treated him roughly. The Charge was

given to the Jury, after the Prisoners were out of Court, which was contrary to Law and Custom. Eight of the Jury at first agreed to bring them in Guilty, and Four Dissented. At length they brought them in Guilty of speaking in Gracious Street. Upon which the Court threaten'd them, and they were confin'd all Night, without Meat, Drink, Fire, or any other Accomodation. The Court being sat the next Morning, they gave the same Verdict. hereupon they were threaten'd to be Fin'd, Starv'd, and Ruin'd. They were kept another Night, without any Accomodation as before: And at length they unanimously brought them in Not Guilty. For this Verdict they were fin'd Fourty Marks a Man, and ordred to be Imprison'd till 'twas paid.

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 Impri-

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sonment

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*An.* 1670.

### ***He obtains a Habeas Corpus.***

sonment 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 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 *Exeter*: 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.\*

\* *Many writings were this Year publish'd for and against a Toleration. Among the rest, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) William Ashton signaliz'd himself by a Discourse, call'd Toleration disprov'd and Condemn'd: In which he allerdg'd it, the Authority of King James and his Council, the Votes of Parliament in 1662, The Presbyterian Ministers in 1645, and Twenty of the Assembly of Divines: &c.*

At

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An. 1670.

***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 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.

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*An. 1670.****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-

\* *The Compiler of the 3d. Vol. of the Compleat History of England, here tells us, p. 281, That tho' the Wisdom of the Nation had very good Reasons to make a more Effectual Law against Conventicles, yet 'tis certain the Dissenters had no great Reason to complain of the rigorous Execution of it. It was a needful Restraint and Awe, (he says) rather than an Actual Storm upon them. But he that will consult the Ingenuous Mr. Pierce's 2d Plaa for the Nonconformists, p. 22, & 44, will be at a loss for the strength of those Reasons which this Author speaks of; and will see good Reason to believe that Mr. P. is in the right, when he says, That this All was never intended for the Good or growth of the Church; of England, or the Protestant Cause. And tho' the Author foremention'd says that their was no Storm upon the Dissenters by this Act, yet if he had read the Accounts that were this Year (1670) publish'd to the World from Bedfordshire, Sussex, and many other Parts, as I have done; or would be yet exercise so much Self-denial as to observe from County to County in the Memoirs I have Printed of the Ejected, with what severity this Act was Executed; (I'll refer him particularly for an Instance, but to what I have publish'd concerning Mr. Collins at Tallaton in Devon,) I can hardly conceive how he could pitch upon any Essential or a Storm that was wanting. But not dilating upon this, I shall here add a Letter that was this Year sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the several Bishops of his Province, dated at Lambeth; May 7th. 1670, which that Author had seen I suppose, which plainly portends a Storm approaching. It was in these Words.*

*"Right Reverend, and my very good Lord,*

**"***T hath pleas'd his Majesty and the Two Houses of Parliament, out of their pious Care for the Welfare of this Church and Kingdom, by making and publishing the late Act for the preventing and suppressing Conventicles, to lay an hopeful way for the Peace and Settlement of the Church, and the Uniformity of God's Service in the same. It becomes us the Bishop's, (as more particularly sensible of the good Providence of God) to endeavour as much as in us lies, the promoting of so Blessed a Work; and therefore having well consider'd what will be fit for me to do in my particular Diocese, I tho't fit to recommend the same Counsel and Method (which I intend God willing to*



pursue myself) to your Lordship, and the rest of my Brethren, the Bishops of my Province, being thereunto encourag'd by *his Majesty's Approbation*, and *express Direction in this Affair*.

YOUR

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*An. 1670.*

your, 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

"In the first Place therefore I advise and require you that you call before you not only your Chancellors, Archdeacons, Commissaries, Officials, Registers, and other the Ecclesiastical Officers, but that also by such Means, and at such Places as you shall judge most convenient, you Assemble before you, and some grave and discreet Person or Persons, your Commissioner or Commissioners, the several Parsons, Vicars, and Curates of your Diocese and Jurisdiction, within their several Deanies; and that you impart to them respectively, as they shall come before you or your Commissioners, the Tenure of these my Letters, requiring them, and every of them, as well in mine, as in your own Name, That in their several Capacities and Stations, they all perform their Duty towards God, the King and the Church, by an Exemplary Conformity in their own Persons and Practice, to his Majesty's Laws, and the Rules of the Church on this Behalf.

"I advife that you admonish and recommend to all and every of the Parsons, Vicars, Curates, within your Diocese and Jurisdiction, Strictness and Sobriety of Life and Conversation, checking and punishing such as transgress, and encouraging such as live orderly, that so they by their Vertuous and Religious Deportment, may shew themselves Patterns of good Living to the People under their Charge. And next, That you require of them, as they will answer the contrary, that in their own Persons in their Churches, they do decently and solemnly perform the *Divine Service*, by reading the Prayers of the Church, as they are appointed and ordered in the Book of Common Prayer, without addition too, or diminishing from the same, or varying either in Substance or Ceremony, from the Order or Method which by the said Book is set down; wherein I hear and am afraid too many do offend: And that in the Time of such their Officiating, they ever make Use of, and wear their *Priestly Habit*, the *Surplice*, and *Hood*; that so by their Due and Reverend Performance of so Holy a Worship, they may give Honour to God, and by their Example instruct the People of their Parishes, what they ought to teach them by their Doctrine.

"Having thus counselled the Ecclesiastical Judges, and Officers, and the Clergy of the Diocese in their own particular Duties, your Lordship is farther desir'd to recommend unto them, the Care of the People under their respective Jurisdictions and Charges, that in their several places they do their best to perswade and win all Nonconformists and

“Dissenters to Obedience to his Majesty’s Laws, and Unity with the

★ *This deserves the Consideration of those Gentlemen who went into the Church, apprehending that a Judgement of Discretion was and would be left them, as to particular Forms and Ceremonies.*

Corpo-

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An. 1671.

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,

“Church; and such as shall be refractory, to endeavour to reduce by the Censures of the Church, or such other good Means as shall be most conducing thereunto: To which  
“End I advice, That all and every of the said Ecclesiastical Judges and  
“Officers, and every of the Clergy of your Diocese, and the Churchwardens of every Parish, by their respective Ministers, be desir’d  
“in their respective Places and Stations, that they take Notice of all  
“Nonconformists, Holders, Frequenters, Maintainers, Abettors of Conventicles, and unlawful Assemblies, under Pretence of Religious Worship, especially of the Preachers and Teachers in them, and of the  
“Places wherein the same are held; ever keeping a more watchful Eye  
“over the Cities and greater Towns, from whence the Mischief is for  
“the most Part derived, unto the lesser Villages and Hamlets: And  
“wheresoever they find such wilful Offenders, that then with an hearty  
“Affection to the Worship of God, the Honour of the King and his Laws,  
“and the Peace of the Church and Kingdom, they do address themselves  
“to the Civil Magistrate, Justices, and others concern’d, imploring their  
“Help and Assistance for preventing and suppressing of the same, according to the late said Act, in that Behalf made and set forth. And because these may be within the Limits of your Diocess, some peculiar  
“and exempt Jurisdictions, belonging either to your Dean, Dean and  
“Chapter, Arch-Deacons, or to some Ecclesiastical or other Persons;  
“I do therefore desire that by such Ways and Means as your Lordship  
“do conceive most proper, you do communicate this my Letter unto them,  
“delivering unto every of them Copies of the same, for their better Instruction and that you require them in my Name, that within their  
“several Jurisdictions, they also pursue the Advices and Directions before  
“set down, as if the same had been given, by a particular Letter unto  
“them under my own Hand. Lastly; That for the better Direction to  
“all those who shall be concern’d in the Advices given by this Letter,  
“I advise you will give out amongst the Ecclesiastical Officers and your  
“Clergy, as many Copies of the same, as your Lordship shall think  
“conducibile to the End for which it is design’d.

“And, now my Lord, what the Success will be we must leave to God  
“Almighty; Yet (my Lord) I have this Confidence under God, that if  
“we do our Parts now at first seriously, by *God’s Help and the Assistance*

“of the Civil Power, considering the abundant Care and Provision the  
“Act contains for our Advantage, we  
“shall within a few Months\* see so  
“great an Alteration in the Distracted  
“ions of these Times, as that the seduced  
“People returning from their Seditious

*“and Self-seeking Teachers, to the Unity*

*\* The Archbishop here proved a false Prophet; for the Event was far from verifying his Prediction, in the sense that he intended.*

and

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*An. 1671.*

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 King's Consent to offer him what Place in *Scotland* he would choose; either a Church, or a Colledge in one of the Universities, 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 Murrey* a great Confident of his, sent Mr. *Baxter* the Frame of a Body

*“of the Church and Uniformity of God's Worship, it will be to the Glory of God, the Welfare of the Church, the Praise of his Majesty and Government, and the Happiness of the whole Kingdom. And so I bid your Lordship heartily Farewell, and am*

*My Lord,*

Lambeth-House,  
May 7. 1670.

*Your Lordship's most Affectionate Friend  
and Brother.*

GILBERT CANT.

*A Copy of a Letter from the Arch-Deacon of Lincoln, to the several Parishes within his Jurisdiction.*

*SIR,*

*“I* Have received a Command from my Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, to disperse Copies of the preceding Letter, to the several Parishes within the Jurisdiction of the Arch-Deaconry of *Lincoln*. In Pursuance therefore of his Lordship's Order, I send this to you; earnestly desiring you, to take especial Regard to perform whatsoever is therein requir'd of you, either in your own person, or relating to your Parishioners. And how you shall discharge your Duty therein, I shall expect an Account at the next Visitation. I am,

*Your very Loving Friend and Brother,*

J. CAWLEY, Archdiac. Lincoln.

*\* 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*, pag. 54.

of

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An. 1671.

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.

In the Year 1671.† The Diocese 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 Imprison'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* delivered 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.\*

† This Year was publish'd a sad Narrative of the Oppression of many Honest people in Devon, and other Parts, by Informers and Justices, but of their pretended Zeal to put the Act against Conventicles in

*Execution.*

\* *The Compiler of the Third Volume of the Compleat History of England, p. 286, seems not pleased that the Dissenters should complain of Persecution; and says that the Laws had imposed but moderate Penalties upon them; and that they defied the Justice of the Nation, &c. And so in Effect he justifies all the Severities against them. And if this yields him Comfort upon a cool Reflection, I am far from envying him his Satisfaction.*

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

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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 Ford's* Mayoralty (tho' he was suppos'd one of their greatest, and most knowing Adversaries) they remain'd undisturb'd.

\* *The Earl of Bristol called together a Meeting of the Chief of the Papists, and tendred them an Oath of Secrecy, and told them that the Breach between the Church and the Dissenters was now fix'd, and would be carried farther: And that therefore it was their Interest to make Use of all the Provocation the Dissenters might meet with, and to offer their Assistance to them in Order to the engaging them to Petition for a general Toleration: But they could never be brought to it. Bishop Burnet's Speech in the House of Lords, about the Occasional Bill, An. 1703, And he says my Lord Strafford told him this in the*

*Tower, and that he also mention'd it at the Bar of the House.*

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 Hands of the Bankers, 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 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.

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## CHAP. XIII.

*An Account of their Case, from the Time of the Indulgence in 1672, till the Death of King Charles the II.*

*An. 1672.*

### *King Charles's 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 Restauration. It was now publickly owned (as well as was in it self a great Truth) 'That there was very little Fruit of all those forcible Courses, and many frequent Ways of Coercion 'that had been used, for the reducing of all Erring 'and Dissenting persons, &c.' 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, nor 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 Limitation or Restriction, to any 'number of Places or Persons, or any Necessity of 'getting Approbation.\* This was applauded by some

\* 'Tis from hence that Bishop Stillingfleet dates the Presbyterian Separation, and freely reflects upon their Conduct at this Time, in his Preface to the Unreasonableness of Separation, p. 23. Many Writings were publish'd upon the Matter at that very Time. One wrote Toleration not to be abus'd; or a serious Question soberly debated and resolv'd upon Presbyterian Principles; viz. Whether it be

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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 King's 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*.

*advisable, especially for the Presbyterians either in Conscience or Prudence, to take Advantage from his Majesty's late Declaration, to deny or retract their Communion with our Parochial Congregations, and to gather themselves into distinct and separate Churches. On the other Side was publish'd a Tract with this Title, Indulgence not to be refus'd, Comprehension humbly de-freed, The Churches Peace earnestly endeavours. And short Reflections on Toleration not to be abused, &c. shewing that it is the Duty of Presbyterians, to make use of the Liberty granted; And that is no sinful Separation, nor contrary to Presbyterian Principles for those who are call'd Presbyterians to preach to, and meet in Congregations distinct from the Parochial Assemblies, under present Circumstances.*

#### **Mr. Baxter's Labours in the City, after the Indulgence**

The Merchants at this Time setting up a Weekly Lecture on *Tuesday* Morning at *Pinners-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 against 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, *Turner's* in *Fetter-Lane*, with great Convenience, and a considerable Blessing: but he never took any Thing

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for his Pains. He refuse'd any settled Place on the Lords Days, and Preach'd only occasionally.

In *February* the Parliament met, and Voted down the King's Declaration as illegal,\* and the King promised it should not be bro't into President. The Reason which the House of Commons gave for their Proceeding, was very remarkable. They said, 'That his Majesty's pre-tended Power of suspending the Penal Laws in Mat-ters Ecclesiastical, and might tend to the Interruption of 'the free Course of the Laws, and the altering of the 'Legislative Power, which hath always been acknow-ledg'd to reside in his Majesty, and his two Houses 'of Parliament.' And it should not be forgotten, that *Coleman* in his first Letter to Father *Le Chaise* speaking of the King's Promise, that it should not be a Precedent, calls it the *Final Renunciation* of it. At length the Commons consulted of a Bill for the Ease of *Protestant Dis-senters*, and many Members profess'd their Resolution 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 King's Declaration, and so leaving them to the Storm of the severe Laws that were in Force against them, which by

\* *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. Bishop Burnet in a Speech in the House of Lords about the Occasional Bill in 1703, took particular Notice of this, and tells us, that the Lord Clifford got some to move in Favour of the Dissenters, hoping that would have provok'd either the one Side or the other; and that either the Church Party might be offended with the Motion, or the Dissenters with the refusing it: But it was stopp'd by Alderman Love, who desir'd, that nothing with Relation to them might intervene, to stop the Security that the Nation and the Protestant Religion might have by the Test Act, and in this he was seconded by the most of his Party: So that the Act was obtain'd in some Measure by their Assistance; and therefore (as he well argues,) it would be hard to turn it against them; for the King*

was then highly offended with them for giving up his Declaration.

† 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 perswaded to believe. Our late Cpmpleat Historian, Vol. 3. p. 294; says, That whatever this Reflection is, the Truth was only thus: The Commons in this Parliament were by

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some Country Justices were rigorously put in Execution; tho' the most forbore.

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more and more sensible, that the papists were for their own Pleasure and Advantage, playing and striking the Church-men and Dissenters one against another. *Very well: And therefore they were for giving the Dissenters a Legal Toleration, in Order to the preventing any Thing of this Kind for the Future: They were never convinc'd, That such a Toleration was Needful, tho' Ten Years before they would not yield to it upon any Terms, which was all that was meant by the Reflections pointed at. But I think it is not improper to add, That Bishop Barnet in the Speech above mentioned, freely ascribes the Mildness of the House of Commons towards the Dissenters at this Time, to their Pleasantness with their Carriage in giving up the King's Declaration. This says he, wrought so much on the House that was so zealous for the Church, that they ordered a Bill to be brought in for the Ease of Protestant Dissenters, in which little Progress was indeed made; and yet to the End of that Parliament, Conventicles were held very Publickly, and they never pass'd a Vote or made an Address against them.*

#### *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 general Apprehension, that having no Hope to get the Parliament to set up their Religion 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 Country had dismal Expectations. The Parliament made an Act for preventing Dangers which might happen from *popish* Recusants; by which it was enacted, That no Man should be in any Office of

Trust, who would not take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and that all that should be admitted into any Office Civil or Military after the first Day of *Easter-Term* in 1673, should receive the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church of *England*, within three Months after their Admittance, in some Publick Church, upon some Lords-Day. Upon the passing of this Test Act, 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, and Voted against the Duke's Marriage with an *Italian Papist*, a Kin to the Pope. They re-

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new'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, Oct. 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 *Orrery* 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 bet-

“ter 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 Liberty, &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 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 God-

\* *This Year (1673.) was publish’d, a Discourse of true Religion, Heresy, Schism Toleration, and what best Means may be us’d against the Growth of Popery.*

fathers

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“fathers 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  
 “Interment 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 Diocese,  
 “paying the Incumbent his Dues. That no Ordain-  
 “ed Ministers be put upon renouncing their Ordina-  
 “tion, but upon Proof of their fitness for the Mini-  
 “stry, receive by Word, or a written Instrument, a  
 “Legal Authority to Exercise their Ministry in any Con-  
 “gregation 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, un-  
 “der Laws of Peace and Safety. Upon the whole he  
 “added, that if the Sacraments were but left free to

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“be administred and receiv’d by none but Volunteers:  
 “And Liberty granted to Ministers to Preach in those  
 “Churches, where the Common Prayer was read by o-  
 “thers; 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 *Orrery* 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 against 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, 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 med-

dled not with them, besides their necessary Dissent from them. Just before the Dissolution of the Parliament,

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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 Terror out of the Room, thinking it was falling: But remembering the like at *Dunstan's* 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 with the Ministers of State, advis'd him to recall his

\* *Now was publish'd, certain Considerations tending to promote Peace and Good Will amongst Protestants. And also the Nonconformists Plea for Uniformity: Being the Judgment of 84 Ministers of the County Palatine of Lancaster: Of a whole Provincial Assembly of Ministers and Elders in and about London: And of several other eminent Preachers, English, Scottish, and New-English, concerning Toleration, and Uniformity in Matters of Religion; together with a Resolution of this Question, Whether the Penalty of the Law ought to be inflicted on those who pretend and plead Conscience in Opposition to what the Law commands? with several others on the other Side.*

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Licences,

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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 *Poperly*, than ever was done by any *Papists*. 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 Poultnes*, 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.

*A fresh Attempt for an Accommodation of the Differences.*

Another Session of Parliament approaching, Bishop *Morley*, and Bishop *Ward*, were in Appearance, very sensible of the Danger of *Popery*, and therefore very forward for Abatements; and taking in the *Nonconfor-*

*mists;*

\* *Of the infamous Lives and lamentable Deaths, of many of these Informers, See Conformists 4th Plea for the Nonconformists, page 71, &c.*

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*mists*, 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 satisfactory: But when they communicated it to the Bishops, there was an End of the Treaty; a great many Things could not be obtain'd:\* The Terms agreed on, were much of the same Nature with those above mention'd as propos'd to my Lord *Orrery*, with very little Variation.

\* Mr. Baxter sent to Dr. Tillotson, to know whether he might have leave to speak of it, in Order to the promoting Concord, and to signify how far they were agreed, that their Names might be some Advantage to the Work, and he thereupon return'd him the following Letter dated April 11. 1675.

SIR,

I Took the first Opportunity after you were with us to speak to the Bishop of Sal—, who promised to keep the Matter private, and only to acquaint the Bishop of Ch— with it in Order to a Meeting; But upon some General Discourse; I plainly perceived several Things could not be obtained. However, he promised to appoint a Time of Meeting, but I have not heard from him since. I am unwilling my Name should be used in this Matter; not but that I do most heartily desire an Accommodation, and shall always endeavour it: But I am sure it will be a Prejudice to me, and signify nothing to the effecting of the Thing, which as Circumstances are, cannot pass in either House, without the Concurrence of a considerable Part of the Bishops, and the countenance of his Majesty, which at present I see little Reason to expect.

I am,

Your Affectionate Brother

and Servant,

J. TILLOTSON.

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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 100l. 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 could

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 he would meddle no more.

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 Sum 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 Privilege, of their House, which was to Vote freely, and not to be pre-obliged by an Oath to the Prelates. After a great many Debates, tho' the Test was carry'd by a

† *A Large Account of the Debates on this Head in the House of Peers, may be seen, in a Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country, that is publish'd in the Second Volume of the State Tracts of King Charles's Reign, p. 41, &c.*

Majority,

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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 re-

duc'd it to these Words of a Declaration, and an Oath. 'I *A.B.* do Declare, that it is not lawful on any Pre-  
'tence 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* Re-  
'ligion 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*

\* *I think it not amiss here to insert,*

*A Letter from Archbishop Sheldon, to Dr. Compton Bishop of London,  
dated Jan. 17. 1675.*

*Right Reverend, and my very good Lord,*

I Have thought fit for some Reasons that nearly concern the Church, to  
pray and require your Lordship, and by you the rest of my Brethren  
the Bishops of this Province, that forthwith upon the Receipt hereof,  
you send Letters directed to the Archdeacons and Commissaries of your  
respective Diocesses, willing and straitly charging them, that as well by  
Conference with the Ministers, as the Church-Wardens of each Parish, or  
such others as may but give them the most punctual Satisfaction, they par-  
ticularly inform themselves as to the several Enquiries hereafter mention'd:  
And that having gain'd the most true and certain Information herein,  
that they are able, they presently after this their next Visitation of *Easter*  
ended, transmit their Account thereupon in Writing unto their respective  
Diocesans, and they to your Lordship, by you to be Communicated to  
me, with your Lordships first conveniency. And to the end that they  
may be the more circumspect and sudden in the Execution of this Affair,  
I think it not unnecessary that there be some Advertisement intimated unto  
them, how that even they themselves and their Jurisdictions are in some

measure

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*An.1676.*

*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, 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*.

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measure herein also concern'd. So not doubting of your Lordships Care in the Premises, I bid your Lordship heartily Farewel. And am,

My Lord,

*Your Lordships Affectionate Friend and Brother,*

GILBERT CANT.

*The Inquiries.*

1. What Number of Persons are there by common Account and Estimation inhabiting within each Parish subject to your Jurisdiction.
2. What Number of Popish Recusants, or Persons suspected for such Recusancy are there resident among the Inhabitants aforesaid.
3. What Number of other Dissenters are there in each Parish, of what Sect soever, which eother obstinately refuse, or wholly absent themselves from the Communion of the Church of *England*, at such Times as by Law they are required.

*For the Right Reverend Father in God,  
Henry, Lord Bishop of London.*

*This Year 1675, there was a Book Printed Entituled, The Peaceable Design, or an Account of the Nonconformists Meetings, by some Ministers of London, which Dr. Stillingfleet, who reflected upon it in the Preface to his Unreasonableness of Separation, p. 25, says, was Printed with a Design to present it to the Parliament. The same Year came out, some Reasons which prevail'd with the Dissenters in Bristol, to continue their Meetings, however Prosecuted or Disturb'd. Now also was publish'd, Separation yet no Schism, or Nonconformists no Schismatics, in Answer to Mr. Sharp's Sermon before the Lord Mayor, by Mr. Thomas Wadsworth. And Mr. Stockton's Rebuke to Informers, with a Plea for the Ministers of the Gospel, called Nonconformists, and their Meetings, and Advice to those to whom these Informers Address themselves, for Assistance in their Undertakings. Now also was Printed Naked Truth, said to be Written by the Bishop of Hereford; which contain'd several bold Truths, and had several Answers, of which some were Smart, and others more Mild.*

How-

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*An. 1766.*

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 Hern* 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 Pro-rogu'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

\* *In 1676, were publish'd more Animadversions on Naked Truth, Lex Calvini, or the Author of Naked Truth stript Naked, 4to. 1676. A modest Survey of the most considerable Things in a Discourse lately publish'd, entitled Naked Truth. Mr. Smirk, or the Divine in Mode: Being certain Annotations, upon the Animadversions on Naked Truth: Suppos'd to be Written by Andrew Marvel.*

Dr.

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An. 1678.

Dr. *Lamplugh* in St. *Martins* Parish, he offer'd him his Chappel in *Oxenden-Street* for Publick Worship, and he accepted it.\*

\* *The Gentleman that Compiled the Third Volume of the Compleat History of England, quoting this Passage, p. 412, says, That that part of the Relation as to the Offer of a Chappel, is known to be false. This appearing to be a direct Contradiction to Mr. Baxter's Relation of a matter of Fact, which he himself was concern'd in, troubled many. The rather, because it seem'd to strike as the Credit of his whole History. Mr. Baxter had not only asserted in the History of his Life, P. 179, that he was encourag'd by Dr. Tillotson to make the offer of the Chappel, and that it was accepted to his great Satisfaction; but he had mention'd it in several of his Works that were publish'd in his Life time: And particularly in his Vreviate of the Life or his Wife, he says, p. 57: That Dr. Lloyd and the Parishoners accepted of it for their Publick Worship, and that he and his Wife asked them more Rent, than they were to pay for the Ground, and the Room over for a Vestry or 5l; asking no Advantage for all the Money laid out on the Building Which was never known to be contradicted, till this History was publish'd. Application therefore was made to the Compiler of that Third Volume in a respectful way, and he was requested to signifie upon what Grounds this was charg'd as a Falsity. Hereupon, he like a Gentleman, a Christian, and a Divine, frankly offer'd to consult my Lord Bishop of Worcester upon the Matter, who was pleas'd to give it under his Hand, (and I have it now by me) That Mr. Baxter being disturb'd in his Meeting-House in *Oxenden-street*, by the King's Drums, which Mr. Secretary *Coventry* caus'd to be beat under the Windows, made an offer of letting it to the Parish of St. *Martins* for a Tabernacle at the Rent of Forty Pounds a Year; and that his Lordship hearing it, said he lik'd it well: And that thereupon Mr. *Baxter* came to himself, and upon his proposing the same Thing to him, he acquainted the Vestry, and they took it upon those Terms. This Account I publish'd in the Narrative prefix'd to Mr. Baxter's Practical Works, and here repeat, with due Thanks to his Lordship for his frankness, and to the Gentleman who consulted him, for his most obliging readiness to do Justice to Truth, tho' not much to the Credit of the Compleat History.*

In 1678, The Popish Plot broke out, which exceedingly alarum'd the whole Nation. The House of Com-

mons after many warm Debates, come to this Resoluti-  
on, 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 for destroying the Protestant Religion by  
Law Establish'd.* Most of their time was spent in  
searching into this Plot, and in endeavouring to pre-  
vent the Fatal Consequences of it. Many suffer'd for

it,

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*An. 1678.*

*An. 1679.*

it, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of Great Men  
about the Court to save and screen them. The Parti-  
culars 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 Provi-  
sion 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 *Au-  
gust* the 14th:★ But before that time, they were Dis-  
solv'd by Proclamation, and another call'd to Sit at  
*Westminster* in *October* following; when they assem-  
bled, they were Adjourn'd till the 26th of *January*: By  
which time, a New Plot was Discover'd by *Danger-  
field*, 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* 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

\* *This Year, 1679, was publish'd Mr. Alsop's Melius Inquirendum.*

† *There was now publish'd a short and true Account of the several Advances the Church of England hath made towards Rome; Or a Model of the Grounds upon which the Papists for these Hundred Years have built their Hopes and Expectations, that England would e'er long return to Popery. By Dr. Moulin, sometime History Professor of Oxford.*

Com-

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Committee. Having obtain'd a Copy of the *Heads* of a *Bill for Uniting his Majesty's Protestant Subjects*, that was agreed on at a *Committee*, *Nov. 18, 1680*, I shall here insert them.

“1. All Persons that shall Subscribe, and give their Assent and Consent, to Thirty six of the Thirty nine Articles, *viz.* all that concern the Doctrine of the Church of *England* only, shall be capable of any Ecclesiastical Living or Preferment, as if they had subscrib'd, and given their Assent and Consent to all the Thirty nine Articles.

“2. No Person to be admitted to any Ecclesiastical Living or Preferment, that does not first take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and take and subscribe the Declaration taken by the Parliament.

“3. The use of the Surplice to be wholly taken away, except in the Kings Chappel and Cathedral Churches.

“4. No Minister to be oblig’d to declare their Assent and Consent upon the Reading of the Common Prayer according to the Act of Uniformity.

“5. No Minister to be oblig’d to renounce the Covenant.

“6. None to be compell’d to use the Cross in Baptism, or suffer for not doing it: But if any Parent desire to have his Child Christen’d, according to the Form now us’d, and the Minister will not use the Sign, it shall be Lawful for that Parent to procure another Minister to do it. And if the proper Minister shall refuse to omit the Ceremony of the Cross, it shall be Lawful for the Parent who would not have his Child so Baptiz’d, to procure another Minister who will do it without the Cross, according to his Desire.

“7. None shall be denied the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, tho’ they do not use the Gestures of Kneeling in the Act of Receiving.

“8. If any Communicant shall not think fit to come up to the Communion Table there to receive the Sacrament, the Minister of the Parish, or his Curate shall not refuse to Administer the Sacrament to him, but shall go to the Place in the Church where such Person is, and there deliver him the same.

“As

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*An. 1680.*

“As for such as notwithstanding these Alterations, cannot Communicate with the Church of *England*; neither the Statutes of the 23 or 28 of *Eliz*; 3 of *Jam*; nor any other former Laws made against Popish Recusants, shall be extended to *Protestant Dissenters*; viz. such as shall make and subscribe the Declaration following. [Here insert the Declaration when agreed upon.]

“That all Persons that shall take the said Declaration shall be exempted from all the Penalties and Forfeitures already incurr’d, by Force of any of the a-

“foresaid Laws against Papists, without any Fee or  
“further Charge whatsoever.

“Such Persons as shall make and subscribe the De-  
“claration aforesaid, shall not be liable to any of the  
“Penalties in the Act for suppressing of Conventicles,  
“nor the Act of the 35th *Eliz*, nor be Persecuted in  
“any Ecclesiastical Court, by reason of their Noncon-  
“forming to the Church of *England*.

“But nothing herein shall exempt the Persons afore-  
“said from the payment of Tythes, or other Duties  
“due and payable by other *Protestants* of the Church  
“of *England*, or from any Prosecution for the same.

“So as such Persons do not meet for Religious Wor-  
“ship armed with Fire Arms, nor in any Place with  
“the Doors shut, during all the Time of Prayers and  
“Preaching, except during the Time of Administring  
“the Sacrament.

“If any such Persons as aforesaid shall be chosen or  
“appointed to be the Office of High Constable, or  
“Petty Constable, Church Warden, Overseer for the  
“Poor, or any other Parochial or — Office, he shall  
“have Liberty to find Deputy, such a One as shall  
“be approved by Two Justices of the Peace.

“Neither the Act against Conventicles, nor the  
“Five Mile Act be prosecuted against any Mini-  
“sters, that shall make and subscribe the Declaration  
“aforesaid; and shall not Preach in any Place, but on-  
“ly with the Doors open as aforesaid.

“Any Justice of the peace may require any Person  
“that goes to any Meeting for Religious Worship to  
“make and subscribe the Declaration as aforesaid; and  
“every Person so refusing shall be committed to Pri-  
“son, and his Name certify’d by the Justice of Peace  
“to

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*An. 1680.*

“to the Quarter Sessions: And of such Person shall  
“refuse to make and subscribe the Declaration at the  
“Quarter Sessions, he shall be taken for a Papist Con-

“vict, and suffer accordingly; and be liable to the Penalties of all the said Laws.

“No Person that will not take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, when tendred to him, shall be admitted to take the said Declaration that cannot within Twenty one Days, bring Two sufficient Witnesses to Certify upon Oath, that they believe him to be a Dissenting *Protestant*, and also bring a Certificate from his Congregation, owning him as one of them.

“Till that Certificate shall be produc’d, and the Two Witnesses come to Attest his being a *Protestant*, Dissenter as aforesaid, the Justice to take Recognition, with Two Sureties for his proving the same, and if he cannot give such Securities, to commit him to Prison.

“The Laws against Persons not coming to Church, shall be still in force against all such as do not come to some Church of the Church of *England*, or some other Congregation, or Assembly for Religious Worship, permitted and allowed by this Law.

But finding this would not go, a Bill was prepar’d purely for exempting his Majesty’s *Protestant* Subjects, Dissenting from the Church of *England*, from the Penalties impos’d upon the Papists by the Act of 25 *Eliz*. It passed the Commons, and was agreed to by the Lords, but when the King came to the House to pass the Bills, this was taken from the Table, and never heard of more: Which was not likely to be without the King’s Order, or Connivance. Many Leading Men spake in the House of Commons, while these Matters were under Debate there: 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*, Colonel *Birch*, on one side: &c. And several others also on the opposite side. 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 af-

*Debates of the House of Commons at Parliament in 1680. page 207, 211, 212.*

terwards;

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*An. 1680.*

terwards; *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 14th of *Jan.* they were Prorogu'd: But before they rose, they came to these Two Resolutions: *Resolv'd Nemine Contradicente, That it is the Opinion of this House, that the Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James against Popish Recusants, ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters. And 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 weakning the Protestant Interest, an Encouragement 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. There was a complaint then made of the unprecedented loss of the foremention'd Bill *for the Repealing the Act of 35 Eliz.* but without any Satisfaction or Redress.

Notwithstanding that the Fears of Popery were in these Times so great and general, and manifestly but too well grounded, yet did Dr. *Stillingfleet* 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 purpose, (tho' most People tho't very unseasonably) in a Sermon before the Lord Mayor, on *May the 2d*, 1680, Intituled *the Mischief of Separation*. He there takes notice of it as an

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*An. 1680.*

Acknowledgment of many of the Dissenting Ministers, That *Communion with the Publick Churches was Lawful*, and he refers to their Two Meetings to consider the lawfulness of Parish Worship that Mr. *Baxter* had mention'd in Print, (which have been before hinted in this Narrative): And yet a few Pages after, *he complains that the Lawfulness of joyning with the Church in Publick Assemblies was kept as a mighty secret in the Breasts of the Teachers; least they should seem to condemn themselves, whilst they preach'd against Separation in a separate Congregation; But it appear'd to unprejudic'd Standers by, a pleasant Fancy, that he should represent Men as having a design to conceal, what he knew they had publish'd to all the World in Print. In the same Sermon, the Dr. lamented, That when the Dissenters so generally consented in this Case, there should be so few either of their Preachers or People that came ordinarily to the Publick Congregations. And adds, That it is hard to understand if occasional Communion be Lawful, that constant Communion should not be a Duty, &c.*

An Answer was Written to this Sermon by Dr. *Owen*, with great Gravity and Seriousness; in which among other suitable and seasonable Remarks, he upon occa-

sion of the Doctors caution to the Nonconformists, *not to be always complaining of their Hardships and Persecution*, makes this Reply: *They that is the Nonconformists say, after so many of them have died in Common Goals, so may have indur'd long Imprisonments, not a few being at this Day in the same durance; so many driven from their Habitations into a wandring Condition, to preserve for a while the Liberty of their Persons; so many have been reduc'd unto Want and Penury, by the taking away of their Goods; and from some the very Instruments of their Livelihood; after the Prosecutions which have been against them in all Courts of Justice in this Nation, on Informations, Inditements, and Suits, to the great Charge of all of them who are so Persecuted, and the Ruin of some; after so many Ministers and their Families have been bro't into the utmost outward Streights which Nature can subsist under; after all their perpetual Fears and Dangers wherewith they have been exercis'd and disquieted, they think it hard they should be complain'd of, for complaining, by them who are at Ease, &c.*

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*page 12, 13.  
p. 21.  
p. 32.  
p. 53, 54.*

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*An. 1680.*

Another Answer to the same Sermon, that was very Particular, Warm and Close, was publish'd by Mr. Baxter. Among other remarkable Hints, he in one Place expresses himself thus: *I will never be a Member of a Particular Church, which will forbid me Communion with all others that differ from them; yea, that doth not hold its Communion in Unity with all the true Christian Churches on Earth.* He afterwards instances in many Things that are Lawful, but not matter of Duty. And concludes with these Words; *If you will rather let in Toleration of Popery, than you will Tolerate Protestants, that fear the Guilt of Lying, Perjury, and many other Evils,*

*should they do that which you confess indifferent, let God be Judge between you and Us.*

A Third Answer was drawn up with great Wit and Smartness by Mr. *Alsop*, who oppos'd the *Mischief of Impositions* to the Doctor's *Mischief of Separation*. He briskly turns upon him his own Words and Phrases, and retorts his Charges and Accusations. He forces the Doctors Text out of his Hands, and proves he mistook the Sense of it. He Argues also strenuously against him from *Rom. 14*. He proves that occasional Communion may be Lawful, and yet constant Communion not a Duty. He retorts his Cautions upon him: And confronts his Advices, with counter Advice; and at length concludes with these Words: *I must openly Profess, after All I can hear or read against the Cause of Nonconformity, I am more confirm'd, that all the Wit of Man can never prove the Dissenters in their way of Worship Guilty of the Mischiefs of Separation, nor justifie the exacts of such Terms of Communion as are no way commanded by the Word of God, no way necessary to the executing of those Commands; but they must remain still Guilty of the Mischief of these Impositions.*

A Fourth Reply to the same Sermon, was intituled, *a Letter Written out of the Country to a Person of Quality in the City; who took Offence at the late Sermon of Dr. Stillingfleet Dean of St. Pauls, before the Lord Mayor;* and was drawn up by Mr. Howe with great clearness and strength of Reasoning. He shews how unreasonably the Dr. endeavours to keep the Dissenters, who after the utmost search could not be satisfied to Conform, in a State of Damnation for scrupling the Ceremonies; at least in a neglect of the necessary Means of Salvation.

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*p. 57. p. 58. p. 107. p. 80. p. 102.*

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*An. 1680.*

He shews his Arguments both *ad Rem* & *ad Hominem* to be unconcluding. He reflects freely on the Doctor,



for his too great Acrimony, and too little seriousness in his way of Management; and yet closes with a very genteel and handsome Address to such as were offended with the Doctors Sermon, to abate their Indignation, and moderate their Censures, and stir them up to turn their Reflections upon him, into serious Prayers for him, for which he shews there is very just Occasion.

A Fifth Reply was written by Mr. *Barret* of *Nottingham*, and intituled, *The Rector of Sutton committed with the Dean of St. Paul's: Or a Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet's Irenicum, his Discourses of Excommunication, Idolatry, and other Writings, against his late Sermon of the Mischief of Separation.* Wherein, he with great Modesty, and a becoming Christian Temper, reflects upon those Things in the Sermon which appeared to him the most liable to Censure. And he that would understand the Business of Schism, and Separation of the Church, and Church Power, and Church Order, of the Rule we are to Walk by, and the true Way of healing our Breaches, would do well to give the Sermon and these several Answers a serious Perusal. And yet while the Doctor and his Opposites were eagerly debating Matters, the Common Enemy took an Advantage by their Scuffle, to advance in his Progress towards their intended Ruin.

*An.* 1681.

The Poor Dissenters were Prosecuted afresh, in Deference of the Votes of the Parliament in their Favour. Nay, several zealous Protestants, who had been most Active against the Papists, were try'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 enough by the Justices of *Hicks's-Hall*, and in the Borough of *Southwark*, and by some of the City Justices also.\*

\* *This Year was publish'd, An Appeal of all the Nonconformists in England to God, and all the Protestants in Europe, in Order to manifest their Sincerity in Point of*

*Obedience to God and the King: By Lewis Du Moulin. The Vindication of Liturgies, lately publish'd by Dr. Falkner, prov'd no Vindication of the Lawfulness, Usefulness, and Antiquity of Set Forms of Publick Ministerial Prayer, to be generally us'd by, or impos'd on all Ministers, 8vo. 1681. By Dr. Collins.*

His

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*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 Five Miles of a Corporation, and Five more Warrants to distrain for 195 l. for Five 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* 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 distreined 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.

This Year Dr. *Stillingfleet* Printed his *Unreasonableness of Separation: Or an Impartial Account of the History, Nature and Pleas of the present Separation from the Communion of the Church of England*, to which several Letters are annex'd, concerning the Nature of

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our Differences, and the way to compose them, from several Eminent Divines Abroad. There Letters are Applauded by our late Compleat Historian,\* and by several others.

But he that consults the Printed *French* Letters of Monsieur *Claude*, who wrote one of those Letters that are Printed at the end of Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Book, will see no great Cause for boasting on the Church side upon this Occasion. For whereas the Letter that the Dr. has Printed, is the 37th in Number among the *French* Letters of Monsieur *Claude*, that which immediately follows, and is the 38th in Number, and Written to a certain Lady, and dated at *Paris*, April 16. 1681, gives no little Elucidation to what went before.† I'll therefore add a part of the Letter:

“MADAM,

“HAving understood several Ways, that many Persons have not taken my Sense and Expressions concerning the present State of the Church of *England* well, I tho't it not amiss to express myself 'to you more particularly, that you may know the

“Innocence of my Thoughts and Intentions. First of  
 “all, I solemnly Protest to you, that when I wrote  
 “upon this Subject to my Lord Bishop of *London*, I  
 “had no prospect that my Letter would be Printed, or  
 “made Publick: Nay, I was surpriz’d and astonish’d  
 “to see it both in *French* and *English* at the end of the  
 “Book you sent me: And besides, you may if you  
 “please, Madam, rest assur’d, that in what I wrote I  
 “aim’d but at Two Things: To Justify us from a Ca-  
 “lumny which some charge us with, as if we believ’d  
 “there could be no Salvation under the Episcopal Go-  
 “vernment; and to assist as far as my Weakness would  
 “allow me, in a good and holy Reunion of the Two  
 “Parties. As for the first, I think I have justly enough  
 “explain’d the Sentiments of all the *Protestants* of this  
 “Kingdom, and in Particular, all those that are ho-  
 “nour’d with our Character: And I am assur’d that  
 “the *English* Presbyterians would not go so far, as to  
 “question the possibility of Salvation under the Mi-  
 “nistry of Bishops. They have too much Light, and

\* *Vol. 3. p. 393.*

† *See Oeuvres Posthumes de Monsieur Claude, Tome Cinquieme, p. 264, &c.*

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“Wisdom, and Christian Charity to be capable of this.  
 “As to the second, I endeavour’d to keep to all the  
 “Rules that ought to be observ’d in as great and im-  
 “portant an Affair as this, I express’d myself only in  
 “a way of desire, and signifying what I could wish the  
 “Presbyterians would attentively consider, I was not  
 “silent with regard to the Episcopalians. I condemn’d  
 “the Excesses which some run into on one side and  
 “t’other, and shew’d as far as my little Light would  
 “help me, the Reasons that ought to oblige both  
 “the one and the other, to a just and reasonable Ac-  
 “commodation, &c. And afterwards: Would it not be  
 “the best way, on one side and t’other to think of a

“good Peace and Concord, by quitting on each side  
 “what can reasonably be quitted? For I am assur’d that  
 “the Presbyterians are not such Enemies of the Episco-  
 “pal Government, as not to yield to it if it were Mo-  
 “derated, and those Things were but remov’d out of  
 “the Service and Discipline which are most Offensive to  
 “them: And I am also perswaded that the Bishops are  
 “not such Enemies to their own Interest, as not to yield  
 “much to the desire of a numerous People to Re-unite  
 “them intirely under their Crook. Nor do I doubt,  
 “but that the fear of God, the desire of his Glory, and  
 “the Love of the Church of Jesus Christ, are strong  
 “enough both in the one and the other of them, to oblige  
 “them, to seek a Peace that is so profitable, and so desira-  
 “ble to all good People. These, Madam; are my true  
 “and sincere Thoughts, and ’tis only upon these Principles  
 “that I wrote to my Lord Bishop of *London*, and not  
 “to irritate any Man: And I am oblig’d to you for gi-  
 “ving me an Opportunity of making my Sentiments  
 “known to you. May God by his Providence and  
 “Grace so over-rule the Confusions of the World, as to  
 “draw from thence Good to his Church, and Glory to  
 “his Name. I commit you to his Protection and Good-  
 “ness, assuring you that I am with all my Heart,

Yours, *Ec. Ec.*

But this and the other Letters which Dr. *Stillingfleet* added as an Appendix, are reflected on with great Modesty by Dr. *Gilbert Rule*, in the close of his *Rational Defence of Nonconformity*, in which Book, the whole Discourse of the *Unreasonableness of Separation* is consider’d

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Paragraph by Paragraph. Mr. *John Troughton* also publish’d an Apology for the Nonconformists, shewing their Reasons both for not Conforming, and for their Preaching Publicly tho’ forbidden by Law. With an

Answer to Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Sermon and the Defence of it, as far as concerneth the Nonconformists Preaching.\*

\* *Many other Tracts upon the Controversy between the Church and the Dissenters were also this Year, (1682.) publish'd: As the Harmony between the old and present Nonconformist Principles, in Relation to the Terms of Conformity with respect to both the Clergy and the people, 4to. A sad and lamentable Cry of Oppression and Cruelty in the City of Bristol, relating to the Persecution of certain Dissenting Protestants. Reasons humbly offer'd, proving it inconsistent with the Interest of England, that the Civil Magistrate should put the Penal Laws in Execution against Protestant Dissenters. An Account of the Principles and Practice of several Confonformists, wherein it appears that their Religion is no other than what is profest in the Church of England. By Mr. Corbet. The Samaritan: Shewing, that many and unnecessary Impositions are not the Oil that must heal the Church: Together with the Way or Means to do it.*

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 Three Estates, King Loras and Commons, &c.* The 7th this: *Self-Preservation is the Fundamental Law of Nature, and supercedes the Obligations of all others, whensoever they stand in Competition with it.†* And some time after, the Grand Jury of *Westminster*

\* *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.*

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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 10*l.* 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 600*l.* to be distributed by Mr. *Baxter* to Sixty 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. This year also there was a most cruel Order made by the Justices of Peace at the Quarter sessions at *Exon* against all Nonconforming Ministers, allowing a Reward of Forty Shillings to any Person that apprehended on of them: And the Bishop requir'd the Order to be read by all the Clergy, the next Sunday after it should be tendred

*As for the 7th of them, it could not well be denied, by any that left King James to go to the Prince of Orange, which certainly was and is inexcusable, if not upon the Score of Self-Preservation.*

*Bishop Burnet in his Speech in the House of Lords, on May 16. 1709/10. upon Occasion of Dr. Sacheverell's Impeachment, mentioning this Pompous Decree at Oxford, takes Notice how little a While they stood to it, in those Words. Three Days after we left Exeter, a Head of a Colledge came to the Prince to invite him to come to Oxford, assuring him that the University would declare for him. He went as near it as Abingdon, but then the sudden Turn of Affairs at London obliging him to haste up, the Association was sent thither, and was sign'd by the Heads of the Colledges, and many others there; some doing it in a particular Warmth of Expression, and saying*

that their Hearts as well as their hands went with it. *Thus as he observes, they contradicted their fam'd Decree Five Years after it was made. And yet in a little Time, they upon some Disappointments or other Views, seem'd to take another Turn back to it again, by embracing the Notion of a King de facto, which is but a foster Word for an Usurper. But in the Year 1709, this Decree of their's was burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman, together with Dr. Sachaverell's Sermons, by Order of the House of Lords.*

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**to them. The Order may be seen at large, in Mr. Baxter's Nonconformity stated and argued, to which is prefix'd.\***

**This**

\* *There was now publish'd The Nonconformists Plea for Lay Communion with the Church of England by Mr. John Corbet, together with an Account of the Judgment and Practice of some Ministers who were depriv'd.*

*Mr. Howe also now publish'd a Sermon in the Continuation of the Morning Exercise, upon this Question; What may most hopefully be attempted to allay Animosities among Protestants, that our Divisions may not be our Ruin? In which speaking of Love as one of the best Means to unite, establish, and preserve Christians, he expresses himself thus:*

[[p. 89.]] Among those that dissent from the Church of England, there are some that think it not simply unlawful to Conform; but find how ever what is requir'd in the Church less edifying to them: And tho' they can therefore partake in it at some Times, think themselves more ordinarily bound to attend such other Means as they find more conducing to their Spiritual Profit and Advantage; judging they have an undoubted Right from Christ, anciently allow'd from Age to Age, in the best Times of the Christian Church, and never justly taken from them, of choosing the Pastors to whose ordinary Care and Conduct they shall commit their Souls. [[p. 83.]] These Persons accounting the Publick Worship substantially agreeable to Divine Institution, tho' in some Accidentials too disagreeable, they think there is more to incline them at some Times to attend it, than totally to disown it. For what Worship is there on Earth, that is in all Things uncorrupt? And they apprehend it fit to testify their Union with the sincere Christians that may be stately under that Form, especially in a Time when the Contest is so high in the World, between them that profess the Substance of Reform'd Christianity, and them that have much deform'd it: And conceive it becoming them at any Time to express their own Unconfinedness to a Party, and to use that Liberty, which they think should not be judged by another man's Conscience; which yet they would have regard to, where there are not greater Reasons to preponderate. They are indeed under a Disadvantage (with them that are apt to use a greater Liberty in their Censures that they do in their Practice in these Matters) when it falls out that their partial Compliance is the Means of their Security from Penalties: And their Disadvantage is greater, whose Judgment to this Purpose has not been formerly declar'd and made known. But they for Shame ought to be silent, whose Compliance gains



them not only Immunity, but great Emoluments. [[p. 92.]] And if it be said against them, are they not at all Times oblig'd to use the Means which are most edifying? They may say, at all Times when they have nothing to out weigh their own Edification.

*This Year 1683, Dr. Witby also publish'd The Protestant Reconciler, in two Parts: Humbly pleading, for Conescension to Dissenting Brethren in*

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Things

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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 six Officers at his Study Door, who kept him from his Bed and Food by watching all Night: And the 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 some Time after carried 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 Minister 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

\* *The Bishop of Sarum in his Speech in the House of Lords, 1703, says, That in the End of K. Charles his reign, a new Prosecution of the Dissenters was set on Foot, and that even then when the Severities against them were very hard, they were solicited by the Agents of the Court of Petition for a General Toleration, but they could not be prevail'd on.*

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*Things Indifferent and unnecessary for the sake of Peace: And shewing how unreasonable it is to be make such Things the necessary Conditions of Communion, Part 1. And earnestly perswading the Dissenting Laity to join in full Communion with the Church of England; and answering all the Objection of the Nonconformists against the Lawfulness of their Submission unto the Rites and Constitutions of that Church. Part II.*

*This Year also was publish'd the Conformists Plea for the Nonconformists. In Four Parts.*

*King's*

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*Kings-Bench* Bar, by a *Surrey* Jury, before the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferys*, and 3 other Judges of that Court, *Withins, Holloway* and *Walcot*. The High Treason as laid in the Indictment and sworn by the Witnesses, was that in a Sermon which he preach'd 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 Griefs 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 (meaning 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 three Women. They Swore to the Words as they stand, without the *Innuendos*; the Trial lasted about seven 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 Busi-

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ness, 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 Pilloried 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.\*

\* *This Year Dr. Jeh. Chauncy, published a Narrative of the Proceedings of*

the Court of Sessions in *Bristol* against him, to his Conviction on the Statute of the 30th Eliz. and his Abduration of all the King's Dominions: This Year also, Mr. Baxter publish'd a Tract intituled, *Catholick Communion defended; in which he gave his Reasons to the World for Communicating with the Parish Churches, and justify'd them against Twelve Arguments of Dr. Owen's to the contrary.*

About this Time also was publish'd a Collection of Cases written to recover the Dissenters to the Communion of the Church of England, which was afterwards Abridg'd by Mr. Bennet of Colchester. Some have wandred that this Collection has not been distinctly answer'd. As to which I have this to say, that it was once intended to have return'd an Answer to them distinctly, and the Work was divid'd among several Persons, but at length laid aside; not upon the Account of any peculiar difficulty that was found in it, but because it was tho't partly needless, and partly unseasonable.

These Cases are 23 in Number; of which there are two, viz. the 15th and the 17th, the Case of Infant Baptism, and the Perswasive to frequent Communion, that do not concern the Body of the dissenters. The 9th, about a scrupulous Conscience, was answer'd long ago, by Mr. Delanne, to his Cost and Smart, as the World well knows. The 2nd and 3rd, about Church Communion, were answer'd by Mr. Nathaniel Taylor, in 1702: And the 16th, about the Cross in Baptism, by Mr. James Pierce.

And he that needs and Answer to the rest, may find it in some or other of those numerous Tracts that have been publish'd by the Dissenters, upon the several Parts of the Controversy.

This if any Man thinks he wants an Answer to Dr. Scott, and Dr. Claget about Forms of Prayer, and about the Common Prayer, I recommend to him Dr. Collins's two Books about the Reasons why some pious Nonconforming Ministers in England judge it sinful for them to perform their Ministerial Acts in Publick Solemn Prayer, by the prescribed forms of others, &c. in Answer to Dr. Falconer. If any Man wants an Answer to Case the 10th, about Scandal, let him read Mr. Samuel Clark's Treatise of Scandal. And there is hardly any one of the rest, but a sufficient Answer to it may be found, in some of the numerous Writings of Mr. Baxter on these Matters.

January

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January 19, Mr. Jenkyns Dy'd in *Newgate*, as did also Mr. *Bampfild* and Mr. *Ralphson*, 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.*

**T**HAT 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 *Poper*y 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 Ruin,

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\* See his Charge to his Clergy, in his *Primary Visitation*, pag. 49.

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and had left no Method unattempted in Order to it. 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 but drive the contending Parties the nearer to each other, and make them at last the more vigorous in their united Effort, to avert that common Ruin, which hung over their Heads. So that all Parties were surpriz'd, and found themselves Mistaken; but an infinitely Wise God over-rul'd all for Good.\*

\* *The late Com-pleat Historian*, Vol. 3. p. 445, repeating the whole foregoing Paragraph, says, That there is some Disingenuity in this way of the Dissenters representing their own case. *But let the World Judge between us. We are very sensible, as he says,* That the first Design of Popery was to have set the Church upon a vigorous Suppression of Conventicles, and a fierce Execution of the Penal Laws: *But that when so many of the Clergy fell in with this Design, they should be disappointed, and at last be convinc'd that they were pulling down Ruin on their own Heads, deserves a Remark: And when Providence did appear for the Dissenters, whatever the Designs of Agents were, I think they ought to take notice of it, and be Thankful.*

*It has indeed been Common, since, to reflect upon the Dissenters for their Carriage in this Reign: But nothing can be more Unjust. The worthy Author of the Advantages of the present Settlement, and the great Danger of a Relapse, Printed in 1689, [To be seen in the First Vol. of State tracts in the Reign of King William, vol. 1. p. 267.] Declares, that the greatest Part of the Dissenters were so sensible of the mischievous Design on Foot, that tho' they had smarted somewhat hardly under the lash of the Penal Laws but a little while before, yet they would rather venture the continuance of them, than run the hazard of ruining the Substance and being of the Protestant Religion among us: Nor could all the Virulent Pamphlets thrown about to exasperate them, by a Tragical Commemoration of their former Suffering by the Penal laws, ever perswade them so far out of their Senses, as not to be fully assured that the little Finger of the Popish Inquisition, would be heavier upon them than the Loins of all the Penal Laws made since the Reformation against them. And indeed, to the Fidelity of that Party at the Critical Time, are we to ascribe a great share of the disappointment the Popish Party met with, who were much chas'd that the grand Cheat of the toleration had no better Success.*

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#### **Mr. Baxter's Tryal.**

In the Reign of King *James* the Second, which began *February* 6th. 1685. The same Methods were continu'd as had been us'd in his Brothers Time.\* On the 28th of *Febru-*

ary, 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 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 In-

formation,

\* *This may be a Proof of it, that on May 27, the Commons Voted that an Humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, to desire him to Issue forth his Royal Proclamation, to cause the Penal Laws to be put into Execution, against all Dissenters from the Church of England whatsoever.*

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formation, 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 Sediton, &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 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 if I understand either *Latin* or *English*, the Information now bro't against Mr. *Baxter* upon so slight a Ground,

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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 Con-'ceive, and sometimes you are very Positive: You 'talk of your Skill in Church History, and of your Un-'derstanding *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, I shall teach it you. Upon which Mr. *Wallop* sat 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 Fa- 'ctions, Sniveling *Presbyterians* as himself: A *Kidder-* 'minster Bishop he meant. According to the Saying of 'a late Learned Authour; and every Parish shall main- 'tain, a Tithe Pig, Metropolitan. Mr. *Baxter* begin- 'ning 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

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'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, wait- 'ing 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 expresl'y 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 be had 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,

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I think I can clearly Answer all that is laid to my Charge, and I shall do it briefly: The Sum 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 refer'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'll Warrant you, *'Mr. Baxter says he; don't you Trouble your Self about that.'* The Jury immediately laid their Heads together at the Bar and found him *Guilty*. As he was going to the Bar, Mr. *Baxter* told the Lord Chief Justice who had so loaded him with Reproaches, and yet continu'd them, that *'a Predecessor of his, had had other Tho'ts of Him: Upon which he replied, 'That there was not an Honest Man in England, but 'what took him for a great Knave.'* He had sub-pæna'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 Ashurst* 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 next Year the *Dissenters* were prosecuted in the wonted Manner. Their Meetings were frequently disturb'd both in City and Country. Fines were levy'd upon them. The Informers broke in upon Mr. *Fleet-*

*wood,*

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wood, Sir *John Hartop*, and some others at *Stoke-Newington*, to levy Distresses for *Conventicles*, to Six or Seven Thousand Pounds, 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. A noble Set of Controversial Writings were now published by the Divines of the Church of *England*, against the Errors of the Church of *Rome*: And it must be owned, that they signalized themselves, and gained immortal Honour by their Performances. And if the Dissenters did not appear so generally, nor so publickly upon this Occasion, it may without much Difficulty be accounted for, by one that Considers all Circumstances.\*

\* *Dr. Nichols*†  
 Takes Notice of it, and freely insults upon it, That while the Church of England Divines were to so good Purpose engag'd in this Controversy, the Nonconformists kept silence, and few, if any of them durst come in to their Assistance, against the Common Enemy. And some others have us'd like Language. But it should be consider'd that they had written against the Romanists very freely before, and had the less Reason to do it at this Time: That they did not find their People so much in Danger, as many that were educated in the Church of England: That they both in City and Country preach'd with great Freedom against Popery, which shew'd that if they wrote less against it than others, it did not arise from Fear: That many of them tho't it not so proper to attempt to take this Work out of the Hands of the Divines of the Church of England, who not only did it well, but who were in Duty bound to do the more in Opposition to the Common Danger, because they had done so much to hasten and occasion it; and who so visibly improv'd in Light, and in the largness of their Notions, by being necessitated to support some Principles in these Debates, which they had slighted before, and seem'd willing to discard: And Finally, that several of the Dissenters did at this Time attempt to publish some Tracts against Popery, but met with Discouragement when they sent them to the Press, because they came from such as were not of the Church of England, who seem'd disirous to ingross the Management of this Controversy at this Time wholly to themselves. This actually was the Case as to some Treatises then written by Nonconformists: And it need not seem strange, if this being generally known, should hinder others from making like Attempts. But a full Answer to this Objection against the Dissenters, may be seen in *Mr. Tong's Defence of Mr. Henry's Notion of Schism*, pag. 154, 155.

† Appar. ad. D. sens. Eccles. Anglic. p. 85.

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

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Twelve

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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 *Eng-land* 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 Neces- 'sity 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 *Eng-land* 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 *Popery* 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.

*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*,

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not for 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 Conventiclers, took out Dispensations, which nor only stopp'd all Processes that were commenc'd, but gave them Liberty to keep Meetings for the Future. Ma-

ny 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 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*.

*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

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'within this Kingdom, in the Successive Reins of 'Four 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.

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*The Letter of Advice to a Dissenter.*

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 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

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little Reason to Reflect on them.\* But they were not 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 exer-

cis'd his Ministry in Conjunction with Mr. *Sylvester*, to make a peaceable Improvement of the Liberty afford-ed, 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 ourselves off from the Protestants Abroad, but rather enlarge the Foundations, upon which we are to Build our Defences against the Common Enemy.*

*\* I am not the Person that would undertake to Vindicate all the Addresses that were made by Dissenters after their Liberty. But I should think their Brethren of the Church of England should tread softly when they lay them to their Charges; considering that some of the Church Men concurr'd with King James to vereturn the Legal Establishment: And some dignify'd Persons were in his High Commission, and found it no easy Thing to wipe off Reflections upon that Account. However, though there were high Flights in some of the Dissenting Addresses, for which I could be loath to Apologise; that which most of them run upon, was Thanks to the King for the Liberty they had, and a Promise to behave themselves quietly in the Use of it.*

Among other Methods that were now taken for the promoting of Popery, that was one. Mr. *Obadiah Walker*, who was Master of University Colledge in *Oxon*, kept a Particular Press at Work in the Colledge, upon several Popish Books, that were to be spread all through the Nation. Some Gentlemen of the University of *Oxford*, (whose Names could be mention'd if there were Occasion) were earnestly desirous to get the Sheets from the Press as fast as they were Printed, that they might have Answers ready to his Books as soon as ever they came out, and an Antidote at Hand, to prevent the mischievous Effects of the Poison that was vented. This was no easie Matter

to compass; and various Methods were thought of that would not Answer. At length they sent one *E.J.*

who

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who could not but approve the Design in opposition to Popery, and did undertake to give what Assistance he could: And he actually did help them to a great many Sheets, which he got from a Boy that attended Mr. *Walker's* Press. By this means the Sale and spreading of the Popish Books was very much prevented; for there were Answers to them out, as soon as the Books themselves, or before, which was no small Service. Mr. *Walker* was a great while before he could discover how this came about: But watching narrowly, he found out that this Boy deliver'd the Sheets to this *E.J.* who he suppos'd was employ'd by the Gentlemen concern'd, and upon the Secret. Hereupon he was taken up, and carried before several Justices who were unwilling to meddle in the Matter, but being brought before Sir *Edward Walker*, he was for committing him. *E.J.* sent notice to the Gentlemen with whom he had been concern'd, how it was with him, and desir'd their Direction. They sent him Word that if he would conceal them, and not let it be known who had the Sheets, they would make him an abundant Amends if ever *Protestant Times* came again;\* and the Messenger assur'd

\* *When* *Protestant Times* afterwards did come again, in the Reign of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, this poor Man had occasion to remind these Gentlemen of their Promise. For it so happened, that there was a difference between Mr. Guy and Mr. Parker, (to whom this *E.J.* was a Servant) about the Press, and they were going to Law; but at length they came to an Agreement; and Mr. Guy and Mr. Parker left the Printing-House, which was let to the Company of Stationers; and one Article of the Agreement was, that the Company were to employ all the Old Servants, and certain Gentlemen of the University (among whom were the very Gentlemen whom this *E.J.* had done such Service to, and that with such hazard to himself, and such Promises of a requital) were made Delegates for Printing, and who they pleas'd were employe'd and no other. Hereupon, he apply'd to them with great Expectations: Which were unhappily frustrated, when they came to understand he was a Dissenter. He made use of others, and particularly of a friend who had before been his Bail, who gave them to understand that he was no other Man than he was, when he at their desire had expos'd himself

to get the Sheets for their Service, but this would not do. He made use of Dr. Wallis as an Intercessor. It was insisted on that he must be recommended by the Parson of the Parish. He was offended with him because he did not Baptize his Children: But however he applied to him, and he refus'd to recommend him because he was a Dissenter. At length it was put to the Vote amongst all those concern'd in the Management of the Affair, whether

him

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him they were Men of Honour, and therefore tho' he suffer'd for the Cause, he might depend upon their giving him Satisfaction. Whereupon, he sent them a Promise that he would conceal them, whatever he might suffer. Being afterwards carried before Mr. *Obadiah Walker* himself, he offer'd him if he would let him know to whom he convey'd the Sheets when he receiv'd them, he would not only discharge, but considerably Reward him, and not only give him Money, but help him to a Place in the University that might be for his Life: But he refus'd. Upon which he threaten'd him; and Sir *William* bound him over to the Assizes, and he gave in Bail. Before the time of his Appearance came, Judge *Holloway* sent for him, (having *Obadiah Walker* with him) and attempted one while to wheedle him with fair Promises, and then to fright him with Threats to make a Discovery: But he remain'd immoveble: And upon his Appearance he was clear'd.

*the former Promises should be made good to this poor Man, and he be allow'd to keep his Place, or be turn'd off from a Place he had had above 12 Years, and he left to shift for himself and his numerous Family, tho' all the rest of the Servants were continu'd in. The Matter was warmly debated, and he had some that pleaded for him, but the Majority were against him, for this only Reason, that he was a Dissenter: Thus, after a great Obligations as a Man of his Rank, could lay on those that were so much his Superiors, and after as fair Promises as could be made, and after keeping him Two Years in suspence, the poor Man was left destitute; and prov'd a standing Evidence of the uncertainty and fallaciousness of High Church Promises. For tho' he assisted to stem the Tide of Popery when it was coming in like a Floud, yet he might have starv'd. for being a Dissenter, if God had not provided for him.*

Monsieur *Dickvelt* who had been sometime here as Agent for the *Dutch* (I am not certain under what 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

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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.

***Pensionary Fagels's Letter.***

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 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 Per-

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'secuted for his Conscience, or be ill used because he 'differs from the Publick and Establish'd Religon: 'And therefore that they could Consent, that the Pa-'pists 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 Con-'sent, but did heartily approve of their having an en-'tire 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 Setling and Confirming this Liberty, 'and Protect and Defend it, and likewise to Confirm 'it with their Guarantee, which Mr. *Stuart* had men-'tion'd. And that if His Majesty desir'd their Con-'currence in Repealing the Penal Laws, their High-

'nesses were ready to give it, provided those Laws  
 'still remain'd in force, by which the Roman Catho-  
 'licks 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 Ca-  
 'tholicks; 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 *Pro-*  
 '*testant* Religion; since the Roman Catholicks receive  
 'no other prejudice from these, than the being exclu-  
 'ded from Parliament and Publick Employments.  
 'And that they believed they should have much to An-  
 'swer 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 Com-  
 mons, 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 up-

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on 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 Mo-  
 ney or Goods had been Levy'd upon *Dissenters* upon  
 Prosecutions for Recusancy, and not paid into the Ex-  
 chequer. Many were afraid of being call'd to an Ac-  
 count; and it was commonly apprehended, that a

strict Enquiry would have caused 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 of 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.†

\* *I should have thought this might have deserv'd the Notice of one who sets up for a Compleat Historian.*

† *There was a Form of Prayer appointed by his Majesty's special Command, to be us'd in London and Ten Miles round it, on Sunday the 15th of January, and throughout England on Sunday the 29th of the same Month, 1687, &c. in behalf of the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, upon occasion of the Queens being with Child.—There are these Expressions.—Blessed be that good Providence which has vouchsafed us fresh hopes of Royal Issue by our Gracious Queen Mary. Strengthen Her we beseech thee, and perfect what thou hast begun: Command thy Holy Angels to watch over Her continually, and defend Her from all Dangers and evil Accidents, that what she has Conceiv'd may be happily brought forth, to the Joy of our Sovereign Lord the King, the further Establishment of his Crown, the Happiness and Welfare of the whole Kingdom, and the Glory of thy great Name, &c. Had we poor Dissenters been oblig'd to Use such a Form, upon such an Occasion, we should have thought it a great Hardship. If such Things don't quicken our Thanks for our Liberty, we are much to blame.*

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 Mens Opinions. They that would promise to use their Interest in Electi-

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ons, to bring in 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.

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### ***The New Declaration of Liberty.***

#### ***The Bishops Petition.***

On the 4th of *May*, an Order was pass'd in Council, that the *Delaration 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 Diocesses, 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 Refusal to Disperse or Read his Declaration. They were, Dr. *Sandcroft*, Archbishop 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*

★ *The Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Wake) in his Speech in the House of Lords, with Relation to the Articles against Dr. Sacheverel, says, that Dr. Sancroft then Archbi-*

shop of Canterbury, foreseeing some such Revolution as soon after was happily brought about, began to consider how utterly unprepar'd they had been at the Restoration of King Charles the Second to settle many Things to the Advantage of the Church; and what a happy Opportunity had been lost, for want of such a previous Care, as he was therefore desirous should now be taken, for the better and more perfect Establishment of it. And he at the

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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 Kingdom, 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.

*same time was for considering what might be done to gain the Dissenters, without doing any prejudice to the Church. The Scheme was laid out, and the several Parts of it were committed, not only with his Approbation, but Direction to such Divines of the Church as were thought most proper to be intrusted with it. His Grace took one Part to himself; Another was committed to Dr. Patrick afterwards Bishop of Ely. And the reviewing of the daily Service and Communion Book was refer'd to a select Number of Divines, of whom dr. Sharp, (afterwards Archbishop of York) and Dr. Patrick were two. The Design was to improve and inforce the Discipline of the Church, to review and enlarge the Liturgy, by correcting of some Things, and adding of others; and (if it should be thought advisable by Authority, when this Matter should come to be Legally consider'd, first in Convocation then in Parliament,) by leaving some few Ceremonies, confess'd to be indifferent in their Natures, as indifferent in their Usage, so as not necessarily to be observ'd by such as should make a Scruple of them. And he intimates that this good Design was known to, and approv'd by the other Bishops, who join'd with the Archbishop in this Petitions; and that this Passage in their Petition refer'd to it. And in proof of it he quotes a Treatise publicly Written, in the beginning of King William's Reign, Licensed by the Earl of Shrewsbury, (Entitled, A Letter to a Member of Parliament in favour of the Bill for Uniting Protestants) in which there is this Passage, —No Alteration is intended but in Things declar'd to be alterable by the Church itself. And if Things alterable be alter'd upon the Grounds of Prudence and Charity, the Things defective be supplied, and Things abused be restored to their proper Use, and Things of a more ordinary Composition revised and improv'd, whilst the Doctrine, Government,*

and Worship of the Church remain intire, in all the Substantial Parts of them; we have all Reason to believe, that this will be so far from Injuring the church, that on the contrary it will receive a great Benefit by it.

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While the Bishops were under this Prosecution, the Archbishop sent certain *Articles* to his Clergy through his whole Province, bearing date *July 16*. The Eleventh of which *Articles* was in these Words. *That they also walk in Wisdom towards them who are not of our Communion: And if there be in their Parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the Spirit of Meekness, seeking by all good Ways and Means to gain and win them over to our Communion. More especially, that they have a very tender Regard to our Brethren,\** the Protestant Dissenters. That upon Occasion offer'd, they visit them at their Houses, and receive them kindly at their own; and treat them fairly wherever they meet them; perswading them if it may be, to a full compliance with our Church; or at the least, that whereunto we have already attain'd, we may all walk by the same Rule, and mind the same Thing. And in Order thereunto, that they take all Opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the Bishops of the Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable Enemies to the Errors, Superstitions, Idolatries, and Tyrannies of the Church of Rome; and that the very unkind Jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary, were altogether groundless. And in the last Place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent Prayer to the God of Peace, for an Universal Blessed Union of all Reformed Churches

*both at Home and Abroad, against our Common Enemies, &c.*

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners on the 16th of August, sent forth their Mandates to the Chancellors, Arch-Deacons, &c. of every Diocese 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

*\* See the Bishop of Lincoln's Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese, in his Primary Visitation, begun at Lincoln, May the 20th 1706. Appendix, Num. 6. And the Bishop of St. Asaph citing this very Passage, in his Charge to the Clergy of that Diocese in 1710, hath this short Note upon it. From this Passage (says he) the ordinary Reader will I believe conclude, that Archbishop Sancroft thought both the Dissenters at Home; and the Protestants Abroad, to be Christians at least.*

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### ***The Arrival of the Prince of Orange.***

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, all 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 World for my Assurance, that the Bishops will never stir one Jot from their PETITION; but that they will whenever that happy Opportunity shall offer itself, 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 cho-

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\* *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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'sen 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 were 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 Prince came to St. *James’s* on *December* the 18th: And, on the One and Twentieth following, a few of the Dissenting Ministers waited upon him, together with the Bishop of *London*, Congratulating him upon his Glorious Expedition, and its Happy Success; and the Bishop signify’d to his Highness, that there were some of the Dissenting Brethren with him, and herein were intirely of the same Sense with the Clergy of the Establish’d Church. But on the Second of *January*, the Dissenting Ministers in a Body, to the Number of Ninety or upwards, attended the Prince at St. *James’s*, and were introduc’d by the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Wharton*, and the Lord

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*Wiltshire*. It was signify’d to his Highness, by one in the Name of all the rest.

“That they profess’d their grateful Sense of his Highnesses hazardous and Heroical Expedition, which the Favour of Heaven had made so surprizingly Prosperous.

“That they esteem’d it a Common Felicity, that the Worthy Patriots of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, had Unanimously concur’d unto His Highnesses. Design; by whose most prudent Advice, the Administration of Publick Affairs was devolv’d in this difficult Conjuncture, into Hands which the Nation and the World knew to be apt for the greatest Undertakings, and so suitable to the present exigency of our Case.

“That they promis’d the utmost Endeavour, which in their Stations they were capable of affording, for the promoting the Excellent and most desirable Ends for which his Highness had declared.

“That they added their continual and fervent Prayers to the Almighty, for the Preservation of his Highnesses Person, and the Success of his Future Endeavours, for the Defence and Propagation of the *Protestant* Interest throughout the Christian World.

“That they should all most willingly have chosen that for the Season of paying this Duty to his Highness, when the Lord Bishop and the Clergy of *London* attended his Highness for the same Purpose, (which some of them did, and which his Lordship was pleas’d condescendingly to make mention of to his Highness,) had their Notice of that intended Application been so early, as to make them more general Attendance possible to them at that Time.

“That therefore though they did now appear in a distinct Company, they did not on a distinct Account, but on that only which was Common to them, and to all *Protestants*.

“That there were some of Eminent Note, whom Age or present Infirmities hindred from

“coming with them, yet they concurr’d in the  
 “same grateful Sense of our Common Delive-  
 “rance.

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His Highness received them favourably, and as-  
 sur’d them, ‘That he came on Purpose to De-  
 ‘fend the Protestant Religion, and that it was his  
 ‘own Religion, in which he was born and bred;  
 ‘The Religion of his Country, and of his Ance-  
 ‘stors: And that he was resolv’d by the Grace of  
 ‘God, always to adhere to it, and to do his  
 ‘utmost Endeavours for the Defence of it,  
 ‘and the promoting a firm, Union among Prote-  
 ‘stants.

There were some who tho’ Concurring with the  
 Prince in his Expedition for their own Security,  
 were afterwards, when their Fears were over,  
 for compromising Matters with King *James*, and trust-  
 ing his Promises afresh: but the Convention that was  
 summon’d by the Princes Letters, when Assembled  
 together, after warm Debates, declared the Throne  
 Vacant, King *James* having *Abdicated the Government,*  
*and broken the Original Contract with his People:* To the  
 no small Mortification of such as had all along stily  
 denied, that there was any Contract between the King  
 and his Subjects. Hereupon, drawing up a Decla-  
 ration for Vindicating the Ancient Rights and Liber-  
 ties of the People, they offer’d the Crown to the Prince  
 and Princess of *Orange*, who accepting it, were pro-  
 claim’d King and Queen of *England*, on of *February* the  
 13th, and publicly Crown’d at *Westminster* on *April*  
 the 11th following, with Universal Acclamation; and  
 none had a greater share than the *Dissenters* in the Com-  
 mon Joy.

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## CHAP. XV.

*Mr. Baxter's 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.*

**B**UT 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. And afterwards go on with the History of the *Dissenters*.

Few ever had more Weakness and Bodily Illness to imbitter their Lives than this good Man 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 Eternity; just upon entering another World.

### *Mr. Baxter tempted to Infidelity.*

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 doubts 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 shew of Sober Reason. Hereupon he

blam'd himself for so long neglecting the well settling of his Foundations, while he spent so much time about the Superstructure. So that being this way assaulted,

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the Reasons of his feeble Faith were suddenly enervated, and he had bin overset, if God had not been 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 been sooner so terribly assaulted, his Recovery had been 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 been 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,

*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 itself and all Things. On which Account he could not but look upon him as Mad, who

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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 losers

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 Competition with Christianity. *Heathenism* and *Mahumetanism* are kept, up by Tyranny and Bestly, 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

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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 conceiveable, 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 sub-

serviency 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 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,

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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 satisfy 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.

*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,

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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 Misteries 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 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

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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 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

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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 he 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 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 no-

thing could be more to Christs Dishonour, than when the Church shall be as vicious 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 Acts 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 peremp-

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tory 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 Con-

versant in 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 cautious in the Belief of History, seeing so many byast by

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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 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 two of his Feet came to the Ground on one Side of him, and two 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 Hundred 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 Hundred to One, and actually laid down Ten Shillings to Six-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,

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*Some remarkable Answers of Prayer.*

fear'd 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 *Kederminster*, 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 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

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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 *Kedermminster*, by Hearing their Prayers in a great many Instances. One Mrs. *Giles* had a Son of about Fourteen or Fifteen, 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 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 *Kedermminster*, 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 Time Mr. *Baxter* riding upon a great hot metled Horse, as he stood upon a sloping 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

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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 he receiv'd over St. *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*

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*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 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 blessed God, 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

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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' God's 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 Intercessor; and by his Mediation into the Hands of God my reconciled Father, the Infinite Eternal Spirit, Light, Life, and Love, most Great, and Wise, 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 bless to me my Long Sufferings in the  
 “Flesh, and at Last to sweeten them by his own In-  
 “terest, and comforting Approbation, who taketh the  
 “Cause of Love and Concord as his own, &c.

He ordered 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 Hunt* of *Boraton*, Esq; *Mr. Thomas Hunt* Merchant, *Edward Harley* Esq; *Mr. Thomas Cook* Merchant, *Mr. Thomas Trench* Merchant, and *Mr. Robert Bird* 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 *Orrery*, and Lord President of *Munster*) had a great Value for him, nominated him as one of the Committee to State the

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*Fundamentals* of Religion: And entertain’d him very respectfully at his House.

***His Conversation with Arch-Bishop Usher: And Interest in many others.***

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 *St. 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, lea-

ving 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 Pastors for Concord, and mutual Assistance in their Work, with a stated President also. That in every County or Diocese 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 *Poperie* 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 replied, 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

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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 Pastors; and a Synod of Bishops, are not the Governors, 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 Chancellor, 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 learn'd 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 Colonel 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 re-

cover'd. Mr. *Baxter* urg'd the Lord Chancellor about it, and found him Hearty. When the Matter had depended a Twelve Month, he granted a Decree for a

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new Corporation. Some Lords were made Members of it; Mr. *Boyle* was made President; and Mr. *Ashhurst* continu'd Treasurer, and the Matter was happily settled. Whereupon Mr. *Baxter* receiv'd Letters of hearty Thanks, from the Court and Governor 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 slightly of the *English Non-conformists*: 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.

#### ***Duke Lauderdale.***

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 Counsellor, 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.

*Sir Matthew Hale.*

While he liv'd at *Acton*, he had the Happiness of free Conversation with that Mirror 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 Lamentor 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

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all useful Persons. He Manifested 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 Inn*, at the time when he was in Prison upon the *Oxford Act*; and by leaving him a Legacy of Forty 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, 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 some 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 *Oxen-den-street*, tho' he meddled not with it himself, he had Contributions sent in freely by many Persons, to *Mr. Thomas Stanley*, who undertook the Care of the Disbursement, &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 l. The Lady *Fitz James* 6 l. The Lady *Richards* 5 l. Mr. *Hampden* 8 l. Mr. *Henly* 5 l. and many others, other Sums.

***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 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.

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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 of. 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 100*l. 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 *Brunsenius*, 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

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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. But tho' he was not a little respected by many both at Home and Abroad, yet he was also most miserably traduc'd and censur'd, and often falsely Accus'd. No Man had more Written against him by Persons of different De-



nominations; nor had any Man more false Reports rais'd of him.

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. XVI.

### *His Works and Writings:*

ITS well known Mr. *Baxter* was a Considerable Writer, and few ever Wrote 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*.<sup>\*</sup> 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.

The first Book he Publish'd, was his *Aphorisms of Justification and the Covenants*, with their Explication annexed: Wherein also is opened the Nature of the Covenants, Satisfaction, Righteousness, Faith and Works, &c. 12s. This was Printed in 1649, and 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. *Wallis*, Mr. *Catwright* and Mr. *Lawson*: And to the last adher'd to the Substance of it; tho' he could have

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<sup>\*</sup> *His Sermon at his Funeral.*

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wish'd some Things a little otherwise express'd, and that he had let Persons alone when he touch'd upon their Errors. 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, Or a Treatise of the Blessed State of the Saints, in their Enjoyment of God in Glory*, 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.\*

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.

1653, He Publish'd *the right Method for Peace of Conscience and Spiritual Comfort, in 32 Directions*; 12s. He wrote it for the Satisfaction of Collonel *John Bridges* his Lady. This Book pleas'd Dr. *Hammond*, and Comforted many: But some have been disturb'd with what he there says about *Perseverance*.

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, and a Exhortation to *Unity*, 4to.

As also, the *Worcestershire* Petition to the Parliament, for the Ministry of *England*, with the Defence of it; in Answer to Sixteen Queries, Printed in a Book, call'd *a Brief Discovery of the Threefold State of Anti-Christ*: And there is also added Seventeen counter Queries, and an humble Admonition to the Parliament, People and Ministers, in 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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\* See his *Life*, p. 6.

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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*; especially concerning the Interest of *repentance*, and *sincere Obedience* to Christ, in our *Justification* and *Salvation*. 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*, in Four Discourses. With a description of the Blaspheming against the Holy Ghost; and a Postscript against Mr. *Lyford*; And the Arrogancy of Reason against Divine Revelations represented: Against *Clement Writer*, 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*, or Three Disputations for the Reformed Catholick 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 Directing 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

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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* 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*. A good Man said of this Book, that he thought it sufficient to perswade a Man to any Thing but to Holiness.

In 1658. He Publish'd, *The Crucifying of the World by the Cross of Christ*, 4to.

*Of Saving Faith*, whether it is specifically or gradually different from Common Faith. In Answer to Serjeant *Shepherd*, and Dr. *Barlow*. 4to.

*Confirmation and Restauration, the necessary Means of Reformation and Reconciliation*, 8vo. This Book was highly Commended by Dr. *Patrick*, now Bishop of *Ely*, in his *Aqua Genitalis*, page 471.

*Directions and Perswasions to a sound Conversion*, to shew the Consequents of a counterfeit or superficial Change. Which Book hath been marvellously Useful to many Souls, by preventing those Mistakes in Practical Religion, which are often Fatal, 8vo.

*Five Disputations of Church Government*, 4to. A Book Pleading for Moderation, at the Time, when Bi-

shops, Liturgy and Ceremonies, were most decry'd and oppos'd.

The *Judgment and Advice* of the *Associated Ministers* of *Worcestershire*, concerning *Mr. John Dury's Endeavours* after Ecclesiastical Peace, 4to.

*Four Disputations of Justification*, 4to. In Answer to *Mr. Anthony Burgess*, and a Treatise of *Mr. Warner*, of the Office and Object of Justifying Faith.

*His Universal Concord*, in 12s. Giving an Account of the Terms, which all Christian Churches may hold Communion upon.

*The Grotian Religion Discover'd*, 12s. Written against *Dr. Pierce*; containing a Vindication of the Doctrine of the Synod of *Dort*, and the Old *Puritans*.

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\* *Dr. Bates's Sermon at Mr. Baxter's Funeral.*

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In 1659. He Publish'd his *Key for Catholicks*, 4to. Opening the Jugling of the *Jesuits*; and shewing in the Second Part those who are for the Supremacy of a Council as to the Legislative Power, that there never was a General Council, nor can it be expected there should be one

His *Holy Common Wealth*. Or Political Aphorisms opening the True Principles of Government, against *Harringtons Oceana*; and *Vane's Healing Question*, 8vo. An Appendix is added, concerning the Cause of the Parliaments first War.

*A Treatise of Death*. Preach'd at the Funeral of *Mrs. Elizabeth Baker*, and afterwards Enlarg'd, 8vo.

*A Treatise of Self-Denial*, 4to. The Substance of several Sermons, which found very good Acceptance.

Several Sermons. As, *Catholick Unity*, 12s. *The True Catholick, and Catholick Church Describ'd*, 12s. *A Sermon of Repentance*, before the House of Commons, April 30. 4to. *A Sermon of Right Rejoycing*, before the Lord Mayor, May 10. 4to.

*The Life of Faith*, as it is the Evidence of Things un-  
seen. A Sermon Preach'd before the King, as his  
Chaplain, July the 22d.

*The Successive Visibility of the Church*, of which the Pro-  
testants are the soundest Members. Against Mr. *Wil-*  
*liam Johnson*, 8vo.

*The Vain Religion of the Formal Hypocrite*, and the Mis-  
chief of an unbridled Tongue, 12s. Being Sermons  
Preach'd in *Westminster Abbey*.

*The Fools, Prosperity*, 12s. A Sermon at *Covent Garden*.  
Publish'd upon occasion of some Offence and Mis-  
reports.

*The Last Work of a Believer*, 4to. A Funeral Sermon for  
*Mrs. Mary Hammer*.

In 1661, he drew up several of those Papers, which  
were Presented to the King and Bishops, in Order  
to an Accommodation of the Ecclesiastical Matters  
in Difference; which were partly Publish'd in a  
Quarto Volume that Year, which came out by  
Stealth from Private Copies; and are partly con-  
tain'd in his Life in *Folio*. Besides his concern in  
the rest, The *Petition* to the Bishops for *Peace*; and  
the *Additional Forms* or *Reform'd Liturgy*, were his  
entirely. Which Reform'd Liturgy, hath by many

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been esteem'd the best Attempt of that Kind that ever  
was made.

In 1662. He Published, *The Mischiefs of Self-Ignorance,*  
*and the Benefits of Self-Acquaintance*, Deliver'd in se-  
veral Sermon at *St. Dunstons* in the *West*, 8vo.

An Account to the Inhabitants of *Kedderminster*, of the  
Cause of his being forbid to Preach amongst them,  
by the Bishop of *Worcester*; with the Bishops Letter  
in Answer to it, and some Animadversions upon the  
said Bishops Letter.

*A Saint or a Bruit*, 4to. Shewing the Necessity, Profit,  
Safety, Honour and Pleasure of an Holy Life.

In 1663. He put forth a Treatise call'd *Now or Never*. Design'd to Justifie; Encourage, Excite, and Direct, the Holy, Diligent, Serious Believer: And to convince Opposers and Neglecters by the Light of Scripture and Reason.

In 1664. Came out his *Divine Life*, In Three Treatises: Of the Knowledge of God; of Walking with God; of Conversing with God in Solitude, 4to.

In 1665 He Publish'd only some Sheets. Two for Poor Families: And one of Instructions for the Sick, in the Time of their Visitation by the Plague.

In 1667. He Publish'd his *Reasons for the Christian Religion*. *Proving the Being of God, the Necessity of Holiness, the Immortality of the Soul, and the certain Truth of the Christian Belief*. A Book that hath been a Preservative to many, when under Temptations to Infidelity.

In 1669. He Publish'd his *Directions for weak Distemper'd Christians*, to grow up to a confirm'd State of Grace; With Characters of a sound and a weak Christian, and a Hypocrite, 8vo.

In 1670. He Publish'd his *Life of Faith*, with considerable Additions, for the Confirmation of Believers in the Christian Faith; and their Direction how to live by Faith, and Exercise it upon all Occasions, 4to.

—His *Cure of Church Divisions*, 8vo. In Opposition to uncharitable Principles and Practises of all sorts. Which was a Book at which many were offended.

In 1671. Came out a *Defence of the Principles of Love*, 8vo. In Vindication of the fore-mentioned Book.

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—An *Answer to Exceptions against the Treatise for Love and Unity*, 8vo.

*The Divine Appointment of the Lords Day*. And the Cessation of the Seventh Day Sabbath; against Mr. Francis Bamfield, 8vo.

- The Duty of Heavenly Meditdion Reviv'd.*  
Against the Exceptions of Mr. *Giles Firmin*, 4to.
- How far Holiness is the Design of Christianity.*  
Upon Occasion of Mr. (afterward Bishop) *Fowler's*  
Treatise on that *Subject*, 4to.
- The Difference between the Power of Magi-  
strates and Church Pastors, and the *Roman* Kingdom  
and Magistracy, under the Name of a Church and  
Church Government Usurp'd by the Pope: Against  
*Dr. Louis du Moulin*, 4to.
- A Vindication of Gods Goodness; for the  
Relief of a Melancholy Person, 12s.
- A Second Admonition to Mr. *Edw. Bagshaw*:  
Writ to Vindicate the *Nonconformists* Ministers, from  
the Unjust Imputation of Schismatical Principles,  
8vo.
- In 1672. He put forth, *More Reasoons for the Christian*  
*Religion, and no Reason against it*: With an Answer  
to the Lord *Herbert de Veritate*, 12s.
- Sacriligious Desertion of the Holy Ministry Re-*  
*buk'd*, and Tolerated Preaching of the Gospel Vin-  
dicated, against a Book call'd *Toleration not to be A-*  
*bused*, 8vo.
- The Certainty of Christianity without Pope-  
ry; or whether the Catholick Protestant or the Pa-  
pist have the surer Faith; in Answer to the Papists  
Challenges, 8vo.
- A Third Answer to Mr. *Edw. Bagshaw*, 4to.
- In 1673. Came out his *Christian Directory*. Or Body  
of Practical Theology, *Fol.* Of Private Duties;  
Family Duties; and Church Duties; and Duties to  
Neighbours and rulers. Answering many Cases of  
Conscience. The most Compleat that is Extant in  
the *English* Language, or, perhaps in any other.
- In 1674. He Publish'd his *Methodus Theologiae*, *Lat. Fol.*  
This Book cost him the most Pains by far of any of  
his Works. He was a great many Years about it.  
It cost him one way or other about 500*l.* the Prin-  
ting; for he was forc'd to Print it at his own Charge:



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And after all, 'tis generally esteem'd so Abstruse and Scholastical, that few have been willing to be at the Necessary Pains to understand it. But such as will excuse the *Latin* of it, will find a more than ordinary Accuracy in it.

—Full and Easie Satisfaction, which is the True and Safe Religion? In a Conference between a Doubter, a Papist, and a Reform'd Catholick: Against Mr. *Wray*, 4to.

—The Poor Mans Family Book. In Nine Days Conference between a Teacher and Learner, in a Familiar Way: Teaching how to become a true Christian, how to Live as such, and to Die such. With Forms of Prayer, Praise and Catechism, for the Use of Families, 8vo. A Book that was well Accepted, and hath been very Useful: Many Thousands of them being distributed thro' the Nation.

—An *Appeal to the Light*. In a Sermon on *Ephes. i. verse 3.* 4to.

In 1675. Came out his *Catholick Theology, Fol.* In which he undertakes to Prove, that besides things unrevealed, and known to none, and ambiguous Words, there is no considerable difference between the *Arminians* and *Calvinists*, except some very tolerable Difference in the Point of *Perseverance*: For which Book he expected to be fallen upon by both Sides, but had the Happiness to escape: Neither has it as I know of been answer'd to this Day.

—*More Proofs of Infants Church Membership*, and consequently their Right to Baptism. Against Mr. *Tombes*, and Mr. *Danvers*, 8vo.

—*Two Disputations of Original Sin*; As from Adam, and as from our nearer Parents.

—*Select Arguments against Popery*, 4to.

—*A Treatise of Justifying Righteousness*, against Dr. *Tullie*, and Mr. *Christopher Cartwright*, 8vo.

A Sermon in the Morning Exercise against Popery; Against any meer Humane Head of the Church of Christ, either Personal or Collective; Being the 5th. in Number.

In 1676. Came out the Judgment of Nonconformists, of the Interest of Reason in Matters of Religion, 4to.

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—A Review of the State of Christian Infants, against Mr. *Hutchinson*, Mr. *Danvers*, and Mr. *Tombes*, 8vo.

—The Judgment of Nonconformists, about the Difference between Grace and Morality, 4to.

—Their Judgment about things Indifferent, commanded by Authority, 4to.

—Their Judgment about things Sinful by Accident, and of Scandal, 4to.

—What meer Nonconformity is not, 4to.

—Roman Tradition Examin'd, as urg'd as infallible against all Mens Senses, in Answer to a Book call'd a *Rational Discourse of Transubstantiation*, 4to.

In 1677. Came out *Naked Popery: An Answer to a Book call'd the Catholick Naked Truth, Or the Puritan Convert to Apostolical Christianity; Written by William Hutchinson, alias Berry.*

In 1678. He Published a Funeral Sermon for Mr. *Henry Stubbs*, 8vo.

In 1679. He put forth a Treatise, Stil'd, *Which is the true Church: the whole Christian World as Headed by Christ, or the Pope and his Subjects: In Answer to Mr. Johnson*, 4to.

—The Nonconformists Plea for Peace: Naming the Matters of Conformity, 8vo.

In 1680. He Published a Funeral Sermon for Mrs. *Mary Cox*, call'd the true Believers Choice and Pleasure, 8vo.

—The true and only way of Concord of all the Christian Churches; Against Mr. *Dodwell*, 8vo.

- The Defence of the Nonconformists Plea for Peace, against Mr. *Cheny's* Answer, &c. 8vo.
- The Second Part of the Nonconformists Plea for Peace. Their Principles about Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority, Obedience and Resisyance, 4to.
- A Moral Prognostication of what must be expected in the Churches of Christendom, till the Golden Age returns, 4to.
- Church History of the Government of Bishops and their Councils, 4to.
- An Answer to Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Charge of Separation, in his Sermon before the Lord Mayor, 4to.
- In 1681. Came out his *Treatise of Episcopacy*, 4to.

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- A Funeral Sermon for *Henry Ashhurst* Esq; 4to.
- Poetical Fragments, 12s.
- An Apology for the Nonconformists Ministry; containing the Reasons of their Preaching; an Answer to the Accusations urg'd as Reasons for their Silencing; and Reasons proving it the Duty of Bishops and Conformists to endeavour their Restauration, 4to.
- Of an Universal Humane Church Supremacy, against Mr. *Dodwell*, 4to.
- An Account of his Dissent from Dr. *Sherlock*, 4to.
- A search for the English Schismatick, 4to.
- A third Defence of the Cause of Peace, against the Accusation of Mr. *Hinkley* and others, 8vo.
- A second true Defence of the meer Nonconformists: against Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Mr. *Glanvil*, &c.
- A Breviate of the Life of Mrs. *Margaret Baxter*; who died *June* 14th 1680, 4to.
- In 1682, Came out an Answer to Mr. *Dodwel's* Letter, calling for more Answers, 4to.
- A Specimen of the present Mode of Controversie in *England*, with Remarks on *L' Estrange*, 4to.
- The true History of Councils Enlarg'd, and Defended, 4to.
- A Funeral Sermon for Mr. *John Corbet*, 4to.

- Of the Immortality of Man's Soul, and the Nature of it, and other Spirits: Against a Letter to an unknown Doubter, 8vo.
- Of the Nature of Spirits, especially Man's Soul, in a Collation with Dr. *Moore*, 8vo.
- A Sermon of the cure of Melancholy; in Dr. *Annesley's* Morning Exercise, 4to.
- Compassionate Counsel to Young Men, especially *London* Apprentices, Students of Divinity, Physick, and Law, and the Sons of Magistrates and rich Men, 8vo. Of which, he gave away 1500.
- How to do good to many: Or the Publick Good the Christians Life. A Sermon, 4to.
- In 1683. He put forth his Family Catechism: A Teacher of Housholders, how to teach their Households the Principles of Religion, 8vo.
- Additions to the Poetical Fragments, 8vo.
- Obedient Patience in General, and in 20 Particular Cases, &c. 8vo.

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- A Farewel Sermon prepar'd to have been Preach'd to his Hearers in *Kidderminster*, 4to.
- His dying Thoughts; Written for his Own Use, in the latter Times of his Corporal Pains and Weakness. The Noble Lord, *William Russel*, who dy'd a Martyr for the Liberty of his Country, a little before his Death, by a trusty Messenger, sent Mr. *Baxter* his hearty Thanks for this Book, which had made him better acquainted with the other World than he was before, and not a little contributed to his Relief and Support, and to the fitting him for what he was to go through.
- The dangerous Schismatick cleady detected, and fully Confuted, 4to.
- The 2d. Part against Schism: Or Animadversions on a Book of Mr. *Ralphsons*, 4to.
- A Survey of the Reply to Mr. *Humphrey*, and Mr. *Baxter*, concerning Dr. *Stillingfleet*, &c. 4to.

- In 1684 Came out Catholick Communion Defended: Reasons for Communicating with the Parish Churches, 4to.
- An Answer to Dr. Owen's Arguments against that Practice, 4to.
- Whether Parish Congregations, be true Christian Churches? Againat Mr. *Lob*, 4to.
- A short Answer to the chief Objections in a Book Entid'd a Theological Dialogue, 4to.
- Catholick Communion doubly Defended, 4to.
- The Judgment of Sir *Mathew Hale* of the Nature of true Religion, 4to.
- In 1685. Came out *Unum Necessarium*, or Christ's Justification of *Mary's* Choice, 8vo.
- A Paraphrase on the New Testament, 4to. For this Book the Author was very severely handled, by the help of such Innuendoes as would Arraign the very Scriptures themselves.
- In 1689, Came out his Sense of the Subscribed Articles, by the Ministers of *London*, Concerning Religion 4to.
- The *English* Nonconformity as under King *Charles* the II. And King *James* the II. Stated and Argued, 4to. A Book that hath remain'd hitherto without a Reply.
- A Treatise of Knowledge and Love compar'd, 4to
- Cain* and *Abel's* Malignity, 8vo.

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- In 1690. He Published, the Scripture Gospel Defended, and Christ's Grace, and Free Justification Vindicated against the Libertines in 50 Controversies of Justification, 8vo.
- A Defence of Christ and Free Grace, against the Antinomians: Upon occasion of the Reprinting Dr. *Crisp's* Works, 8vo.
- In 1691. He Published his end of Doctrinal Controversies, 8vo.
- The Glorious Kingdom of Christ Describ'd and Vindicated against Mr. *Tho. Beverly*, 4to.

- A Reply to Mr. *Tho. Beverly*, 4to.
- Of National Churches: Their Description, Institution, Use, Preservation, Maladies and Cure, 4to.
- Against the Revolt to a Foreign Jurisdiction, 8vo.
- Church Concord; Perswading against Divisions and Separations, 4to.
- His Penitent Confession and Necessary Vindication, 4to.
- The Certainty of the World of Spirits: Or an Account of Apparitions and Witch-crafts, 8vo.

***Since his Death have been Published;***

- The Protestant Religion truly Stated and Justify'd: Writ against a *Book*, call'd the Touch-Stone of the Reformed Gospel, 8vo. 1692.
- A paraphrase on the *Psalms* of *David* in Metre; with other Hymns, 8vo. 1692.
- A Treatise of Universal Redemption, 8vo. 1694.
- His Narrative of the most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times, Fol. 1696.
- The Mothers Catechism, or a Familiar way of Catechizing Children, 8vo. 1701.

Besides all which Writings of his own, he wrote more Prefaces to the Works of others, than any Man of his time. We have a Preface of his, before Mr. *Swinnocks*'s Book of Regeneration; another before a Book of Mr. *Hopkins*; another before a Book of Mr. *Eedes*; another before Mr. *Pool's* Model for advancing Learning; another before Mr. *Benjamin Baxter's* Book; another before Mr. *Jonathan Hanmer's* Exercitation of Confirmation; another before Mr. *Lawrence* of Sickness; two before two of Mr. *Tombe's* Books: Another before a Discourse of

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Mr.

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Mr. *William Bell's* of Patience; An Introduction to Mr. *Jos. Allen's* Life. A Preface to his Alarum to the Unconverted: Another to Mr. *How's* Blessedness of the Righteous: Another to Mr. *Clark's* Annotations on the New Testament: Another to Mr. *Abraham Clifford's* Discourse on the Two Covenants: Another to one E-

dition of Mr. *Rawlet's* Book of the Sacrament: Another to the 11th Edition of *Scudder's* Daily Walk: Another to Mr. *William Allen* of the Covenant. Another to a Book of Dr. *Bryans*, of Dwelling with God: Another to Mr. *Hotchkis's* Forgiveness of Sin: Another to Mr. *Gouge's* surest and safest way of Thriving: Another to Mr. *Obed Wills* of Infant Baptism, against Mr. *Danvers*. And one to Mr. *Corbet's* Remains; with many others.

I might add the Censures pass'd by Eminent Men upon his Works: But I'll be contented with that of the Learned and Ingenious Dr. *Barrow*, who gives this as his Judgment: *His Practical Writings were never mended, and his Controversial ones, seldom Confuted.*

His Practical Works have since his Death, been Printed altogether in Four Volumes, in Folio.

## CHAP. XVII.

*An. 1688.*

*The Case of the Dissenters, and their Treatment; And the New State of Things in the beginning of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary.*

**K**ING *William* when he was Prince of Orange, in his Declaration publish'd at the Time of his Expedition into *England*, promis'd to *endeavour a good Agreement between the Church of England, and all Protestant Dissenters, and to cover and secure all those who would live Peaceably under the Government, from all Persecution upon the Account of their Religion.* And it is but a piece of Justice that is due to him, to acknowledge that he kept his Promise; and that if he proceeded not

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as far as he at first design'd, in getting those depriv'd of the Power, that wanted not for Will to bear hard upon their Neighbours, the Obstruction came from others, who had Designs of their own to serve, by preventing the good Effects of his Endeavours, as will appear from the Sequel.

There were great Expedations 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 them 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.

#### To the KING.

*May it please your Majesty,*

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 Acknowledgment 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 been Conspicuous in it. If the Deliverance had been obtain'd by 'fierce and bloody Battels, Victory itself 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

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'Author of it, by whose entire Efficacy the Means have  
 'been successful: And we cannot without a warm  
 'Rapture of Thanksulness, recount our Obligations  
 'to Your Majesty the Happy Instrument of it. Your  
 'Illustrious Greatness of Mind in an Undertaking of  
 'such vast Expence; Your Heroick Zeal in exposing  
 'Your most precious Life in such an adventurous Expe-  
 'dition; Your wise Conduct and unshaken Resolution  
 'in prosecuting Your great Ends, are above the loftiest  
 'Flights of Language, exceed all Praise. We owe to  
 'Your Majesty the Two greatest and most valuable  
 'Blessings that we can enjoy, the Preservation of the  
 'true Religion, our most sacred Treasure, and the re-  
 'covery of the falling State, and the Establishing it up-  
 'on Just Foundations. According to our Duty we  
 'Promise unfainting Fidelity, and true Allegiance to  
 'Your Majesties Person and Government. *We are en-*  
 '*courag'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 Con-*  
 '*formity. Our Blessed Union in the Purity and Peace of*  
 '*the Gospel, will make this Church a fair and lovely Type*  
 '*of Heaven, and terrible to our Antichristian Enemies:*  
 '*This will make England the steady Centre from whence a*  
 '*powerful Influence will be deriv'd for the Support of Re-*  
 '*formed Christianity Abroad: This will bring Immortal*  
 '*Honour to Your Name, above the Trophies and Triumphs of*  
 '*the most renowned Conquerors. We do Assure Your Ma-*  
 '*jesty, 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 Union among you. I do Assure you of my Protection and Kindness.*

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**To the QUEEN.**

*May it please your Majesty,*

**Y**OUR 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 Vertue, and Supreme Dignity meet in the same Person. Your inviolable Firmness in the Profession of the Truth, and exemplary Piety, are the most radiant Jewels in Your Crown. The Lustre of your Conversation, 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 despise 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 Majesty's 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 U-*

*'nion, 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 foregoing

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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 peevish Animosities, against the Dissenters, yet the wiser and more serious Heads, of that great and worthy Body, see now their Error. They see who drove them on in it, till they hop'd to have ruin'd them by it. And as they 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 Question which they have expressed of the Corruptions of the Church of 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 disowned that wide Extent of the Pre-*

rogative, 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 Passions and Folly, as well as the Treachery of others have brought us, it cannot be imagined, that the Bishops will go off from those Moderate Resolutions, which they have not declared: And they continuing firm, the weak and indiscreet passions of any of the Inferior 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 these in whom our Deliverance is wrapt up, understand this Matter too well, and judge too right of it, to imagine that

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\* *An Apology for the Church of England, with Relation to the Spirit of Persecution for which she is accus'd*, pag. 6.

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ever they will be Priest ridden in this Point. So that all Consideratons 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 Certainty of this Point, the wise and generous Behaviour of the main Body of the Dissenters, in this present Juncture; has given them so just a Title to our Friendship, that we must resolve to set all the World against us, if we can ever forget it, and if we do not make them all the Returns of Ease and Favour when it is in our Power to do it.

But the same celebrated Writer has since 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 a 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 passed 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 Engagemmts 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 aside. I will not enter into any further Reflections on Men's Behaviour at that Time; it plainly appear'd, it was not a proper Season to try, to make Peace. Attempts that was 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 an English Congregation,* pag. 16.

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Immediately after our happy Settlement, great Animosities appear'd 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 Conflitution, 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, waking 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 set the Authors themselves more Upright than before they had been.

When it was once determin'd the vacant Throne should be filled, 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 strengthen their Interest, that so we might continue upon the old Bottom. Some few there were that could hardly think fit to allow the *Dissenters* Liberty; but even those who were so generous as to retain 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* 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 strenuouly argu'd, in the Compass of a Sheet of Paper, which being liable

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to be lost, I think my self obliged to insert it here, in Order to their Satisfaction in the Principles and Pleas of the *Protestant Dissenters*, who have not Leisure or Inclination to peruse larger Writings.

***The Case of the Protestant Dissenters represented and argu'd in 1689.***

'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 obtained 'in the World, Jews, Pagans, Mahometans, Chri-'stians, have in their Practice acknowledg'd this Obliga-'tion. Nor can it be understood, how such a Practice 'should be so Uniersal, 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 acknow-'ledged to be no Parts thereof nor in themselves ne-'cessary; but which the *Dissenters* judge to be in some 'Part sinful.

'They cannot therefore with good Conscience to-'wards God, attend wholly and solely upon the Pub-'lick Worship which the Laws do appoint.

'The same Laws do strictly forbid their Assem-'bling 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 Wor-'ship 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.* 1. ‘Whether they are to be blam’d for  
‘their holding Distinct Meetings for the Worship of  
‘God?

‘For

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‘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 un-  
‘lawful, while tet the mis-inform’d Minds of the *Dis-*  
‘*senters* 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 thro’  
‘a long Tract of Time they have undergone, not to re-  
‘fuse 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 with-  
‘out them.

‘The Church of *England* (as that Part affects to be  
‘call’d) distinguish’d from the rest by those Additio-  
‘nals to Christian Religion (pretended to be indif-  
‘ferent, and so confess’d 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 acknowledged 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?

*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

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'which God hath commanded; but concerning such Additions as he never commanded. And there are sufficient Tells to distinguish such *Dissenters*, from those that deny any Substantial Part of Religion, or affect 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 *meet 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 God's 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 alledg'd, that great Deference is to be paid to the laws; and that we ought to have for-

'born our Assemblies, till the Publick Authority re-called 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 gi- 'ven any Men Authority to make Laws against him- 'self, and to deprive him of his *just Rights* from his 'own Creatures?

'Not 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 every one 'now, acknowledges the *First Receptacle* of derived 'governing Power. God can, 'tis true, lay indispu- 'table 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 asked Man by Man, 'will they say, they did entrust to their *Representa- '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*

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'you commit? What Dr. *Sherlock* worthily says, con- 'cerning 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 Judg- 'ment; every Man's Soul and Conscience must be in his own 'keeping, and can be represented by no Man.*

'It ought to be considered, that Christianity, where- 'in it superadds to the Law of Nature, is all Matter 'of Revelation. And 'tis well known, that even a- 'mong *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 excused therefore, if we have in our  
'Practice express'd lees Reverence for Laws made by  
'no Authority received 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 dispensed with, but because we tho't them  
'not Laws.

'Whereupon little need remains of enquiring far-  
'ther.

*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 consi-  
'der'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 Ho-  
'nour) the Noble Earl of *Danby* procur'd to be dis-  
'solved, as the first Step towards, our National Deli-  
'verance.

'And let the Tenor be consider'd of that horrid  
'Law, by which our *Magna Charta* was torn in Pieces,  
'the worst and most infamous of Mankind, at our  
'own Expence, hired to accuse us; Multitudes of  
'Perjuries committed; Convictions made without a  
'Jury, and without any hearing of the Persons accu-

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*Vindication of some Protestant Principles, &c. p. 52.*

\* *As by Numa from his Egeria. And their Priests to whom the Regulation of such Matters was left, were generally believ'd to be inspir'd.*

'sed Penalties; inflicted; Goods rifled; Estates seized  
'and embezl'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 ma-  
'licious Villain would pretend to suspect a Meeting  
'there. No Law in any other Case like this. As if  
'to worship God without chose Additions, which were  
'confest unnecessary, were a greater Crime 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 suffer'd so deeply for many  
'by-past Years, was only, that Protestants might de-  
'stroy Protestants, and the easier Work be made for  
'the Introduction of Popery, that was to destroy  
'the Residue?

'Not can any Malice deny, or Ignorance of observ-  
'ing *English Men* over look this plain Matter of Fact:  
'After the Dissolution of that before mention'd Parlia-  
'ment, Dissenters were much caressed and endea-  
'vour'd to be drawn into a Subserviency to the Court  
'Designs, especially in the Election of after Parlia-  
'ments. 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 three Parliaments that next succeeded, (two held  
'at *Westminster*, and that at *Oxford*) as it was known  
'would, and who did most generously assert the Li-  
'berties 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  
'a great Indifferency) drew upon us, soon after the  
'Dissolution of the last of those Parliaments, that  
'dreadful Storm of Persecution, that destroyed not a  
'small Number of Lives in Goals, and ruin'd Multi-  
'tudes of Families.

'Let *English* Freemen 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

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'against others) that we endur'd the Calamities of so  
'many Years.

'When by the late King some Relaxation was gi-  
'ven 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 Jea-  
'lousy; yet as great Assurances as were poaible, 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 Fagells* 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 for-  
'merly 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 join'd, not to graeten '(one Hair) the Wealth and Dignity, but only to gra-tifie the Humour of them who would yet destroy 'it; we who are competently inur'd to Sufferings, 'shall thro' God's Mercy be again enabled to endure: 'But he that fits in the Heavens, will in his own 'Time judge our Cause, and we will wait his Pleas-

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'sure, 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 any Perswasion, if under a Pre-tence of Kindness to us; they should 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 enought for such Purpores. 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 Ad-vantage 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 ac-knowledg'd End; the favouring of us therefore will 'as much ruin the Church, as its Enlargement and ad-ditional 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 Prospe-rous Opposition to Popery: But they have oppos'd it 'by the Things wherein they agree with us; *their Differences from us* are no more a Fence 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 Disagreements among them, than 'any can between the most of us, and a considerable

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'Part

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'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 Christendom 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 a- 'gree 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* be 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 feeming Wiser or better Natur'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 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* II, his Declaration about Ecclesiastical 'Affairs, *Anno* 1660.

*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 Dis-termination, 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

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'the Decision whereof, one Way, there is more pre- 'tence from God's Word, than for any Point of the 'disputed Conformity: Would it not be a wise Con- 'stitution; *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 Sa-  
 cred Table, whom the fear of  
 Ruin, or hope of Gain may  
 bring thither? We cannot but  
 often remember with Horror,  
 what happened three or four  
 Years ago: A Man that led an  
 ill Life, frequented the  
 Church, was observed not to  
 come to the Sacrament, and  
 prest by the Officers to come; he  
 yet declined knowing himself  
 unfit; at length being threatned  
 and terrified came: But said to  
 some present at the Time of that  
 solemn Action, that he came on-  
 ly 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 Chri-  
 stians, so venerable an Institution should be prostitu-  
 ted to the serving of so mean Purposes, and so fo-  
 reign to its true End! And that doing it after the  
 Manner of the Church of *England* must be the Qua-  
 lification! 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 Ta-  
 ble? Is it the Table of this or that Party, or the  
 Lord's Table? If the Lord's are not Persons to be ad-  
 mitted or excluded upon his Terms? Never can  
 there be Union or Peace in the Christian World, 'till

F f 3

@footnote text:\* A certain warm but name-  
 less High Church Friend, who  
 was pleas'd lately to favour me  
 with a Packet of Remarks and  
 Observations, asks me, Why I  
 will repeat such a Notorious  
 Lie as this? and whether I ever  
 knew one Instance of it? And in  
 his free and familiar Way, he bids  
 me for Shame leave this out in  
 my next Edition. But I have not  
 seen Reason to follow his Advice.  
 The Paper seems to me to speak  
 a great deal of Reason. And  
 for an Instance of debarring Per-  
 sons from selling Ale without  
 taking the Sacrament, I refer  
 my Admonisher to the Parish of  
 St. Giles Cripple-gate, and the  
 Disturbance which the present  
 worthy Bishop of Gloucester met  
 with there a few Years be-  
 fore this Paper was written; of  
 which the World has had an Ac-  
 count in Print.

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'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 Men's,  
 'Land-Marks, to alter God's 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 Pru-  
 'dent, 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 the Qualifica- 'tion; 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- 'ed? And one of less Value be taken for qualified '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 Go- 'vernment, 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 nar- 'row 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 'impos'd under the Notion of indifference, which many*

*think*

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'*think Sinful, and a Schism follow thereupon, the Im- 'posers are the Schismatics; will be great in Eng- 'land as long as their Writings shall live, and good 'Sense can be understood in them.'* Thus far the 'Paper.

### Of the Sacramental Test.

His Majesty in one of his Speeches to the Two 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 a Second Time in the House of Lords: A Clause was ordered to be brought in, to take away the Necessity of receiving the Sacrament, to make a Man capable of having an Office. Such a Clause being afterwards reported to the House, was rejected by a great Majority, tho' the Lords *Delamere, Stamford, North and Grey, Chesterfield, Wharton, Lovelace, and Vaughan,* insisted, 'That an hearty Union among Protestants, was a greater Security to the Church and State, than any Test that could be invented: That this Obligation to receive the Sacrament, was a Test on the Protestants, rather, than on the Papists: That as long as it was continu'd, there could not be that hearty and thorough Union among Protestants, as had always been, wished, and was at this Time indispensibly necessary. And Lastly, That a greater Caution ought not to be required from such as were admitted into Offices, than from the Members of the Two

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@footnote text:\* The Compleat History of  
 England, Vol. 3. p. 518, here ob-  
 serves, that the Archbishop and  
 Bishops, and many of the Clergy  
 had been so addicted to the high  
 Notions of Passive Obedience,  
 Non-resistance, and the Divine  
 Right of an Hereditary Monar-  
 chy, that they knew not how to  
 reconcile the Revolution to those  
 bigotted:Principles. And for that  
 Reason tho' they had earnestly de-  
 sir'd the Princes coming, and had  
 the Chief of them address'd to him,  
 after he was come, to take the Ad-  
 ministration of Affairs upon him;  
 yet as if they would have him  
 their Redeemer, without being  
 their Protector, they did not care  
 to pay any Allegiance to him, nor  
 to renounce their Obligations to  
 King James. The Example of  
 the Priests and Clergy, had a  
 great Influence on many other  
 Members of the Church of Eng-  
 land. And it was their Disaf-  
 fection, that made the King more  
 inclinable to favour Dissenters,  
 whom he generally look'd upon as  
 better affected to his Person and  
 Title.

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'Houses of Parliament, who are not obliged to receive  
'the Sacrament, to enable them to fit in either House.

But after this, another Clause was inferred by the  
Court Party in the aforesaid Bill, by which it was  
provided, that any Man should be sufficiently qualified

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 Lord's 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 two 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 passed 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 professed 'an 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 'than 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 secured in all her Priviledges and Prefer-

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‘ment, no Body being hereby let into them who is  
‘not strictly conformable.

3. ‘Because to set Marks of Distinction and Hu-  
‘miliation on any Sort of Men, who have not ren-  
‘dred themselves justly suspected to the Govern-  
‘ment, as it is at all Times to be avoided by the Makers  
‘of Just and Equitable Laws, so may it be particular-  
‘ly 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 Prote-  
‘stants, against the open Attempts and secret Endea-  
‘vours of a restless Party, and a potent Neighbour,  
‘who is more zealous than *Rome* it self, to plant Po-  
‘pery in these Kingdoms, and Labours with the ut-  
‘most 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 a-  
‘vowedly dangerous to our Government and Religion:  
‘And thus the taking the Sacrament, which was en-  
‘joyned, 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 Poli-  
‘tick Society, that they cannot be applied to those  
‘Ends; and therefore the Church by the Law of the  
‘Gospel, as well as common Prudence, ought to take  
‘care 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 can consist with  
‘the Law of God, common Equity, or the Right of





and accordingly four Lords did enter their Dissents, in the Reasons ensuing.

1. 'Because the Act it self being, as the Preamble 'sets forth, design'd 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 'the Laity less able, or less concerned to provide for it.

1. 'Because the Matters to be considered, being bare-ly of Humane Constitution, *viz.* the Liturgy and Ce-remonies of the Church of *England*, which had their 'Establishment from King, Lords Spiritual and Tem-poral, and Commons assembled in Parliament, there 'can be no Reason why the Commissioners for altering 'any Thing in that Civil Constitution, should consist

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'only of Men of one sort of them; unless it be sup-'pos'd, that Humane Reason is to be quitted in this 'Affair, and the Inspiration of Spiritual Men to be a-lone depended on.

3. 'Because, tho' upon *Romish* Principles the Clergy 'may have a Title to meddle alone in Matters of Re-'ligion, yet with us they cannot where the Church 'is acknowledged and defined 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 'Delays may arise, by missing Lay-men with Eccle-'siasticks, to the frustrating the Design of the Com-'mission, is vain and out of Doors; unless those that 'make use 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 or 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 mixed 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. ‘Because it is the most ready Way to facilitate ‘the passing the Alterations into a Law, that Lay-‘Lords and Commoners should be joined in the Com-‘mission, who may be able to satisfie both Houses of ‘the Reasons, upon which they were made, and ‘thereby remove an Fears and Jealousies, ill Men ‘may raise up against the Clergy, of their endeavour-‘ing to keep up, without Grounds, a distinct Interest ‘from that of the Laity, whom they so carefully ‘exclude from being joined with them, in Consulta-‘tions of common Concernment, that they will not ‘have those have any Part in the Deliberation, who ‘must have the greatest in determining.

7. ‘Be-

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7. ‘Because such are restrain’d Commission lies liable ‘to this great Objection, that it might be made Use ‘of to elude repeated Promises, and the present gene-‘ral Expectation of Compliance, with tender Con-‘sciencs, when the providing for it is taken out ‘of the ordinary Course of Parliament, to be put ‘into the Hands 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 Diffe-‘rences, 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 directly 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 Maners of Religion, since what is eftablith'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.*

'I Dissent for this and other Reasons; because it is 'contrary to three Statutes made in the Reign of 'Henry VIII, and one in *Edward VI*, which empower '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;* received the Royal Assent.

It was hereby enacted, *That none of the Penal Laws to which they before were liable, should thence forward be constru'd to extend to any Persons dissenting from the Church of England, that should take the Oaths to the Go-*

*vernment,*

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*vernment, &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 Disturbance, 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 that 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 yet depending in Parliament, 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.

Dr. *Nichols*\* tells us, that while this Bill was depending, Dr. *Tillotson* who was then Chaplain to King *William*, perswaded the King to take another Method, in order to the accomplishing his Desires. And he says, that in Order to it, he reminded him of the unhappy Jest often cast upon the Reformation by the *Romanists*, because it was owing to a Parliamentary Authority: And mov'd that no farther

## Occasion

*\* Twenty Years after the passing of this Act, it became a Question, whether it was a Toleration or not. Dr. Sacheverel would by no Means allow it; and it was the Second of Four Articles upon which he was Impeach'd, that this legal Indulgence or Toleration granted to Dissenters, in Order to the uniting Protestants in Interest and Affection, was by him represented as unreasonable; and the Allowance of it as unwarrantable: And he was charg'd with asserting, that he is a false Brother with Relation to God, Religion, or the Church, who defends Toleration or Liberty of Conscience.*

*\* Appar. ad Def. Eccles. Ang. p. 93.*

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Occasion might be given so a Charge of that Nature. He intimated that that Matter was fitter to be referr'd to an Ecclesiastical Synod, whose Determinations in the Case would be more ageeable to the Clergy, and be more Religiously observ'd by the People too. Adding, that for fear of delay if such an Affair should be put into too many Hands, it would be best (as has been practis'd formerly,) for the King by his Letters Patents, to Authorize a select Number of Learned Divines, to meet together and debate, and consult about the properest Methods of healing the Wounds of the Church, and fixing a durable Peace: That so what they agreed upon being laid before a Synod, might first have their Approbation, and then have a Parliamentary Sanction. And he says that it was upon his Advice, that the King summon'd a Convocation, and issu'd out also a Commission to Thirty Divines, to prepare Matters to be said before them. I doubt, however, that he afterwards saw Occasion to repent of this Advice: And am well assur'd that it is the wish of many, (not to say 'twas afterwards his) that when the next fit Opportunity arrives for each an healing Attempt, (the proper Method for which is plain enough whenever Persons are really willing to pursue it) it may be taken with more vigour and less Formality. The Reformation had never been brought about had it been left to a Convocation; nor will our Breaches be ever heal'd but by a true English Parliament. And let but them set about it in earnest, and they'l do it with ease, as far as is necessary; still leaving Men a Liberty to judge for themselves, without being liable to any Hardship or Severity. 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 follows:

**The New Ecclesiastical Commission.**

“Whereas the Particular Forms of Divine Wor-  
 “ship, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be  
 “us'd therein, being Things in their own Nature in-  
 “different 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

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“and Authority, should from Time to Time seem  
 “either Necessary or Expedient.

“And whereas the Book of Canons is fit to be re-  
 “view'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 Per-  
 “sons 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 possi-  
 “ble, of all Differences among our good Subjects, and  
 “to take away all Occasion of the like for the Future,  
 “have thought 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 Li-

“turgy, and Canons, and such Proposals for the Re-formation of Ecclesiastical Courts, and to consider of such other Matters as in your Judgments may most conduce to the Ends above-mentioned.

Ten of the Commissioners were then Bishops; *viz*, Dr. *Lamplugh* Archbishop of *York*: Dr. *Compton*, Dr. *Mew*, Dr. *Lloyd*, Dr. *Sprat*, Dr. *Smith*, Sir *Jonathan Trelauny*, Dr. *Burnet*, Dr. *Humfreys*, and Dr. *Stratford*; who were the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *St. Asaph*, *Rochester*, *Carlisle*, *Exeter*, *Salisbury*, *Bangor*, and *Chester*. Twenty other Dignitaries were added to them: As, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Patrick*, Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Megot*, Dr. *Sharp*, Dr. *Kidder*, Dr. *Aldridge*, Dr. *Jane*, Dr., *Hall*, Dr. *Beaumont*, Dr. *Mountague*, Dr. *Goodman*, Dr. *Beveridge*, Dr. *Battely*, Dr. *Alston*, Dr. *Tennison*, Dr. *Scot*, Dr. *Fowler*, Dr. *Grove*, and Dr. *Williams*.

There Commissioners often met and debated Matters, but were Deserted by Dr. *Jane*, and several others. They drew up sundry Alterations; an exact Copy of which once had, but unhappily and irrecoverably lost by lending it out. But thus much I still venture to say,

that

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that such Ammendments 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.†

Many

\* *My unknown High Church friend, in his Packet of Hints to me, which I have referr'd to, once and again before, calls it a prevaricating with God and Man to wrest the Act of 13 Eliz. to Ordinations by Presbyters, He tells me that I know that that Statute was made to oblige all Priests, who had been Ordain'd by Popish Bishops to Subscribe the Articles; And that Presbyterian Ordination was not then tho't off, &c. Tho'I was far from knowing or believing any such Thing, yet the Gentle-*

man being so very confident, I took the pains once more to read the Act over; and all that I call find there is, that Subscription to the Doctrinal Articles is requir'd of all in Possession of Livings by the Christmas Day next following; And that such Subscribers which way soever Ordain'd, were admitted to officiate in the Church of England as Ministers, &c. And I find that Fuller in his Church History, upon that very Year; declares that this Act was made with respect to the Nonconformists. Tho' it was favourable to them, if compar'd with what is now requir'd, when to capacitate for a Living, not only Episcopal Ordination is requir'd, And a Subscription to the Articles, but also a Subscription, and an Assent and Consent, to all and every Thing contain'd in the Book of Common Prayer, and the Book of Ordering Bishops, Priests and Deacons, &c. wherein are considerable Doctrinal Additions, and the supposition of the Jure Divino, of the Three Orders, of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons among the rest. And tho' this Gentlemen is pleas'd to tell me that Presbyterian Ordination was not then tho't of, yet if he'l take the pains to look into Mr. Strype's History of the Life and Acts of Bishop Grindal, he'l find in the Appendix, Numb. 17, a copy of a License granted to one John Morrison a Scotch Man, to Preach and Administer Holy Things throughout the Province of Canterbury, tho' this John Morrison (as the Licence takes notice) was only Ordain'd in Scotland, in the way of the Presbyterians; which sort of Ordination (and they had no other in Scotland) is expressly approv'd in the License.

† This saying of mine is particularly taken notice of by Mr. Ollyffe, in his Epistle Dedicatory to his Defence of Ministerial Conformity; and by Mr. Hoadly in his Brief Defence of Episcopal Ordination; and also by the Compleat History of England, Vol. 3. p. 552. And I must own I never yet saw Reason to retract it. For though the Gentlemen of the Church of England commonly say of the Dissenters, that they don't know what would satisfy them, yet they have been often told, Bishop Ushers Model and King Charles the Seconds Declaration would satisfy them, Nay, King Charles's Declaration alone confirm'd by Act of Parliament, and reduc'd to Practice, would have bid fair for bringing in Fifteen Hundred of the Two Thousand

*Ministers*

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Many being so desirous to be inform'd as to this Matter, I shall Pick up what Light I can about it. And first the Bishop of Sarum\* gives us this Account. 'In the Reign of King James those of the Church, who saw the Papists drawing in the Dissenters to concur with them, in their Designs against the Church, applied to the then Prince of Orange, desiring him to make use of his Interest in them, for diverting them from that: And in those Letters which are yet extant, Assurances were given, that the Church was then in such a Temper, and so well convinc'd of former Errors, that if ever she got out of that Distress, all those Differences would be certainly made up: And to make



this Assurance more Publick, the Archbishop and Bishops in the *Petition*, for which they were imprison'd and Try'd, Declar'd that they were ready to come to a Temper in chose Matters both in *Parliament* and *Convocation*. Upon this it was that the Prince of *Orange* promis'd in his *Declaration*, to use his Endeavours to heal all those Divisions: In order to the performing this, He by a special Commission appointed all those Bishops who own'd his Authority, He being then set on the *Throne*, together with a great many of the *Clergy*, to draw out the Grounds upon which the *Dissenters* had separated from us, and to offer Expedients in order to the healing our Breaches. We had before us all the *Books* and *Papers* that they had at any time offered, setting forth their Demands; together with many Advices and Propositions which had been made at several times, by most of the best and most Learned of our *Divines*; of which the late most Learn-

*Ministers who were Ejected in Sixty Two. And such Concessions as King William's Commissioners would have yielded to, had made the Body of the Present Nonconformist Ministers very Thankful, with the Allowance of the 13th of Eliz. in point of Orders. For the scrupled Ceremonies being left indifferent, and the Liturgy amended as to the exceptionable Passages, and nothing that was capable of being interpreted an owning the Authority of the imposers being insisted on, that which now incapacitates us from exercising our Ministry in the Establish'd Church would vanish away, tho' there might yet remain room for many Amendments, and some of them very desirable too, especially as to the Courts that are call'd Ecclesiastical; which, (with some other Things) we have the Church will sometime or other, for her own sake, take care to have amended.*

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\* *In his Triennial Visitation charge.*

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'ed Bishop of *Worster* had a great Collection: So we 'prepar'd a Scheme to be laid before the *Convocation*; 'but did not think that we ourselves, much less that 'any other Person, was any way limited, or bound to 'comply with what we resolv'd to propose. On the 'contrary, we said, if we saw better Reason, we would 'change our Minds. Yet this which was only a *Council* created by the King to prepare Matters, was com-

'plain'd of as an imposing on the *Convocation*, and as a 'limiting of it; and though a *Royal License* was sent 'them, yet a previous Resolution was taken to admit 'of no Amendments. When we saw that, we resolv'd 'to be quiet, and leave that matter to better Times: 'But then the Enemies, of the Civil Government, be- 'gan to work on the Jealousies and Fears of many well 'minded Men; and the *preserving the Church* was given 'out as the *Word*, by those who meant *France* or *St. Ger- 'mains* by it.

'I shall next refer to what I have before mention'd, 'viz. the Account given by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, in his 'Speech in the House of Lords, on *March* the 17th, 1709/10, 'upon the Second Article of the Impeachment against 'Dr. *Sacheverell*. 'The *Person* (says he) who first con- 'ceited this supposed Design *against our Church*, was the 'late most Reverend Dr. *Sancroft*, *Archbishop* of *Canter- 'bury*. The *Time* was towards the end of that unhappy '*Reign*, of which so much was said upon Occasion of 'the foregoing Article. Then when we were in the 'heighth of our labours, defending the *Church of Eng- 'land* against the *Assaults of Popery*, and thought of no- 'thing else, that wise *Prelate* foreseeing some such *Re- 'volution* as soon after was happily brought about; be- 'gan to consider how utter unprepared they had been 'at the *Restoration*.

'No fooner were their late Majesties of Glorious 'Memory, seated in their Thrones, but this Design 'was openly espous'd by them. A *Commission* was issu'd 'out, under the *great Seal of England*, to a large 'Number of *Bishops* and other *Eminent Divines*, to 'meet together and to consider of these Matters. And 'whatever they did, it was to have been carried on 'from them to the Two *Convocations of Canterbury* and '*York*: And after it should have pass'd their Approba- 'tions, it was finally to have been laid before the Two

'Houses

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'*Houses of Parliament*; and so to have gone on to the '*Royal Assent*. This was the Course through which all 'that was design'd, or should have been done in this 'Matter, must have pass'd; and I am perswaded no-'thing very injurious to our '*Churches* Welfare will ever 'be able to pass through all these.

From the Account of these Two Bishop's it appears, that the Design was begun by Archbishop *Sancroft* at the latter end of King *James's* Reign, partly out of tenderness to the Dissenters; and partly that the Church might not be unprovided upon the *Revolution* as they were at the time of the *Restoration*: And that what was done in King *William's* time, was but a continuation of what was begun in the latter end of the Reign foregoing.

I shall now add the Account that is given us by Dr. *Nichols*,\* of the Proceedings of King *William's* Ecclesiastical Commissioners. He tells us, 'They began with 'reviewing the Liturgy. And first they examin'd 'the *Calendar*; in which in the room of *Apocryphal Lessons*, they ordred certain Chapters of *Canonical Scripture*, to be read, that were more to the Peoples 'advantage. *Athanasius's Creed*, being dislik'd by many because of the *Damnatory Clause*, it was left to the 'Ministers Choice to use it, or change it for the *Apostles Creed*. New *Collects* were drawn up more agreeable 'to the Epistles and Gospels, for the whole Course of 'the Year. And these the Doctor tells us were drawn 'up with that elegance and brightness of Expression, 'and such an heat and flame of Devotion, that nothing 'could more affect and excite the Hearts of the Hear-'ers, and raise up their Minds towards God. He says 'they were first drawn up by Dr. *Patrick*, who was 'reckon'd to have great skill in *Liturgical* Composures: 'Dr. *Burnet* added to them yet farther Force and Spi-'rit: Dr. *Stillingfleet* afterwards examin'd them with 'great Judgment, carefully weighing every Word in 'them: And Dr. *Tillotson* had the last Hand, giving 'them some free and masterly strokes of his free and 'sweet and flowing Eloquence. Dr. *Kidder*, who was

'well vers'd in the *Oriental Tongues*, made a new Ver-  
 'sion of the *Psalms*, more agreeable to the Original.  
 'Dr. *Tennison* made a Collection of the Words and Ex-  
 'pressions through the *Liturgy*, which had been excep-  
 'ted against, and propos'd others in their room that

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'were clear and plain, and less liable to exception.  
 'Other Things also were propos'd, that were left to be  
 'determin'd by the Convocation, As, (1.) That the  
 'Cross in Baptism might be either us'd or omitted at  
 'the choice of the Parents. (2.) That a Nonconfor-  
 'mist Minister going over to the Church, should not be  
 'Ordain'd according to the common Form, but rather  
 'Conditionally, much in the same manner as the bap-  
 'tizing of Infants is ordered in the Church, if there be  
 'not evidence of their being Baptiz'd before, with the  
 'Addition of the Episcopal Benediction, as was custo-  
 'mary in the Ancient Church, when Clerks were re-  
 'ceiv'd that had been Ordain'd by Hereticks. *Dionys.*  
 '*Alexandr. ap. Euseb. Hist. E. Lib. 7. Cap. 2. Conc. Nic, 1.*  
 '*Can. 8. Just. sive Anth. Resp. ad Orthod. Resp. 18. Theod.*  
 '*Hist. Eccl. Lib. 1. Cap. 8.* in which way of Ordain-  
 'ing Archbishop *Bramhall* had given a Precedent,  
 'when he receiv'd some *Scotch* Presbyters into the  
 'Church.

To all which I shall add an Account which I re-  
 ceiv'd from a Friend whom it is not necessary to Name,  
 which in the main I have Reason to think is right,  
 though in some Respects defective: And so I believe  
 will all our Accounts be, till the Original Papers come to  
 be publish'd to the World, as I believe and hope they  
 will be in time.

*An Account of the Proceedings of the Com-  
 missioners, to prepare Matters for the approach-  
 ing Convocation, in 1629.*

**The Proceedings of King *William's* Ecclesiastical Commissioners.**

**T**HE Committee being met in the *Jerusalem Chamber*, a Dispute arose about the Authority and Legality of the Court. (The Bishop of *Rochester*, though he had so lately acted in an Illegal one, being one of those that question'd it,) The Grounds of this scruple, were the Obligations the Clergy lay under by Act of Parliament of King *Henry* the VIII, not to enter into any Debates, about making any Alterations in Church Affairs without the King's special and immediate Privacy, and Direction first given concerning such Alterations. It was answer'd, that, that must be done

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either by an Act of the Kings own Judgment, or by a private Cabal, (both which ways would be very exceptionable) or else by his Majesty's Commission, to a certain number of Eccleliasticks to consult about, and prepare what was necessary to be alter'd, as it was in the present Case: For moreover, the Commissioners pretended not to make these Alterations obligatory by Ver-tue of a Law, but only to get them ready to lay before the Convocation: The very Reports being not so much as to be referr'd to the Privy Council, lest they might be subject to be canvas'd and cook'd by Lay Hands. However, The Bishops of *Winchester* and *Rochester*, Dr, *Jane* and Dr. *Aldridge*, withdrew dissatisfied; and the rest, after a Lift of all that seem'd fit to be changed, was read over, proceeded very unanimously, and without any Heats, in determining, as follows, (*each Article as soon as agreed on, being Sign'd by the Bishop of London,*) viz.

That the Chaunting of Divine Service in *Cathedral Churches*, shall be laid aside, that the whole may be rendered intelligible to the Common People.

That besides the *Psalms*, being read in their Course as before, some proper and devout ones be selected for Sundays.

That the *Apocryphal Lessons*, and those of the Old Testament which are too *Natural*, be thrown out; and others appointed in their stead by a new Calendar, which is already fully settled, and out of which are omitted all the *Legendary Saints Days*, and others not directly referr'd to in the Service Book.

That not to send the Vulgar to search the *Canons*, which few of these ever saw: A Rubrick be made, setting forth the usefulness of the *Cross in Baptism*, not as an essential Part of that Sacrament, but only a fit and decent Ceremony: However, if any do, after all in Conscience scruple it, it may be omitted by the Priest.

That likewise if any refuse to receive the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper Kneeling*, it may be Administred to them in their Pews.

That a Rubrick be made, declaring the, Intention of the *Lent Fasts*, to consist only in extraordinary Acts of Devotion, not in distinction of Meats. And another to state the meaning of *Rogation Sundays* and

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*Ember Weeks*; and appoint that those Ordained within the *Quatuor Tempora*, do Exercise strict Devotion.

That the Rubrick which obliges *Ministers*, to read or hear *Common Prayer*, publickly or privately every day, be changed to an Exhortation to the People to frequent those Prayers.

That the *Absolution* in Morning and Evening Prayer may be read by a Deacon; the Word *Priest* in the Rubrick being changed into *Minister*, and those Words *and Remission*, be put out as not very intelligible.

That the *Gloria Patri*, shall not be repeated at the end of every Psalm, but of all, appointed for Morning and Evening Prayer.

That those Words in the *Te Deum*, thine Honourable True and only Son, be thus turn'd, thine only begotten

Son, *Honourable*, being only a civil Term, and no where used in *Sacris*.

The *Benedicite* shall be changed into the 128 Psalm; and other Psalms likewise appointed for the *Benedictus* and *Nunc dimittis*.

The *Versicle*, after the Lord's Prayer, &c, shall be read Kneeling, to avoid the trouble and inconveniences of so often varying Postures in the Worship. And after these Words, *give Peace in our Time O Lord*, shall follow an answer, promisory of somewhat on the Peoples Part, of keeping God's Laws, or the like: The old Response being grounded on the Predestinating Doctrine, taken in too strict an Acceptation.

All high Titles or Appellations of the King, Queen, &c. shall be left out of the Prayers, such as *Most Illustrious, Religious, Mighty, &c.* and only the Word Sovereign retain'd for the King and Queen.

Those Words in the Prayer for the King, *Grant that he may vanquish and overcome all his Enemies*, as of too large an Extent, if the King engage in an unjust War; shall be turn'd thus; *Prosper all his Righteous Undertakings against thy Enemies*, or after some such Manner.

Those Words in the Prayer for the Clergy, *who alone Workest great Marvels*; as subject to be ill interpreted by Persons vainly disposed, shall be thus, who alone art the Author of all good Gifts: And those Words, the *beautiful Spirit of thy Grace*, shall be the

Holy

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Holy Spirit of thy Grace, *healthful* being an Absolute Word.

The Prayer which begins, *O God whose Nature and Property* shall be thrown out, as full of strange and impertinent Expressions, and besides not in the Original, but foisted in since by another Hand.

The *Collects*, for the most part are to be changed, for those the Bishop of *Chichester* has prepared; being

a review of the old ones with Enlargements, to render them more sensible and affecting, and what Expressions are needful, so to be retrenched.

If any Minister refuse the *Surplice*, the Bishop if the People desire it, and the Living will bear it, may substitute one in his Place that will officiate in it; but the whole Thing is left to the discretion of the Bishops.

If any desire to have *Godfathers and Godmothers omitted*, and their Children presented in their own Names to *Baptism*, it may be granted.

About the *Athenasian Creed*, they came at last to this Conclusion. That least the wholly rejecting it should by unreasonable Persons be imputed to them as Socinianism, a Rubrick shall be made, setting forth, or declaring the Curses denounced therein not to be restrain'd to every particular Article, but intended against those that deny the Substance of the Christian Religion in General.

Whether the Amendment of the *Translation of the reading Psalms*, (as they are call'd) made by the Bishop of *St. Asaph* and *Dr. Kidder*, or that in the *Bible*, shall be inserted in the Prayer Book, is wholly left to the Convocation to consider of and determine.

In the *Litany*, *Communion Service*, &c. are some Alterations made, as also in the *Canons*, which I cannot yet learn so particular Account of as to give them you with the rest, as perhaps I may hereafter be able to do. Thus far my Friends Narrative.

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*

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*long fierce Contest about Things, which we all Confess are indifferent in their own Nature. Thu 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 Out-cries, as if the Church of England were to be pull'd down: While the chief Promoters of these Reports, know 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, though there should not be one Dissenter gain'd by them; and are such as will tend to the making all the Parts of our Offices 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 Beginning 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 these 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 bare and contemptible before the People; and that all our Flocks shall be scatter'd., But we might hope for better Things, if everyone 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 ourselves 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 instead of the Pride of not yielding to one another in any Thing, we should rather engage into a*

*Holy*

*Mal. 2. 8,9.*

*Jer. 10. 21.*

*1 Pet. 1. 22.*

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*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 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 secured 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 retained, 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 I, asserted\* that it was every Way agreeable to the Laws of the Land. That it was justified by several Precedents since the Reformation, in the Reigns of

*Edward*

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\* *A Discourse concerning the Ecclesiastical Commission, Printed for Richard Chiswell, 1689.*

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*Edward, VI, Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles II.* 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 *Proposals* only, not *Impositions*. That the Persons employed ill 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 convinced, that if they at that Time had Reason for the Alterations they made, which were computed to be about Six Hundred, there was equal, if not greater Reason for some farther Improvements. That if they at that Time had offered

to move much farther, 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 resolved 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 Cleri, page 14, 18, &c.***

To this it was replied; to what Purpose is it to begin, when we see not where to end? Is it not better to endure some Inconveniences (as in all Constitutions some will be) than to expose our Selves to Certain Mischiefs? And what can we expect, when the Six Hundred Alterations in 1661, had no competent Effect, but were rejected with Scorn? 'Twas added, that the true *Conformists* were very well satisfy'd with their House, and contented to live and die in it: But that if the

*Dissenters*

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*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 tried also Church Censures and Penal Laws, and what have they availed 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 Original 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

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\* *A Letter to a Friend, relating to the present Convocation at Westminster.*

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*about, that we must for ever 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 Animosities against each other to that Height, as that we had almost totally given up our Church to 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 Obstinacy 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.,

And as to the want of the suspended Bishops 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

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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 resolved, never to stir a Step by their Good-will, beyond the Measure of their Fore-fathers.\* 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 causlesly 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 pleas'd with all that we can do, we should confirm 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? Is it 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 of imposing such sinful Terms, for admitting others into her Communion, as were purposely design'd to keep them out, and afterward voluntarily only off those 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 to 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.*

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

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\* *Vox Cleri*, page 45, &c.

† *Ibid.* page 11.

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the *Christ Church* Interest was too strong for 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 if otherwise insuperable.* And *Leges Angliæ nolumus mutare*, was the Motto of the prevailing Party in the Convocation. The Bishop of *London* told the Clergy, that *they ought, to endeavour a Temper in those Things that are not Essential in Religion. thereby to open the Door of Salvation to a Multitude of straying Christians: And that it must need be their Duty to shew the same Indulgence and Charity to the Dissenters under King William, which some of the Bishops and Clergy had promis'd to them in their Addresses to King James.* And he concluded with a Pathetical Exhortation to *Unanimity and Concord*, His Majesty sent them a Message by the Earl of *Nottingham*, intimating that he had sommoned 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 that he expected that the Things which he propos'd should be calmly and impartially consider'd; he intend-



ing to offer nothing, but what should be for the Honour Peace and Advantage, both of the *Protestans* 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 King's 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 dislik'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

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*England* was not distinguish'd from other *Protestant* Churches, but by its Hierarchy and Revenues, and that it was an equivocal Expression; for if *Popery* should prevail, it would be called 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 Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. 2. Because

the leaving out this, may have ill Consequences, and be liable to change Constructions 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 King's Message; and in this the Church of *England* being so much concerned, 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.

The want of Union at this Time, is by several Persons ascribed to different Causes. One\* that says, *It must be own'd that this was a Glorious Opportunity of re-*

*conciling all moderate Dissenters to the Communion of the Church of England, which might have been happily effected, if this extraordinary Juncture had been well managed and improved; afterwards tells a blind Story out of another Author, as if the Presbyterians† did not a little contribute to exasperate the Convocation against them, having at this very Time given Orders to near Fifty young Students; and Mr. Baxter the Head of their Party, having published a Book reflecting on the Church of England. But the same Author himself gives a better Account a little before‡ of when he says, That many Arguments were us'd to bring the most stiff of the Inferiour Clergy to a Charitable Condescension, and the much desired Union to little Purpose. There was a Jealousy and a Distrust not to be conquer'd. And the best and most favourable Gloss that the Matter will bear on their Side, is what he adds presently after, viz. that the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some of his Suffragans, and some other Divines, would not own the Government that then was, and were therefore ready to fall into a New Separation from their Brethren: So that at this Juncture it might appear to them to be dangerous to make any Change, that might give a Pretence of being for the old Church, as well as the Old King. And yet even this was not prevented.*

After this, the Convocation was adjourn'd from Time to Time, till at last it was with the Parliament dissolv'd, without doing any Thing at all in Pur-suance to the King's Message, and their Commission. Bishop Burnet has given us the best Account of this Matter I meet with any where.\* *I shall only* (says he) *touch on one Particular, which will shew that when Men are dispos'd 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 Cure Jealousie;*

Princes

\* *Compleat History of England, Vol. 3. p. 522.*

† *Id. p. 555.*

‡ *Id. p. 552. Col. 2.*

\* *Reflections on a Book concerning the Rights of an English Convocation, p. 17.*

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*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 Kjngdom, that they might consider and prepare such Things as should be offered 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 an 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 observ'd, 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*: 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 elaps'd that was fix'd by Act of Parliament for their Compliance; they held on Preaching when they were Guilty, 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,

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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 Oaths 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 Schismaticks, falling into the same Fault, they had express'd such a Sense of in others. The Non-Swearers said 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 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-man's 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 Perse-*

*cutions*

\* 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, p. 7, &c.

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*cutions 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 Intrinsic Power of the Word and Sacraments, proceeding from the Keys of Ordination: But the Extrinsic Power and Licence 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

tion: And therefore told their Non-Swearing Brethren, that if they proceeded up on 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.

3. The Non-Swearing Clergy pleaded, that they were bound 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 complied 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 ancient Times ever refuse Communion with Church, because of Matters of State; or divide*

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*from others, because those they divided from, tho't it Lawful, and their Duty to swear Allegiance to the Sovereign Power?*

So that here was a strange Inversion. Whereas these were Two Principles of which the Practical Party had all along from the Time of the Restauration of King *Charles*, discover'd 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

these 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 Dissenting 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 Principles 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 Ceremonies, Worship and Discipline of the Church, as should pave the Way to a Coalition; they yet carried it with more Respect both to Civil and Ecclesiastical Governors, than many that had formerly valued 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

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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 back-



wardness to lay hold of Two such happy Opportunities, as the Restauration of King *Charles* and the late Revolution, for the hearing of our uncomfortable Breaches.

The Dissenting Ministers of the several Denominations subscribed the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of *England*, as the Act of Parliament requir'd: But some few Expressions in them being dubious, Mr. *Baxter* drew up a Brief Explication, which he gave in for his Sense at the Time of his Subscription, in which many of his Brethren concurred with him. And because few have taken Notice of this Explication, I think it not improper to insert it here. It was intituled,

*R.B's Sense of the subscrib'd Articles of Religion:*  
Printed in 1689.

Take nor this Form of Words, call'd, the Articles of the Church of *England*, to be essential to the said Church; nor any Thing in them to be essential to the Christian Religion, which was not so from its Beginning, and in the First Ages of Christianity; yea, and in every following Age: Nor do I take such Form or Matter to be instead of the Scripture and the ancient Creeds, a necessary Role of Divine Faith, or necessary to the Being of Ministry, Membership, and Communion in the Church of *England*: But that they were subordinate to the Scriptures, and the said Creeds, a laudable Profession of this Church at the Reformation, that they mis-expounded not the Divine Rule by any Heresies, thereby to promote our Communion with other Reformed Churches, and to guide Novices at Home in the Exposition of the said Rule. Far be it from us to be of a Religion and Church, which is no older than the said Articles or Common Prayer. But holding with excellent *Augustin*, That *contra rationem nemo sobrius, & contra Scripturam nemo Christianus*; so also that, *contra Ecclesiam nemo pacificus* (the Church

'still being suppos'd to be for Reason and Scripture,  
'Sober and Christian,) and wishing that God's own

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'Word were taken for the sufficient Terms of our  
'Consent and Concord in Order to Union and Com-  
'munion; and knowing that the Ambiguity of Words,  
'and our common Imperfection in the Art of Speaking,  
'do leave an Uncertainty in the Sense of most Hu-  
'mane Writings till explained, and yet supposing that  
'the Authors of these Articles meant them Ortho-  
'doxly, that I may not seem necessary Scrupulous, I  
'subscribe them? And that I may not be unconsci-  
'ously rash in subscribing, I here tell all whom it may  
'concern, how I understand the Words which I sub-  
'scribe.

*Art.* 2. 'A Sacrifice for all the Sin of Man Origi-  
'nal and Actual.] Though [*Omnibus*] be also in the  
'*Latin*, [All] is left out in King *James* his Edition.  
'I suppose they meant not [for any Man's final predo-  
'minant Impenitence, Infidelity, Atheism or Unholy-  
'ness;] but for all Sorts of Sin, on Condition of Faith  
'and Repentance, actually pardoning them to peni-  
'tent Believers.

*Art.* 3. 'He went down into Hell.] That is into  
'Hades, the State of separated Souls; of which see  
'Archbishop *Usher's* Answer to the Jesuits,

*Art.* 4. 'Took again his Body with Flesh and Bones,  
'and all Things appertaining to the Perfection of  
'Man's Nature, where with he ascended into Heaven,  
'and there sitteth, &c.]

'That is, he sitteth in Heaven with the same Body  
'glorified, which was Flesh and Bones on Earth, and  
'catachrestically is by some so call'd; now it is a Cele-  
'stial, Incorruptible, Spiritual, Glorious Body; but in-  
'deed is not now the same Thing, which we call for-  
'mally Flesh, Bones, or Blood, nor will admit of the  
'same Definition. For 1. The Scripture saith plainly,

'*That Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God,*  
'1 Cor. 15. 50. *There is a Natural Body, and there is a*  
'*Spiritual Body,* v. 43-44. The Context shews, That it  
'is not mortal sinful Corruption; that is call'd Flesh  
'and Blood here, but that Natural Corruptibility,  
'which Flesh and Blood hath. See *Hammond* on the  
'Text.

'Christ's Body will not be worse than ours (*but ours*  
'*made like to his,* Phil. 3. 20.) but ours shall not be  
'Flesh, Blood, and Bones.

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2. 'When there is, not the same Form or Definition,  
'there is not to be the same proper formal Denomina-  
'tion: But no sober Philosopher or Physician ever  
'gave such a Definition of Flesh, Blood, or Bones, as  
'will truly agree with Christ's glorified Body: The  
'Name therefore can be but Equivocal.

3. 'There is a Symmetry in God's Works, Christ  
'being in his glorified Humanity advanc'd above An-  
'gels in Power, is not below them in Natural Perfe-  
'ction. His Spiritual Celestial Body is congruous to  
'his Soul; and all the Angels obey and Worship him.  
'When we are the Children of the Resurrection, we  
'shall be equal to the Angels, and neither marry nor die:  
'And so not have Bodies of Mortal Constitution. I dare  
'not say, That the Sun of Light is more glorious Body  
'than Christ's; not encourage those Disputers, that ask,  
'how many Foot long and broad his Body is, or the  
'Place that containeth it.

4. 'I darenot incur the Guilt of contradicting Two  
'General Councils in a Matter of Faith, when they  
'anathematize the Dissenters, and agree therein tho'  
'disagreeing in other Things, and pleading the Tra-  
'dition of the Fathers and the Scripture.

'The Seventh General Council at *C.P.* under,  
'*Const. Copron.* condemning Image Worship saith, (as *Bin-*  
'*nius* translath it) pag. 378. *Desin.* 7. [*Siquis non confessus*

*'fuerit Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum post assumptionem animatæ rationalis & intellectualis carnis, simul sedere cum Deo patre at què ità quoque rursùs venturum cum Paternâ Majestate, justicaturum vivos & mortuos, non amplius quidè Carnem, neque incorporeum tamèn, ut videatur ab iis, a quibur compunctus est, & maneat Deus extrà crassitudinem carnis, Anathema.*

'To which faith, the Second *Nicene* (their Adversaries) by *Epiphanius*: *Hùc usque rectè sentiunt & patrum traditionibus consentientia dicunt.*

5. 'The long Church Division, which have for 1300 Years follow'd the rash Determinations about some 'dark invisible Things, maketh me more inclin'd to suspend, than rashly to affirm, in doubtful Cases, especially about God and Jesus Christ.

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6. 'It is not the Perfection of glorified Humanity 'to be Flesh and Bones.

7. 'I cannot say, That Earth (as Flesh and Bones 'are) dwells in Ætherial Regions.

*Art.* 6. 'Holy Scripture containeth all Things necessary to Salvation.] I consent therefore if the 'Ministry, Sacraments, and Church Communion be 'necessary to Salvation, the Scripture containeth all 'necessary to them.

*Ibid.* 'In the Name of the Holy Scriptures we understand those Canonical Books, of whose Authority 'was never any Doubt in the Church.]. *Expos.* Not 'excluding the Epistle to the *Hebrews*; *James*; 2. *Pet. Jude*, 2 and 3 *John*, *Revelation*; which divers 'Churches long doubted of.

*Art.* 7. 'The Civil Precepts thereof (the Law given 'from from God by *Moses*,) ought not of Necessity to 'be receiv'd in any Common-wealth.]

*Expos.* '*Civilia sunt præcepta, quæ dantur ad regendas civitates, (seu Societates civiles)* God's Laws 'are the Supreme Civil Laws: Man's Laws are but

'By-Laws. (such as Corporations make under the Laws 'of the Land,) about Things mutable, left undeter-'min'd by God, and subordinate to his Laws. God 'hath Two Sorts of Civil Laws: First, such as are 'universal or common to all Christian Nations at 'least; as that there shall be Rulers or Subjects; that 'Rulers obey and promote the Laws of God, and the 'Kingdom of Christ, and do nothing against them; 'That they seek the common Good, and rule in Righ-'teousness and be a Terror to evil Works, and en-'courage Piety, and Virtue, and Peace; that they re-'strain Blasphemy, Perjury, Prophaneness, Murder, A-'dultery, Theft, false Witness, and false Judging, &c. 'These Civil Laws bind all Nations, as the Law of Na-'ture, and all Christian Nations, as the Law of Christ, 'but not as the Law of *Moses* promulgate to the *Jews*.  
'2. 'But there are also particular Civil Laws, that were 'proper to the *Jews* Common-wealth in specie: I sup-'pose the Article meaneth these, and includeth the for-'mer in the Word (Moral Laws) though indeed they 'be the most eminent Civil Laws.

*Art.* 8. 'The Three Creeds, *viz.* *Nice Creed, Atha-'nasius Creed*, and that commonly call'd the *Apostles*

'*Creed*

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'*Creed*, ought throughly to be receiv'd and believ'd  
[*omnino.*]

*Expos.* 'Rightly understood, *viz.* 1. That by [God 'of God, very God of very God] be not meant Two 'Gods. 2. Nor the Damnatory Clauses taken for Part 'of *Athanasius's* Creed, though they be Part of the Li-'turgy Assented and Consented to.

*Art.* 9. This Infection of Nature does remain even 'in them that are Regenerate.

'That is, in a mortified, subdued Degree, but not 'predominant, or unpardoned.

*Art.* 10. 'We have no Power, (*nihil valemus*) viz. our 'Natural Powers or Faculties are not sufficient without 'Grace.

*Art.* II. 'We are accounted Righteous before God, 'only for the Merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus 'Christ, and not for our own Works or deservings: 'Wherefore that we are Justified by Faith only, is a 'most wholesome Doctrine.

*Expos.* 'Though he that doth Righteousness is Righteous; and the Scripture throughout, and frequently 'mentioneth an inherent Personal Righteousness necessary to Salvation; yet this is no Universal Righteousness, nor such as will Justifie us according to the Law 'of Innocency or Works, but is meerly subordinate to 'the Merit and Efficacy of the Sacrifice and Righteousness of Christ, which only meriteth for us as a 'Price, our Faith being only the requisite (yet given) 'moral Qualification for the reception of the Free Gift 'of Pardon, Justification, and Adoption, and hath not 'the least Part of the Office or Honour of Christ: Yet 'are Christ's Words true, that by Men's Works they 'shall be Justified or Condemned; and all Men shall be 'judged according to their Works: And *James* truly 'saith, that by Works a Man is Justified, and not by 'Faith only. Not by Works of Perfection or of *Moses's* 'Law, nor any that as a Price or Commutation do 'make the Reward to be of Debt, and not of Grace, 'but by a Practical Faith or Christianity: Such Acts 'as Faith it self is, and prove our Belief; such as Christ 'has promis'd Justification and Salvation to; such as 'by justifying Belief to be sincere, do justify the Person 'against the Charge of Infidelity, Hypocrisy, Impenitence and Ungodliness: Christianity is that Faith 'which *Paul* opposes to Works.

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*Art.* 12. 'Good Works spring out necessarily of a 'true and lively Faith, insomuch that by them a lively

'Faith may be as evidently known, as a Tree discern'd  
'by the Fruit.

*Expos.* 1. 'It is an hypothetical Necessity that is here  
'meant, consistent with Freedom. 2. And a Truth of  
'Evidence, and not an equal Degree.

*Art.* 13. 'Works done before the Grace of Christ,  
'and the Inspiration of the Spirit, are not pleasant to  
'God; for as much as they spring not of Faith in Jesus  
'Christ, neither do they make Men meet to receive  
'Grace, or as the Schools say, deserve a Grace of  
'Congruity; yea, rather they have the Nature of Sin.]

*Expof.* 1. 'No Good is done before all common Grace.  
'2. Preparatory Grace usually goes before special  
'Grace; and those that resist it, are farther from the  
'Kingdom of God, than they that have it: And to him  
'that hath (by improvement) shall be Given; And in  
'every Nation, he that fears God, and works Righte-  
'ousness, is accepted of him. Believing that God is,  
'and that he is the Rewarder of them that diligently seek  
'Him, is better than nothing, and than meer Sin.

*Art.* 14. 'Voluntary Works, besides, over and above  
'God's Commandments, which they call Works of Su-  
'pererrogation, cannot be taught without Arrogancy  
'and Iniquity.

*Expos.* 'I suppose, they meant not, that Voluntary  
'Canons, Impositions, Oaths, and Church-Offices are  
'so bad.

*Art.* 16. *Expof.* 'I suppose, this Article meaneth only  
'the unpardoned Sin against the Holy Ghost, and of a  
'total Departure from Common Grace, and some de-  
'gree of Habit and Act from special Grace; but de-  
'termineth not the Controversy, whether any totally  
'and finally fall from such an unconfirmed Grace as else  
'would Save.

*Art.* 18. 'They are to be had accursed, that presume to  
'say, that every Man shall be sav'd by the Law or Sect  
'which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his  
'Life according to that Law and the Light of Nature.

‘For Holy Scripture doth set out to us only the Name  
‘of Jesus Christ, whereby Men must be sav’d.]

*Expos:*

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*Expos.* ‘Some Sects contradict the light of Nature. ‘They worship Devils, and offer their Children in Sa- ‘crifice to them, and Murder the Just; this will save ‘none. But if the meaning be to Curse all that hope ‘that some are sav’d, who never heard of the Name of ‘Christ, and that his Spirit and Grace go farther than ‘the Knowledge of his Name, I will not Curse such. ‘All were not accursed that hoped well of *Socrates*, ‘*Antonine*, *Alexander*, *Severus*, *Cicero*, *Epictetus*, *Plu- ‘tarch*, &c. There is no Name that is no Messiah to ‘be sav’d by, but Christ. But, 1. God judgeth Men ‘by no other Law, than that which they were under: ‘And the Law of Grace made to fallen Mankind in ‘*Adam* and *Noah*, was not repeal’d by the *Jews* Pec- ‘liarity. 2. God had more People than the *Jews* and ‘Proselytes of old. 3. The Old *Jews* knew less of ‘Christ, than his Apostles before his Resurrection. ‘4. The Apostles then believed not his dying for our ‘Sins, his Resurrection, Ascension, Heavenly Inter- ‘cession, &c. 5. ’Tis no Christianity now, that be- ‘lieves not these. If I durst Curse all the World, who ‘now believe no more than the Old *Jews* and the Apo- ‘stles then did, yet durst I not Curse all Christians, ‘that hope better of them.

*Art.* 23. ‘Those we ought to judge Lawfully called and ‘sent, which be chosen and call’d to this Work by ‘Men, who have Publick Authority given them in the ‘Congregation to call and send Ministers into the Lord’s Vineyard.]

*Expos.* ‘Given them, that is, by Christ in his Scrip- ‘ture Institution, and by those that Christ Authorizes ‘under him.

*Art.* 25. ‘Sacraments be certain, sure and effectual ‘Signs of Grace, and God’s good Will, &c.]



*Expo!*. ‘ They signify what God offereth; They invest  
‘the true believing Receiver in the right of Pardon,  
‘Adoption, and Salvation: They are morally operative  
‘Signs of exciting and encreasing inherent Grace in  
‘Believers.

*Art.* 26. ‘Nor is the Effect of Christ’s Ordinance  
‘taken away by their Minister’s Wickedness.]

*Expos.* ‘Sacraments are not void, because a bad Man  
‘Administred them; but Prayer and Preaching, and  
‘Example: are usually more effectual from able, godly

‘Men

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‘Men; than from the Ignorant and Wicked. The  
‘blind Man could say, God heareth not Sinners; but  
‘if any be a Worshipper of Him, and doth His Will,  
‘him he heareth. *Psal.* 50; to the Wicked saith God,  
‘*What hast thou to do to take my Covenant into thy Mouth,*  
‘&c. It is a Sin to prefer a bad Man before a better.  
‘And it is dangerous to encourage Men in daily Sin;  
‘who usurp the sacred Office of Bishops or Pastors,  
‘having neither the Qualifications essentially Necessary  
‘thereto, nor that which is essentially Necessary to a  
‘Call.

‘The excepted Articles, and those that need no Ex-  
‘position, I pass by. If I have hit all the true Meaning,  
‘I subscribe my Assent; and I thank God that this  
‘National Church hath Doctrine so Sound; and pity  
‘them that Write, Preach, or Practice contrary to the  
‘Articles which they subscribe, and accuse them that  
‘refuse subscribing them; and take them for Sinners  
‘who take them not for their Pastors, because that their  
‘Wickedness nulleth not their Sacramental Admini-  
‘strations.

The *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, who had often  
attempted coming to an Agreement before, thought this  
a proper Opportunity for a new Essay, and after seve-

ral Meetings, they Agreed in, and afterwards publish'd the following Articles.

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*Heds of Agreement Assented to by the United  
Ministers, &c.*

*The following Heds of Agreement have been resolv'd upon, by the United Ministers in and about London, formerly call'd Presbyterian and Congregational; not as a Measure for any National Constitution, but for the Preservation of Order in our Congregations, that cannot come up to the Common Rule by Law Establish'd.*

**1. Of churches and church Members.**

I. **W**E acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ to have One Catholick Church, or Kingdom, comprehending all that are united to him, whether in

‘Heaven

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‘Heaven or Earth. And do conceive the whole Multitude of Visible Believers, and their Infant Seed (commonly call'd the Catholick Visible Church) to belong to Christ's Spiritual Kingdom in this World: But for the Notion of a Catholick Visible Church here, as it signifies its having been collected into any form'd Society, under a Visible humane Head on Earth; whether One Person singly, or many collectively, we, with the rest of *Protestants*, Unanimously Disclaim it.

2. ‘We agree, that particular Societies of Visible Saints, who under Christ their Head, are stately joyn'd together for ordinary Communion with one another in all the Ordinances of Christ, are particular Churches, and are to be own'd by each other, as Instituted Churches of Christ, though differing in Apprehensions and Practices in some lesser Things.

3. ‘That none shall be admitted as Members, in order to Communion in all the special Ordinances of the Gospel, but such Persons as are knowing and

‘sound in the Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion, without Scandal in their Lives; and to a Judgment regulated by the Word of God, are Persons of Visible Godliness and Honesty; credibly professing cordial Subjection to Jesus Christ.

4. ‘A competent Number of such Visible Saints (as before describ’d) do become the capable Subjects of stated Communion in all the special Ordinances of Christ, upon their mutual declar’d Consent and Agreement to walk together therein according to Gospel Rule. In which Declaration, different Degrees of explicitness shall no way hinder such Churches from owning each other as Instituted Churches.

5. ‘Though Parochial Bounds be not of Divine Right, yet for common Edification, the Members of a particular Church ought (as much as conveniently may be) to Live near one another.

6. ‘That each particular Church hath Right to chuse their own Officers; and being furnish’d with such as are duly Qualify’d and Ordain’d according to the Gospel Rule, hath Authority from Christ, for exercising Government, and of enjoying all the Ordinances of Worship within itself.

7. ‘In

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7. ‘In the Administration of Church Powar, it belongs to the Pastors and other Elders of every particular Church (if such their be) to Rule and Govern); and to the Brotherhood to Consent, according to the Rule of the Gospel.

8. ‘That all Professors as before describ’d are bound in Duty, as they have Opportunity, to joyn themselves as fixed Members of some particular Church; their thus joyning being part of their professed Subjection to the Gospel of Christ, and an instituted Means of their Establishment and Edification; whereby they are under the Pastoral Care, and in case of scandalous or offensive Walking, may be authorita-

tively, Admonish'd or Censur'd for their Recovery; and for Vindication of the Truth, and the Church professing it.

9. 'That a Visible Professor thus joyn'd to a particular Church, ought to continue stedfastly with the said Church; and not forsake the Ministry and Ordinances there dispensed, without an orderly seeking a Recommendation to another Church. Which ought to be given, when the Case of the Person apparently requires it.

## II. *Of the Ministry.*

1. 'We Agree, that the Ministerial Office is Instituted by Jesus Christ, for the gathering, guiding, edifying and governing of his Church; and to continue to the end of the World.

2. 'They, who are call'd to this Office, ought to be endued with competent Learning, and Ministerial Gifts; as also with the Grace of God, found in Judgment, not novices in the Faith and Knowledge of the Gospel; without Scandal, of Holy Conversation, and such as devote themselves to the Work and Service thereof.

3. 'That ordinarily none shall be Ordain'd to the Work of this Ministry, but such as are call'd and chosen thereunto by a particular Church.

4. 'That in so great and weighty a Matter, as the calling and chusing a Pastor, we judge it ordinarily requisite, that every such Church, consult and advise with the Pastors of Neighbouring Congregations.

5. 'That

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5. 'That after such Advice, the Person consulted about, being chosen by the Brotherhood of that particular Church, over which he is to be set, and he accepting, be duly Ordain'd, and set apart to his Office over them; wherein 'tis ordinarily requisite, that the Pastors of Neighbouring Congregations, concur with the Preaching Elder, or Elders, if such there be.

6. 'That whereas such Ordination is only intended 'for such as never before had been Ordain'd to the Ministerial Office; if any judge, that in the Case also of 'the removal of one formerly Ordain'd, to a new Station, or Pastoral Charge, there ought to be a like solemn Recommending him and his Labours to the Grace 'and Blessing of God; no different Sentiments or Practice herein, shall be any occasion of Contention or 'Breach of Communion among us.

7. 'Tis expedient, that they who enter on the Work 'of Preaching the Gospel, be not only qualify'd for 'Communion of Saints; but also that, except in Cases 'extraordinary, they give proof of their Gifts and fitness for the said Work, unto the Pastors of Churches, 'of known Abilities to discern and judge of their Qualifications: That they may be sent forth with solemn 'Approbation and Prayer, which we judge needful, 'that no doubt may remain concerning their being call'd 'to the Work; and for preventing (as much as in us 'lies) ignorant and rash Intruders.

### III. Of Censures.

1. 'As it cannot be avoided, but that in the purest 'Churches on Earth, there will sometimes Offences 'and Scandals arise by reason of Hypocrisy and prevailing Corruption; so Christ hath made it the Duty 'of every Church to reform itself by Spiritual Remedies, appointed by him, to be applied in all such Cases; *viz.* Admonition and Excommunication.

2. 'Admonition, being the rebuking of an offending 'Member in order to Conviction, is, in case of private 'Offences to be perform'd according to the Rule in 'Matth. 18. v. 15, 16, 17: And in case of publick Offences, openly before the Church; as the Honour of 'the Gospel, and Nature of the Scandal shall require: 'And if either of the Admonitions take Place for the

'recovery

'recovery of the fallen Person, all further Proceedings  
'in a way of Censure, are thereupon to cease, and Sa-  
'tisfaction to be declar'd accordingly.

3. When all due Means are us'd according to the  
'Order of the Gospel, for the restoring an offending  
'and scandalous Brother; and he notwithstanding re-  
'mains Impenitent, the Censure of Excommunication  
'is to be proceeded unto; wherein the Pastor and other  
'Elders (if there be such) are to lead, and go before  
'the Church, and the Brotherhood to give their Con-  
'sent; in a Way of Obedience unto Christ, and unto  
'the Elders, as over them in the Lord.

4. 'It may sometimes come to pass, that a Church  
'Member, not otherwise scandalous, may sinfully  
'withdraw, and divide himself from the Communion  
'of the Church to which he belongeth; in which case,  
'when all due Means for the reducing him prove in-  
'effectual; he having hereby cut himself off from that  
'Churches Communion, the Church may justly esteem  
'and declare itself discharg'd of any further Inspection  
'over him.

#### IV. *Of Communion of Churches.*

1. 'We Agree, That particular Churches ought not  
'to walk so distinct and separate from each other, as  
'not to have care and tenderness towards one another:  
'But their Pastors ought to have frequent Meetings to-  
'gether, that by mutual Advice, Support, Encourage-  
'ment, and brotherly Intercourse, they may strengthen  
'the Hearts and Hands of each other in the Ways of  
'the Lord.

2. 'That none of our particular Churches shall be  
'Subordinate to one another, each being endu'd with  
'equality of Power from Jesus Christ: And that none  
'of the said particular Churches, their Officer, or Offi-  
'cers, shall exercise any Power, or have any Supe-  
'riority over any other Church, or their Officers.

3. 'That known Members of particular Churches,  
'Constituted as aforesaid, may have Occasional Com-

'munion with one another in the Ordinances of the  
'Gospel, *viz.* the Word, Prayer, Sacraments, Singing  
'Psalms, dispensed according to the Mind of Christ;  
'unless that Church with which they desire Communion,  
'hath any just Exception against them.

4. 'That

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4. 'That we ought not to admit any one to be a  
'Member of our respective Congregations, that hath  
'joyn'd himself to another, without endeavours of  
'mutual Satisfaction of the Congregations concern'd.

5. 'That one Church ought not to blame the Pro-  
'ceedings of another, till it hath heard, what that  
'Church charg'd its Elders or Messengers can say, in  
'Vindication of themselves from any Charge of irregu-  
'lar or injurious Proceedings.

6. 'That we are most willing and ready to give an  
'Account of our Church Proceedings to each other  
'when desir'd, for preventing or removing any Offen-  
'ces, that may arise among us. Likewise, we shall be  
'ready to give the right Hand of Fellowship, and walk  
'together according to the Gospel Rules of Communion  
'of Churches.

#### ***V. Of Deacons and Ruling Elders.***

'We agree, the Office of a Deacon is of Divine Ap-  
'pointment, and that it belongs to their Office to re-  
'ceive, lay out, and distribute the Churches Stock to  
'its proper Uses, by the direction of the Pastor and  
'Elders, if such there be. And whereas, divers are of  
'Opinion, that there is also the Office of Ruling Elders,  
'who labour not in Word and Doctrine; and others  
'think otherwise, we agree, that this difference make  
'no Breach among us.

#### ***VI. Of Synods.***

1. 'We agree, That in order to Concord, and in  
'any Other weighty and difficult Cases, 'tis needful,

‘and according to the mind of Christ, that a Synod be ‘call’d to consult and advise about such Matters.

2. ‘That a Synod may consist of smaller or greater ‘Numbers, as the Matter shall require.

3. ‘That particular Churches, their respective Elders ‘and Members, ought to have a Reverential regard to ‘the Judgment of such Synods, and not dissent there- ‘from, without apparent Grounds from the Word of ‘God.

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**VII. Of our Demeanour towards the Civil Magistrate.**

1. ‘We do reckon ourselves oblig’d continually to ‘pray for God’s Protection, guidance and Blessing up- ‘on the Rulers set over us.

2. ‘That we ought to yield unto them not only Sub- ‘jection in the Lord, but Support, according to our ‘Station and Abilities.

3. ‘That if at any Time it shall be their Pleasure to ‘call together any Number of us, or require any Ac- ‘count of our Affairs, and the State of our Congrega- ‘tions, we shall most readily express all dutiful regard ‘to them herein.

**VIII. Of a Confession of Faith.**

‘As to what appertains to soundness of Judgment in ‘Matters of Faith, we esteem it sufficient, that a Church ‘acknowledge the Scriptures to be the Word of God, ‘the perfect and only Rule of Faith and Practice; and ‘own either the Doctrinal Part of those commonly ‘call’d the Articles of the Church of *England*, or the ‘Confession, or Catechisms, shorter or larger, compil’d ‘by the Assembly at *Westminster*; or the Confession ‘agreed on at the *Savoy* to be agreeable to the said ‘Rule.



**IX. Of our Duty and Deportment towards them that are  
not in Communion with us.**

‘We judge it our Duty to bear a Christian Respect  
‘to fellow Christians, according to their several Ranks  
‘and Stations, that are not of our Perswasion or Com-  
‘munion.

2. ‘As for such as may be ignorant of the Prin-  
‘ciples of the Christian Religion, or of vicious  
‘Conversation, we shall in our respective Places,  
‘as they give us Opportunity, endeavour to ex-  
‘plain to them the Doctrine of Life and Salvation,  
‘and to our uttermost, perswade them to be reconcil’d  
‘to God.

3. ‘That such who appear to have the essential Re-  
‘quisites to Church Communion, we shall willingly

‘receive

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‘receive them in the Lord, not troubling them with  
‘Disputes about lesser Matters.

*As we Assent to the forementioned Heads of Agreement, so  
we Unanimously Resolve, as the Lord shall enable us, to  
Practice according to them.*

There were now publish’d Two Discourses of Mr. *David Clarkson*, concerning the *Primitive Episcopacy*, and concerning the *Ancient Liturgies*, in Two Octavo’s. About this time also was Printed, *The Way to Peace among all Protestants*: Being a Letter of Reconciliation, sent by Bishop *Ridley* to Bishop *Hooper*, with some Animadversions upon it. A *Memorial of God’s last Twenty nine Years Wonders in England*, for its Preservation and Deliverance from Popery and Slavery. *The absolute Necessity of standing vigorously by the present Government*; Or a View of what both church Men and Dissenters must expect, if by their unhappy Divisions, Popery and Tyranny should return again. A short View of the Methods made use of in *Ireland*, for the subversion and destruction of the Protestant Religion

and Interest in that Kingdom, from the beginning of the Reign of the late King *James*, to this time; and of the suffering of the Protestants all along. *The Mystery of Iniquity working in the dividing of Protestants*, in order to the subverting of Religion and our Laws, for almost the space of Thirty Years last past plainly laid open; to which is added a Specimen of a Bill for Uniting of Protestants. An Examination of the scruples of those who refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance. King, *William* or King *Lewis*: Or the inevitable Necessity these Nations lie under of submitting wholly to one or other of these Kings. Reflections upon the Opinions of some modern Divines concerning the Nature of Government in the General, and of *England* in Particular, with *Magna Charta* annexed. And many other Things of the like Nature; the most considerable of which are put together in the Collection of State Tracts, publish'd on Occasion of the late Revolution in 1688, and during the Reign of King *William* III. Vol. 1.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*The Case of the Dissenters; And other Ecclesiastical Matters, in the following Years of the Reign of King William.*

### The Non-juring Clergy suspended *ab Officio*.

**K**ing *William* had a discontented Party at the beginning of his Reign, and he could never wholly get above it. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* from the first refus'd to own his Government, and so did some of his *Suffragans*, out of their regard to the Allegiance they had sworn to King *James*: And many discontented Persons fell in with them from the Hopes or the fears of the Restoration. They were disgusted with a Revolution that seem'd to have been accomplish'd under the particular Direction of Heaven for the Preservation of our Religion. They represented

all as illegal and unjustifiable; and expected King *James* with an Army, to come and settle Things upon a right Foundation; For the Interest of the *Church of England*, was in their Opinion involv'd with his Interest and the one they tho't could not subsist without the Restoration of the other. But as for King *William*, nothing could persuade them, but that as they often said, by Tolerating all Religions, he intended to destroy the *Church*. When the time allow'd by the Act of Parliament for the Clergy to take the Oaths was expir'd, they who refus'd to qualifie themselves were suspended *ab Officio*. Hereupon a Petition was drawn up, and handed about, and subscrib'd by many, beseeching his Majesty, that the incapacity they were under, might not disable them from serving their Majesties in their respective Provinces. But others argu'd against it as preposterous. A Design was form'd to bring the Convocation to Petition for their Restoration: But that also was quash'd. One publish'd an *Apology* for them: Another in Answer to it, publish'd an *Examination of the Case of the suspended Bishops*. They never could be prevail'd with to give their Reasons for refuting the Oath: And upon that Account it was argu'd to be very improper for them to have any favour shewn them. At

length

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length a Message was sent from Queen *Mary*, after the Battle at the *Boyne*,\* to try (supposing the Parliament could have been brought to dispense with their taking the Oaths) whether the suspended Bishops would do their Functions, Ordain, Confirm, assist at Prayers and Sacraments, give Institutions, and Visit their Dioceses.

If they would, a Scheme was prepar'd for offering that Matter to a second Consideration in Parliament. But the depriv'd Bishops would Answer nothing, and Pro-

mise nothing. And yet the Government proceeded slowly in filling their Sees: That was not done, till Letters were discover'd that shew'd what Correspondencies and Engagements there were among them.

***The Management of Dr. Sherlock.***

Dr. *Sherlock's* Case, who was Master of the *Temple* was particular. Had he taken the Oaths at first as others did, no more notice had been taken of him than of the rest: But he refus'd, and 'tis said, encourag'd others to do so too, and discontinued Preaching from *August* 1. 1689, to *February* 2. 1689/90, when he began again; declaring from the Pulpit that he did it with the Permission of his Superiours, and the Advice of some Eminent Lawyers. Upon this a Pamphlet was publish'd, call'd the *New Nonconformist*; or *Dr. Sherlock's Case in Preaching after a Deprivation*; shewing, that be hereby justified the *Nonconformists*, whom he, as well as Others, had so much blam'd for Preaching after their being Silenc'd by the *Act of Uniformity* in 62. At length *Ireland* being reduc'd, and *King James* fled, he also thought fit to take the Oath: And it was commonly said, that *King William's* Success at the *Boyne* was the convincing Argument that remov'd his Scruples. He then publish'd *the Case of the Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers, Stated and Resolved*, according to Scripture and Reason, and the Principles of the Church of *England*, with a more particular Respect to the Oath lately enjoin'd, of Allegiance to their present Majesties. In the Preface to it, he mentions *Bishop Overal's Convocation Book*,† as

\* See *Bishop Burnet's reflections upon a Pamphlet, Entitled [Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet, and Dr. Tillotson, occasioned by the later Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter.]* Oct. 1696.

† *The Canons in Bp. Overalls Convocation Book were neither Confirm'd by Act of Parliament, nor so much as Ratified, by the Kings Letters Patents. He that would see an Account of them, may consult a Book intituled, The Spirit of the Church Faction detected in its Nature and Operations; more particularly in the Mystery of the Convocation Book lately publish'd, and expos'd to the View and Censure of the World, by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Printed in 1691. 4to.*

that which open'd his Eyes and gave him full Satisfaction. Many were the Answers return'd to this, his Vindication of himself. Several Remarks were made upon his Management of this Subject of the Oath. As, that he wav'd the Legality of the *Revolution*, and consequent Settlement, and laid his main stress on the disposal of Providence; and so said no more than might be said in the Case of any Usurper: That King *William's* Right could never be Maintain'd or Defended upon his Hypothesis; and that there was little room for confiding in Persons that fell in with such a Government as this upon such Grounds. One upon this Occasion wrote a *Congratulatory Letter* to Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, who had been such a Sufferer for the sake of our *English Liberties*: And no side was pleas'd. The Doctor fell under the displeasure of the *Jacobites* because he deserted them; and the zealous Friends of King *William's* Government, were far from being satisfy'd, because he seem'd to fall in with them but by halves.

The History of *Passive Obedience* was now publish'd, to prove the unwarrantableness of a Nations defending their Rights and Liberties, and rescuing themselves from Slavery: Mr. *Johnson* wrote Reflections upon it; and shew'd that the Opinions of private Doctors there collected were but flights of Flattery, opposite to the Establish'd Doctrine of the *Church of England*, and to *Six Acts of Parliament*.

#### *The Carriage of the Non-jurors.*

Those of the Clergy that refus'd to take the Oaths, call'd those who fell in with the Government *Schismatics*, and were for Confining the *Church of England* to their own Party: And they accus'd those of their own Church whom they were for separating from, of immoralities in their Prayers, and of all the Mischiefs done in the Wars, and of setting up Antibishops: Nay, some did not stick to declare, that they were out of the Church, and that there was no Salvation to be had among them in the ordinary Way. Upon occasion of these Differences a great many Writings were publish'd,

and some of them drawn up with great heat and warmth. One put out a Pamphlet with this Title; *How far the Clergy and other Members of the Church of England ought to Communicate with the Non-swearing Bishops*. In which he pleads that Canonical Obedience was still due from the Clergy to their Ordinaries, and

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not to be transfer'd to others; it being represented as contrary to all the Canons of the Ancient Church, that Two Bishops should exercise their Jurisdictions, at the same time, in the same See; which he affirms could not be without damnable Schism. The Men of this Stamp had a new Form of a *Liturgy* now among them, which was very Remarkable: I'll single out a few Passages by which the rest may be judg'd off. It was call'd *a Form of Prayer and Humiliation for God's Blessings upon his Majesty, and his Dominions, and for removing and averting of God's Judgments from this Church and State*. It had in it such Expressions as these: *Restore to us again, the Publick Worship of thy Name, the Reverent Administration of thy Sacraments: Raise up the former Government both in Church and State, that we may be no longer without King, without Priest, without God in the World. We humbly beseech thee to look compassionately on this persecuted Part of thy Church, now driven from thy Publick Altars into Corners and secret Closets: That thy Protection may be over us wherever we shall be scatter'd, and a Remnant preserv'd amongst us, by whom thy Name may be Glorified, thy Sacraments Administred, and the Souls of thy Servants kept upright, in the midst of a corrupting and a corrupted Generation. We pray thee to be Gracious to our Prince, who for the Sins both of Prides and People, is now kept out; and that in thy due Time thou wouldst deal with him according to the Justice of his Cause. Comfort him, O Lord, in sadness of his Spirit; guide him in the perplexity of his Mind, and support him in the streights and necessities of his Fortunes. Raise him Friends Abroad;*

*Covert or Confound the Hearts of his Enemies at Home. Do some mighty Thing for him, which we in particular know not how to Pray for: And by the secret Wandings, and powerful Workings of thy Providence, make the Stone which these foolish Builders have rejected, the head Stone of the Corner.—By thy mighty Power deliver such, who for obeying thee and a good Conscience, are, or shall be designed to Death or Ruin.† Turn the Hearts of the Children to the Father; and the Disobedient to the Wisdom of the Just, &c.*

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\* See a Pamphlet Entituled, Reflections upon a Form of Prayer, lately set forth for the *Jacobites* of the Church of England. Printed for Richard Baldwin, 1690.

† 'Tis observable, that soon after this form or Prayer was publish'd (the Author of which is not generally known,) there were Treasonable Designs discover'd, of subverting the Government, and Restoring King James, with the Assistance of a French Force. Several that were concern'd were taken, and the Lord Preston and Mr. Ashton try'd and found Guilty: Tho' the last only suffer'd

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They that thus pray'd against the Government could not reasonably expect any Favour from it: For they not only disown'd it, and inveigh'd against it as a down right Usurpation, but they pray'd for such as were guilty of Treasonable Practices against it. No such *Canting* as this could ever be charg'd on the Dissenters Prayers, as warmly as they had often been Reflected on. And in some Passages there was a Prophaneness that was Peculiar to themselves. But on the other side, several Writings were publish'd in Vindication and Defence of the Body of the Church of *England* against these Men. As *Conscience satisfied, in a Cordial and Loyal submitting to the present Government*: In Three Discourses, justifying the *Williamites* against the *Jacobites*. The first being Animadversions on a Book Entitulcd, *The Doctrine of Non-Resistance or Passive-Obedience no Way concern'd in the Controversies now depending between the Williamites and the Jacobites*, The Second

on 1 *Sam.* 23. 30: The Third on *Dan.* 5. 20. *And the vanity and falsity of the History of Passive-Obedience detected, Both by Mr. Tim. Wilson. And the Present Settlement Vindicated, and the late Misgovernment Prov'd, &c.*

***The Carriage of the Dissenters.***

In the mean time the *Dissenters* Universally, freely, and without scruple took the Oath to the Government disclaim'd the new coin'd Distinction of a King *de facto*, in Opposition to one *de jure*; readily sign'd the Association in Defence of their Majesties Title, chearfully paid their Taxes, pray'd heartily for the King and Queen, and for Success against their Enemies, and in all respects behav'd themselves as good Subjects, and their Majesties were well satisfied in their Conduct, and had not the least uneasiness from them. They thank'd God and their Rulers for their Liberty, and set themselves to make a Religious Improvement of it. They publckly Ordain'd such to the Sacred Ministry as had had a Learned Education in order to their fitness for it; first carefully examining them, and then solemnly laying Hands upon them, after Fasting and Prayer, according to the Rules for that Purpose, in the *Directory* of the *Westminster Assembly*. They carried it lovingly to each other, and acted in Concert: And were Moderate towards the Establish'd Church, who were now too much divided among themselves to be at leisure to fall out with them.

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A Paper was about this Time publish'd, intituled, *Humble Requests both to Conformists and Dissenters, touching their Temper and Behaviour towards each other, upon the lately pass'd Indulgence*, which is fit to be preserv'd to Posterity. When I have added, that it was drawn up by as great a Man as Mr. *Howe*, I can leave it to the World to judge, which Side discover'd the better Temper.



*Humble Requests both to Conformists and Dissenters, touching their Temper and Behaviour towards each other upon the lately passed Indulgence.*

1. 'THAT we do not over-magnifie our Differences, 'or count them greater than they truly are. 'I speak now of the proper Differences which the 'Rule it self makes, to which the one Sort conforms, 'the other conforms not. Remember that there are 'Differences on both Parts, *among themselves*, incom- 'parably greater than these, by which the one Sort 'differs from the other. There are Differences in Do- 'ctrinal Sentiments, that are much greater. How un- 'conceivably greater is the Difference between good 'Men and bad! between being a *Lover* of the blessed 'God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and an *Enemy!* 'a real Subject of *Christ*, and of the *Devil!* Have we 'not Reason to apprehend there are of both these, on 'each Side? Let us take Heed of having our Minds 'tinctur'd with a wrong Notion of this Matter, as if 'this Indulgence divided *England* into two *Christendoms*, 'or distinguisht rather between *Christians* and *Maho-* 'metans, as some Men's *Cyclopick* fancies have an un- 'lucky Art to represent Things, creating ordinary Men 'and Things into Monsters, and prodigious Shapes 'at their own Pleasure. It hath been an usual saying 'on both Sides, That they were (in Comparison) 'but little Things we differ'd about, or circumstan- 'tial Things. Let us not unsay it, or suffer an habit 'of Mind to slide into us, that consists not with it. 'Tho' one must not go against a Judgment of Conscience 'in the least Thing; yet let us not confound the true

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'Differences of Things; but what are really lesser 'Things let them go for such.

2. 'Let us hereupon carefully abstain from judging 'each others States God-ward upon these Differences. 'For hereby we shall both contradict our common Rule,

'and ourselves. When Men make Conscience of small  
 'and doubtful Things, on the one Hand, and the other,  
 'about which they differ, blessed God! how little Con-  
 'science is made of the plainest and most important  
 'Rule, not to judge one another for such Differences?  
 'Rom. 14. 3, 13. Why of all the Parts of that Holy  
 'Book is this Chapter only thought no Part of God's  
 'Word! or this Precept so variously enforc't in this  
 'Chapter! and so awfully! Verse 10, 11. *But why*  
 '*dost thou judge thy Brother? or why dost thou set at nought*  
 '*thy Brother? we shall all stand before the Judgment Seat*  
 '*of Christ. For it is written, As I live saith the Lord,*  
 '*every Knee shall bow to me, and every, Tongue shall con-*  
 '*fess to God.* Is it a light Matter to usurp the  
 'Throne of Christ, the Judgment Seat of God? Yet  
 'how common hath it been to say, such a One con-  
 'forms, he hath nothing of God in him? Such a One  
 'conforms not, 'tis not Conscience but Humour? God  
 'forgive both! Had they blotted, Rom. 14. out of their  
 'Bibles? 'Tis plain by the whole Series of Discourse,  
 'tis the judging of Men's States, and by such small  
 'Matters of Difference, that is the Thing here forbid-  
 'den. Otherwise that there is a lawful judging of o-  
 'thers, who knows not? some few Things contain'd  
 'in this Chapter [*To receive one another, (i.e. as Chri-*  
 '*stians, or as Such whom God receives)* notwithstanding  
 'remaining Doubts about such small Matters, not deter-  
 'mining such doubted Things in Bar to the Doubter;  
 'Verse 1, 2, 3: *Or not to lay Stumbling-blocks in each o-*  
 '*thers Way;* Verse 13: *Not to do the doubted Thing,*  
 '*with a Mind still unsatisfied,* Verse 5. 23. Not to cen-  
 'sure either him that does or forbears, not admitting an  
 'hard Thought of him, or less favourable, than that  
 '*what such a one does, he does to the Lord, and what*  
 '*the other forbears, he forbears it to the Lord,* Verse 6.]  
 'These two Things I say, put in Practice, had taken  
 'away all Differences, (that we are now considering)  
 'or the Inconvenience of them long ago. And we  
 'shall still need them as much as ever.

## 3. Let

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3. 'Let us not value our Selves upon being on this 'or that Side of the severing Line. 'Tis *Jewish*, yea '*Pharisaical* to be conceited, and boast our selves upon 'Externals, and small Matters; especially if arbitrarily 'taken up, and is it self an Argument of a light Mind, 'and incomprehensive of true Worth. Tho' I cannot 'sincerely be of this or that Way, but I must think my 'self in the Right, and others in the Wrong that differ 'from me; yet I ought to consider, this is but a small, 'minute Thing, a Point compared with the vast Orb 'of Knowables, and of Things needful, and that ought 'to be known. Perhaps divers that differ from me are 'Men of greater, and more comprehensive Minds, and 'have been more employ'd about greater Matters; and 'many, in Things of more Importance, have much more 'of valuable and useful Knowledge than I. Yea, and 'since these are not Matters of Salvation we differ about, 'so that any, on either side, dare considerately say, he 'cannot be saved that is not, in these Respects, of my 'Mind and Way, he may have most of sanctifying, sa- 'voury Knowledge; more of solid Goodness, more of 'Grace and real Sanctity than I. The Course of his 'Thoughts and Studies having been by Converse and 'other Accidents led more off from these Things; and 'perhaps, by a good Principle been more deeply en- 'gaged about higher Matters; for no Man's Mind is a- 'ble equally to consider all Things fit to be considered, 'and greater Things are of themselves more apt to be- 'get holy and good Impressions upon our Spirits, than 'the minuter and more circumstantial Things (tho' re- 'lating to Religion) can be.

4. 'Let us not despise one another, for our differ- 'ing in these lesser Matters. This is too common, and 'most natural to that Temper that offends against the 'foregoing Caution. Little spirited Creatures valuing 'themselves for small Matters, must consequently have

'them in Contempt that want what they count their  
'own only Excellency. He that hath nothing wherein  
'he places Worth, belonging to him, besides a Flaunt-  
'ing Peruque and a Lac't Suit; must at all Adventures  
'think very meanly of one in a plain Garb. Where we  
'are taught *not to judge*, we are forbidden *to despise*,  
'or set at naught one another upon these little Diffe-  
'rences.

5. 'Not

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5. 'Nor let us wonder that we differ. Unto this  
'we are too apt; *i.e.* To think it strange, (especially  
'upon some arguing of the Difference) that such a Man  
'should conform, or such a one not conform. There is  
'some Fault in this, but which proceeds from more  
'faulty Causes. Pride too often, and an Opinion that  
'we understand so well, that a Wrong is done us, if our  
'Judgment be not made a Standard and Measure to  
'another Man's. And again, ignorance of Humane  
'Nature, or Inconsiderateness rather, how mysterious  
'it is, and how little can be known of it: How secret  
'and latent, little *Springs* there are, that move this En-  
'gine, *our own Mind*, this Way or that; and what *bars*  
'which (perhaps he discerns not himself) may obstruct,  
'and shut up towards us another Man's. Have we not  
'frequent Instances in other common Cases, how diffi-  
'cult it is to speak to another Man's Understanding.  
'Speech is too penurious, not expressive enough. Fre-  
'quently between Men of Sense, much more Time is  
'taken up in explaining each others Notions, than in  
'proving, or disproving them. Nature, and our pre-  
'sent State, have in some Respects, left us open to God  
'only, and made us inaccessible to one another. Why  
'then should it be strange to me, that I cannot convey  
'my Thought into another's Mind? 'Tis Unchristian to  
'censure (as before) such a one hath not my Conscience,  
'therefore he hath no Conscience at all; but it is also  
'unreasonable and rude, to say, such a one sees not

‘with mine Eyes, therefore he is stark blind. Besides, ‘the real Obscurity of the Matter is not enough considered. I am very confident an impartial, and competent Judge, upon the View of Books, later, and ‘more ancient, upon such Subjects, would say, there ‘are few Metaphysical Questions disputed with more ‘Subtlety than the Controversies about Conformity, ‘and Nonconformity. Blessed be God, that Things ‘necessary to the Salvation of Souls, and that are of ‘*true Necessity*, even to the Peace and Order of the ‘Christian Church, are in Comparison, so very plain.

‘Moreover there is besides *bare Understanding and Judgment*, and divers from that heavenly Gift which ‘in the Scriptures is called Grace, such a Thing as ‘gust and relish belonging to the Mind of Man, and I ‘doubt not with all Men, if they observe themselves.

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and which is as unaccountable, and as various, as the Relishes and Disgust’s of Sense. This they only wonder at, that either understand not themselves, or will consider no Body but themselves. To bring it down to the present Case. As to those Parts of Worship, which are of most frequent use in our Assemblies (whether Conforming or Nonconforming) *Prayer*, and *preaching*, and *hearing of God’s Word*: Our Differences about these cannot, but in Part, arise from the diversity of this Principle, both on the one Hand, and the other. *One Sort* do more favour Prayer by a foreknown Form; *another* that which hath more of surprize, by a grateful Variety of unexpected Expressions. And it can neither be universally said, it is a *better Judgment* or *more Grace*, that determines Men the one Way or the other, but somewhat in the Temper of their Minds distinct from both, which I know not how better to express than by *mental Tast*, the acts whereof (as the Objects are suitable or unsuitable) are relishing or disrelishing, liking or disliking:

And which hath no more of Mystery in it, than that there is such a Thing belonging to our Natures as Complacency or Displacency in Reference to the Objects of the Mind. And this, in the Kind of it, is as common to Men, as Humane Nature, but as much diversify'd in Individuals, as Men's other Inclinations are, that are most fixed, and least apt to admit of Change. Now in the mentioned Case, Men cannot be said to be universally determined either Way by their having better Judgment; for no sober Man can be so little modest, as not to acknowledge, that there are *some* of each Sentiment, that are *less judicious*, than *some* that are of the contrary Sentiment, in this Thing. And to say that to be more determined this Way, or that, is the certain Sign, or Effect, of a greater Measure of Grace, and Sanctity, were a great Violation both of Modesty and Charity. I have not met with any that have appeared to live in more entire Communion with God, in higher Admiration of him, in a pleasanter Sense of his Love, more humble fruitful Lives on Earth, or in a more joyful Expectation of eternal Life, than some that have been wont with great Delight publickly to worship God in the Use of our Common Prayer; and others I have

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'known as highly excelling in the same Respects, that 'could by no Means relish it, but have always counted 'it insipid and nauseous. The like may be said of relishing or disrelishing Sermons preached in a digested 'set of Words, or with a more flowing freedom of 'Speech. It were endless and odious to vye either '*better Judgments*, or more '*pious Inclinations*, that 'should universally determine Men one Way or the other in these Matters. And we are no more to wonder at these Peculiarities in the Temper of Men's 'Minds, than at Men's different Tastes of Meats and 'Drinks, much less to fall out with them that their

'Minds and Notions are not just formed as ours are; 'for we should remember they no more differ from us, 'than we do from them; and if we think we have 'the clearer Light, 'tis like they also think they have 'clearer. And 'tis in vain to say, who shall be 'Judge? For every Man will at length judge of his 'own Notions for himself, and cannot help it; for 'no Man's Judgment (or relish of Things, which in- 'fluences his Judgment, tho' he know it not) is at 'the Command of his Will; much less of another 'Man's. Therefore,

6. 'Let us not be offended mutually with one ano- 'ther for our different Choice of this or that Way, 'wherein we find most of real Advantage and Edifica- 'tion. Our greatest Concern in this World, and which 'is common to us all, is the bettering of our Spirits, 'and preparing them for a better World. Let no Man 'be displeas'd (especially of those who agree in all the 'Substantials of the same holy Religion) that another 'uses the same Liberty, in choosing the Way most con- 'ducing in his Experience, to his great End, that he 'himself also uses, expecting to do it without another 'Man's Offence.

7. 'But above all, let us with sincere Minds, more 'earnestly endeavour the promoting the Interest of Re- 'ligion it self, of true reformed Christianity, than of 'this or that Party. Let us long to see the Religion of 'Christians become simple, primitive, agreeable to its 'lovely Original State, and again *it self*, and each in 'our own Stations contribute thereto all that we are a- 'ble, labouring that the Internal Principle of it may 'live and flourish in our own Souls, and be to our ut-

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'most diffus'd and spread unto other Men's. And for 'its Externals, as the Ducture of our Rule will guide 'us, so gradually to bend towards one comrnon Course,

'that there may at length cease to be any divided Parties at all.

'In the mean Time while there are, let it be remembered that the Difference lies among Christians, 'and Protestants, not between such and *Pagans*. Let 'us therefore carry it accordingly towards each other, 'and consider, our Assemblies are all Christian and 'Protestant Assemblies, differing in their Administrations for the most Part, not in the Things prayed for, 'or deprecated, or taught, but in certain Modes of 'Expression. And differing really, and in the Substance 'of Things, less by meer Conformity, or Nonconformity 'to the publick Rule of the Law, than many of them '*that are under it* do from one another; and than 'divers that *are not under it*. For Instance, go into one 'Congregation, *i.e.* a Conforming one, and you have 'the Publick Prayers read in the Desk, and afterwards a 'Form of Prayer, perhaps used by the Preacher in the 'Pulpit, of his own Composure, before he begins his 'Sermon. Go into another Congregation, and Prayer 'is performed without either Sort of Form, and perhaps the Difference in this is not so great. It may be 'the Conformist, uses no preconceived Form of his 'own, and the Nonconformist may. Both instruct the 'People out of the same holy Book of God's Word. 'But now suppose one of the former Sort read the 'Publick Prayers gravely, with the Appearance of 'great Reverence, Fervency, and pious Devotion; 'and one of the latter Son that uses them nor, does 'however pray for the same Things, with Judgment, 'and with like Gravity and Affection, and they both 'instruct their Hearers fitly, and profitably: Nothing 'is more evident, than that the Worship in these two 'Assemblies doth much less considerably differ to a 'pious and judicious Mind, than if in the latter, the 'Prayers were also, read, but carelessly, sleepily, or scenically, flauntingly, and with manifest Irreverence, 'and the Sermon like the rest: Or than if in the for-



'mer, all the Performance were inept, rude, or very  
'offensively drowsy or sluggish.

'Now

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'Now let us *shew our selves* Men, and *manly Chri-*  
'*stians*, not swayed by Trifles and little Things as  
'Children, by this or that Dress or Mode, or Form of  
'our Religion, which may perhaps please some the  
'more for its real Indecency. But know, that if  
'while we continue picquering about Forms, the Life  
'be lost, and we come to bear the Character of that  
'Church, *Thou hast a Name that thou livest, and art*  
'*dead*, we may ere long (after all the Wonders God  
'hath wrought for us) expect to hear of our Candle-  
'sticks being removed, and that our Sun shall go down  
'at Noon-day.

'The true serious Spirit, and Power of Religion and  
'Godliness, will act no Man against his Conscience, or  
'his rule understood; but will oblige him in all Acts  
'of Worship (as well as of his whole Conversation)  
'to keep close to Gospel-prescription, so far as he can  
'discern it. And that, he will find requires, that in  
'Subordination to the Divine Glory, he seriously de-  
'sign the working out the Salvation of his own Soul,  
'and take that Course in Order thereto, put himself  
'under such a Ministry, and such a Way of using  
'God's Ordinances, as he finds most profitable, and  
'conducting to that great End, and that doth his Soul  
'most real Good. If you are Religious, or of this or  
'that Mode or Way of Religion, to serve a carnal De-  
'sign for your self or your Party, not to save your  
'Soul, you commit the most detestable Sacrilege, and  
'alienate the most sacred Thing in the World, *Religion*,  
'from its true End, which will not only lose that End,  
'but infer an heavy Vengeance. Yea, and 'tis too pos-  
'sible to transgress dangerously by preferring that which  
'is less, tho' never so confidently thought to be Di-  
'vine, before that which is greater, or separately

‘from its true End. You greatly prevaricate, if you  
 ‘are more zealously intent to promote Independency  
 ‘than Christianity, Presbytery than Christianity, Pre-  
 ‘lacy than Christianity, as any of these are the Interest  
 ‘of a Party, and not being considered in Subserviency  
 ‘to the Christian Interest, nor designed for promoting  
 ‘the Edification and Salvation of your own Soul. But  
 ‘that being your Design, Living Religion will keep your  
 ‘Eye upon your End, and make you steady and con-  
 ‘stantly true to that; and to your Rule, without which  
 ‘you can never hope to reach your End.

‘Now

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‘Now hereupon, such as conform to the Publick  
 ‘Establishment, I and they that dissent from it, may  
 ‘differ from each other upon a twofold Account. Ei-  
 ‘ther 1. As judging the contrary Way, to be simply  
 ‘unlawful: Or, 2. As judging it to be only less edi-  
 ‘fying. ’Tis not the Business of this Paper to discuss,  
 ‘who herein judge aright, and who wrong; but sup-  
 ‘posing their Judgment to remain as it is (which they  
 ‘themselves however should examine, and if it be  
 ‘wrong rectifie.) I shall say somewhat to each of these  
 ‘Cases.

‘To the former, While your Judgment continues as  
 ‘it is, ’tis true, you cannot join in Worship with the  
 ‘contrary minded; but nothing forbids, but you can  
 ‘be kind, conversable, courteous towards them; and  
 ‘your common Christian Profession (besides the Rules  
 ‘of Humanity) oblige you so to be: Yea, and even  
 ‘to converse with them as Occasion invites, more in-  
 ‘timately as *Christians*, the visible marks of serious  
 ‘Christianity appearing in them.

‘To the latter Sort it is acknowledg’d, you cannot  
 ‘constantly join in Worship with those at the contrary  
 ‘Way; because you ought ordinarily to worship God  
 ‘in that Way which you judge to be best; and most a-  
 ‘greeable to the Divine Rule, (tho’ you are not obli-

ged utterly to abandon any for its Imperfections or  
 'Corruptions, that is not corrupt in the very Essentials:)  
 'And that you ought most frequently to attend on  
 'that which you find to be most edifying to your own  
 'Soul: As that should be your more ordinary Diet  
 'that best agrees with you. And that Way therefore  
 'you must most constantly adhere to, which is most  
 'grateful and savoury to you; because you cannot so  
 'much edifie by what you less relish. But your Judg-  
 'ment and Latitude will well allow you sometimes to  
 'frequent the Assemblies with which you hold not  
 'constant Communion. And if it will allow, it will  
 'also direct you thereto for a valuable End; as that  
 'you may signifie you ordinarily decline them not as  
 'no Christians, or their Worship as no Worship; but  
 'as more defective or less edifying; and that you may  
 'maintain love, and both express, and beget a Dispo-  
 'sition to nearer Union. And if our Rulers shall judge  
 'such, Intercourses conducing to so desirable an End,

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'they may perhaps indue Time think it reasonable to  
 'put Things into that State that Ministen of both Sorts  
 'may be capable of inviting one another occasionally  
 'to the Brotherly Offices of mutual Assistance in each  
 'others Congregations. For which, and all Things  
 'that tend to make us a happy People, we must wait  
 'upon him, in whose Hands their Hearts are.

However, had the *Dissenters* at that Time taken  
 some Steps that were omitted, some ill Consequences  
 that afterwards arose might have been prevented; par-  
 ticularly had they now set up a *General Correspondence*  
 in all Parts of the Kingdom, and regularly kept it up,  
 many good Ends might have been answered; and there  
 would have been no such Clamours as were rais'd and  
 spread upon their attempting it some Years afterwards.  
 But from the First, there were some that kept a watch-

ful Eye upon them, to take Care that they might be no farther conniv'd at than the Law oblig'd the Church to give them their Liberty: Tho' there were others who tho't they had as equitable a Right to some farther Allowances, as to any that were particularly made them in the Act of Indulgence. I shall mention their having Schools and Academies for the training up their Youth, as an Instance: And that the rather, because it being left out in the Act of Exemption, (it were no difficult Thing to tell by whose Means it was expung'd after it was inserted, if that were needful;) some even in this Reign gave them Disturbance about it. And Bishop *Stillingfleet*\* having in his Primary Visitation this very Year, charg'd his Clergy to acquaint themselves with the *Dissenters* and endeavour to oblige them, and let them see that they had no other Design upon them but to do them good; adds, That *if after all they grow more Head-strong and Insolent by the Indulgence which the Law gives them*, he would have them take Notice, *whether they observ'd those Conditions on which the Law gives it to them. For says he, those are known Rules in Law, that he forfeits his priviledge, who goes beyond the Bounds of it; that no Priviledges are to be extended beyond the Bounds which the Laws give them; for they ought to be observ'd as they are given. I leave it (says he) to be consider'd, whether all such as do not observe the Conditions of the Indulgence, be not as liable to the Law, as if*

*they*

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\* See his Ecclesiastical Cases, Vol. 1. pag. 36.

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*they had none.* This is a plain Intimation he was not desirous the *Dissenters* should have too much Liberty. Nor was this peculiar to him: It was the common Temper of the Clergy towards them.

**Mr. Lock's two first Letters of Toleration.**

It was therefore very seasonably that Mr. *Lock* at this Time publish'd his two Letters of *Toleration*, with some Account of which I shall close this Year's Occur-

rences. His first Letter on this Subject, was printed in *Latin* in *Holland*, in 1689; and was now publish'd in *English*. He there asserts that *Toleration* is a Mark of the true Christian Church, and an essential Part of Charity. He is for carefully keeping up the Distinction between the *Common-wealth* and the *Church*. The *Common-wealth* (according to him) is a Society of Men, constituted only for the preserving, procuring and advancing of their civil Interests, such as Life, Health, Liberty, and the Possession of outward Things. He asserts that the Care of Souls, is not committed to the Civil Magistrate, any more than to other Men; and that his Power consists only in outward Force. But the *Church* he represents as a voluntary Society of Men, joining themselves together of their own Accord, in Order to the publick worshipping of God, in such a Manner as they judge acceptable to him, and effectual to the Salvation of their Souls. The Right of making Laws for this Society, can (subordinately to the supreme Divine Legislator) belong to none but the Society it self; or to those whom the Society by common Consent has authorized thereunto. No Force is here to be made Use of, the Arms by which the Members of this Society are to be kept within their Duty, are Exhortations, Admonitions, and Advices. No Church is bound by the Duty of *Toleration* to retain any such Person in her Bosom, as after Admonition continues obstinately to offend against the Laws of the Society. No private Person, nor particular Church, has any Right, in any Manner to prejudice others in their Civil Enjoyments, because they are of another Church or Religion. They that are distinguish'd by an Ecclesiastical Character and Office, have no Right to deprive such as are not of their Church and Faith, either of Liberty, or of any Part of their worldly Goods upon the Account of any Difference in Religion: Nay they are to press the Duties of Peace and

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Good-will towards all Men, and to exhort all to Charity, Meekness, and Toleration. The principal Care of every Man's Soul belongs to himself. It does not belong to the Magistrate to prescribe Laws to the Religion of others, either by his own Judgment, or by the Ecclesiastical Authority and Advice of others. Tho' the Magistrates Opinion in Religion should be found, and the Way that he appoints truly Evangelical, yet if Persons are not thoroughly perswaded thereof in their own Minds, there can be no Safety for them in following it; they must therefore be left to their own Consciences. They are to enter into Religious Societies, as they apprehend may be most to their Advantage. And such Societies the Magistrate is to tolerate. As to *outward Worship*, the Magistrate has no Power to enforce by Law, either in his own Church, or much less in another, the Use of any Rites or Ceremonies whatsoever in the Worship of God. It no Ways concerns the Common-wealth or any Member of it, that this or the other Ceremony be there made use of. And wital, Things indifferent in common Use, when they come to be annexed to Divine Worship without Divine Authority, are as abominable to God as the Sacrifice of a Dog. Circumstances of Divine Worship that are in General necessary, may be determined, but not Parts added. Nor has the Magistrate any Power to forbid the Use of such. Rites and Ceremonies as are already receiv'd, approv'd, and practis'd by any Church. Nothing may be prohibited in the Worship of God, but what is unlawful in the ordinary Course of Life, and in any private House. No Power can be given to the Magistrate for the suppressing an Idolatrous Church, which may not in Time and Place be made use of to the Ruin of an Orthodox one; Nor are any Civil Rights to be either chang'd or violated upon Account of Religion, in one Place more than another. Idolatry was indeed to be punish'd with Death among the *Jews*,

who were under a Theocracy: But it was, because they that were guilty of it were Traitors and Rebels, and guilty of High Treason. They that were Strangers to the Common-wealth of *Israel*, were not compelled by Force to observe the Rites of the *Mosaical* Law. As to speculative Opinions in Religion, and *Articles of Faith*, they should not be impos'd on any

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Church by the Law of the Land. For it is absurd, that Things should be enjoin'd by Laws which, are not in Men's Power to perform. The Magistrate should not forbid the Preaching or Professing of any speculative Opinions in any Church, because they have no manner of Relation to the Civil Rights of the Subject. If Truth makes not her Way into the Understanding by her own Light, she will be but the weaker for any borrowed Force Violence can add to her. *Moral Actions* belong to the Jurisdiction both of the Magistrate and of Conscience. Every Man is bound here to be careful to his utmost. He may and ought to use Exhortations and Arguments to promote the Salvation of others, but no force is to be used. In Order to the securing their Temporal Interests, Men enter into Civil Societies, where they intrust the Magistrate to make Provision; and he is to take care of the Good and Prosperity of the Society that intrust him: But as to the Matters of Salvation, everyone is still to do what he is in his Conscience perswaded is acceptable to the Almighty. And no Law can oblige Men against their Consciences, nor can the Magistrate change Propriety amongst Fellow-Subjects, for a Cause that has no Relation to the End of Civil Government. And yet no Opinions contrary to Humane Society, or to those Moral Rules which are necessary to the Preservation of Civil Society, are to be tolerated by the Magistrate. Nor can that Church have any Right to be tolerated by the Magistrate, which is constituted upon

such a Bottom, that all those who enter into it, do thereby *ipso facto* deliver themselves up to the Protection and Service of another Prince. Nor yet are those at all to be tolerated, who deny the being of a God, upon whom no Promises, Covenants, or Oaths can have any hold. Did but all teach that Liberty of Conscience is every Man's natural Right, equally belonging to all Dissenters from them as to themselves, and that no Body ought to be compelled in Matters of Religion, either by Law or Force; it would take away all Ground of complaint and Tumults, upon Account of Conscience. If that Church which agrees in Religion with the Prince, be esteem'd the chief Support of any Civil Government, and that for no other Reason than because the Prince is kind and the Laws

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are favourable to it, how much greater will be the Security of a Government, where all good Subjects of whatsoever Church they be without any Distinction upon Account of Religion, enjoying the same favour of the Prince, and the same Benefit of the Laws, shall become the common Support and Guard of it; and where none shall have any Occasion to fear the Severity of the Laws, but those that do Injuries to their Neighbours, and offend against the Civil Peace. None ought to be excluded from the Civil Rights of the Common-wealth because of his Religion. It is not the Diversity of Opinions (which cannot be avoided) but the Refusal of Toleration to those that are of different Opinions, that has produc'd all the Bustles and Wars that have been in the Christian World, upon Account of Religion.

The Argument of this Letter being reflected on, the Author of it undertook the Defence of it in a Second Letter on the same Subject. The Objector had own'd that Force was improper to convert Men to any Religion; and was therefore told that the Toleration



mov'd for, was but the removing that Force. 'Twas suggested, That *true Reigion would not be likely to gain by such a Toleration*. 'Twas answer'd, That we have an Experiment in the Christian Religion in its first Appearance in the World, and several Hundreds of Years after, when it gain'd exceedingly, tho' *Jews and Pagans* were more than tolerated by the Governments of the Places, where it grew up: And it's as able to shift for it self now without the Help of Force; and this is therefore urg'd in Proof of the Truth of it. The Inventions of Men in Religion need the Force and Helps for Men to uphold them. A Religion that is of God, wants not the Assistance of Humane Authority to make it prevail. The *Toleration* pleaded for would be own'd to be a Service to Religion in *Popish, Mahumetan, or Pagan* Countries: and there must be something very peculiar in the Air, that must make it less useful to Truth in *England*.

The Author of the Letter asserting that Force had no *proper Efficacy* to enlighten the Understanding or produce Belief, the Animadverter pleaded that it might *indirectly and at a Distance do some Service*: But it was answer'd, That what is unlawful in it self, (as it cer-

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tainly is to punish a Man without a Fault) can never be made lawful by some Good, that indirectly, and at a Distance, or by Accident may follow from it. If it would, then the Cruelties used by Heathens against Christians, and Papists against Protestants are justifiable. But 'tis *moderate Punishments* only are pleaded for. 'Tis answer'd, That any Sort of Punishments where there is no Fault, will be tho't unjustifiable Severity by Sufferers and By-Standers, and so produce Effects contrary to what was design'd; and be more likely to drive Men from the Religion that uses them, than bring them to the Truth. Where Force is used, tis Compliance is aim'd at, not Conviction. But 'tis

mov'd, That *Force* may be used to bring Men to consider Reasons and Arguments, which they may be brought to embrace the Truth, which either thro' Negligence they would never acquaint themselves with, or thro', Prejudice they would reject and condemn unheard; 'Tis answer'd, (1.) It is impracticable to punish Dissenters, as Dissenters, only to make them consider. For if you punish them as Dissenters, you punish them whether they consider or no. (2.) To punish Men out of the Communion of the National Church to make them consider, is unjust. For it may be, being satisfied of the Truth of their own Opinions they don't judge it worth while to consider: Or they may not be able to examine and consider all the Proofs and Grounds, upon which the National Church establishes their Settlement: Or they may have examin'd, and yet can find no Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince them. And (3.) Whatever indirect Efficacy there may be in Force, applied by the Magistrate in the Way proposed, it makes against the Proposer. As it may be serviceable to make Men embrace the Truth which must save them, so may it be serviceable to bring Men to receive and embrace Falsehood, which will destroy them. Nay Force is more likely to make Men receive and embrace Error than Truth; both because Men out of the right Way are as apt, or apter to use force than others: And also, because few of the Magistrates of the World being in the right Way, (scarce one in ten,) the using Force would do at least Ten Times as much Hurt as Good. The utmost then the Plea amounts to, is, That it is not impossible but

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*Force* may be useful: But there are many Things of which that may be said, that are not fit to be us'd. And if it may be useful, it may also be useless. Men mayn't be brought to a right Consideration by it, or they may have consider'd already; and God has not

directed it, and therefore there is no reason to expect he should make it successful. Nay, *Force* is likely to be more hurtful than useful. For to punish Men for that which it cannot be known whether they have perform'd or no, is so unjust, that its likelier to give Men an aversion to the Religion that uses it, than to bring them to it. And withal, many are unable to discern betwixt Truth and Falshood that depend upon long Proofs and remote Consequences, &c. But farther, though *Force* were useful, yet it does not follow 'tis lawful. Still Commission or Authority may be wanting. God has not directed to it, and therefore 'tis not Warrantable. Where the Scripture is Client, 'tis Presumption in us to direct. God would not have Men compell'd to hear. He did not think *Force* a proper Means to bring Men into the right Way: And therefore it is not proper.

But who are they that upon this Hypothesis are to be punish'd? 'Tis such as are in a wrong Way, and deaf to all Perswasions. And who are they? The right Way in *England* is wrong in *France*. Everyone here must be Judge for himself. How shall it be known who are deaf to all Perswasions? If you mean deaf to your Perswasion, you but beg the Question, and suppose you have a Right to punish such as differ from you. Where can we find those that will own themselves in the wrong Way? May the Magistrate punish all that differ from him in Religion? This is what the Matter seems to issue in. For what are they to be punish'd for, but for not *considering*? But why then must all Dissenters be punish'd? Have none of them consider'd? Have all consider'd that Conform? This is not like a fair Physician to apply a Remedy to a Disease, but like an inraged Enemy to vent one's Spleen upon a Party. 'Tis to punish the Innocent with the Guilty, and let the Guilty escape with the Innocent. If Dissenters are to be punish'd for not considering, then all should be punish'd that do not consider. This will take in many of the National Religion in all Countries. But it cannot

from Mens Negligence to *Consider* be justly inferr'd that therefore *Dissenters* are to be punish'd.

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And to what End must they be punish'd? Is it to make them Examine whether their Religion be true, and so worth the holding under the Penalties annex'd? What then will become of those that have no such Penalties to make them consider? Either they also should be punish'd, or others let alone. Or must Men be punish'd that they may be willing to submit to Instruction? The Dissenters say they are willing. Who must Judge? Must they be punish'd to shut Passion out of the Choice? But how if it should happen they should be sway'd by the Passion of fear of Suffering? Will you punish Men to bring them to Reason and sound Judgment? You may as well do it to bring them to have the Philosophers Stone. The most plausible Plea is, *Men are punish'd to bring them to the Knowledge of the Truth.* But everyone has not a sufficient Ability for it. Everyone has not Opportunity for it. You may this Way punish them to make them do, what they have done already. Its beyond the Power or Judgment of Man in that variety of Circumstances, in respect of Parts, Tempers, Opportunities, Helps, &c. Men are in in this World, to determine what is every ones Duty in search, inquiry, and examination, or to know when anyone has done it.

Further, what Degree of Punishment is to be us'd in this Force? They are *moderate Penalties* that must be us'd. But what are they? *Such as will prevail with Men of common Discretion.* But who they are, is as hard to know, as what is a fit Degree of Punishment in the Case. So that this is but a regulating one uncertainty by another. Besides; all Men of the same Degree of Discretion are not apt to be mov'd by the same Degree of Penalties. And what is to be the length of the duration of these *moderate Punishments?* Dissenters are

punish'd to make them consider. Well they have consider'd, and yet are Dissenters still. Must they not be punish'd on? If they are to be punish'd to make them consider, whether they have consider'd or no, then their Punishments tho' they do consider, must not cease as long as they are Dissenters. So that upon the whole, the Punishment must be very immoderate or none at all. And if the Magistrate has Power to use Force, it must be to compel Men to be of his Religion; and if this is true in one Country 'tis true in another. The

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Scheme of the Letter for *Toleration* suits all Countries alike, and therefore is the more likely to hold. We may justly suspect that neither to comport with the Truth of Religion or the Design of the Gospel, which is suited to only some one Country or Party. What is true and good in *England*, will be true and good at *Rome* too, in *China* or at *Geneva*; but the Method for Propagating Truth and Religion by *moderate* Punishments, is calculated for those Countries only, where the Magistrate is suppos'd to be in the Right, and is therefore the less able to bear scanning.

***The Non-jurant Bishops and Clergy, depos'd and eject'd.***

The Nonjurant Bishops and Clergy persisting in their refusal to take the Oaths to the Government, their vacant Dignities were this Year fill'd up: And Dr. *Tillotson* was promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, in the room of Dr. *Sancroft*: Dr. *Patrick* Bishop of *Chichester* was translated to *Ely*, in the room of Dr. *Turner*: Dr. *Fowler* to the See of *Gloucester*, in the room of Dr. *Frampton*: Dr. *Cumberland* to the See of *Peterborough*, in the room of Dr. *White*: And Dr. *Moor* to the See of *Norwich*, in the room of Dr. *Lloyd*: And Dr. *Kidder* upon the refusal of Dr. *B*—to *Bath* and *Wells*, in the room of Dr. *Kennet*. Dr. *Comber* also was made Dean of *Durham*, in the room of Dr. *Greenvil*: And Mr. *Talbot* Dean of *Worcester*, in the room of Dr. *Hicks*. And

now they had a taste of that Ejection and Silencing, in their Turn, which formerly had so little drawn forth their Compassion, in the Case of so great a Number of their Brethren. Upon this they miserably fell to Pieces among themselves, and the Two Parties in the Church were very severe in their Reflections upon each other. Hereupon was publish'd a Pamphlet, Intitul'd, *A Vindication of their Majesties Authority to fill the Sees of the depriv'd Bishops, in a Letter occasion'd by Dr. B's refusal of the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells.* And another call'd, *A Vindication of their Majesties Wisdom in the late Nomination of some Reverend Persons to the vacant Archbishoprick. And Bishopricks, occasion'd by the scandalous Reflections of Unreasonable Men.* Had indeed those of the Clergy who took the Oaths to the Government, now generally refus'd the vacant Church Preferments, it had drawn fatal Consequences after it. Better Men could not be found than they that were pitch'd upon: And yet really they in effect were set up as Marks; against which the

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Malice and Fury of the *Jacobites* and Nonjuring Clergy and Laity was principally directed. One goes so far as to Question\* whether ever any handful of Men merited more of the *Church of England*, by any single Act, since the Reformation, than the excellent Persons who accepted of these Bishopricks, *The great Personal Merit of the deprived Bishops, the late eminent Service which several of them had done to their Country in King James the Seconds Reign, the Cause itself for which they suffer'd; (which seem'd to very many to be the Cause of the Church of England itself) and the Commiseration of the People toward good Men, who left such great and honourable, and advantageous Posts, purely for their Consciences; made it not a very desirable Thing (as he observes) to Men of Character and Merit, to venture to fill their Places. The Jacobite Interest was then truly Formidable; and the Revolution was Green, and had taken but little Root. Yet then did*

those excellent Men venture to accept of those Employments, in which they could not but expect to meet with Opposition, at least with coldness from the Inferiour Clergy, of whom a great Majority did almost adore their deprived Bishops. Of the complying Clergy (says he) its to be fear'd great Numbers took the Oaths against their Wills: And he adds, We who convers'd among them freely at that Time, perceiv'd a great deal of it; we lamented it, and tho' we could not exactly tell what Mischiefs, the ill Blood then caus'd might afterwards produce, yet that it would produce a great deal we foretold, and our Prophecy but too truly came to pass. However, it was to their Immortal Honour, that they ventur'd in that ticklish Conjunction to accept of those Employments, (they could not at that time well be call'd preferments) under those discouraging Circumstances.

**Contest of the Church with Non-jurors.**

At this Time was publish'd the *Unreasonableness of a Separation from the New Bishops*: Or a Treatise out of Ecclesiastical History, shewing that although a Bishop was unjustly depriv'd, neither He nor the Church ever made a Separation; if the Successor was not a Heretick: Translated out of an Ancient Greek Manuscript in the Publick Library at Oxford, by Dr. Hody. This Barocian Manuscript was Compos'd upon occasion of the deprivation of a Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the advancement of another to his See. Some Friends and dependants of the deprived, began to make a Party, and stir up the People to a Schism: Giving out that the

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\* See *Reflections on the Present Posture of Affairs, with Relation to the Treaty of Peace, Printed by J. Churchill in Oct. 1712.*

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former was still their Canonical Bishop, that it was sinful to have Communion with the New one, and that all his Ordinations would be invalid. Hereupon the Author of this Manuscript is suppos'd to have made this Discourse to the People of *Constantinople*, and included in it all the memorable and parallel Examples that had

happen'd to that See within the space of near a Thousand Years. He allows these Advocates for a Separation all that they would have. He admits that the deposed Bishop was unjustly depriv'd, and the New one Un canonically promoted: And yet asserts that even in these Circumstances, if he was not a Heretick, neither the People nor the Ejected Patriarch himself ever refus'd Communion with him; the sufficiency of his Ordinations was never question'd by any Council; there was no Precedent for Schism upon those Accounts in all the History of the Church. And from hence Dr. *Hoag* draws an Argument *à fortiori*, thus: That if in the Cases of unjust Deprivation and Un canonical Succession, a Separation is without Example in Ecclesiastical Story, it was much more inexcusable to make a Schism, where neither of those hard Circumstances could be found.

The Debate among them at this time stood on this Foot. One side said the State could not deprive Bishops of their Episcopal Character, but that they remain'd Bishops still; and their Ordinations, and Confirmations, and other Episcopal Acts were Valid, except such Acts of Jurisdiction as respected the particular Diocese out of which they were Ejected; as Visiting and Censuring the Clergy, conferring Benefices, &c: Others said the Princes had Power intirely to depose Bishops, and urg'd *Solomon's* deposing the High Priest *Abiathar*; and produc'd many Precedents in the Christian Church for Confirmation. And their Opposites in the mean time urg'd Instances of Persons who adher'd to their Bishops, when they were unjustly and invalidly depriv'd, though their Successors were Orthodox in the Faith.

The *Dissenters* in the mean time met Amicably together, and acted in Concert, a few Particular Persons only excepted. They Unanimously supported the Government, and had the Favour of such as were Friends of it. They made their Observations on the Contentions in the Church, and hop'd a time might come,

when



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when they that were so firm in the Interest of the Government might be more consider'd: And they might have depended upon it, had they but continu'd their harmony and brotherly Correspondence. The Foundation of the *Societies for Reformation of Manners* was laid this Year, and the Dissenters from the first were as forward to encourage it, and as ready to assist in it as any. The *Jacobites* held on plotting against the Government, and endeavour'd to obtain Assistance from *France*, for the Reinthroning the late King. The King was to have been this Year Assassinated in *Flanders*; and a Party in *England* seem'd not to have been ignorant of it. And divers Tracts were publish'd as before, in Vindication of the Revolution, and King *William's* Government.

#### The Carriage of the Jacobites.

The Contest in the Church of *England* occasion'd by the Deprivation of the Bishops still continu'd. *A Vindication of the depriv'd Bishops* was now publish'd; Asserting their Spiritual Rights against a Lay Deprivation: Against the Charge of Schism as manag'd by the late Editors of an Anonymous *Baroccian* M.S. Herein it is pleaded, that tho' the Instances collected in the said M.S. had been pertinent to the Editor's Design, yet that would not have been sufficient for obtaining their Cause: And that the Instances there collected are not pertinent to the Editors Design, for vindicating the validity of the Deprivation of *Spiritual Power*, by a *Lay Authority*. And it is here Asserted, that if the Enemies, of the depriv'd Bishops would do any Thing to purpose by the Instances they produce, they ought to prove, that even in Case of a purely Lay Deprivation, those *Eastern Churches* did not think fit to Assert their Spiritual Liberties, against the Encroachments of the secular Magistrate, &c.

But they were not content with Arguing. The ejected Episcopal Clergy, with the loss of their Places seem'd also to lose their Tempers. And it was observ'd (by

one very able to make Remarks) *That of all the sorts of Men\* who have within the Memory of the present Age been on the suffering Side, never any suffer'd so little, and rag'd so much as the Jacobite. They lost their Preferments, and some of them were doubly tax'd; but they were not hunted from Place to Place, nor vex'd with Imprisonments and Prosecutions (as the poor Nonconformists had formerly been.) They liv'd at quiet even when*

*they*

\* See Bp. of Sarums Reflections on a Pamphlet Entitled, [Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, occasion'd by the late Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter] 1696.

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*they did all they could to let none have quiet about them, And some of them were so far gratified that they nam'd their Successors into their Benefices, of which it was believ'd they afterwards receiv'd the greatest Part.*

Bishop Burnet in Particular had but Five Nonjurors in his Diocese of Sarum. One of them, Mr. Martin, was continu'd in his Living to his Death which happen'd about 1694, and the Bishop still paid him the actual Income of his Prebend out of his own Purse. He would not take the Oaths, but he did not joyn with the Nonjurors in their Schism. Mr. Spinks enjoy'd a Donative, which the Bishop suffer'd him to serve by a Curate, which he could have requir'd him to save in Person; and he enjoy'd his Prebend a Year beyond the Time fix'd by Law. Mr. Jones had the nominating of his own Successor, to whom his Living was Collated. Mr. Dickson died soon after the Deprivation. Dr. Beach also kept in his Living Two Years after he was by Law depriv'd, and was afterwards Indicted for Seditious Words, and found Guilty, but Pardon'd. And their Treatment was much the same in other Dioceses. I'm sure the poor Nonconformists, who were Ejected in 62, (though none were truer to the Government than they) would have been heartily glad of such Usage, as the Jacobites now met with, though they were continually Plotting against the Government: The overthrow of which they had

this Year compass'd, had not Providence eminently appear'd in our Favour, and given us a Ggnat Victory over the *French Fleet*, great Part of which were destroy'd and burnt by Admiral *Russel*: Which gave King *James* so heavy a blow, that he never recover'd the Impression of it, but lost all Hopes of ever being Restor'd.

There now came out a Tract call'd *Solomon and Abiathar*, Or the Case of the depriv'd Bishops and Clergy discuss'd, in a Dialogue between *Eucheres* a Conformist, and *Dyscheres* a Recusant: By Mr. *Hill*. In which the State of Things under King *William*, is represented as worse than a *Deluge of Popery*, and the whole Revolution as a great *Impiety*: And Submission to the Deprivation of the Bishops a giving up all to *Erastianism*. For it is declar'd that if that would hold, a Bishop would be but an Ecclesiastical Justice, and a Priest but a Church Constable. *Abiathar's* Priesthood it is here said, determin'd by his own voluntary Cession, not the Kings Ec-

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clesiastical Censure. And when he quieed the High Priesthood, he did it for himself and his Posterity, who had no Claim thereto Originally Legal; whence it reverted of Course to the House of *Eleazar*, and therein to *Zadok*, without any Title from, the King, &c. The *Jacobites* had still hopes of their old Masters Restoration, who intended a Descent from *France*. But the *French Fleet* was beaten, and many of their Ships burnt at *La Hogue*, and so their Hopes were defeated.

A Noble Peer\* at this Time making a Speech upon a Publick Occasion, thought fit to reflect upon the *fomenting Divisions among Protestants*, as a *Deceit design'd to gull the Nation into Popery and Slavery*. He says, *That this must be to serve some new Design, because the Laws Against Dissenters were stretch'd and Executed, beyond their Genuine and Natural Intent or Construction: Because several Laws were put in Execution against them, which were plainly and directly made for other Purposes, by which the*

*Law itself suffer'd Violence: And because more Diligence and Care was employ'd, to punish People for Nonconformity, than to reform their Lives and Manners. He represents the Act of Indulgence as a Prudent, Necessary, and Pious Work; and recommended it to the Jury, as their Duty, if they found any spake to the disadvantage of the Act, to Present them as disaffected to the Government, and sowers of the Seeds of Division in the State.*

Mr. Johnson now publish'd an Argument, proving that the Abrogation of King James by the People of England from the Regal Throne, and the Promotion of the Prince of Orange, one of the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom in his stead, was according to the Constitution of the English Government, and prescrib'd by it: In opposition to all the false and treacherous Hypotheses, of *Usurpation, Conquest, Desertion, and of taking the Powers that are upon Content.* Now also came out a true Account of the Author of a Book, Entitled, *Ἐικὼν Βασιλική* Or the Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty, in his Solitude and Sufferings; prov'd to be Written by Dr. Gauden, late Bishop of Worcester: With an Answer to all Objections made by Dr. Hollingsworth and others. Publish'd for Publick Satisfaction, by *Anthony Walker, D.D.* with an Attestation under the Hand of the late Earl of Anglesey, to the same Purpose. At which some were very angry, and others well pleas'd.

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\* *The Earl of Warrington's Speech to the Grand Jury at Chester. April 13. 1692.*

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**The Declaration of the United Ministers against Mr. Davis.**

The Dissenters had this Year a troublesome Affair with one Mr. *Richard Davis*, of *Rothwel* in *Northamptonshire*: And at length the United Ministers publish'd to the World their Sense concerning some of his erroneous Doctrines and irregular Practices, in these Words.

'We the United Nonconforming Ministers in and 'about *London*, having been oft consulted by our grieved

‘Brethren in the Country, about some Expedient to  
 ‘reclaim Mr. *Richard Davis* of *Rothwel*, in the County  
 ‘of *Northampton*; or at least to prevent the Scandal  
 ‘and mischievous Effects of his erroneous Principles  
 ‘and irregular Practices; have thought it incumbent  
 ‘on us to publish the following Account and Testimony,  
 ‘that we may not be wanting in our Faithfulness and  
 ‘Zeal for the Truth of Christ, and for that Peace and  
 ‘Order among his People, which is so strictly enjoyn’d  
 ‘by him; nor be esteem’d approvers of those Delusions  
 ‘and Extravagancies, whereby Souls are endanger’d,  
 ‘Divisions highly fomented, and our present Liberty  
 ‘abused, to the hurt and reproach of all of us as Dis-  
 ‘senters.

‘It will we doubt not appear to impartial Men (since  
 ‘divers Methods that we have us’d for the reclaiming  
 ‘of him, have prov’d unsuccessful) to be our present  
 ‘Duty to Vindicate our Selves, and warn such in  
 ‘whom we are respectively concern’d, against his De-  
 ‘lusions, under the Name of the Blessed Gospel; and  
 ‘his dividing Courses, whilst he pretends to Reform  
 ‘the Church. We shall not here enumerate all the Er-  
 ‘rors he studiously Propagateth; but do hereby bear  
 ‘our Testimony against these following, *viz.*

‘That the Law of Innocency was not able to save  
 ‘Man at first. That Justification upon Believing, is  
 ‘only a manifestation to the Conscience of an Antece-  
 ‘dent Justification; and so it is not the State of the  
 ‘Soul, but its sense of its State, that is alter’d upon  
 ‘Conversion. That Justifying Faith is a Perswasion  
 ‘that our Sins are pardon’d; and when it is said, we  
 ‘believe for Pardon, it is meant for the Knowledge of  
 ‘Pardon. That this Faith is not a consenting Act of  
 ‘the Will. That the Law, prepares not for Conversi-  
 ‘on, and its Convictions tend to drive Men farther  
 ‘from Christ. That the Law of the Gospel is the  
 ‘great Law of Electing Grace, *viz. I will have Mercy*

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'*on whom I will have Mercy.* That there be no preparatory Humblings in order to Faith. That we should begin our Religion with high Confidence of our Interest in Christ, and must maintain it against all Challenges or Doubts from our Sins or Defects. That they are like *Baal's* Priests who put Men on trying themselves by such Marks, as Sincerity Universal Obedience, Love to God, and Christ, and the Brethren. That all Believers at all Times stand before God without Sin; yea, when they are sinning against God, they are without spot before God; and when they have sinned, and pray for Pardon, it is for the discovery thereof to their Conscience, and not for what is properly Forgiveness. That Christ fulfilled the Covenant of Grace for us, and he believ'd for us as our Representative. Which with many others are well Attested, yea, and own'd in his own Papers, for the most part in express Words, and the rest plainly appear to be his Sense.

'These Assertions we declare repugnant to the Gospel, (as also to the Doctrine of the *Church of England*, and other *Confessions* agreeable to the Gospel, whereto we have Assented) strong Temptations to carnal Security and Libertinism, and some of Satans fiery Darts, whereby he endeavoureth the ruin of those Souls who are less subject to other Snares; and as what would destroy the Ministry which Christ hath appointed and Prospered to the Conversion of Sinners.

'In the like manner we do Testify against the Unchristian Practices of Mr. *Davis*; viz. That though he scrupled not to Baptize the Children of his own People, he yet Rebaptized such Adult Members as were Baptiz'd in their Infancy by any Ministers of the *Church of England*; in Answer, whereto he thus Writes: *That if any, being the seed of Strangers, and having no other Baptism than that of the Publick, desire to submit to the Ordinance, I dare not refuse it; for I*

'look on that done in the Publick, Null and Void on a two-fold Account. (1.) They and their unbelieving Parents, 'being in no sense or wise under the Covenant, Baptism 'cannot be a Seal, and while it is not a Seal, I apprehend 'it nothing, and therefore Null and Void. (2.) The Ad-'ministrators are none of Christs sending, therefore what 'they do in Matters of Religion is nothing; an Idol is

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'nothing;

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'nothing; and by pprity of Reason Ordinances falsly Ad-'ministred, are nothing, &c. And though it (viz. Bap-'tism) be done by them in the Name of Father, Son, 'and Spirit, yet still they Prophecy Lies in the Name of 'the Lord, for he never sent them. Our Reasons against 'this horrid Opinion were sent to him, but without any 'influence for his Conviction. His sending forth 'Preachers unfit for the Ministry, and unapprov'd by 'the Neighbouring Ministers; his unchurching such 'Churches as agree, not with his exorbitant Methods, 'and licentious Principles; his wickedly railing at most 'of the Orthodox, Laborious Ministers, endeavour-'ing to the utmost to prejudice the People against their 'Persons and Labours, as Idolatrous, Illegal; and Anti-'christian; Yea, affirming, that all the Churches are 'gone a Whoring from Christ, and that happy is he 'who is an Instrument in breaking all the Churches, 'wherein he hath made too great a Progress.

'Having thus express'd our Thoughts concerning 'his Principles and Practices (whereto many more 'might, and in due time may be added, with just Re-'flections thereon) we do here further Declare, that 'he never was, nor is by us esteem'd, of the Number 'of the United Brethren.

'It is our Grief, that a Man should with meer False-'hood, Clamour, and Noise, prevail so far: It is no 'less our wonder, that he should generally set up for 'the only Gospel Preacher, reviling most others, and 'yet when charg'd with his Assertions, he at Times at-

'tempts to unintelligent Persons, to reduce those abominable Assertions, to what is the general Opinion 'of such as he exposeth. But we shall earnestly pray 'for his Repentance; and (in the mean time) that that 'Scripture may be verified in him, *2 Tim. 3. 9. He shall 'proceed no further, but his Folly shall be manifested to all 'Men:* Which we are encourag'd to hope the sudden 'Accomplishment of, since he is given up to such tri- 'sting Visions, Enthusiastick Pretences, Self-contradictions, highest Arrogancy and Insolence, and many 'are awaken'd to see the wiles of the Devil by their 'visible Effects; and most Persons fit to judge hereof, 'Agree, it cannot be the Interest of Christ that he 'serves, by the Spirit he discovers, and the Publick 'Scandals and Mischiefs he so industriously promotes.

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Had the United Ministers rested here it had been well. But Animosity and Contention about Doctrinal Matter's unhappily broke out amongst them, and such Heats arose, as expos'd them justly to the Censures of Standers by; and they acted as if they had been under the secret Influence of some that were fearful lest their Interest should gain, by their coming United, while the Establish'd Church was so much divided. A new Impression of Dr. *Crisp's Works* was publish'd in 1690, with an Addition of some Sermon. Prefac'd by his Son; and some Ministers were upon his request prevail'd with to prefix their Names, Attesting that they believ'd what was publsth'd was Genuine. The known Character of the Doctor, with the Nature of some of his darling Notions, made this Publication offensive to many; and the rather, because of the Names prefix'd, which they fear'd would be interpreted by some, as a giving Countenance to such Opinions as were thought of ill Consequence. A Book hereupon came forth this Year, Intitled, *Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated*, wherein some of Dr. *Crisp's* Errors are consider'd.



And to this several Names were prefix'd by way of Approbation. The Method of this Book is very clear; and had they that were of different Sentiments, as clearly laid down any opposite Opinions in a Scheme, with distinct Reasons under each Head, why such Notions were embrac'd as Truths, and the others rejected as Errors, Matters might easily have been brought to an amicable Issue, and every Man might have judg'd for himself, which Scheme to embrace.

Before this there had been clashing in the Pulpit in Pinners-Hall Lecture, and that with no little warmth. And upon the publishing of this Book there was a great Clamour rais'd, and that particularly upon the Account of the Interpretation given, of *Phil.* 3. 9. One wrote warmly against what he call'd *Neonomianism*, and Differences rose to a great height: And at length a Paper of Objections sign'd by Six Ministers Hands, was given in at the Meeting of the United Brethren, and it was observable that several of them that Sign'd it, never did concur in, nor approve of the *Union*. Some set themselves to contrive an healing Expedient, and after much Pains taken, fix'd on certain Doctrinal Articles which were on both Sides agreed on, and sub-

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scrib'd *December* 16. 1692, and publish'd to the World, under the Title of, *The Agreement in Doctrine, among the Dissenting Ministers in London*, by which it was hop'd future Differences would have been prevented. But separate weekly Meetings were kept up, and some seem'd desirous to be thought to differ from their Brethren, whether they really did, so or no, or at least fancied they did so, more than they did: A Letter was publish'd in 4to, Intituled, *A Vindication of the Protestant Doctrine concerning Justification and of its Preachers and Professors from the Unjust Charge of Antinomianism*; and the hopes of a free brotherly Correspondence vanish'd away. The Difference was chiefly about some

Terms and Phrases relating to the Doctrine of Justification, and about the extent of Redemption, and the middle Way: But they manag'd them with such Heat, as to give those who have at all Times been forward enough, to reflect upon them, occasion to say, *let but these Dissenters alone, and these do their own Work.*

At this Time came out a Book of an Ecclesiastical Nature, Written by a young Gentleman, but drawn up with such strict care and exactness, that a Man that had spent all his Days in conversing with the Fathers and Primitive Writers of the Christian Church, would have had no need to have been asham'd of the Performance. It was Entitled, *An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church, that flourish'd within the first 300 Years after Christ: Faithfully collected out of the extant Writings of those Ages.* 8vo.

***Of the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church.***

He observes that by the *Church*, the Primitive Writers sometimes understood the Church Universal, of all those who throughout the Face of the whole Earth, professed Faith in Christ, and acknowledged him to be the Saviour of Mankind: At other Times, a particular Church or Company of Believers, who at one Time, in one and the same Place, did associate themselves together, and concur in the Participation of all the Ordinances of Christ, with their proper Pastors and Ministers: And sometimes also, the Place where a particular Church or Congregation met for the Celebration of Divine Service. Once 'tis us'd by *Cyprian* for a Collection of many Churches, but that is not common. And often they meant by it, the invisible Church; that

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is such as by a sound Repentance and a lively Faith, are actually interested in the Lord Jesus Christ. And it is frequently also to be understood of the Faith and

Doctrine of the Church. But most usually by the Word Church, a particular Church is meant in their Writings: And such a Church was made up of *Clergy* and *Laity*. The *Clergy* had their Peculiar Acts. When Persons were in any Places converted by the Preaching of the Gospel, Bishops were appointed them. There was but one in a Place that was Bishop by way of Eminency. And this Bishop had Originally but one Church, which was call'd his Parish, and was no larger than our Parishes. And that the Bishops Diocese did not exceed the bounds of a modern Parish, is evident from hence: (1.) In that all the People of a Diocese did every Sunday meet all together in one Place to Celebrate Divine Service. (2.) In that the Bishop had but one Altar or Communion Table in his whole Diocese, at which his whole Flock receiv'd the Sacrament from him. (3.) In that the other Sacrament of Baptism was generally Administred by the Bishops alone, within their respective Dioceses. (4.) The Churches Charity was deposited with the Bishop. (5.) All the People of a Diocese were present at Church Censures. (6.) No Offenders were restor'd again to the Churches Peace, without the Knowledge and Consent of the whole Diocese. (7.) When the Bishop of a Church was dead, all the People of that Church met together in one Place to choose a new Bishop. (8.) At the Ordinations of the Clergy, the whole Body of the People were present. (9.) Publick Letters from one Church to another were read before the whole Diocese. And (10.) The whole Diocese of the Bishop did meet all together to manage Church Affairs, These Things put together are a plain proof, that how large soever the local Extent of the Primitive Churches was their Members made but one single Congregation, which had no more Christians in it than our Parishes now have. For farther Proof of which, our Author produces out of those that are reckon'd the Genuine Epistles of *Ignatius*, such an Account of the Bishopricks of *Smyrna*,

*Ephesus, Magnesia, Philadelphia, and Trallium*, as manifestly evidences them to be but so many single Congre-

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gations. Nay, he shews that the greatest Bishopricks in the World, even in the Third Century, were no more than so many single Congregations. He shews it as to *Antioch*, and *Rome*, and *Carthage*. In *Alexandria* only they had separate Congregations for their convenience.) There were Bishops then in Country Villages. And all the Christians of a Diocese, met together in one Place, every Sunday to serve God.

The Bishops Work was to Preach, Pray, Baptize, Administer the Lord's Supper, take Care of the Poor, Ordain Ministers, Govern his Flock, Excommunicate Offenders, and Absolve Penitents. He was to be always resident on his Cure. He was Chosen, and Presented by the Majority of the Parish. And approv'd by the Neighbouring Bishops, by whom also he was Ordain'd or Install'd; Three or more of them usually concurring in the Solemnity. And he immediately gave notice hereof to other Bishops; especially such as were of Note and Eminence.

Our Author describes a *Presbyter* as a Person in Holy Orders, having therefore an inherent Right to perform the whole Office of a Bishop; but being possess'd of no Place or Parish, not actually discharging it, without the Permission and Consent of the Bishop of a Place or Parish. Presbyters, he says, were the Bishops Curates, and Assistants, inferiour to them in Degree, or in the actual Discharge of their Ecclesiastical Commission. Without the Bishops leave, a Presbyter could not Baptize, or Administer the Lords Supper, or Preach, or Absolve Offenders, or perform any other Ecclesiastical Office. Notwithstanding which, Presbyters were of the same Specifick Order with Bishops, and had the same inherent Right to perform those Ecclesiastical Offices, as Bishops did. For they Preach'd, Baptiz'd,

Administred the Eucharist, and in the Churches to which they belong'd, Presided in Consistories, Excommunicated, restor'd Penitents, Confirm'd, and Ordain'd, and in General discharg'd all those Offices which Bishops did, with the Permission of the Bishops in their several Cures. Presbyters were also call'd by the same Titles and Appellations as the Bishops were: And they are expressly said to be of the same Order with the Bishops. There were many such Presbyters in one Church, that there might be a Provision for the People,

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under all Accidents and Circumstances. They were not Necessary or Essential to a Church: And yet their Office was even in the Apostolick Age, though by their Names they were not distinguish'd from Bishops till some time after.

The *Deacons* were to take care of the Poor. The *Subdeacons* were to assist and help the Deacons. The *Acolyths*, *Exorcists*, and *Lectors*, were Candidates for the Ministry, who by behaving themselves well in these meaner Employes, were to give Proof of their Ability and Integrity, that they might be promoted gradually. *Ordination* is the Grant of a peculiar Commission and Power, which remains indelible in the Person to whom it is Committed, and can never be obliterated or razed out, except the Person himself cause it, by Heresie, Apostacy, or gross and scandalous Impiety. When Persons were *Ordain'd* Presbyters, they presented themselves to the Presbytery of the Parish, and were by them examin'd about their Age, their Condition in the World, and freedom from secular Employments, their Conversation, and their Understanding and Learning: Then they were propounded to the People for their Approbation, and afterwards had the Hands of the Presbytery laid on them: But were not Ordain'd to a particular Church, or for it, but they were Ordain'd Ministers of the Church Universal.

The *Laity* also had their peculiar Acts in the Primitive Times. Baptism qualified them for Church Membership, unless they had been guilty of gross and scandalous Sins. Adult Converts to Christianity were first Catechumens; and then after due Instruction they were Baptiz'd, and own'd Church Members. Such Church Members elected their Bishops, and if they prov'd Hereticks or Apostates, or grosly Scandalous, they depos'd them. And all Things relating to the Government: and Policy of the Church, were perform'd by the joynt Consent and Administration both of Clergy and Laity.

*Discipline* was much valu'd in the Primitive Times. By it is meant the Power and Authority of the Church exerted by her for her own Preservation, in the censuring of her offending Members. The Faults for which offenders were Censur'd, were Schism, Heresie, Covetousness, Gluttony, Fornication, Adultery, &c. The

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Judges were the whole Church, both Clergy and Laity, And the Presbytery was a sort of Committee to prepare Matters for the whole Court. They presided. If possible, the Offenders appear'd Personally, and pleaded for themselves. Judgment was pass'd by Suffrage; and the Sentence of the Court pronounc'd, either by the Bishop, or a Presbyter Commission'd by him. Their Censures consisted in *Excommunications* and *Suspensions*, which were much dreaded. When any thus Censur'd desir'd to be absolv'd, they first lay groveling and weeping at the Church Doors, and then were admitted into the Rank of Penitents; (their Penitentiary Stations varying according to different Times and Circumstances) afterwards they were examin'd; and if approv'd, they came into the Church with all expressions of Sorrow, confess'd their Sin, and then were Absolv'd with Imposition of Hands: But the Clergy were generally restor'd only to Lay Communion.

Christian Churches were so far independent as to have sufficient Right and Power in themselves to punish and chastise offending Members: And yet they consider'd themselves as Parts of the Church Universal, and had intercourse with each other by Synodical Assemblies, especially *Provincial Synods*, which met at differing Times, according to different Circumstances and Customs. These Synods were made up of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and deputed Laymen. They had sometimes One, sometimes Two Moderators. As to Forreign Churches they only advis'd: But to their own Churches whom they represented, their Decrees were binding.

The *Unity* of the Church Universal was not reckon'd to consist in an Uniformity of Rites, or an Unanimity of Consent to the non Essentials of Christianity: But in an harmonious Assent to the Essential Articles of the Faith. The *Unity* of a particular Church in the Primitive Times consisted in the Love and Amity of the Members towards each other, and the close adherence of the People to their Bishop or Parish Church. The breach of the latter was that which they most generally counted *Schism*. It wall a causeless Separation from the Parish Church: But they reckon'd a Separation warrantable, in Case of Apostacy or Heresie, or a scandalous and wicked Life, Except in these Cases they counted a Separation Schismatical.

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Their Publick *Worship* was thus manag'd. They began with reading the Holy Scriptures; and sometimes they used to read other pious Writings. There was one whose Office it was to read; and more or lees was read according to Circumstances. This was follow'd by singing of Psalms, which were either Scriptural, or of private Composition; and all the People here bore their Part, but had no Church Musick. The preaching of the Word succeeded; the most usual Subjects

whereof, were the Lessons that had been read before, their Sermons being usually of an Hours length. Their Discourses they accomodated to the Capacities of their Hearers. The Bishop usually was the Preacher: But a Presbyter, or any other fit Person preach'd in his Room if he desir'd it. After Sermon the whole Congregation sent up United Prayers, looking toward the the East; and lifting up their Eyes and Hands towards Heaven. The Minister had on a *Pallium* or Cloak, but no *Surplice*, or other additional Vestment. He pronounc'd his Prayer with a modest and bashful Voice. The Repetition of the Lord's Prayer was not reckon'd necessary; and yet it was usual. And the other Prayers which they used, were not imposed Forms; but the Words and Expressions of them, were left to the Prudence, Choice, and Judgment of every particular Bishop or Minister. They had no *stinted Liturgies* or impos'd Forms of Prayer.

In *Baptism*, the Bishops or Pastors usually Officiated. The Persons baptized, were either Infants or Adult Persons, When Adult Persons were baptiz'd, they abjur'd the Devil, the World, and the Flesh, and gave their Assent to the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith. In the Case of Infants, there were Godfathers or Sponsors, After the Questions followed *Exorcising*: That is, the Minister put his Hands on the Head of the Person to be baptiz'd, and breath'd in his Face, implying the expelling of the Evil Spirit from him. And then the Minister having consecrated the Water, the Person was baptiz'd in the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Their usual Way was to dip the whole Body: But Sprinkling was esteem'd valid and not unlawful. Prayers afterward follow'd. Then *Confirmation*, which was made up of *Unction*, *Signation*, and *Imposition* of Hands. They were anointed, sign'd with the Sign of

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the Cross, and the Minister laid his Hands upon them, praying that the Holy Ghost would descend and rest upon them. Presbyters did this as well as Bishops, upon their Permission, or in their Absence.

The Lords Supper was celebrated at the Conclusion of their solemn Services, and when and where *Tertulian* liv'd at Supper Time: But in Times of Persecution, at any Season or Opportunity, The Communicants were such as were in the Number of the Faithful. In *France* and *Africa* they first made their Offerings. But in many Places, the Minister first began with an Exhortation. A Prayer was made over the Elements by him that Officiated, to which the People said, *Amen*. The Words of Institution were read. Then the Bread was broken: And that and the Cup deliver'd to all. The Posture was standing at *Alexandria*. And afterwards they sung a Psalm or Hymn.

As for the *Place* of Publick Worship, the Primitive Christians met where they could; and yet they had fix'd Places for it, which were call'd *Churches*. They were erected on high open Places, and made very Light. But they did not imagine there was any *Holiness* in these places. Their chief *Times* of Worship were the first Day of the Week, on which they met constantly. This Day they celebrated with Joyfulness, esteem'd Holy, and spent in an holy Manner, in Memory of the Glorious Resurrection of their Redeemer. They call'd it the *Lord's Day*; and somerimes *Sunday*, but never the *Sabbath Day*. *Saturday* was another usual Time of their Publick Worship. They also observ'd *Fasts*; some of which were Occasional, at unusual Seasons, according to Circumstances; and others Fix'd, and always observ'd at the same Time and Season: Some of these were Weekly, as *Wednesday* and *Friday*: And one was Yearly, and called *Lent*. Some of their Fasts ended at Three in the Afternoon, others lasted till Evening, and others till the Morning of the next Day.

They had also their *Feasts*; Three of which were Annual: as *Easter*, *Whitsunday*, and *Christmas*. *Easter* was the most ancient; *Whitsunday* often mention'd, and even *Christmas* is taken Notice of by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Epiphany* was also kept by some in Memory of Christ's Baptism. The *Anniversaries* of the *Martyrs* al-

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so were Festively observ'd, to encourage others to follow their Examples. They were kept at the Martyrs Tombs; and spent in Prayers and Devotions.

Several *Ceremonies* were used by the Ancients, which crept into the Church many Ways. But every Church follow'd its own Rites, without imposing them on any other. And the Membets of every Church were oblig'd to observe the Rites of that Church where they liv'd. The Author all along supports his Assertions, with Citations out of the Writings of the Three First Centuries; adding in the Margin, the Original Words of the Passages cited. And he concludes with a Perswasion to Peace, Unity, and Moderation. But the Reader must not imagine, that all these Things mention'd were from the First: Tho' all come within the Compass of the Three First Centuries, yet some were only of the Third of them, which this Author is free in acknowledging.

### ***The Third Letter of Toleration.***

At this Time also came out Mr. *Lock's* Third Letter for *Toleration*, in which he undertook to shew his Antagonist, that the *moderate* Penalties he pleaded for, were but a new Way of *Persecution*; and that if he'd be true to his own Principles, he must carry his *some Degrees of Force*, to all those Degrees which in Words he declar'd against. To *the Magistrates being oblig'd to the Force to bring Men to the true Religion*, he replies, that the Magistrate must act according to his Belief or Perswasion. He can only use Force to bring Men to that Religion which he believes to be true. And if so, all Magistrates

of whatsoever Religion, must be allow'd to use Force to bring Men no theirs, because they believe it true. And as long as they are perswaded their Religion is the true, they are as much oblig'd to use Force to bring Men to it, as if it were the true. If a firm Perswasion is sufficient to authorize the Magistrate to use Force, the People in every Country are given up to the coercive Force of the Magistrate, to be employ'd for the assisting the Ministers of his Religion: And King *Lewis* of good Right comes in with his Dragoons. And they that punish others for not being of the Religion which they judge to be true, are Judges of Truth for others, let it be done to *bring them to judge more sincerely for themselves*, or under what Pretence or Colour soever. If the Magistrate punishes a Man because

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he judges him in an Error: 'Tis queried, Why is not a Man as fit to judge for himself when he is in an Error, as another to judge for him, who is as liable to Error himself? He that punishes another to make him consider, takes upon him to judge for him what is right in Matters of Religion. He that is of any Religion, has already judg'd for himself: And if you punish him after that, under Pretence to make him consider, that he may judge for himself, 'tis plain you punish him to make him judge otherwise than he has already judg'd, and to judge as you have judg'd for him. To have a Power to use Force in Religion, vested in the Magistrate, takes away the Care of Men's Souls from themselves, and places it in the Magistrates rather than in themselves.

A *Commission* may well be demanded, by which Magistrates are authoriz'd for this. Good Proof of it may be the rather insisted on, because it is so evident that the Execution of such a Commission would do more Harm than Good. Its not very likely God should give such a Commission. If the Magi-

strates Authority may do much towards the upholding and preserving the true Religion within his Jurisdiction, it may also do much towards the upholding and preserving a false Religion, and (if that will do) to establish it. No Man has or can have Authority to shut anyone out of the Church of Christ, for that for which Christ himself will not shut him out of Heaven. Whoever does so, is truly the Author and Promoter of Schism and Division, sets up a Sect, and tears in Pieces the Church of Christ, of which every one who believes, and practises what is necessary to Salvation, is a Part and Member; and cannot, without the Guilt of Schism, be separated from, or kept out of its external Communion. To punish Dissenters as Dissenters, to make them consider, has something impracticable in it, unless not to be of the National Religion, and not to consider be the same Thing, 'Tis pleaded they are punished, for *rejecting the true Religion, of which sufficient Evidence was tender'd them.* But how can it be known, That ever sufficient Evidence was tender'd to such Dissenters as are punish'd, to prove that what they reject, is a Part of that one only true Religion, which unless they be of, they cannot be

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sav'd? Or indeed how can it be known, that any Dissenter rejects that one only true Religion, when being punish'd barely for not conforming, he is never ask'd, what Part it is he dissents from or rejects? Withal, as the Power of punishing (if it be allow'd) cannot be limited to any distinct Sort of Magistrates, nor can the Dissenters from any National Religion be exempted, so neither can the Punishment be limited to any Degree short of the highest. *If moderate Punishments are needful,* the highest will be so. If the lowest Degree of Force be necessary where gentler Means will not prevail; higher Degrees of Force are necessary, where lower will not prevail, for the same

Reason. If Force be the Remedy, it must be proportion'd to the Opposition. Where Force is proper to Work, they who are not wrought on, by lower Degrees, may yet be by higher. If the Measure of the Penalties inflicted be to be determin'd by the Prudence and Experience of Magistrates, whatever Degrees of Force they shall use, will always be the Right. And where there is a Fault to be corrected by the Magistrates Force, there no Degree of Force which is ineffectual, and not sufficient to amend it, can be immoderate; especially if it be it Fault of great Moment in its Consequences, as certainly that must be, which draws after it the Loss of Men's Eternal Happiness.

But the Measure of Punishments is to be estimated as well by the Length of their Duration, as the Intensity of their Degrees. 'Tis said Men must be *punished as long as they reject the true Religion?* If so, then they that punish them, must be Judges for them what is the true Religion. Then also they that offend God, must be always subject to Punishment from Men. Nay, then the Punishment inflicted, might as well be altogether forborn; For if it be reasonable to continue a Man several Years, nay, his whole Life, under the same repeated Punishments, without going any higher, tho' they work not at all; because it is possible they may some Time or other work upon him, why is it not as reasonable and useful (as it is much more justifiable and charitable) to leave him all his Life under the Means, which all agree God has appointed, without going any higher, because it is not impossible that some Time or other Preaching may work upon him?

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The using Force with a Design to *bring Men to the true Religion*, tho' it looks plausible, is but a Pretence, *Bringing Men to the true Religion* in this Case, is a bringing them to Conformity to the National; (which being reach'd, Force is laid aside) and how far that outward

Conformity is from being heartily of the true Religion, may be known by the Distance there is between the easiest and the hardest Thing in the World. If Penalties are used in *England* to bring Men to the true Religion, then the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, make up a Part of the only true Religion: For the greatest Part of Dissenters own and profess the Doctrine of that Church, as firmly as those in its Communion. But all that Force can do, is to bring Men to an outward Profession of the Religion of the Church of *England*. And why should Force be used to promote Ceremonies, under a Pretence of bringing Men to the true Religion? Are Kneeling at the Lord's Supper, or the Cross in Baptism, necessary to Salvation? Can any Humane Power, make a Thing in its own Nature indifferent, necessary to Salvation? If it cannot, then neither can any Humane Power be justified in the Use of Force, to bring Men to Conformity in the Use of such Things. Force cannot be lawfully us'd to bring Men to the Communion of the Church of *England*, till it is prov'd, that all that is requir'd of one in that Communion, is necessary to Salvation. And if Force be necessary to bring Men to Salvation, how can there be so many as there are not only in most Country Parishes, but in all Parts of *England*, grosly ignorant in the Doctrines and Principles of the Christian Religion? Why should it not find out some of the ignorant and unconsidering, that are in the National Church, as well as it does so diligently, all the Nonconformists out of it, whether they have consider'd, or are knowing or no? They that make strict Laws for Conformity, and take no Care to have it examin'd upon what Grounds Men conform, are not very much concern'd that Men's Understandings should be convinc'd. The Scriptural Methods are best, to bring Men to true Religion, which lies not in Externals. Whatever the Religion be, it is natural for Force and Penalties when us'd to bring the Irreligious, and those who are careless and uncon-

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cern'd into the National Profession: But whether it be not fitter for such to be kept out, rather than by Force to be driven into the Communion of any Church, and own'd as Members of it, deserves the Consideration of such as have a due Care and Respect for truly Religious and Pious Conformists.

After all, the Christian Religion prevail'd in the First Ages of the Church, by its own Beauty, Force, and Reasonableness, without any Penal-Laws to back it: And it is as able to prevail now, as it did at first, and has done since in many Places. All the Assistance it needs from Authority, is only a Liberty for it to be truly taught, There is no more Necessity of force to make Men of the true Religion, than there is of Castration to make Men Chaste: And therefore the Magistrate may as well castrate Men to make them Chaste, as Life Force to make them embrace the Truth that must save them, &c.

*An. 1693.*

***Archbishop Sancroft's Death.***

This Year the *Jacobites* rejoic'd at the Ruin of our *Smirna* Fleet, and the ill Success of the Battle of *Landen*; as they usually did at every Thing which they apprehended might weaken King *William*; or promote the Interest of their old Master. The Contest between the two Parties in the *Church of England*, continu'd much upon the same foot as before. In *November* died Dr. *Sancroft*, the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at *Fretchingfield* in *Suffolk*, the Place of his Birth; and where he liv'd in Solitude and Retirement after his being depriv'd. His Conduct after the Revolution in 1688. is hard to be accounted for. *He left his Authority intirely with his Chancellor, who acting in his Name and by his Commission, was the same Person in Law with himself. Oaths were tender'd to others, and taken by them in his Name, which he tho't un-*

*lawful.*\* The other Bishops that were deprived, also generally did the same. When the Election of Dr. Burnet to Sarum was return'd and confirm'd, the Precept for his Consecration went to the Archbishop in Course. *Archbishop Sancroft said he would not obey it. Some Bishops tried to persuade him, but in vain. The Earl of Nottingham tried, and succeeded no better. The Party got it among them, that he had promised them not to do it. But*

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\* See the Bishop of Sarum's *Vindication: Printed for Richard Chiswel, 8vo, 1696. p. 14, 22, 96, &c.*

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#### ***His Conduct after the Revolution.***

as the Time came on, and he saw that he must be sued in a Premunire, when this was laid before him, he all on the sudden ordered two Commissions to be drawn, both which he sign'd and sealed: One directed to the Archbishop of York, and all the Bishops of England; the other to the Bishop of London, and all the Bishops of the Province, to execute his Metropolitcal Authority during Pleasure. This last was made use of, and pursuant to it, Dr. Burnet was Consecrated: So that this was as much his own Act, as if he himself had Consecrated him. Indeed in that Part of his Department which related to the Publick, there was something very singular, either in his Opinion, or in his Temper. Either his Opinion of the Establishment differed from his Brethrens, or he had a Fearfulness of Temper, that neither became his Post, nor those Times. He was one of those Lords that met at Guildhall, and sign'd the Invitation to the then Prince of Orange, to come and look to the Preservation of Religion, and of the Nation. When the Prince came to St, James's, he either waited upon him, nor did he send any Message, importing that the State of Affairs was changed, and that he had thereupon chang'd his Mind. When the Convention was summon'd, he would not appear all the while, tho' his Brethren did, and



both spake and voted according to their Principles. The Matter stuck so many Days in the House of Lords, and was at last carried upon so small an Inequality, that the weight of an Archbishop of Canterbury might have held, if not turned the Ballance. No Man did run any risk either at that Time or Afterwards, for the Freedom with which he debated or voted. Here was a very unaccountable Behaviour, if he tho't it was either Rebellion or Treason that was then in debate. If he had but once come and declar'd against all that was then in Agitation, then withdrawn; this would have become him and his Station. His Chaplains' took the Oaths, and were not discountenanc'd by him: Those that knew him best, gave it out, upon that strange Deportment of his, that he wish'd well to the Change, only that he himself would not be active in it; and this they imputed to some Promise, that they believ'd he had made to the late King. When King James went to Ireland, and during all the Time of that War, when the Party in England grew bold and was full of Hopes, he continu'd in his former Silence and Reservedness; and still kept up his former Friendship with those who had taken

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the Oaths. At that Time several Clergymen who had Scruples concerning the Oaths went to him, and desir'd to Discourse the Matter with him, but he declined it. When Bishop Turner's Letters were intercepted he said to a great many, that he had no Authority from him to write as he did in his Name. After he was deprived, he never took on him to Act with his Archiepiscopal Authority. He never stood upon his Right, nor complained of Wrong, in any Publick Act or Protestation. He never requir'd the Bishops or Clergy of his Province to adhere to him, or to disown his Successor; and neither living nor dying; did he publish any Thing to the Nation, charging these Things upon them, or requiring them to return to their former State. And yet if all that was done, was Rebellion; Treason, Murder, or Perjury, these can be no light Mat-

ters. *He who was at the Head of the Church, if he tho't so of them, ought to have lift up his Voice like a Trumpet, and have cried aloud, and not have spared; It was visible to all who saw the State of Affairs, that he would have been in no Danger if he had done it; But suppose he had been in Danger, ought not such a Man as he was, to have sacrific'd his Life, rather than have abandon'd such a Post, and have been silent at such a Time? Since therefore such a Way of proceeding is not reconcileable with an Apostolical or Primitive Spirit, and looks like not only a deserting, but a betraying the Obligations that he lay under: It is the most favourable Judgment that can be made of him, to think that he was more indifferent in this Matter, than some would make us believe he was: That tho' he would not act, nor keep his Post under the Government; yet that flow'd from particular Considerations, which tho' they might work upon himself, yet he acted for the Cause it self with no zeal nor Courage. But notwithstanding all this, there were some that highly applauded him. And three of his Sermons, preach'd upon Publick Occasions, (which were all he ever Printed) were Reprinted, some Time after with a Pompous Character and Elogium of him prefix'd.*

A noble Peer (whom I have cited before,) in his Charge to the Grand Jury at the Quarter Sessions for the County of Chester,\* about this Time, says among other Things, That there are some People, who are afraid of

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\* See the Earl of Warrington's Charge, in the State Tracts of King William, Vol. 2. p. 346.

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their Shadows. For (says he) how the Church can be hurt by any Laws that concern the State, is not easily to be comprehended, if those Laws establish no other Gospel, than that which was deliver'd by our Saviour, Nothing can hurt the Church but it self; and it is never more in Danger, than when it is in its greatest Pomp and Grandeur. The

*Deceit of this is very plain; because they that haul most of the Danger that the Church is in, have the least of Religion in their Lives: For those who live and Understand better, see the Folly of it, as also of that Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, which many cry'd up as the Corner-stone of the Church; a Burden which they were forward to lay upon other Peoples Shoulders, yet when it came to their own Turn, none were so uneasy under it as they. For when their Rights came to be touch'd, no Men's Mouths were so full of Liberty and Property as their's; but now that the Storm is pretty well blown over, they are angry that that Liberty is granted to others which yet they promised to consent to, and are return'd to where they were, in supporting that at arbitrary Doctrine.*

Great Heats were this Year continu'd, among the Dissenters about Doctrinal Matters. Mr. *Williams* now publish'd his *Defence of Gospel Truth*, in Answer to Mr. *Chancy*. And Dr. *John Edwards* of Cambridge, join'd in Concurrence, in a Book intituled, *Crispianism unmask'd*; or a Discovery of the several erroneous Assertions and pernicious Doctrines, maintain'd in Dr. *Crisp's* Sermons: And Mr. *Chancey* publish'd several Controversial Tracts: And the Debate widen'd instead of lessening; while others lamented to see the Consequences of these Heats upon real Vital Religion.

**Mr. Tong's Undication of Nonconformity.**

At this Time came out a *Defence* of Mr. *Henry's* *Brief Enquiry into the Nature of Schism, and the Vindication of it: with Reflections upon a Pamphlet call'd the Review: And a Brief Historical Account of Nonconformity, from the Reformation to the present Time:* written by Mr. *Tong*; in 4to. The Reader may here see a just Account of *Catholick Unity*, which has been most unmercifully tortured, and made use of to frighten the Weak and Timerous, and chastise the more resolute Opposers of Spiritual Usurpation and Tyranny. Nothing belongs to it, but what belongs to the Being of the Church.

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It is either *political* or *Moral*. *Political Unity*, is that whereby all the true Members of the Church are united unto Christ their Head, and that is by true *Faith*. The *Moral*, is that by which they are united one to another, by *Christian Love*, which in some Degree follows the former. 'Tis the former that primarily, necessarily, and immediately constitutes that sacred Society the Church of God. In which Scripture, Fathers, and Reformers agree. By this *Faith*, the true Members of the Church are united in the Love and Service of one God, and so distinguish'd from *Pagans*; and in Affiance in one Mediator, and so are distinguish'd from *Mahumetans* and *Deists*; and in the gracious Influences of one Spirit, and so are distinguished from impenitent sensual Persons; and in one Rule of Faith, Worthip, and Obedience; and in one Baptism. And this is the Unity describ'd, *Eph.* 4. 5, 6. The *Moral Unify*, by which the Members are knit together in *Love*, admits of various Degrees, and is subject to sinful Declensions: But he that is wholly without it, can never know that he hath passed from Death to Life. This Love Christ makes the Badge and Characteristick of his Disciples. A regular Ministry, is not essential to this Unity.\* To affirm that no Man can be truly converted, but by a regular Ministry, would involve the Minds of Men in endless Perplexities. This is confirm'd by various Testimonies. And since the *Unity* of the Church consists in the true Catholick Faith and, Christian Affection, whereby Men are knit to Christ the Head, and to one another; none are out of the Unity of the Church, but those that are destitute of these Fundamental Graces: And to affirm this of Protestant *Dissenters* in General, is a Piece of Diabolical which the Gospel abhors, and Humanity it self will be ashamed of. The Author in *Chap.* 2. proceeds to clear the Nonconformists, from the Charge of Disobedience to Superiors; whether Spiritual Governors

the Bishops; or the Civil Magistrate. And he makes use of a threefold Plea:

1. That *Bishops have no Power by the Law of God, but what Presbyters have as well as they*: From p. 17, to p. 38: He here proves, That the Jurisdiction of *English Bishops* is not *Jure Divino*; but Presbyters have as much Power by the Law of God as they: Answers

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\* See this debated, p. 5, 6, &c.

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Allegations out of Antiquity: And gives the Judgment of Fathers, Councils, and School-men; together with the first Reformers, and foreign Divines. And from thence he infers that Ordination by Presbyters must needs be valid, p. 39: And that there is no Necessity of an uninterrupted Line of Succession, from the Apostles, p. 40, &c.

2. He pleads, That *the whole Jurisdiction of our English Bishops, and the Power of their Canons, is deriv'd from the Civil Magistrate, and Laws of the Land*, p. 53, &c.

3. He pleads, That *the Civil Power has now left us to our Liberty in the Case of Conformity, and therefore we are not Guilty of Disobedience to Authority in what we do*, p. 60.

He goes on *Chap. 4* to clear the Nonformists, from the Charge of *Indecency* and Irregularity. He considers the Nature and Rule of Decency, p. 66. And vindicates the Dissenters from the Charge of Indecency in Expression, p. 68. Gesture, p. 69. And Habit, p. 70. Shews that there is no positive Decency in the Ceremonies, p. 71. Makes some Reflections upon Parish Order, p. 72. And upon the Terms of Conformity, p. 73; and the Reasons of Nonconformity, p. 75. And answers the common Arguments produc'd for the Imposition of Ceremonies, p. 79.

In the Reflections on the *Review*, the Notion of *Schism* is farther consider'd, and divers others Matters.

And in the Close an *Appendix* is added that is Historical, which tho' short, is clear and strong.

*A Plea for Abatements, by an Anonymous Churchman.*

Now also came out *A Plea far Abatement* in Matters of *Conformity*, to several Injunctions and Orders of the *Church of England*. By *Irenæus Junior*; a Conforming Member of *the Church of England*: In 4<sup>to</sup>. The Author begins with an Intimation, that if the many earnest and repeated Promises of Persons in Extremity, could lay an Obligation of Performance upon them, to pay their Vows whenever they become solvent, there were many of no small Figure and Interest in the Church, under no mean Tie to find out an Expedient and Temper, to heal those Breaches which several controverted Rites and Ceremonies of the Church had unhappily occasion'd. And he mention's some, That in the height of the Storm promised a Candle as tall as their Main-

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Mast, who when that was allay'd, tho't one burnt into the Socket, too costly a Sacrifice to offer up, for the Peace and Unity of the Church. He however, (and he intimates he is not alone neither) moves for Concessions, in Hopes of gaining some of the Dissenters at least, and preventing the scattering of others that frequent the Publick Churches. He moves that some Regard may be had to the tender Consciences of Conformists, who have a long Time lain under an heavy Burden: Who like *Issachar* have rather chewed the Cud than divided the Hoof: Bit the Bridle, than snarl'd at the Governors of it.

He moves, (1.) For dropping the *Surplice* and Habits, of which he declares several of the first Reformers had no Fondness: And begs that for the Future the Righteousness of the Saints may be a sufficient Qualification for the Ministerial Office, tho' they should appear in no other clean Linnen in Time of Worship; according to *Revel.* 19. 8. (2.) As for the Sign

of the *Cross*, which other Protestant Churches rejected as superstitious, and an unnecessary Addition to the Sacrament of Baptism, and the insisting on which tempted some to let their Children die unbaptiz'd, he moves that it might be abated or left indifferent. (3.) As for *Kneeling* at the Lord's Supper, tho' it be an Expression of Reverence when it is accompanied with a devout Heart, yet he pleads 'tis hard to force Ministers to deny Children their Bread, meerly for a Rite which the Imposers themselves own to be indifferent: And therefore he begs, That that also may be left indifferent. (4.) In the *Liturgy*, he moves that the *Form* and *Method* of it may be reconsidered, since it is much of the *Roman Stamp*: That *Church-Musick* may be so ordered, as that People may not be tempted to mistake the tickling of the Ears, for an Elation of Mind, and Heavenly Rapture: That *David's Psalms* may be read in the New Translation; as well as the rest of Scripture; and read by the Minister, rather than alternately by Minister and People: That the reading Second Service at the Altar, may be wav'd as not to Edification. He would also have the *Length* of the Service considered, and some Abatement made. This he says, falls Heavy in Country Villages, where they can't be at the Charge of Readers. He repro-

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sents it as a Grievance, that the most difficult and constant Labour should meet with the least Encouragement: And moves that Matters may be so ordered, as that poor Country Ministers may not be forc'd to sink down under two Heavy Burdens of the Desk and Pulpit. He moves that the Lords Prayer and Doxology, mayn't be so often repeated at the same Time, least People should apprehend they tho't to be accepted for much Speaking. He moves that the Articles of Faith, and Subject Matter of Prayer might be clear and perspicuous, and would have the Article of the *Descent*

into *Hell* alter'd, it having been so much controverted. He's for an Abatement of the *Athanasian Creed* (commonly so call'd) that the Gate of Heaven may not be made narrower than God hath made it, As to *Regeneration by the Spirit*, which is so great a Thing, he moves that there may be no Insinuation, as if, wherever the Means were used, the End, were *ex opere operato* certainly attain'd: And for the Office of the *Burial of the Dead*, he's for having it so manag'd, as that there might be a Separation of the Precious from the Vile, and no hoping against Hope, nor contrary to it. He proves that the *Collects* for the King, and those in Authority may be so ordered, as that the Living may not be flatter'd: That the Office of *Confirmation* might be allow'd, to all those to whom is committed the Dispensation of the Oracles of God, and Holy Sacraments. And as to *Discipline*, he moves that the Minister of the Parish might be impower'd to assist the Bishop, when any of his Flock are convented as Criminals: That Discipline might not be more quick sighted in Matters of Conformity, than in Morals. He complains that Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience were the Universal Cry in the Church, and squeez'd till the Blood came: But the Mischief was, when they had nurst the Prerogative till it had stung some of them, and hiss'd at all the rest, they presently let the World see, they never brew'd this Doctrine for their own Drinking. Then (says he) they acknowledg'd we suffer justly, but what have our Brethren done, whom we pursu'd with such Revenge and Rage? Then they confest that, they sacrific'd the Interest of the Church to their Malice: But if the Dissenters would forbear to comply with the Common Enemy, they would do great

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Things for them, whenever they came again into their Kingdom: But alas there's too much Reason (says he) to cry out, *Ægrotat Dæmon, Monachus tunc esse vo-*



*lebat: Convaluit Dæmon; Dæmon ut ante suit.* Witness that great regret some of them have express'd against that Kindness and Favour, which the King and two succeeding Parliaments have evidenc'd to Dissenting Protestants; while they with Fury bite the Chain which restrains them from falling foul upon their former Prey: Besides their unreasonable stickle to prevent the least Abatement in Matters, which respect the Ceremonial Part of Worship; a Conformity to which goes with them for the whole Duty of a Minister. He pleads earnestly for such Abatements as those above mention'd in such a Juncture, and urges many very moving Considerations: But the Time was not yet come.

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***Bishop of Sarum's Four Discourses to his Clergy.***

The *Jacobites* held on Plotting, but still were disappointed in their Designs; and thereby the more enrag'd. The Division continued in the *Church of England*, and so did Contention among the Dissenters: And being both engaged at once, (tho' in different Ways) neither Side could much insult the other. Bishop *Burnet* now publish'd four Discourses to the Clergy of his Diocese; the Last of which is *concerning the Obligations* to continue in the *Communion of the Church*; in which he represents the Dissenters as violating the Laws of Christian *Unity*, for not complying with the Act of *Uniformity*, Some *Notes* were hereupon publish'd by an *Anonymus* Author, who tho' perhaps he wrote not with all that respect that was due to a Prelate who has deserv'd so well of all true Protestants, and been so zealous for *Moderation*, as the Bishop of *Sarum*, yet fastened upon some Things that were deserving Observation. For it was (as he takes Notice) a little odd, that in a Volume publish'd by such an one as his Lordship, the *Atheist* should lead the Van, and the *Dissenter* bring up the Rear. And after all that has been said of *Uniformity* in the Church, and the Charge brought against the Dissenters as violating *Unity* for not falling in with it; there is a great *Dif-*

*formity* in the several Modes of Worship in that Church, and greater Difference between them, than between some Church Worship, and the Worship in some Dissenting Congregations. For (says he)

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*a Church of England Courtier is one Sort of Worshipper, a Church of England Cathedralist of another kind, a Church of England Citizen yet less Theatrical, and a Church of England Peasant of a Sort by himself. This diversity of Worship is so very considerable, and makes these pretended Uniformity Men look so little like Members of one and the same Church, that a perfect Stranger to them all, at one Time visiting the Royal Chappel at high Devotion, and by and by looking into Westminster Abbey, and anon tracing to St. Laurences in the City, and shortly after travelling to some homely Country Church, and strictly observing all their various Ways of Worshipping, would be apt to conclude, that there Men never had an Act of Uniformity read among them, but were each of them a more distinct sort of Worshippers, and less of a Piece than the Dissenters are with the last mention'd, and honestest sort among themselves. This much abates the Plea against the Dissenters, as violating Unity, by being wanting in Uniformity.*

But this was as nothing to the Assault the Bishop met with upon this Occasion from another Quarter. For Mr. Hill of Killmington put out a Book against his Lordships Second Discourse *of the Divinity and Death of Christ*, and call'd it *a Vindication of the Primitive Fathers against the Imputations of Gilbert Lord Bishop of Sarum*. He charges the Bishop with defectively stating our Faith and Doctrine in the Articles of the Trinity and Incarnation: And with exposing the Fathers, under the same and worse Imputations. And he Appeals to the Judgment of the Church Universal, the Archbishops and Bishops of the *Church of England*, and the next Sessions of Convocation; and seems very desirous to have the Bishop then burnt for an Heretick. Some

*Remarks of an University Man* were publish'd upon this Book of Mr. *Hills*; in which he complains that his Lordships Sense was confounded, and his meaning represented falsly, and by halves: And he calls Mr. *Hills* Performance a *shuffage of Scurrilous Expressions*, and discovers great Indignation against his undecent and unchristian Way of Writing, and says that such Men as he, are born to be the pests of their Neighbourhood, and the Plagues of the Church. This was soon follow'd with a Pamphlet, Entitled, *Animadversions on Mr. Hill's Book*, in a Letter to a Person of Quality; in which the Author after taking him to task for various

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Particulars, declares that he wishes from his Heart he might come to himself, consider his fault, and repent: And says, that if he could but for a Minute reflect in cool Blood, upon his outrageous Way of Writing, and upon the Service he had done to the Enemies of the Trinity, by endeavouring to Sacrifice to them one of the Defenders of it, for whose Talents he could not but express some esteem; how averse soever he might be to his Person, he was sure he would be asham'd of his Book.

#### ***The Dissenters Divided.***

Had the Dissenters but been now at Unity among themselves, when upon every Occasion there were such Flames breaking out in the Establish'd Church, it would have been much for their Honour, and might have had good Effects: But the ferment that was got among them was not easily stopp'd or check'd. Papers pass'd between the two Parties call'd *Presbyterians* and *Congregational*, in order to a Renunciation of *Arminian* Errors on one Hand, and *Antinomian* on the other, but to little Purpose. A Breach was now made in *Pinners Hall* Lecture, Mr. *Williams* was to be excluded: Nothing less would satisfy. A new Lecture was set up at *Salters Hall*. Three of the old Lecturers, *viz.* Dr. *Bates*, Mr.

*Howe*, and Mr. *Alsop*, bore him Company; and Two more were added: And the Two old Lecturers at *Pinner's Hall*, viz. Mr. *Mead*, and Mr. *Cole*, had Four more added to them: And it was observ'd that Three of them that were so added, never were of the Union. Mr. *Mather* now publish'd Two Sermons on *Rom. 3. 22.* Entituled, *The Righteousness of God through Faith*, upon all without Difference who believe. Which was answer'd by Mr. *Williams*, in a Tract, call'd *Man made Righteous*. Now also Mr. *Lorimer* publish'd his *Apology* for the Ministers who subscrib'd unto the stating of the Truths and Errors in Mr. *Williams's Book*; shewing that the Gospel which they Preach, is the old Everlaating Gospel of Christ, and vindicating them from the calumnies wherewith they were aspers'd, by the *Letter from a Minister in the City to a Minister in the Country*, 4to. And Things seem'd more likely to grow worse, than better.

#### ***The Death of Archbishop Tillotson.***

In the mean Time the Nation sustain'd Two Publick Losses, which occauon'd a general Concern. The first was of Archbishop *Tillotson*, who died *Nov. 22.* Bishop *Burnet* tho' a great Orator, did not exceed at his Funer-

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ral. He was one of eminent Piety, singular sweetness of Temper, and a great Lover of Peace: And yet perhaps might not have been so well able to grapple with some Difficulties, that he would have met with, had he liv'd longer, as his Successor. 'Tis observ'd by Dr. *Nichols*,<sup>\*</sup> That *this Archbishop was not intent upon having a Convocation call'd for several Years together, least Debates about altering the Liturgy, might prove prejudicial to Religion: Nor was the calling of a new Convocation, in his Time much desir'd or insisted on. They that were desirous of taking Dissenters into the Church, and were for Alterations in order to it, were in hopes that after some delay, the Minds of Men would he*

so soften'd, that at length they might agree. Others were well enough pleas'd that those Things that were not agreeable to them were not urg'd upon them, and that they were under no necessity of refusing to gratifie the King, and offending their Archbishop, They could not have any great fondness of seeing him at the Head of a Convocation, who they knew could not but remember their former Treatment of him.

The Bishop of Sarum after his Death defended him from the Charges and Accusations of his Enemies; some of which were very black and heavy.\* He was charg'd with being an Atheist, a Socinian, unjust and severe to the *Non-jurors* and I know not what: But the Bishop of Sarum by giving a true and naked Account of Things, endeavours to do do Justice to the Memory of one, whom the opposite Party had been pursuing implacably many Years. And in a little time Dr. *Williams* (who was afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*) publish'd a Vindication of the Archbishops Sermons, concerning the *Divinity and Incarnation of our Blessed Saviour*, from the exceptions of a late Book, Entitled, *Considerations on the explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity*: And a Letter was added by the Bishop of Sarum in Vindication of himself from the Reflections of the same Author.

#### ***And of Queen Mary.***

Within *Five Weeks* after, *viz.* on *Dec. 28*; Queen *Mary* also departed this Life at *Kensington*, after a few Days Illness of the Small-pox. Never was there a more Uni-

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\* *In Apparat, ad Defens. Eccles. Anglic. p. 101.*

\* *See Reflections upon a Pamphlet, Entitled, [Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet, and Dr. Tillotson, occasion'd by the late Funerall Sermon of the former upon the latter.] pag. 90. &c.*

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versal Sorrow: Nor could there well be a greater Occasion, considering how excellent a Person She was in herself, and how great a Blessing to the Land. The

new Archbishop of *Canterbury* Dr, *Tennison* preach'd Her Funeral Sermon, at the Time of Her Interment: Nay, there were a multitude of Funeral Sermons that were preach'd and publish'd upon, this Occasion, both by Church Men and Dissenters. Bishop *Burnet* also publish'd an *Essay* upon Her Memory; in which among other Things mention'd in Her Commendation, he intimates, That She had an *Affection for the Church of England that was neither blind nor partial. She saw what finishings were still wanted, and had dedicated Her Thoughts and Endeavours, to the considering of the best Means that might both compleat and stablish it. She long'd* (says he) *to see us in a closer Conjunction with all Protestants Abroad: And hop'd we might strengthen our Selves at Home, by Uniting to us as many as could be brought within our Body. Few Things ever griev'd Her more; than that those Hopes seem'd to Languish: And that the Prospect of so desired an Union, vanish'd out of sight.*

The Two Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, the City Clergy of the Church of *England*, and the several Corporations of the Kingdom, Address'd his Majesty, by way of *Condolence* upon this Melancholy Occasion: And among the rest, the Dissenting Ministers in and about *London* attended him in a considerable Body, with Dr. *Bates* at their Head, who made this Affecting Speech.

***The Dissenters Address of Condolance to King William.***

'May it please Your Majesty,

**T**Hough we come in the Rear of the Train of 'Mourners, to pay our Tributary Tears for 'the invaluable Loss, in the Death of Your Royal 'Consort, and our most Gracious Queen, yet our Re-'sentments of it are with as tender a Sympathy as are 'in the Breasts of any of Your Subjects, This gives 'the sharpest Accent to our Passions; that the Considera-'tions which are most proper and powerful to allay our 'Sorrows, exasperate them: For while we remember 'what She was, how general and diffusive a Blessing to 'Three Kingdoms, the severe Stroke of Providence in

'taking Her from us, is most afflicting. Such a concurrence of high Perfection chin'd in Her Person and

'Actions

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'Actions, that would have made Her Illustrious in a low Condition; and in Her exalted Station, they were attractive of the Eyes and Admiration of all. Her Mind was above the Temptations that attend the Throne, Majesty was mix'd with that condescending Humility, that tender and beneficent Goodness, that She was easily accessible to all for their Relief and Support. Her Piety and Purity were so Conspicuous, Her Affections were so compos'd and temperate, that the Court, that is usually the Centre of Vanity and Voluptuousness, became Vertuous, by the Impression of Her Example. Her Conversation was so regular, that Her Enemies (if Goodness in such a bright Eminency had any) could not fasten a Taint upon Her. Her Royal Endowments for Government, Wisdom, Magnanimity, Vigilance and Care in managing Affairs of State (without which the highest Princes are but Civil Idols, useless and unprofitable to the World) these were in such a Degree of Excellency, that in Your Majesty's constrain'd Absence, while You were defending the Interest of *Christendom*, against a Potent Enemy Abroad, with the Sword of War, She sweetly ordered all Thmgs at Home with the Sceptre of Peace; She is gone, and must return no more: O astonishing Grief! But it becomes us with humble Submission to Acquiesce in the Divine Disposal. The Will of God is always directed by Infinite Wisdom, and is the Rule of Goodness. We must refresh our Sorrows with the Hope that She is entered into *Her Saviour's Joy*, whom She imitated and honour'd; and that She is made happy in the Love of God, and the Light of His Countenance for ever.

'We humbly beseech Your Majesty to accept the renewed Assurances of our inviolable and constant

'Fidelity to Your Person and Government; and that  
'we shall influence all that are within our Compass to  
'persevere in their Duty: We shall earnestly Pray to  
'the Blessed God to keep You in the best Protection,  
'His encompassing Favour to support Your Spirit with  
'Divine Comforts, and to continue long Your Precious  
'Life, so necessary for Preserving the Pure Religion,  
'and the Civil Rights of this Kingdom.

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I well remember that upon this Speech, I saw Tears  
trickle down the Cheeks of that great Prince, who so  
often appear'd undaunted in the Field of Battle.

The new Archbishop soon after his Advancement,  
prevail'd with the King to publish some Injunctions for  
the Preserving and Restoring of Ecclesiastical Discipline.  
They related to *Ordinations*; and Persons admitted into  
Orders, the *Residence* of Bishops, Qualifications of  
*Curates*, *Pluralities*, the *Manners* of  
the Clergy, daily *Prayers*, the Reli-  
gious observing the *Lords Day*, *Vi-*  
*siting* the Sick, *Catechizing*, *Confirm-*  
*ing*, *Penance*, and *Marriage*.\*

***Bishop King of Humane Inventions in the Worship of God.***

At this Time was publish'd, *A Discourse concerning the  
Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*, by Bishop King  
of *London-derry*, in *Ireland*; which in a surprizing Man-  
ner turns that Argument against the Dissenters, which  
they had so often strenuously urg'd against the Establish'd  
Church. The Parts of Worship this Author insists on,  
are *Praises*, *Prayer*, *Hearing*, *bodily Worship*, and the Ce-  
lebration of the *Holy Sacrament* of the Body and Blood  
of Christ.

In the *Praises* of God, he says, the Old and New  
Testament require the Use of the Psalms, and allow  
us to sing or say them. They recommend Psalms and  
Hymns in Prose; and encourage us to offer our Praises  
by Way of Responses, or Answering. They recom-



mend the Use of Musical Instrumems, and require that we understand the Praises we sing to God. The Establish'd Church appoints a number of Psalms to be said or sung every Day, proposes them in Prose, and allows the People to bear their Part in them, and permits the Use of Musical Instruments, &c: Whereas the Dissenters use not whole Psalms, sing Gods Praise only in Metre, reject Musical Instruments, and have no Responses.

As to *Prayers*, he asserts that the Scripture directs that they should be offer'd up in a set and prepar'd Form of Words, and that it should be so, as to Confession, Supplication, Intercession, and Deprecation: That Holy Men of God though full of Wisdom, and of his Spirit, us'd the same set Form of Prayer always on the same Occasion: Our Saviour and his Apostles pray'd by a Form: And we have Examples in Scripture for joyning

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\* *They may be seen at large in the Compleat History of England, Vol. 3. pag. 684, 685.*

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Voices in Prayer, and for Responses. And the Practice of the Church is agreeable: While among the Dissenters, some reject Forms as useless, others condemn them as unlawful; and all are against the Peoples joyning their Voices with the Minister.

As to *Hearing*, he says that God has positively commanded us to read his Word in our Publick Assemblies, and this in the New Testament is call'd Preaching. This Publick reading the Word in Scripture Times was manag'd with Solemnity, and an enlargement or Comment was sometimes added. The Practice of the Church is represented as agreeable: Whereas among the Dissenters, their Preachers, he says, may choose what Part of Scripturc they'l explain; have no summary of Principles injoyn'd to be either read or taught in Publick Assemblies, and have cast out the reading of the Word of God from most of their Meetings.

*Bodily Worship*, he declares to be positively command- ed in Scripture, and constantly and carefully Practis'd, and that not only under the Old Testament, but by our Saviour and his Apostles, and the Primitive Christians, &c. And the Church is very careful about it: While the Dissenters, he says, disallow bodily Worship, and their Practice is agreeable.

The *Lords Supper* ought to be frequently Celebrated, and is so in the Church; whereas he asserts that among the Dissenters, there are no set Times for the Admini- stration of this Ordinance, and they never press People to Communicate, &c.

From hence he draws this general Conclusion, that the Worship of the Church is very Scriptural, while that of the Dissenters, neither agrees with Scripture Precepts nor Patterns, and is according to Humane In- vention, Mr. *Boyse* distinctly answer'd this Book, and there were several Writings that past between the Bi- shop and him upon this Occasion. The Bishop was charg'd with misrepresenting the Dissenters of his own Diocese: Though had they been as faulty as he repre- sented them, no just Argument could have been drawn from thence against the Body of the Dissenters in gen- eral, who were universally known to be free from several of the Faults he charg'd them with. His Argument did not strike much, and brought no great Credit to his own Church, nor any disreputation to the Dissenters in

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An. 1694.

***Mr. Owen's Defence of Presbyterian Ordination.***

general, who were better known to the World than to him, if those that he publish'd were the Notions of them which he entertain'd.

Now also came out a *Plea for Scripture Ordination*; Or Ten Arguments from Scripture and Antiquity; pro- viding Ordination by *Presbyters*, without *Bishops* to be va- lid: By Mr. *James Owen*, in 8vo.

His Assertion, he States thus:

*That such as are set apart with Imposition of Hands, for the Office of the Ministry, by Gospel Ministers, without the species of Church Officers, who claim a supuior Power over Presbyters, are regularly Ordain'd, and their Ordination is valid according to the Scriptures,*

He proves it thus.

1. Because this Ordination hath all the Scripture requisits, either in the Ordainers, the Ordained, or the Circumstances of Ordination.

2. Because we have Scripture Examples of such Ordination as theirs.

3. Because Presbyters have as real a Power to Ordain, as they have to Preach the Gospel, to Baptize, and to Administer the Lords Supper.

4. Because this sort of Ordination is the same with the Ordinations in the Reformed Churches beyond Sea.

5. Because it is better than the Ordination of the Church of *Rome*, which is not contested.

6. Ordination by Presbyters is therefore valid, because they have Power to impose Hands in Ordination.

7. Because among the *Jews* anyone that was Ordain'd himself might Ordain another.

8. Because Ordination by Presbyters is perform'd by Persons who have the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven committed to them.

9. Because Orders conferr'd by Presbyters, are conferr'd by such as are in Orders, and have the Power of Order equally with the highest Bishop.

10. Because Ordination by Presbyters was valid in the Primitive Church.

Some Years after, the same Author wrote a *Defence of Scripture Ordination*, against the Exceptions of *T.G.*; in which among other Things, he shews that *Timothy* and *Titus* were no Diocesan Rulers: That the Presby-

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ters of *Ephesus* were the Apostles Successors in the Government of that Church, and not *Timothy*: That the First Epistle to *Timothy* was written before the Meeting at *Miletus*: And that the Ancient *Waldenses* had no Diocesan Bishops.

An. 1695.

***A Defence of the Archbishops Funeral Sermons for the Queen.***

This Year came out a Defence of the Archbishops Sermon on the Death of Her late Majesty; and of the Sermons of the late Archbishop, Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, Bishop of *Ely*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Sherlock* Dr. *Wake*, Mr. *Fleetwood*, &c. preach'd upon that and several other Solemn Occasions: Being a Vindication of the late Queen, His present Majesty, and the Government from the malicious Aspersions cast upon them in Two late Pamphlets; One Entituled, *Remarks on some late Sermons*, &c. The other, *A Letter to the Author of a Sermon preach'd at the Funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary*. The Clergy that fell in with the Government were charg'd as acting *inconsistently with their former Principles and Practices*. 'Tis here declar'd, that Passive Obedience as cried up in the late Times, was never the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, though it was given out as her Characteristick by a Party who did arrogate that Title. 'Twas said, *That all the Liberty the Ndtion enjoys under the Blessed Revolution, is a Liberty of giving Seven or Eight Millions Year after Year, and a Liberty of loosing as much more; a Liberty of being first made Poor, and then famish'd and starv'd; a Liberty of having our Brethren and Countrymen sent into Foreign Countries to be knock'd on the head; a Liberty of being scorn'd by all Mankind, as the most treacherous and perfidious Nation in the World. And last of all, a Liberty of being impoverish'd beyond Repair, and being ruin'd for ever; and that none can shew any Liberty besides as the direct and immediate Fruits of the Revolution*. Which was thus nobly Answer'd, 'We are now deliver'd, from a Popish King on the 'Throne, professed Jesuits, and other Papists, in our 'Council, Parliament, Benches, Army, Fleet, and

'Universities; nor are we now in hazard of having a  
'Supposititious Heir of the Crown impos'd upon us, and  
'Educated in the *Romish* Communion, to the Ruin both  
'of our Religion and Property. We are now at Li-  
'berty, (and have done it accordingly in a good Mea-  
'sure) to make such Laws, and take such other Methods  
'as are most proper to preserve us from such Dangers

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'in Time to come. All *Protestants* are now at Liberty  
'to Worship God according as they are perswaded in  
'their Conscience is most agreeable to his Will, with-  
'out fear of being ruin'd in their Persons or Estates, by  
'any Faction, prompted thereunto by the Court, or  
'without hazard of having any Party of Protestants  
'joyn with Papists, to overthrow the Church as by Law  
'Establish'd, that so they may procure ease to them-  
'selves. We are now deliver'd from having the Char-  
'ters of our Cities and Corporations seiz'd by *quo War-*  
'*rantos*, Sheriffs impos'd, and Juries pack'd, to ruin  
'the Lives and Estates of such as the Court pleas'd;  
'and cut off the chief of our Protestant Nobility, by  
'wrested Forms of Law. We are now deliver'd from  
'having the Throats of our Peers and Magistrates cut,  
'and the Scandal of it thrown on themselves: We are  
'now deliver'd from all Restraints upon those who  
'have a Right to Vote for Members of Parliament,  
'and are in no fear of having a Court Faction impos'd  
'upon us as the Representatives of the Nation. We  
'are now deliver'd from a Power of dispensing with  
'Laws, and a Set of Judges and Ecclesiasticks, who  
'advanc'd the Kings Power above all Laws. We are  
'now assur'd of a Priviledge of having a new Parlia-  
'ment once in Three Years: And we are now deliver'd  
'from all apprehensions of the Courts joyning with  
'*France* to enslave us, or bringing in of *French* and *Irish*  
'Papists to endanger our Lives and Estates. We are  
'now secur'd against the keeping up of a standing Ar-

‘my in Time of Peace, and have Liberty to enquire  
 ‘which Way the Money of the Nation is spent, and  
 ‘to punish those that mispend it. We are now deli-  
 ‘ver’d from the fear of being invaded by our Neigh-  
 ‘bours of *Scotland*, where our late Princes had procur’d  
 ‘an Act of Parliament for a numerous Army, to over-  
 ‘awe us into a compliance with the Designs set on foot  
 ‘to bring in Popery and Slavery. We are now deli-  
 ‘ver’d from all fear of losing the *English* and Protestant  
 ‘Interest in *Ireland*, by having the Government of that  
 ‘Kingdom put into the Hands of *Irish* Papists: And  
 ‘we are also deliver’d from all Fears of an Invasion  
 ‘from thence. We are now deliver’d from all Danger  
 ‘of being engag’d in a War upon every trivial Occasion  
 ‘with our Protestant Allies, the *Dutch*; and being

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‘made the inglorious and unhappy Tools of contribu-  
 ‘ting to the Ruin, of the Reformed Religion in *Europe*.  
 ‘We are now delivered from an illegal High Commissi-  
 ‘on, compos’d of Papists and corrupt Protestants, to  
 ‘Ruin our Church and Universities. We are now de-  
 ‘liver’d from Regulators to turn out such Magistrates  
 ‘of Corporations, and Commissioners of the Peace, as  
 ‘will not agree to repeal those Laws which secure our  
 ‘Religion. We are now delivered from all Fear of  
 ‘having Papists to be our Magistrates and Legislators;  
 ‘or having our Nobility and Gentry prosecuted as Cri-  
 ‘minals, for advising not to obey the Orders of such  
 ‘Magistrates. We are now delivered from having Mo-  
 ‘ney levied for the Use of the Crown, by pretence of  
 ‘Prerogative. We are now delivered from excessive  
 ‘Bails and Fines, and cruel unusual Punishments: Nor  
 ‘are our Representatives in Parliament now prosecuted  
 ‘for freedom of Speech. These are the direct and im-  
 ‘mediate Fruits of the Revolution.

Whereas Archbishop *Tillotson* was accus’d of turning  
 out Archbishop *Sancroft* from his legal and rightful Possessi-

*on, in a most violent and barbarous Manner: 'Tis here answer'd, that the whole Kingdom knows that the one was legally turn'd out, and the other as legally put in, if the Authority of King and Parliament may be accounted Law. And that Archbishop Sancroft was more severely dealt with for Petitioning King James, than ever he was for disowning King William; and Guilty of a greater inconsistency in his Practices, than any could be fasten'd upon Archbishop Tillotson.*

And it being said, *That all the World was satisfied in the Legitimacy of the Prince of Wales; And that the King and Queen stigmatiz'd him as suppositions, contrary to their own Knowledge; An Answer is return'd in these Words following:*

'Does our Author think, that those fulsome Depositions after the Prince of Orange's Design was known, 'have convinc'd the World of that pretended Princes 'Legitimacy? Or does he think that such Evidence as 'that, Part whereof may be very consistent with an Im- 'posture, and the other Part sworn by such as had their 'dependence on the late King, and were known to 'have prostituted their Consciences to the Court, is 'sufficient to satisfie the World? What Account can our

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'Author give, that there was not as much Pains taken 'to satisfy the World of the Queens Pregnancy and 'Birth, when if it had been real, it might have been 'uncontrovenably prov'd by as unexceptionable Evi- 'dence, as there was to prove the Birth afterwards? 'Would it have been any Thing more inconsistent with 'Majesty, to have condescended to give satisfying Evi- 'dence of a Thing that was so vehemently suspected 'beforehand, than to submit to give unsatisfactory and 'exceptionable Proof of it afterwards?—Suppose the 'Queens Pride would not give Way to it, was She not 'a Subject that could have been commanded by the King 'Her Husband? Or if He had been loth to thwart Her

‘in that Condition, might he not have had such Evidence present at the Time of her Labour, without Her previous Knowledge, as the Nation would have given Credit to? Would it have been any Thing more derogatory from Her Modesty to have been brought to Bed before such Evidences as these, than it was for an Empress to be deliver’d on a Stage, in the middle of a Camp, because Her Pregnancy was suspected on Account of Her Years? What Reason can be assign’d why the Examination of that Affair was not submitted to the Parliament as the Prince of *Orange* desir’d? Why the Two Ladies, appointed to be Witnesses of the Birth by the Princess of *Denmark*, should not have been sent for, till the Time was past? Why the pretended Evidence, who were the most particular, should have been carried to *France* out of the reach of Examination? And how did the Princess stigmatize Her Brother contrary to Her own Knowledge? Was She present at the Delivery, or had She any Deputies present for Her? Did this Author never read of Queen *Mary’s* Design to impose upon the Nation, in like Manner, and on the same Account, *viz.* to Entail Popery upon us? And why should we think that *Mary of Modena* was less Zealous for her Religion than *Mary Tudor*? Is there not a Cheat of the same Nature, and manag’d in the same Manner, mention’d in *Sider-sin’s* Reports, *Temp. Car.* 2. Fol. 377. of a Woman pretended to be deliver’d within Bed by a Midwife, and yet the Imposture discover’d afterwards by the Deposition of the real Mother, and the said Midwife? Now what can our Author say in Opposition to

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‘these Presumptions of a Cheat? And why the Prince and Princess of *Orange* ought not to have been satisfy’d as to the scruples about it? But instead of that, that the Principal Evidence should be carried whither there cannot be any access to examine them? The



‘chief Thing they have to say, is the late King’s own  
 ‘Evidence; but besides that he cannot be look’d on as  
 ‘impartial in the Case; why should we think that the  
 ‘Church of *Rome*, that could dispense with His Coro-  
 ‘nation Oath, by which he was oblig’d to Govern ac-  
 ‘cording to Law, and preserve the Church of *England*,  
 ‘whereas he did plainly attempt the subversion of both;  
 ‘I say, why might not the Church of *Rome* as well dis-  
 ‘pense with him to Swear falsly in this Case, as to  
 ‘break his Oath in the other, seeing both were for the  
 ‘advantage of the Catholick Cause? And yet that bi-  
 ‘gotted Prince might think he was doing God good Ser-  
 ‘vice all the while: For its very well known that the  
 ‘breach of Faith, and the most barbarous Murders and  
 ‘Massacres are esteem’d hallowed Means by the Church  
 ‘of *Rome* to accomplish her wicked Ends. No Body  
 ‘can doubt this, who has ever seen the Popes Chappel,  
 ‘where the *French* Massacre was represented, and the  
 ‘Admiral thrown out of the Window with these Words  
 ‘at bottom, *Pontifex Colinii necem probat*: And indeed  
 ‘the Present to the Lady of *Loretto* by the Queens Mo-  
 ‘ther, and the Kings Pilgrimage to St. *Winifred’s* Well,  
 ‘to usher in this Pregnancy, gives the Face of a studied  
 ‘Popish Cheat to the whole Affair, &c.

A new Parliament was call’d and met this Year. The  
 Assassination Plot broke out, and made a great Noise.  
 King *William* was to have been Murder’d, and an Inva-  
 sion was to have follow’d. King *James* came down to  
*Calais* waiting for the Success of the Conspiracy, but  
 Providence again appear’d in our Favour. Mr. *Pender-*  
*grass* and Mr. *De la Rue* made a full Discovery; and the  
 Parliament drew up an *Association*, ordering it to be  
 Sign’d by all their Members: And so the Government  
 was considerably strengthen’d by that which was intend-  
 ed to overthrow it.

#### *Debates about the Trinity.*

This Year arose a great Contest in the Church of  
*England* about the Doctrine of the *Trinity*. Dr. *Sherlock*

wrote upon that Subject, and asserted Three *distinct Minds*; and was thereupon violently Attack'd by Dr.

*South,*

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*South,* and charg'd with having Three distinct Gods. And while one charg'd the other with *Tritheism*, he retorted upon his Antagonist a Charge of *Sabellianism*. This made a great Noise, and many Pamphlets were Written; One venting Dr. *Sherlocks*, Notions in a Sermon before the University of *Oxford*, was Censur'd, and a Decree pass'd in the Convocation of that University, condemning those Notions as *contrary to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, and especially to the Doctrine of the Church of England publicly receiv'd*. His Majesty therefore gave forth *Injunctions for Unity in the Church*: Ordering that no other Doctrine concerning the *Trinity* should be deliver'd than what was contain'd in Scripture, and agreeable to the Three Creeds, and the Thirty nine Articles. That new Terms should be avoided: And publick Opposition between Preachers, and bitter invectives and scurrilous Language against any Persons whatsoever. And that the same Care should be taken hereof in Writing as in Preaching. The Archbishop also sent forth his Circular Letter, Dated *July* the 16th, this Year, containing many Rules and Orders fit for general Observation.\*

#### **The Dissenters still divided.**

The Dissenters still continu'd their Doctrinal Contentions. An Attempt was now made for a Reunion among them. There was an Offer on one Side to renounce *Arminianism*, if the other Side would but renounce *Antinomianism*; but it did not succeed. (1.) A little after, a few particular Ministers of both sorts, privately drew up a Paper, with a Design to use their Interest to get both Sides to Sign it. (2.).

But this created new Heats, instead  
of extinguishing the old ones. Some  
were Zealous for it, and complain'd  
much that it was not accepted:  
Others were as much against it;  
and that among other Reasons, be-  
cause it bore hard upon Mr. *Willi-*  
*ams.* (3.) And not long after, fol-  
low'd an Attack upon his Reputation which was so  
peculiar, as scarce to admit of any Precedent; and was  
far from recommending the Dissenters as to their Can-

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\* *It may be seen at large, Compleat History of England, Vol. 3, p. 714.*

(1.) *The Paper drawn up for the Purpose, may be seen at large, in the Faithful Rebuke to a false Report, p. 22.* (2.) *This which (by Reason of what happen'd afterwards) was commonly call'd the First Paper, may be seen in the Report of the Present State of the Differences in Doctrinals between some Dissenting Ministers in London, pag. 11.* (3.) *See Faithful Rebuke, p. 28.*

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dor or Conduct to Standers by. I enter not into Particulars, out of unwillingness to revive, what they that are Wise on all Sides had rather should remain bury'd in Oblivion. I shall only say that the Ends of some Persons were not Answer'd. Afterwards a new Clamour was rais'd against Mr. *Williams*, as denying that *Change of Persons* between Christ and Believers, that was necessary to the right Stating the Doctrine of *Satisfaction* against the *Socinians*. Upon this, Mr. *Williams* wrote a Letter to Mr. *John Humfrey* giving his Sense of that Matter: And Mr. *Lob* wrote another Letter to Dr. *Bates*; arguing that either Mr. *Williams* was not found in the Point before mention'd, or else the Doctor had not represented it rightly in his *Harmony*, Printed many Years before. Mr. *Thomas Goodwin* also, now publish'd his Discourse of the True Nature of the *Gospel*, which he would not allow to be a *Law*: But as it fell out, the Church Party could not insult them with any great Decency, since they had as warm Contests among them, upon another Head.

*An. 1695.*

Several were this Year Executed for the Assassination Plot, (in which no Dissenter as I know of was ever charg'd with being concern'd) and among the rest, Sir *William Perkins* and Sir *John Friend*; who at the Gallows were Absolv'd with Imposition of Hands, by Mr. *Collier*, Mr. *Cook*, and Mr. *Snatt*, Three Non-jurors. And the Archbishops and all the Bishops then in Town, to the Number of Fourteen, publish'd a Declaration against this Action of theirs, as extremely insolent, and without Precedent in the Manner, and altogether irregular in the Thing itself. And these Absolvers were Presented, and Indicted, and Imprison'd, but receiv'd no farther Punishment, though one of them publish'd a Justification of his Practice.

The Dissenters continued divided, and a Second, and a Third Paper were drawn up in Order to the accommodating Matters but in vain. It look'd as if the Creed making Age were again reviv'd. But where there is a Disposition to quarrel, 'tis an easie Thing to find an Occasion. Their Divisions were this Year reflected on by Bishop *Stillingfleet*, in his Charge at a Visitation at *Worcester*. He thereupon Charges them as very *defective in their Discipline*.<sup>\*</sup> But had there been more *Discipline* in the Establish'd Church, (of which they have

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<sup>\*</sup> See his *Ecclesiastical Cases*, Vol. 1. p. 99, 100.

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An. 1691.

no great Occasion to make their boasts) this Accusation might have been pursu'd with the more Grace. Mr. *Lorimer* now publish'd his Remarks on Mr. *Goodwins* Discourse of the Gospel: In which he proves that the Gospel Covenant is a Law of Grace.

#### *The Societies for Reformation.*

This Year the Peace was made at *Ryswick*. There were hot Debates about keeping up standing Forces afterwards: But they were soon over. The Commons Address'd the King for a Proclamation against Prophaneness and Immorality, which was accordingly pub-

lish'd. *This* (as our late Historian observes) *gave a new zeal to the Worthy Persons who had engag'd themselves in voluntary Societies for the Reformation of Manners, who had soon after, their Publick Sermons and Assemblies at Bow Church; (and he might have added at Salters Hall too) to animate the good Work.* This was indeed a Work that needed all Hands; and since the *Dissenters* as readily gave their Assistance in it as any, by Meeting, Consulting, Contributing to the Charge of it, Preaching, and giving Informations, &c. I don't see why it should not be taken notice of.

***Dissenters Prosecuted.***

The War being now at an End Abroad, an ill Temper began too generally to appear at Home. The very Liberty of the Dissenters to Worship God in their own Way had all along been a Grievance to many: And their bearing hard upon them at this Time in several Instances, where the Act of Indulgence had not formally reliev'd them, is an Evidence that if they did not revive all the former Severities against them, 'twas not for want of good Will. Several at this Time met with trouble for instructing Youth. Among others, Mr. *Joshua Oldfield* then Pastor of a Congregation of Dissenters in *Coventry*, who had according to Law declar'd against Popery, and subscrib'd to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* contain'd in its Establish'd Articles, who had also sworn Allegiance to the Government, and Associated for it, was upon a suspicion of his instructing Youth in some sort of Learning, cited on the 6th of *October* this Year, to appear in the Ecclesiastical Court to be held at *Coventry* on the 14th, for the Diocese of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. Where upon the Judges Charge of Teaching

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\* *Compleat History of England, Vol. 3. p. 746.*

without Licence, he demanded a Copy of the Libel of Articles against him; but was put off, and forc'd to amend again for it Twenty Miles off at *Litchfield*, on the 26th. There he receiv'd a Libel *ex Officio* for Teaching without Licence, and without Subscription to the whole Book of Common Prayer, and Thirty nine Articles of the Church entire, contrary to the 77th Canon, though he was not so much as accus'd as deficient in any other Qualification requir'd therein, or as chargeable with any other Crime whatever. His present Answer was earnestly solicited by the Judge; nor could he obtain a longer Time or nearer Place for it than the Court Day following, *Nov. 9.* at *Litchfield*. He then answer'd by his Proctor; and one of his Family being occasionally Present, was by the Judge himself terrify'd with the threatening of *Excommunication*, into the taking of an Oath to accuse the Defendant, which he avoided by withdrawing himself, before the Hour appointed for his Examination. But coming to *London*; the Defendant at a considerable Expence obtain'd a Prohibition in Form, in the Court of *Kings Bench*, by which the Prosecution was stopp'd. I have here added a Copy of the Libel in the Margin for the gratification of the Curious.\*

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 \* In Dei Noīe Amen, nos *Richardus Raines*, Miles Legu' Dr. Vicarius in Spu'alibus gen'lis Reu'di in Cto Patris et dom' dom' Wmī perne Diā Lichen' et Covenn' Epi Curiaēque suæ Cons Epalis Lichen' Officialis Princ' Itime fulcitus Tibi *Joshua Oldfield* de Civitate Coven' Lichen' & Coven' Dioces' Arlos Capitula sive Interria subsequen mera animæ tuæ salm morungue Tuorum reformataconem et præsertim puerorn Eruditionem sine Lea in ea parte prius obtenta concernen' ex Officio nro ad promoconem *Nath Hinckes* Norii Pubci Officii Dni Judids promotoris necessar' assignati damus obmus & ministamus, &c.

1. *Inpris* Tibi Presatu *Joshua Oldfield* obmus et Arlamur Quod tu seis, &c. Quod omnes & singuli qui de et super Criminibus Excessibus aut delictis fid unt et sunt Criminosi et Culpabiles Juxta leges statuta canones et Constitucones Ecclīcas in ea parte edit' et provis' sunt et sunt corrigend' et puniend' et obmus et Arlamur conijj divijj et de quolet.

2. *Item*

The Defendant obtain'd a stay of the Proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Court, and brought up the Matter to be argu'd at the *Kings Bench*, where it was depending Three or Four Terms, to his great Trouble and Charge. A Prohibition was at length obtain'd, and was to have been solemnly Argu'd, but that the Ecclesiastical Court thought fit to let the Cause fall: Not without intimation from his Majesty, (upon his having the State of the Case laid before him,) that he was not pleas'd with such Prosecutions. Mr. *Frankland's* Case was Parallel to this, only went much farther, for he was Excommunicated: And several others met with Trouble about this Time upon the like Account.

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2. *Item* Tibi prefato *Joshua Oldfield* obmus et Arlamur Quod inter Canones et Constitucones Ecclīcas in eoru' robore existen' et presertim per 77 Canonem sive Constituconem Canonu' fact' in Synodo inchoat' Londini Anno Dni 1603. inter alia Ordinatu' et Constitutu' est prout sequitur, vizt. *No Man shall Teach in Publick School or Private House but such as shall be allowed by the Bishop of the Diocese, or Ordinary of the place under his Hand and Seal, being found meet as well for his Learning and Dexterity in Teaching as for sober and honest Conversation, and also for right Understanding of Gods true Religion. And also except he shall first subscribe to the First and Third Articles aforementioned simply and to the two first Clauses of the Second Article. Prout per eund' Canonem au quem nos referimus et pro hic lect' et insert' heri vult et petit' pars ista promovens quatus sibi expedit plenius liquet et apparet et p' ut supra.*

3. *Item* Quod premissis non obstantibus Mensibus Maij, &c. et Martii 1695. ac Martii, &c. 1696. Nec non Manii, &c. et Octobris hoc instan' et jam curren', Anno Dni 1697. Eorumve, &c. *You the said Joshua Oldfield have Taught in a Publick School, or in your own or some other Private House, Scituate in the City of Coventry within the Diocese of Litchfield and Coventry, without any Licence from, or allowance by the Bishop of the Diocese, or Ordinary of the place under his Hand and Seal; and without first subscribing to the First and Third Articles, and to the two First Clauses of the Second Article mentioned in the Canon set forth in the First Article of these Articles. Et obmus et arlamur ut supra.*

4. *Item* Quod rone premissorn' Tu prefatus *Joshua Oldfield* in pænam Juris Incidisti et obmus et Arlamur ut supra.

5. *Item* Quod Tu prefatus *Joshua Oldfield* fuisti et es de Civitate Coven' Lichen' et Coven' Dioces', &c.

6. *Item* Quod premissa, &c.

Now

***The Beginning of the Convocation Controversy.***

Now came out the famous *Letter to a Convocation Man* concerning the Rights, Powers, and Priviledges of that Body. The Author declares, That there was at this Time as great need of a Convocation; as ever there was since Christianity was establish'd in this Kingdom. He represents the Danger from the Socinians, and other Subverters of the Catholick Faith: Pleads the Insufficiency of the Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction, and of the Authority of the Universities, to give a suitable Remedy; and intimates, that the Parliament's meddling would not be so proper. He asserts, that *a Convocation is as much a Part of the Constitution, as a Parliament it self.* He complains of the disuse of it, and the defeating the Ends of it, by repeated unwarrantable Adjournments during the Life of the last Metropolitan. He puts the King in Mind of his Coronation Oath to preserve the Rights of the Church of *England* intire; and insinuates that the Church of *England* might expect from him, as tender a Concern for her Welfare and Interests, as that of *Scotland* had had, by means of *General Assemblies*, often conven'd. He represents a Convocation as a Spiritual Parliament, and the Lower House of it he calls the *Commons Spiritual*: And says, That *the King is intrusted with the Power of convening Synods and Convocations, in Respect to the Church, as he is with summoning Parliaments for the Redress of Grievances, and the Publick Safety of the Nation, in the same Manner, and under the same Limitations.* He pleads that a Writ ought to be issu'd for a Convocation, whensoever a Summons goes out for a Parliament; and in Proof hereof, he (among other Things) urges a Clause in the ancient Writ whereby the Bishops were summon'd to Parliament, which was a *Præmonition* or Warning they were requir'd to give to their Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and the Clergy of their Dioceses, about their Presence in Parliament, in Order to form a Lower House of Convocation. He affirms also that a Convocation when sum-



mon'd and met, is at Liberty to confer and treat about Matters proper to their Cognizance. He argues against the Need of a Licence to treat and debate: And asserts that the Convocation has a Power of proceeding against any Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, for Heresy or Schism, or any other Spiritual Offence that is not re-

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strain'd by any Act of Parliament whatsoever: And that their Canons need not a Parliamentary Confirmation, provided they do not impugn Common Law, Statutes, Customs, or Prerogative. Here began a Contest which is not yet come to an End, and it is not easy to say when it will.

An Answer to this Letter was soon publish'd by Dr. *Wake*, entituled, *The Authority of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods*, in 8vo; and dedicated to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He charges the Author of the Letter, with some farther Design in publishing it, than barely to assert the Rights of the Clergy and Convocation. He begins with considering the *Right* of a Convocation to meet and fit; and takes a Compass, because the Matter tho' important had not been so well consider'd as it deserv'd. He asserts that Christian Princes have a right not only to exercise Authority over Ecclesiastical Persons, but to interpose in ordering Ecclesiastical Affairs too. One great Part of this Authority, has consisted in the Power to convene Synods, and order what relates to their Assembling and Acting. It was always a Part of the Princes Prerogative, that no Societies should be incorporated, nor Companies meet without his Permission, The ancient Synods were conven'd by the Imperial Authority. It was so as to the greater Councils and lesser Synods. No Assemblies of the Clergy were suffer'd, but by the leave of the Emperors, and according to their Direction. And what Power the Emperors heretofore laid claim to in the whole Empire, the same succeeding Princes

have continu'd to assert, within their own particular Dominions. 'Twas thus in *Spain, Geermany, France, &c.* This Author observes, That when the Civil Magistrate advised with the Clergy about calling a Synod, it was not look'd upon as a Matter of Right; and that he often call'd Synods together without such Advice: That when the Bishops have desir'd a Council earnestly, and it has been refused by the Magistrate, they have submitted, and not reckon'd they had a Right to meet without Leave: Nor were the stated Provincial Councils held without their Leave, or against their Consent. And when a Synod was resolved on, the Prince determin'd or allow'd, Time and Place of meeting: And also appointed what Persons should come to them.

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*P.* 10.

*P.* 13.

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*P.* 30.

*P.* 36.

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When Synods are assembled, he asserts that the Civil Magistrate has a Right to prescribe the Matters on which they are to debate: And also the Manner and Method of their Proceedings in them: And if he pleases; to sit in them and preside over them, or appoint his Commissioner to do it in his stead: That they cannot dissolve themselves, and depart from such Council till he gives them a Licence: And that their Definitions are no farther Obligatory, than as ratified and confirmed by the Civil Authority. For he declares, the Prince is not oblig'd to confirm whatsoever the Clergy shall think fit to determine; that he must be allow'd a Power of annulling and rejecting what they have done, if it appears hurtful and unjust; to annul Part and confirm Part if he sees good; and to alter or improve it, to add to, or take from it; and that the Prince has this Power over the

judicial Determinations of his Synods, as well as over their Canonical Resolutions. He proves from History of Times past, that thus it has been all along: And declares that these Priviledges belong to the Christian Magistrate as such: And therefore that every Sovereign Prince, has a Right to exercise this Authority within his Dominions; and the Kings of *England* among the rest.

He farther asserts, That by our own Constitution, the King of *England* has all that Power over an *English* Convocation, that ever any Christian Prince had over his Synods. He has Authority to call the Clergy together in Convocation, to appoint the Time and Place of their meeting, and who shall come to it; nor are they to fit or act, but when and as often as he thinks fit; which has commonly been to give Money, after which they have been dismiss'd. A Convocation has been call'd with the Parliament, because it has been used to give Money with it: But the Clergy now not assessing themselves, it were no great Matter whether they had a Right to be summon'd or no.

When they are met they can't confer, or make Canons without the King's Licence. They may deliberate of what might usefully be considered, but mayn't proceed to any Canonical Debates or Resolutions about any Thing, but according to his Special Direction. Anciently they were won't to judge of Heresy in Convo-

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P. 44.

P. 56. &c.

P. 64.

P. 70.

P. 79.

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cation: But then 'twas not so much the Convocation that judg'd, as the Archbishop in Convocation; and that with the King's Leave; who may prohibit in such Cases, or receive an Appeal, and Confirm, Sus-

pend, or Annul Sentence as he finds to be reasonable. They cannot break up at Pleasure, but must continue to sit, as long as the King shall think fit to require them so to do: Nor can they execute any Canons without the Royal Assent; nor indeed with it, can they execute any Canons against the Prerogative of the King, the Common or Statute Law, or against any Custom of the Realm.

After this, he gives an Historical Deduction of the State of the Convocation, from the first Conversion of of the *Saxons* to our own Days: And then in Opposition to the Author of the Letter, he denies the inherent Authority of the Church to make Synodical Authoritative Definitions. He denies, that the sitting of Convocations is any of the Rights of the Church (unless by accident) and much more its chief Right. He asserts that its safer for them to act in Convocation under the King's Direction, than at the Motion of every warm unthinking Member of their own Body. *It is* (says he) *more than probable that had not the Prince a Tie upon us, we should before this Time have run our selves into yet worser Divisions than we now labour under; and in all Appearance have expos'd both our selves and the Church, for a Prey to the common Enemy of both.* He declares himself not satisfied that the Convocation is of the same Power with regard to the Church, that the Parliament is, in respect of the State: And asserts a greater Need of frequent Parliaments, than of frequent Convocations. He says, That were it still the principal Business of a Convocation (as heretofore) to give Money to the Government, instead of a Vindication of its Right to sit, we should rather have seen a Complaint against the Charge and Trouble of it. He asserts that the Convocation now debated of, is summon'd by another Sort of Writ than that which heretofore came together by Vertue of the *Præmonition*, &c. to the Bishop, and that it consists of another Sort of Persons, and is quite another Thing: And that the

25th of *Henry VIII.* has restor'd the Crown to its Royal Authority, and put the Power of directing the

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*P.* 147, &c.

*P.* 284.

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Convocation into the King's Hands, where it ought to be. This (he says) is the Sense of that Stature that has universally obtain'd, and been confirm'd by constant Practice; and been acquiesc'd in, by those whose Interest it was to have declared against this Sense of it. For no Convocation since this Act, has ever refus'd the King's Licence when sent, or protested against it, or ventur'd to proceed to confer, deliberate, and make Canons, without it. He pleads that the King might keep his *Coronation Oath*, and that *Magna Charta* might be as sacredly observ'd, as anyone could wish it should be, tho' the Clergy be not allow'd all that unreasonable Liberty which some Men plead for on their Behalf. He charges the Author of the Letter with Acting, as if he intended rather to reflect upon the Administration of Affairs, and to raise Discontents in Men's Minds against the Government, than to do any Service either to Religion or the Church.

He pleads that Synods may in some Cases be *useless*, and sometimes *hurtful*; and are not to be call'd together, when their Meeting is likely to turn to the Prejudice of the Church. As for *Libertines*, he says 'tis ridiculous to think that all the Synods in the World should ever be able to perswade them. They that are not to be restrained by what has been already determined in Matters of Faith, will much less regard any new Decisions that can be made against them. He adds, That the King might as well assemble his Parliament to try a Thief or Felon, as his Convocation to convict a Man of Heresy or Schism. Where Discipline is defective, a Convocation may be needful to consider a Remedy: But (says this Author) I am afraid our

Distemper is become too great to be healed: And that we are uncapable of such a Discipline, as, above all Things, we the most want. And he adds, *When Men's Passions are let loose, and their Minds disorder'd: When their Interests and Designs, their Friends and their Parties, nay, their very Judgments and Principles, lead them different Ways; and they agree in nothing so much as in being very Peevish and Angry with one another: When their very Reason is deprav'd, and they judge not according to Truth or Evidence, but with respect of Persons; and every one opposes what another of a different Perswasion either moves or approves of: What Good can the Prince propose to himself,*

or

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*or any wise Man hope for, from any Assembly that can be brought together, under the unhappy Influence of these, and the like Prepositions?*

The the Author declares himself very sensible of the Looseness of Men's Principles and Practices, yet he intimates he is perswaded that should a Convocation meet to repress it, under present Circumstances, it would only expose its own Authority, and our Religion, to the greater Contempt of Profane and Wicked Men. He declares he sees no need of the meeting of a Convocation against Scepticism, Deism, Atheism, or Socinianism, or any Attempts for an Universal Toleration; or what Use it would be of in any of these Respects: He argues upon the Point of declaring those Hereticks, that had departed from the common Doctrine; shews how likely the Convocation would be to fly into Heats and Parties, and after all do nothing but expose themselves, and goes on saying; *Whilst Pride and Peevishness, Hatred and Ill-will, Divisions and Discontents, prevail among those who should teach and correct others; and instead of improving a true Spirit of Piety and Purity, Love and Charity, peaceableness and Humility, we mind*

little else but our several Interests, and Quarrels, and Contentions with one another, what Wonder if we see but little Success of our Ministry, and are but little regarded upon the Account of it: And he concludes with this Observation, That the only Way to deal with some Persons, is to treat them as they deserve: And to let them know, that those are unworthy the Protection of the Government, who are embark'd in an Interest different from it; and refuse to contribute to the Necessities of it.

This was soon answer'd by a Book call'd *Municipium Ecclesiasticum*; or the Rights liberties and Authorities of the Christian Church: Affected against all oppressive Doctrines and Constitutions. The Author seems surpriz'd that such a Man as the Doctor should appear in such a Cause. He charges him with *Erastian Divinity*. He represents his Principle as worse than that of the Independents, because it has no Authority but humane Prudence at the Bottom. Tells him, that if he should preach up his Maxims but on the other Side *Tweed*, they would quickly bring him to the Stool of Repentance. He complains of his scheme, where the Prince is of a different Religion from the People. But this Author

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lays the Grounds of Synodical Authority in a Divine Charter; and calls the Doctor's an *enslaving Hypothesis*, charging it with breaking in upon a Divine Right. He is very angry that the Doctor should look upon Synods but as prudential Clubs. He says the Clergy only are the poor, tame, dispirited, drowsie Body, that are in love with their own Fetters: And complains that the Powers of the Church are chain'd down to mere Politick Ends and Services. He wonders how a Claim of an oppressive Supremacy, can be deem'd a glorious Jewel in a Christian Crown, which if exercised, must of Necessity forfeit the King's Salvation! and asks if it is not a dangerous Complaisance in Priests, to fann

such an Ambition, as must end in the Ruin of the Church, the Priesthood, and the Soul of the Prince? To the Doctor's Examples as to the Power of the *Jewish* Kings, *Roman* Emperors, and other Princes, and particularly *Saxons*, he says they prove no Right: And is concern'd, that every Act of uncontrollable Tyranny, should pass with the Doctor under the Reputation of Authority. He charges the Doctor with using his generous Adversary, not only with extream Spight, but undeserv'd Contempt: And with being guilty of a great many Incongruities: And at last concludes with a Wish, that he might humble himself to God for the Wrongs he had done to the Church, and when he has done so, he doubts not but he would quickly endeavour to make her Reparation.

Dr. *Hellier* also this Year publish'd a Treatise concerning *Schism* and *Schismatics*, wherein the chief Grounds and Principles of a late Separation from the Church of *England* are consider'd and answer'd. He says Men seem to be hard put to it to find a Cause of Separation, when Protestants are forc'd to take up old confuted Popery, to ground it upon. If they had never so just a State Quarrel on the Account of a Popish Prince, one would think they should scarcely part with the Principles of their own Religion for the sake of him.

The Dissenters still continu'd divided, and that to such a Degree, that they could no longer keep their Differences private among themselves; but published an Account of them to the World; as if they were afraid to seem to be united, when the *Church of England* was in so divided a State. Now came out a *Report*

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of the present State of the *Differences in Doctrinals*, between some Dissenting Ministers in *London*, written by Mr. *Lobb*. It was answer'd in a *faithful Rebuke to a false Report*, written by Mr. *Alsop*. And now also came out, *The Righteousness of God revealed in the Gospel*; or



an impartial Inquiry into the genuine Doctrine of *St. Paul*, in the Great, but much controverted Article of *Justification*; by Mr. *John Humphrey* prefaced by the Bishops of *Ely, Worcester, and Chester*.

***The City Sword carried to a Dissenting Meeting.***

This Year Sir *Humphrey Edwin* who was a Dissenter, being Lord Mayor of *London*; carried the *Regalia* with him to a Meeting of Dissenters at *Pinner-Hall*. This Fact had unhappy Consequences both in this and the next Reign; and msny were the Exclamations and Tragical Complaints which it raised. Among others Dr. *Nichols* tells the World,\* That

*to the great reproach of the Laws,  
and of the City Magistracy, be carried the Sword with him to a Nasty  
Conventicle, that, was kept in one of the  
City Halls: which horrid Crime†*

(says he) *one of his own Party defended, by giving this arrogant Reason for it, that by the Act of Parliament by which they have their Liberty, their Religion was as much established as ours. But many who wish'd this Action had been wav'd, as tending to enrage, were yet to seek for the Horridness of the Crime: Nor could they see the great Arrogance, of the Plea; when the Religion that is own'd in Churches and Meetings, is one and the same. A Pamphlet was also now publish'd, called, An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters in Cases of Preferment; of which little Notice was taken at this Time: But it was Republish'd in 1701, when it will in Course fall under Consideration.*

*An. 1698.*

This Year there was a new Parliament; but they did not meddle with Matters of Religion, tho' they had a Committee for Religion as usually.

The old Differences yet continu'd among the Dissenters about Doctrinal Matters. There now came out a *Defence of the Report concerning the present State of the Differences in Doctrinals, between some Dissenting*

*Ministers in London, in Reply to a Book intituled, A faithful Rebuke of that Report: And it was soon follow'd*

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\* Appar. ad Def. Eccl. Angl. p. 108.

† *Atror facinus.*

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with a *Vindication of the faithful Rebuke to a false Report, against the rude Cavils of the pretended Defence: And that also was follow'd with a Pamphlet, entitul'd, A View of an Ecclesiastick in his Socks and Buskins: Or, a just Reprimand given to Mr. Alsop, for his Foppish, Pe-dantick, Destructive, and Petulant Way of Writing.* He that will be at the Pains to read over what was publish'd upon this Occasion, will see Cause to pity the Dissenters, who pelted one another with hard Names, and severe Reflections: And if they themselves will review them, it might be a Warning to them for the future, to leave off Contention before it be meddled with. At length came out Mr. *Lobbs* Appeal to the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Dr. *Jonathan Edwards*, about the Controversy between him and Mr. *Williams*: And the *Congregational* Ministers about the City, publish'd a Declaration against the *Antinomian* Errors.

***The Convocation Controversy continu'd.***

Neither was the Church of *England* now free from Contentions. For Dr. *Wake* publish'd an *Appeal to all the the Members of the Church of England, in behalf of the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy*, as by Law Establish'd, by our Convocations approved; and by our most eminent Bishops and Clergymen stated and defended: And dedicated it as he did his former Book, to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

He seems surpriz'd to find himself charg'd, as if in defending the Authority of the Prince, he had betray'd the Rights of the Church: This he represents as an Evidence that some Men's Resentments are as much beyond, Modesty as they are without Reason. He says, *the Princes Authority* was both the Means by

which the Reformation was carried on, and the Ground on which it was justified; and that he hardly knew any Author of the Church of *England* till now, that pretended the Rights of the Church were infring'd by it: And that all Clergymen of the Church of *England* have solemnly declared their Assent to it, and are oblig'd to their Power to maintain it. He wonders that the Church of *England* should be represented as in a persecuted State, and having been so ever since the *Reformation*; and not so much as a proteded Church till the Act of the Submission of the Clergy is repeal'd.

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He here shews the Sense of the Church of *England* ever since the Reformation, as to the Authority of Christian Princes over the Ecclesiastical Synods of their Realms. He begins with the Act of Submission, 25 *Henry VIII. c. 19*, which continu'd in Force in the Time of *Edward VI*, and was reviv'd 1 *Eliz*; An Oath was fram'd in Recognition of this *Supremacy*, and enjoin'd to be taken by all Officers and Ministers Ecclesiastical and Temporal. The 37th Article of the Church agrees with this Oath; and so do the Canons of 1603. And the most learned Divines and other Writers, ever since have concurr'd. He cites for Proof, *the Institution of a Christian Man*; King *Henry's Declaration against the Council of Mantua*; *The Letter of Tonstal and Stokesly to Cardinal Poole*; *Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions*; and *her Bishops in their Articles*. Here he particularly cites, Archbishop *Whitgift*, Archbishop *Bancroft*, Bishop *Jewel*, Bishop *Bilson*, Dean *Nowel*, Mr. *Hooker*: King *James*; Bishop *Andrews*, Mr. *Mason*. King *Charles I*. Archbishop *Laud*, Archbishop *Bramhall*, Bishop *Davenant*, Dr. *Heylin*. Nor did the Parliament or Convocation after King *Charles II*. Restoration, (tho' zealous enough for the Church; think the Church was at all oppress'd, by the legal Jurisdiction of the Prince over it. Nay, the most eminent Divines

defended the Supremacy upon the Legal Bottom, as Bishop *Taylor* and Others; and among the rest Bishop *Parker*; Dr. *Falkner*, and Dr. *Barrow*.

He asserts, That 'tis the Right of every Christian King to call his Clergy together; that the Persons that meet in our Convocations are determin'd by the King's Writ: And that the Sovereign Legislative Authority may appoint any other Method of framing the Lower House of Convocation (than that which is now usual) that should appear to them more proper and expedient, &c. And adds, That *if for thus defending the King's Authority over the Clergy he ought to be censur'd, he was afraid so great a Part of his Order would go along with him, as would make it scandalous to stay behind: And be number'd among that little, noisy, turbulent Party; who set themselves up as Judges over them. And that he was fully perswaded that nothing at this Day preserv'd them from Rain and Desolation, but their not having Power of themselves to do the Church a Mischief, and to throw all*

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*into Confusion, in such Times of Faction, and Discontent, of Heats and Animosities as the present; to the certain Scandal and Division of the Church; it may be to a new Confusion of all Things in the State too.*

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Mr. *Hill* wrote an Answer to this *Appeal*; and it would have been a long Time before any Convocation had been summon'd, if the Government had staid, 'till they could have agreed what they had a Right to do, when they came together, before a Writ was issu'd out for that Purpose.

In the Session of Parliament this Year, it was complain'd of in the House of Commons, that many Persons dissenting from the Church of *England*, and Men of small Fortunes, were made Justices of the Peace: Which occasioned an Address of that House to his Majesty. And great Complaints also were made of the growth of Popery. An Address was also made to

the King, for a Proclamation against Vice and Immorality, which was issued out accordingly: And a Circular Letter to promote Reformation, was sent by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to all the Bishops of his Province.\*

The Dissenters at length began to grow more cool and calm. A Book was now printed, intituled, *A Plea for Mr. Baxter, and those that speak of the Sufferings of Christ as he does*; And Mr. *Williams* publish'd an *End to Discord*. And some Time after (*viz.* the next Year, tho' I shall mention it here, that I may have no Occasion to return to there Matters again) came out a Discourse of the Bishop of *Worcester's*, concerning the *Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction*: Wherein the *Antinomian* and *Socinian* Controversies about it are truly stated and explained; in Answer to Mr. *Lobb's* Appeal and to several Letters from the Dissenting Parties in *London*. The Bishop very candidly gives an Account what he esteem'd Truth, and what Error, in the Matters that had been debated, and upon what Grounds: But intimates he could see no Occasion for so much Heat: and concludes, *there must be something farther in the Matter, than appear'd to an indifferent and impartial Reader*; which he would not inquire into; no more shall I: But as it is Matter of great Lam-

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\* *It may be seen in the Compleat History of England, Vol. III. p. 776.*

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tation that they should spend the Reign of such a Prince as King *William* in Party Quarrels; so it is to be hop'd, the Sense of the ill Consequences that attend-ed their so doing, will be a Caution for the Future.

### **The Bishop of Sarum's Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles.**

The Bishop of *Sarum*, who some Years before had publish'd his *Discourse of the Pastoral Care*, and dedicated it to the Queen, at this Time publish'd his *Expo-*

*sition of the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England, which he dedicated to the King, Several of the Clergy were not a little incensed against him for the Freedom he had used, in his former Performance. For he there told the Queen in his Dedication, what need there was of a Reformation of the Lives and Manners of Men, and particularly of the Clergy: And in his Preface, he speaks of the gross Ignorance of some in Orders, or that pretend to them; and the Insensibleness of others of the extent of their Office, while they imagine their whole Work consists in Publick Functions, and the Pastoral Care is generally neglected; and many confirm'd in Atheism and a disbelief of Reveal'd Religion, by observing the common Want of that strictness of Life in Persons consecrated to the sacred Ministry, which their Character calls for. And he applies to them the Words of the Prophets, Malachi 2. 7, 8, 9. and Jer. 10. 21. And he adds, it is not our boasting that the Church of England is the best Reformed, and the best constituted Church in the World, that will signify much to convince others. We are too much Parties to be believ'd in our own Cause. There was a Generation of Men that cried, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, as loud as we can cry, The Church of England, the Church of England, when yet by their Sins they were pulling it down, and kindling that Fire which consumed it. It will have a better Grace to see others boast of our Church, from what they observe in us, than for us to be crying, it up with our Words, when our Deeds do decry it. Our Enemies will make severe Inferences from them, and our Pretensions will be tho't vain and impudent Things, as long as our Lives contradict them. Such Passages as these in the Preface, with some warm and severe Reflections upon several common Practises of the Clergy in the Book it self, had exasperated many of them to a great Degree; and the Publication of this his Exposition of the Articles raised it to such a pitch that it could not long be smother'd*

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In the Dedication of it, he tells King *William* that *his Work was not yet done, not his Glory compleat, till he had employ'd that Power which God had put imo his Hands, in supporting and securing the Church, in the beating down Infidelity and Impiety, in the healing the Wounds and Breaches that are made among those who do in common profess the Faith, but are unhappily disjointed and divided by some Differences that are of less Importance: And above all Things, in the raising the Power and Efficacy of Religion, by a suitable Reformation of our Lives and Manners.* And adds, *how low foever all our Hopes are either of raising the Power of Religion, or of uniting those who profess it, yet we have often been taught to despair of nothing that is once undertaken by our Majesty.* In his Preface he intimates, that he was mov'd to undertake the Work by Archbishop, *Tillotson*, and encourag'd by Queen *Mary*; that he had the Concurrence of Bishop *Stillingfleet*, and the Approbation of several Bishops: And that when he was discoursing with a *Lutheran* Divine in *Germany* about their want of Union in those Parts, he reminded him of the Divisions in *England*, about much smaller Matters that had continued so long; declaring that if the Church of *England* would heal her own Breaches, the rest of the Reformed Churches would with great Respect admit of her Mediation to heal theirs: Which (with many other Things in the Body of the Book that were no Way to the Gust of such as tho't the Church of *England* to approach the Borders of Perfection) he recommended to the Consideration of the Clergy. These Things so incensed some against him, that forgetting all his past Service to the Church, they bid him open Defiance, and could find no room for forgiveness, as we shall see in the Sequel.

Now also came out a *Discourse of Schism*: address'd to those Dissenters who conform'd before the Toleration, and have since withdrawn themselves from the Communion of the *Church of England*: By Mr. *Burscough*: But it

was answered by Mr. *Stoddon*, a Minister in the same Country. About this Time also came out a Book of another Nature, call'd *Catholicism without Popery*: An Essay to render the Church of *England*, a Means and a Pattern of Union to the Christian World: Written by a Gentleman of the Long-Robe. The Author in his Preface intimates that his Discourse was presented in Manuscript

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script to Her late Majesty about the Year 1691, and was now publish'd not to inflame our Differences, but compose them by promoting *Catholicism*; in Order to which it makes some Rational and Scriptural Overtures.

*An. 1700.*

In *July* this Year the Duke of *Gloucester* died, which the King took Notice of in his first Speech to his new Parliament, the *February* following: Telling them that the Dukes Death, made it absolutely necessary that there should be a farther Provision for the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant Line, after him and the Princess: And an Act pass'd accordingly, by which the Crown was settled, on the Princess *Sophia*, Electoress Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants: And none were more thankful to God for this Settlement than the Dissenters.

***Dr. Arterbury's Rights, Powers, and Priviledges of an English Convocation.***

The Contest about the sitting, and the Power of a Convocation was continu'd this Year: Nay, it rose to a greater height. For now came out Dr. *Atterbury's Rights, Powers, and Priviledges of an English Convocation Stated and Vindicated*, in Answer to Dr. *Wake*. He dedicates it to the Two Archbishops: And tells them he hall no shadow of Doubt remaining with him, but that his Scheme is Truth and will stand. In his Preface, he says, that he found Dr. *Wake's* Book of *the Authority of Christian Princes*, &c, a shallow empty Performance, Written without any Knowledge of our Constitution,



any skill in the particular Subject of Debate; upon such Principles, as are destructive of all our Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Liberties; and with such Aspersions on the Clergy both Dead and Living, as were no less injurious to the Body than his Doctrine. He declares he found it absolutely necessary to say something in Defence of the Churches Rights, or to fit down contentedly under the loss of them: And that he was intirely acted by Love to Truth, and push'd on by an hearty Concern for the Interests of Religion and of his Order, and by an eager desire of doing somewhat towards the supporting the good old Constitution he liv'd under, which Dr. *Wake* both in Church and State endeavour'd to undermine. He charges the Dr. with liberality casting flights and reproaches upon his own Order, when it had the ill luck to come in his Way: Nay, he says his whole Performance is nothing more than a Series of long, flat,

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impertinent Accounts, attended with suitable Reflections; but without one wise Word spoken, or true Stroke struck in behalf of his Point, from the beginning of the Book to the end of it.

Convocations or Provincial Synods, he says, have been held frequently from the very beginning of Christianity. The Authoritative Part of these Meetings was compos'd of the Bishops and Presbyters. They met Twice a Year, and needed no leave. In these Assemblies the *Gravamina Cieri*, or *Articuli Reformationis* were constantly expected from the Lower House. A Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, is an attendant upon a Parliament of *England*. The Clergy were brought to Parliament by the *præmunientes* Clause. But in Process of Time, *by a mistake in their Politicks*, they were separated from the Parliament, and yet still continu'd to attend it, in Two Provincial Assemblies or Convocations: Which as they meet for the same Purpose, and had the same Reasons of State inserted into their Writs

of Summons as the Parliament had, so did they keep closely up to the Forms and Rules, and Manner of Sitting and Acting, practis'd in Parliament; and they had Parliamentary Wages, and Parliamentary Priviledges; and attended the Parliament as one of the Three States of the Realm. But he declares he's not for setting up a Plea for any old Priviledges and Preheminences of the Clergy which are long since dead and buried, and which he thinks ought never to be reviv'd, even for the sake of the Clergy themselves, who have thriven best always under a *competency of Power, and moderate Pretences*. These Parliamentary Convocations, he says, come into the room of Provincial Councils. But this Author asserts, that the Clergy have not only a Right to meet and sit in Convocation, as often as a new Parliament Sits, but a Right also (when met) of treating and deliberating about such Affairs as lie within their proper Sphere, and of coming to fit Resolutions upon them, without being necessitated antecedently to qualifie themselves for such Acts and Debates, by a Licence under the Broad Seal of *England*. He takes a great deal of Pains about the Statute of 25 *H. 8. c. 19.* which was the Act of Submission; and puts such a Sense upon it, as at length to conclude, that as to all Convocational Acts previous to the passing, or decreeing a Canon, the

Clergy

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Clergy have just the same Right to them since this Statute, as they had before it. Though they can't make and attempt a Canon, yet they may speak the Sense of the whole Clergy of the Kingdom in Matters proper for them to intermeddle in: They may Petition, Advise, Address: Represent, give their Judgment where it may be desir'd, or their Censures either of Men or Books where it may be needful: And suggest the fittest Methods of securing the Christian Faith, and of preventing the revival of old Heresies and Errors, and the growth of new Ones.

He charges Dr. *Wake* with taking a great deal of needless Pains to prove what was not cancelled; *viz.* that Princes have an Ecclesiastical Supremacy. And with insisting mostly upon general Councils, while the Debate turns on Provincial Synods only: And in the few Historical Facts the Dr. mentions that seem proper, he says, He either mistakes National Synods for Provincial, or extraordinary Assemblies for stated Ones, or conceals some Circumstances that would give an Account how the Royal Power came so particularly to interpose. He says, the Dr. does not distinguish between the Powers in *Fact* exercis'd by Princes, and those of *Right* belonging to them, by Vertue of their Office; And that he confounds the Princes Power of *proposing* a Subject of Debate to his Synods, with his Power of *confining* them to Debate of nothing but just what he proposes. And he adds, that those very Acts of Authority, which were exercis'd by Princes in Ecclesiastical Matters, to support the Churches Power, are by Dr. *W.* perversely made use of to undermine and destroy it. He intimates, That *with the Writers in this Argument it has been a fashion all along to disguise Truth.* He says, Dr. *W.* makes no Distinction between *absolute and limited* Princes, but produces the Acts of the one to justify the Exercise of a like Power in the other: And that he does not duly distinguish between the King in Parliament, and the King out of Parliament, and so confounds the Executive and the Legislative Part of our Constitution; those Powers in which the Crown is Arbitrary, and those in which it is purely Ministerial.

He asserts that the *Præmunientes* in the Bishops Writ is not an idle useless Clause, inserted only on a particular Occasion and, continu'd by Accident, but a real and

effectual

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effectual Summons of the Clergy to Parliament; such as they heretofore made formal Returns to, as often as it went out, and did expressly obey: And of this he gives

Instances till the Time of *Henry* the 8th: And then undertakes to prove, that the Writ to the Two Archbishops to convene the Clergy of their Provinces, though it does not expressly mention a Parliament, yet has an immediate reference to it: The Original Design of its issuing out, together with the Bishops Writ, being only to secure an Obedience to the Premunitory Cause of it, and to make the Clergies Parliamentary Attendance the more full and certain.

After having discours'd largely of the Right of the Clergy to Meet and Act in Convocation, he touches on the need of such Meetings, that she may preserve her Right: And promises distinctly to insist on it hereafter.

Through the whole he is not only very liberal in his Invectives against Dr. *Wake*, since Bishop of *Lincoln*, but free in his Censures on Dr. *Nicholson* since Bishop of *Carlisle*, whom he calls a *little Writer*, and Taxes with gross oversights, if not wilful Faults: And with great severity falls on the Bishop of *Sarum* for many mistakes in his History of the Reformation, and his forwardness upon all Occasions to bear hard upon the Clergy. He discovers a mighty Zeal to support the sinking Interests of Religion and the Clergy: And appears concern'd for the Reputation of his Order even in Popish Times, but especially in the present State of Things. And though it seems pretty natural to him to be free with all that come in his Way; he yet declares, the utmost readiness to do right to any injur'd Person, let his Character be what it will; and that he abhors the thought of falling in with a Calumny knowingly, let it be never so Popular and Fashionable: And he thanks God that there is not a Line in his Work that can reproach him with the Guilt either of Flattery or Design.

#### **The Bishop of Sarum's Reflections.**

The Bishop of *Sarum* did not think it proper to keep silence, but soon sent forth his *Reflections* upon this Performance. He says, *That though the Author pretended to plead the Cause of the Church, which is indeed the Cause of Christ*

*himself, yet he had so intirely laid aside the Spirit of Christ, and the Characters of a Christian, that without large allowances of Charity, one can hardly think that he*

*did*

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*did once reflect on the Obligations he lay under to follow the Humility, the Meekness, and the gentleness of Christ: So far from that, he seems to have forgot the common Decencies of a Man or of a Scholar. He says, a Book writ with that roughness and acrimony of Spirit, if well receiv'd, would be a much stronger Argument against the expediency of a Convocation, than any he brings or can bring for it. Such Practices, he says, do effectually obstruct the progress of Religion, while an Age that is too much possess'd against both us and our Holy Faith, fails not to make a very wicked Use of all those advantages with which Ambitions or ill natur'd Zealots furnish them; to represent us to the World as a Company of aspiring and factious Men, who are ready to Sacrifice every Thing to our own Humours and Notions, not considering how much Religion itself suffers by the management. He confesses that where it lay in his Way, either as a Historian or a Divine, to acknowledge such Corruptions and Disorders among the Clergy, as were too visible to be denied, and too gross to be extenuated or excus'd, he thought it became him to Write honestly and impartially. He says he knows that nothing pleases some, but what tends to encrease the Wealth, and raise the Authority of the Clergy: Whereas, others who are justly sensible of the depression of Holy Functions, chose rather to set about those Methods by which the Church was at first established, procceted, and provided for.*

He says that a Convocation cannot be call'd a true Representative of the Church, though it be now a Legal one. In that for *Canterbury* there are twenty Deans or more that pretend to sit there; as many Proctors from Chapters, and Sixty Archdeacons, and but Thirty eight 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. He declares that for above 140 Years the Crown has been in Possession of a Right of making use of a Convocation, or of settling Matters of Religion without it, at Discretion, and that this is founded upon a Statute that has been understood at least by Divines and lawyers in favour of the Prince: and therefore it argues the Fruitfulness of a Mans Imagination, who could make so great a Book, and such

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heavy Complaints, for no other Cause but this. He modestly defends his History of the Reformation, intimates the Disadvantage he was under in drawing up the first Part of it, signifies his readiness to amend any real Mistakes, and his hearty Wishes that another Spirit might prevail. But after all, a Convocation was this Year summon'd, and sate, and much such a Spirit appear'd within Doors, as the Writings publish'd about that Controversy discover'd without. The Convocation met with the New Parliament.

*A Covocation now met, and sate.*

A late Author here observes,\* That the Convocation in the Beginning of King *William's* Reign, discovering an Aversion to the Scheme that was prepar'd for them, was prorogued, And that afterwards, a new Convocation was summon'd with every Parliament, and in being with it; and that for want of proper Business it was continued and prorogued by the President and left always in a Capacity and Readiness to come together, upon any Exigence of Church or State that requir'd their Counsel or Assistance, tho' no such Exigence did happen for several Years together. What was thus design'd for the Ease of the Clergy, in not obliging them to a fruitless and expensive Attendance, when there was no Occasion to justify their Absence from the Duty of their Cures, did by Degrees give an Handle of Complaint. Murmurs of Restraint and Hardship were Privately fomented among

those of the Clergy who were Non-Jurors. These Discontents unhappily mov'd the Lower Clergy, to raise new Disputes of Priviledge and Independence on the Archbishop, and Bishops in Convocation; and to labour to bring themselves to be such a Spiritual House of commons, as if their Pretensions could prevail, would very much endanger the Peace of Church and State. Under this Disposition the Convocation met, on Feb. 10. Dr. Haley Dean of Chichester preach'd the Latin Sermon. The Archbishop in a Latin Speech admonish'd the Lower Clergy to choose a Prolocutor, against the 21st Instant. They chose Dr. Hooper, who was presented, approv'd, and confirm'd. On February 25. when the Archbishop's Schedule of Prorogation was sent down to the Lower House, which was legally to determine every Session, they in Contempt of it continued sitting, and proceeded in some Debates of no Moment: After which the Prolocutor intimated an Adjournment by Consent of the House, to meet again in Henry VII. Chappel, instead of the Prorogation to

meet

\* *Compleat History of England, Vol. 3. pag. 797.*

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meet in the Jerusalem Chamber, as by the Schedule, which expressly included the whole Body of the Convocation, and left no Pretence to separate Adjournments in either House. The Archbishop and a far greater Part of his Suffragans looked on this Proceeding of the Lower House as a Declaration of setting up for a separate Interest and Power, that would break the Union of a Provincial Synod, and prevent the good Correspondence, of both Houses, and so frustrate the common Methods of doing any Butiness. In the Fourth Session, February 28, the Prolocuter and Clergy did not attend the Archbishop and Bishops in the Synodical Place, the Jerusalem Chamber; which was interpreted to be a second Contempt of the Authority of the President, and the Obligation of his Instrument, the

Schedule proroguing and continuing the whole Body of Prelates and Clergy.

The Archbishop sent for the Prolocutor, and with the Consent of his Brethren put these two Questions to him: 1. Whether the Lower House of Convocation did sit, after they were prorogued by his Grace on the 25th Instant? 2. Whether they did meet this Morning without attending in this Place, to which they were prorogued. Upon some Discourse the Prolocutor said, That the Lower House was preparing somewhat to lay before his Grace and the Upper House, concerning the Methods of Prorogation, and some other Things of Form. The Archbishop answer'd, that he and his Brethren were ready to receive, whatsoever should be offered by them, and would consider of it, and do upon it what should appear to them to be just and right: But in the mean Time he and his Brethren tho't fit to continue the usual Practise. Accordingly, that the Phrase of Proroguing *in hunc locum* might admit of no Dispute, it was in the Schedule of this Day expressly specified, *in hunc locum vulgo vocat' Jerusalem Chamber*: To which the Lower House submitted with a *Salvo Jure*. And at the next Session *March* 6th, the Prolocutor with several Members, attended the Archbishop and Bishops in the *Jerusalem Chamber*; and being soon dismissed, went to their own House, from whence in a little Time they carried up a Report of a Committee appointed to search the Convocation Books, for Directions concerning the Prorogations of their House. The Report was thus;

1. We

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1. We find that the common, Usage of that House has been to continue sitting, till the Prolocutor did Prorogue or Adjourn, or intimate the Adjournment or Prorogation thereof, either personally or by some Member of this House; thereunto deputed by him: And in both these Cases (as we conceive): with the Consent of this House. And we also find by some Instances, that this



House did not always Prologue and Adjourn to the same Day with the Upper House.

2. We find the like common Usage by this House to have been, that when in the Upper House the Convocation was Prorogu'd or Adjourn'd, by the Words *in hunc locum*, this House did meet apart from the same, at the same particular Place where it Sate last. And when the Convocation was Prorogu'd or Adjourn'd to some other general Place, *viz.* *St. Pauls* and *Lambeth*, then also this House did assemble in a separate Place, distinctly from their Lordships. And farther, we find no footsteps of Evidence to conclude, that it was ever the Practice of the House to attend their Lordships before this House did meet and sit, pursuant to their former Adjournment. But when this House hath first met and sat, it hath been the constant Practice to attend their Lordships with Business of their own Motion, or when they were call'd up to their Lordships by a special Messenger.

This Paper was ordred by the Archbishop to be read, though it was Intitled, *A Report of the Committee*, and did not run in the Name of the *House* as it should have done; and then referr'd the Examination of it to a Committee of Bishops. In the mean while the Archbishop deliver'd to the Prolocutor the Form of an *humble Address to his Majesty*, and propos'd to him the Consent of the Lower House, which was given without Amendment, only they propos'd it might be *Reformed Churches* instead of *Reformed Religion*: And with the Alteration of that Word, it was presented to His Majesty, on *March* 10th, by the Archbishop. It contain'd Thanks to His Majesty for his constant Protection and Favour to the Church of *England*; an Acknowledgment of his Pious Concern for the Reformed Churches in General, and an Assistance of their stedfast Fidelity and Affection, and readiness to Maintain the Supremacy as setled by Law, &c: And they were graciously receiv'd

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\* *Apparat. ad Defens. Eccles. Anglic. p. 105.*

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by the King. He thank'd them for their Promises of maintaining his Supremacy according to Law; beyond which he assur'd them he would never extend it.

On *March* 20th. the Prolocutor brought up a *Representation* from the Lower House, with respect to Books justly publish'd against the Truth of the Christian Religion. It contain'd several *Resolves* of a Committee of their House with respect to a Book Entitled, *Christianity not Mysterious*, which (in Conjunction with some other Books) they represented as of pernicious Principles, and of dangerous Consequence; and pray'd for the Advice and Directions of their Lordships of the Upper House, about an effectual Course to suppress such Books. And on *March* 22. The Archbishop producing a certain Book, Entitled *the Ballance of Power*, &c. In the 40th Page of which were these Words; *Are not a great many of us able to point out to several Persons, whom nothing has recommended to Places of highest Trust, and often to rich BENEFICES and DIGNITIES, but the open Enmity which they have almost from their Cradles, profess to the Divinity of Christ:* It was agreed that a Paper should be fix'd over several Doors in *Westminster Abbey*, intimating that it was *desir'd by the said Archbishop and Bishops, that the Author himself, whoever he was, or any one of the great many to whom he refers, would point out to the particular persons, whom he or they knew to be liable to that Charge, that they might be proceeded against in a judicial Way; which would be esteem'd a great Service to the Church: Otherwise the above mention'd Passage must be look'd upon as a PUBLICK SCANDAL.* And it was Sign'd at bottom *Tho. Tillot.*

Dr. *Nichols*:\* gives this short Account of this Convocation. They collected and read several Books Written against the Orthodox Faith, and noted down their Errors, and wanted nothing but the Kings leave to pass their Censures upon them, and condemn them; and to strengthen the Church with new Canons. Some com-

plain'd as warmly of Bishop *Burnets* Exposition of the Thirty nine Articles, as of the Writings of Atheists and Deists. But all being at last tir'd out with waiting several Months to no purpose, without a Royal Licence to proceed to Business, the Archbishop prorogu'd them to the first of *May*. The lower House was so displeas'd with this Prorogation that by their own Authority they

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\* *Apparat. ad Defens. Eccles. Anglic. p. 105.*

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Adjourn'd to the next Day, and then to another Day. The Bishops looking upon this as an ill Precedent, and tending to the Diminution of their Authority, were for having nothing to do with the Lower House, till they had given the Reasons of these their Proceedings. And thus there arose a new Controversie between the Two Houses of Convocation, about the Right of Prorogation, which Controversie was hotly agitat'd. They who were for the Archbishops Right appeal'd. to Precedents for many Years past, as far as the Registers remain'd. And they who were for the Right of the Lower House, defended themselves with Two Precedents in the Time of Archbishop *Laud*, adding, that more Instances might have been produc'd, if the Registers had not been lost. And about this Matter they contended with as much eagerness, as if the whole of their Religion had been depending.

*An. 1701.*

The *Partition Treaty* now occasion'd great Debates. In *September* this Year King *James* died at *St. Germain* in *France*, above Twelve Years after his Exile, and after frequent unsuccessful Attempts for a Restoration. After his Death the King of *France* declar'd for the pretended Prince of *Wales*. King *William* highly resented it, and so did the whole Nation. A new Parliament was call'd. The King made a very Affecting Speech to them, that will hardly ever be forgotten. I'll only transcribe one Passage:

“*Let Me Conjure You to disappoint the only Hopes of our Enemies, by Your Unanimity. I have shewn and will always shew, how desirous I am to be the Common Father of all my People: Do You in like manner lay aside Parties and Divisions; Let there be no other Distinction heard of among Us for the Future, but of those who are for the Protestant Religion and the present Establishment, and of those who mean a Popish Prince and a French Government.*”

***The beginning of the Grand Debate about Occasional Conformity.***

At this Time was Printed an *Equiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters in Cases of Preferment*. The Author represents it as a most reproachful Thing, for Persons to have such preposterous Consciences as to believe One Way of Worship to be Right, and yet serve God another Way themselves. By Conforming (says he) I deny my Dissent to be lawful; or by my Dissenting I damn my Conforming as sinful. Several Opini-

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*An. 1701.*

ons may at the same Time consist in a Country, in a City, in a Family, but not in one Person. Either the Conformist will mar the Dissenter, or the Dissenter will mar the Conformist. He prefix'd a Preface to Mr. *Howe*, (because the Worthy Person who was then Lord Mayor of *London* was of his Congregation), and desires and urges him, either to defend this Practice of Occasional Conformity, or declare against it; least the World should believe that Dissenters allow'd themselves in what they could not defend.

Mr. *Howe* publish'd a small Pamphlet in return to this publick Challenge, and Entitled it, *Some Consideration of a Preface to an Enquiry concerning the Occasional Conformity, &c.* He tells the *Prefacer* that he for a long Time had had an habitual aversion in his own Mind from perplexing himself or disturbing others, by being concern'd in agitating the Controversies that have been on foot about the Circumstantials of Religion. That he

had contented himself by the best Means he could be furnish'd with, and the best Use God enabled him to make of them, so far to form and settle his own Judgment as was necessary to his own Practice: That he had faithfully follow'd his Judgment, and abstain'd in the mean Time from censuring others who took a different Way from him. That he was sensible every one must give Account of himself to God: And that it is a great Consolation to such as sincerely fear God, that if with upright Minds, they principally study to Approve themselves to him; and if they mistake, do only err for fear of erring; he will not with severity Animadvert upon the Infirmary of a Weak, and meerly misguided Judgment: And that it is a sure Truth, worth all this World, that to an honest unbyast Heart 'tis a far easier Thing to please God than Men. That they that contend fervently, and conclude positively, concerning Church Power, &c. often discover more confidence than Knowledge, and solid Judgment, and much oftner little of the Spirit of Christ and the Gospel.

He farther tells the *Prefacer*, that before he had offer'd at engaging him in this Quarrel, he ought to have been well assur'd that he really did concern himself to advise one Way or other, as to the lawfulness or unlawfulness of that Occasional Conformity, about which he contended; or at least that he ought to have done so: But that not

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being able to make either of these appear, he had been Guilty of an Affectation of intermedling beyond any Call he had, that could lead him to it.

He signifies to Mr. *Prefacer*, That he had pretende'd to Judge in a Matter he had nothing to do with; and that he had taken upon him to invade the Throne of the most High, in charging the Worthy Person referr'd to, with acting against his Conscience. He tells him, that before he concluded that with so rash Confidence, he ought to have been able to prove the Act in its Cir-

cumstance unlawful. And his making use of that Text, *about following God or Baal*, as if the God of the Dissenters and of the Establish'd Church differ'd as the *Living God* and *Baal*, he tells him was prophane and impious Wit.

He adds, That the Person by him Criminated, might notwithstanding any Thing he had said, be in the Right: But that if the Prefacers Judgment upon the Case was true, he conceiv'd that that Truth, accompany'd with his Temper of Spirit, was much worse than the others Error.

The *Reply* in a Letter to Mr. *Howe* is warm, and charges Him with mistaking the Person, Temper, Profession, and Intention of the Author of the Enquiry; and with some angry Reflections drops the Debate.

It mull be own'd it was wish'd by several of both Sides at that Time, that Mr. *Howe* might have been prevail'd with to have enter'd into the Merits of the Cause; and had he foreseen what follow'd soon after, 'tis not very unlikely but he might have then done it: But he not thinking it so proper as Circumstances then stood, I shall here subjoin a Letter which he wrote some Time after to a Person of Rank and Figure upon that Subject; which may perhaps be a gratification to the Curious.

*A Let-*

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*An. 1701.*

*A Letter to a Person, of Honour, partly representing the Rise of Occasional Conformity, partly the Sense of the present Non-Conformists, about their yet continuing Differences from the Establish'd Church.*

*A letter of Mr. Howe's upon the Subject.*

*My Lord,*

“THIS well known to such as have undersood the  
“State of Religion in this Kingdom, since  
“the beginning of the Reformation, that there have

“been very different Sentiments about the Degrees of  
 “that Reformation itself. Some have judg’d the  
 “Church, with us, so insufficiently Reformed, as to  
 “want, as yet, the very Being of a true Christian  
 “Church; and wherewith they therefore thought it  
 “unlawful to have any Communion at all. Of whom  
 “many, thereupon, in the several Successive Reigns,  
 “withdrew themselves into Foreign Parts, for the En-  
 “joyment of the Liberty of such, Worship, as they  
 “Judg’d more agreeable to the Word of God.

“There have been also no inconsiderable Numbers,  
 “in former, and latter Times, that, though not entire-  
 “ly satisfy’d with our Reformation, were less severe  
 “in their Judgment concerning the Constitution and  
 “Practice of the Establish’d Church, *i.e.* did not judge  
 “its Reformation so defective, that they might not  
 “Communicate at all with it; nor so compleat, but  
 “that they ought also to covet a Communion, more  
 “strictly agreeable to the Holy Scripture; and accord-  
 “ingly apprehended themselves to lye under a twofold  
 “Obligation of Conscience in reference hereto.

“1. Nor, by any Means, totally to cut themselves  
 “off, on the one Hand, from the Communion of the  
 “Establish’d Church, in which they found greater and  
 “more momentous Things to be approv’d of and em-  
 “brac’d, with great Reverence and Complacency,  
 “(*viz.* all the true, noble, Essentials of Christian Re-  
 “ligion; not subverted, as among the Romanists, by  
 “any contrary Doctrines or Practices,) than could be  
 “pretended to remain the Matter of their disapproba-  
 “tion and dislike.

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2. “Nor,

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2. “Nor, on the other Hand, to decline other Com-  
 “munion, which to the Judgment of their Conscience  
 “appear’d, in some considerable Circumstances, more  
 “agreeable to the Christian Rule, and to their Expe-

“rience, more conducing to their Spiritual Advantage  
“and Edification.

“Which latter Judgment of theirs (whether itself  
“justifiable or no, we are not now considering) hath  
“been with many so fixed, and inflexible, that, in se-  
“veral successive Reigns) great Numbers of such Per-  
“sons, whom we had no Reason to apprehend had any  
“Thought totally to abandon the Establish’d Church,  
“yet thought themselves oblig’d besides, to seek and  
“procure Opportunities for *such other* Communions,  
“even with extream Peril, not only to their Estates and  
“Liberties, but to their very Lives themselves.

“They could not, therefore, but think both these  
“Sorts of Communion lawful, *viz.* whereto they  
“might adjoin, but not confine themselves.

“And though to that former sort of Communion,  
“there hath for many Years by past, been superadd’d  
“the accidental consideration of a Place, or Office at-  
“tainable hereby; no Man can allow himself to think,  
“that what he before counted Lawful, is, by this su-  
“pervening Consideration, become unlawful; especii-  
“ally, if the Office were such, as was in no manner  
“of Way to be an emolument, but rather an Occasi-  
“on of greater Expence to the Undertaker of it, *i.e.*  
“only enabled him to serve God, the Government,  
“and his Country, being regularly call’d hereto, in  
“the Condition of a Justice of Peace, or otherwise.  
“In which Capacity, It is notorious that divers Per-  
“sons of eminent Note, of this Perswasion, (and some  
“in higher Stations) have within the space of Forty  
“Years past, and upwards, been Serviceable to the  
“Publick in divers Parts of the Nation.

“It is not, indeed, to be thought that the Judge-  
“ment and Practice of such Men, can be throughout  
“approved by our Reverend Fathers and Brethren of  
“the Establish’d Church, as neither can we pretend it  
“to be so Universally by ourselves. But we are re-  
“mote from any the least suspicion, that Persons of so



“excellent Worth, and Christian Temper, as now pre-  
 “side over the Establish’d Church; can suffer themselves

“to

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*An. 1701.*

“to Judge, or Censure Men of this Sentiment, as be-  
 “ing, for this single Reason, Men of Hypocritical and  
 “insincere Minds; but that they will rather think it  
 “possible their Understandings may be impos’d upon,  
 “so as this may be the Judgment, in the whole, of a  
 “sincere, though misinform’d Conscience.

“For when they apprehend this Church, having  
 “all the essential Parts of Christian Religion, hath  
 “not, by adding some much disputed Things, that are  
 “not pretended to be any Parts thereof (but that are  
 “become as necessary to Communion with it, as any  
 “the most essential Part) thereby unchurcht itself, but  
 “that they may hold Communion with it; yet they do  
 “not see that they ought to appropriate their Commu-  
 “nion to it, so as to refuse all other Commu-  
 “nion, where the same Essentials of Christian Reli-  
 “gion are to be found, without those Additions, which  
 “really belong not to it; They are apt to think such  
 “Sentiments of theirs, not to be altogether destitute of  
 “some plausible Ground.

“However among those that are not entirely, in  
 “every Punctilio of this Church, it hath not any so  
 “firm Friends, or that are so nearly united in Judge-  
 “ment and Affection with it, as Men of this Sen-  
 “timent.

“We, for our Parts (who, because in some Things  
 “we conform not, are called Non-Conformists,  
 “whereas no Man Conforms in every Thing) are  
 “not allowed to be counted Members of this  
 “Church, by those that take Denominations, not  
 “from the intimate Essentials of Things (as sameness  
 “of Doctrine, and the Institutions of Christian Wor-  
 “ship) but from loose and very separable Accidents:  
 “Yet, Thanks be to God, we are not so stupid, as not

“to apprehend, we are under stricter, and much more  
 “sacred Obligation, than can be carried under the  
 “sound of a Name, to adhere to those our Reve-  
 “rend Fathers and Brethren of the Establish’d Church,  
 “who are most United among themselves, in Du-  
 “ty to God, and our Redeemer, in Loyalty to our  
 “Sovereign, and in Fidelity to the Protestant Reli-  
 “gion; as with whom, in this dubious State of  
 “Things, we are to run all Hazards, and to live and  
 “die together. Whether they can have the same;

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Assu-

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“Assurance, both from Interest and Inclination of  
 “Mind, concerning all that are of the same External  
 “Denomination with themselves, they need not us to  
 “to advise with.

“We have our yet depending lesser Differences, a-  
 “bout which we have (notwithstanding whatsoever  
 “Provocation), been generally, and for the most part  
 “Silent, and see not in Reference to them, what can  
 “further remain, than that we, for our Parts, do  
 “consider, that all Minds are not turn’d the same  
 “Way; that such, from whom we Dissent, no fur-  
 “ther differ from us, than we do from them; and we  
 “are therefore, no more to wonder at them, than our  
 “Selves.

“And we cannot disallow our Selves to hope that  
 “our Reverend Fathers and Brethren will conceive  
 “of us, as humbly Dissenting from them, without  
 “diminution of that great Reverence, which their  
 “real Worth claims from us; and without arrogating  
 “any Thing unduly to our Selves on that Account.  
 “For tho’ we cannot avoid thinking we are in the  
 “Right, in those particular Things wherein we differ;  
 “yet, at the same Time, we know our Selves to be far  
 “excell’d by them, in much greater, and more im-  
 “portant Things.

*My Honoured Lord,*

*Your Lordships*

*Most Obedient Humble Servant.*

*J.H.*

About

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About this Time came out *an Essay towards a Comprehension*; offer'd to the Consideration of the two Houses of Parliament; and to the Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy in Convocation. The Author offers several Reasons to shew the Necessity of attempting this Work; considers the most common Objections against it; And proposes some Methods which he tho't might be useful for the effecting it: But no Notice was taken of it.

***The Debate about the Rights of Convocation continu'd. Mr. Hill on that Subject.***

Debates were continu'd this Year and managed with Warmth, both in, and out of Convocation. Mr. *Hill* published the Rights, Liberties, and Authorities of the Christian Church, asserted against all oppressive Doctrines and Constitutions: And a Justification of his Municipium Ecclesiasticum. He says, it cannot be unseasonable to assert the Sanctity and Power of the Church, when every Ass and unclean Beast is lifting up his Heel against her. We (says he) have been led along to such an Observance of the secular Weather-cocks, and have thereby so far sunk and exposed our Order by our Reliances on the Arm of Flesh, that being deplum'd of all Authority and Reverence, 'tis to be fear'd we may in some little Time, be taken for chargeable Need-nots. He urges, Dr. Wake's Scheme with a great many Difficulties. He cites several Passages of the Fathers in which they equal the Priestly to the Regal Power, nay, rather seem to prefer the former to the latter: And

says he, does it to shew in general the Superiority of Dignity, and the independent Freedom of the more excellent Authority in Spiritual Powers, in distinction from the meaner Temporal Authority; that so all particulars in Synods, or other Processes Ecclesiastical, may be determin'd by the same general Rules and Maxims, which assert a greater Excellency, and an universal Independency, of the Spiritual Powers from on the Temporal, in all Matters purely Ecclesiastical without Exception. He proves by many Citations from Fathers, and Councils, a great Necessity of frequent Synods: And asserts that as Things now stand with us, no Men can upon Principles, wish well to the Constitution of Parliaments, that are Enemies to the Rights and Priviledges of Ecclesiastical Convocations. He says, That the deriving Synodical Authority from the

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meer Allowance of the Christian Prince, bewilders Men in a Maze of inextricable Inconsistences and Contradictions. He mentions some Canons that requir'd stated Synods to be held, notwithstanding the Prohibition of the Prince: And cites many other Canons, to prove that the several Metropolitans had Power to call Synods, without any Intervention of the Imperial Authority. He also opposes the Doctor's Authorities with many contrary Citations, as to the Rights of Princes in calling Ecclesiastical Council.

He says that Ecclesiasticks in a State of Canonical Freedom, Piety, and Learning, are not such a Knot of untoward Monsters and Salvages as they are now very piously represented. No; the Definitions of Catholick and Canonical Synods were of the Holy Ghost: they were in their own internal and sacred Vertue Authoritative and Obligatory, without any Civil Ratification. This he asserts to have been the Sense of the Fathers. And he considers the several Instances of Ecclesiastical Synods for several Ages, under the Reigns

of Christian Emperors and Princes, both such as were directed, confirmed or rejected by such Princes, and those in which they did not interpose at all, or but in Part only, making Remarks all along, in Opposition to the Notions of the Doctor, as Occasion offer'd, or he tho't it would in any Respect be to his Purpose; till he concludes that the Doctor had violated the most important Truth of Principles and Histories, to serve a rotten, corrupt and tyrannical Hypothesis. For his own Part he declares that he had noWorldly Ambitions, Hopes, or Fears to byass or corrupt him; and he pronounces a solemn *Anathema* against him, that would for these or any other Considerations consciously promote or palliate, any Errors or Delusions. And he conjures, challenges, provokes, entreats, and desires the Doctor, upon all the Points of Honour; and Motives of Charity, and Justice, to the Church of God, to Kings and Princes, to all seducible Consciences, and particularly his, to answer the former and this Second Book, fairly, fully and openly, upon every Point, Notion, and Fact, Argument and Inference wherein he had been tax'd.

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***And Dr. Kennet.***

At the same Time came out a Book of Dr. Kennet's, intituled, *Ecclesiastical Synods and Parliamentary Convocation in the Church of England, historically stated, and justly vindicated from the Mis-representations of Mr. Atterbury.* He dedicates it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, having first (as he intimates) obtain'd his Graces Leave, not presuming to surprize him with an unexpected Address: Tho' had he taken that Freedom, he conceives it might have appear'd the more decent, because he had expressed a due Respect and Reverence to the Governors in Church and State; and because the Reports and Authorities he produced, were not the Fruits of other Men's Collections, but the immediate

Effects of his own searches into Registers and Records: Nor did he imperiouly summon his Grace or my Lords the Bishops, to an immediate Compliance, upon Pain of being pronounc'd the Betrayers of the Church. In his Preface, he says, the Book he wrote against falsely represents the Historical Part of the Argument, and discovers a Zeal for the Church, without any Knowledge in the Constitution of it: And that he found it upon a second Edition of it, to be one of the most disjointed Pieces he ever saw, and the most imperfect: And tho't it would be a Reproach to the *English* Church and Nation, if such a Book were judg'd to be the Sense of the Clergy, or of any other serious Men of Letters. He declares he would not have been an Adversary to Mr. *Atterbury*, if he had not verily believ'd him to be so, to Convocations and the Clergy of them: And that his Aims are to reprove that deriding and insulting Way of Raillery and Wrath, that wounds Religion, and weakens that Church, whose Priests shall so attempt to vindicate her Rights and Powers: To assert the Nature of a Christian Church; to maintain the essenrial Difference between a Church and a State, and between Synods, and Civil Assemblies; to defend the Reformation, assert the Excellence of *English* Monarchy, plead for the King and Government, vindicate the Honour of the Ministers of State, keep up the Reverence due to Archbishops and Bishops, consult the Interest and Security of the inferior Clergy; and prevent another fatal Separation. And he assures all concern'd, that he is not to be frighted by Menaces.

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He observes there have been Disputes in the Church from the first, especially in Matters of *Priviledge* and *Power*; and that in this Church and Nation, from the very first Establishment of Religion, there has scarce been anyone Age, but that same Disputes for Prece-

dence and Authority have been thrown in, to disturb the Government and divide the People: But that since the Reformation the Clergy has freely own'd the *Royal Supremacy*, till the Attempt of some late Innovators.

He reflects upon the Author of the Letter to a Convocation Man. He wont allow him to be either a Lawyer, or a Parliament Man, tho' he would seem to be both: Charges him with not understanding what a Convocation is, nor the *Præmunientes* or *Diocesan Writ*; nor the *Provincial Writ*: and represents him as injurious to King *William*, by such direct Reproaches, or any Insinuations, as make the Letter a Libel. He says that the *Clergy* were by that Letter *brought under a Suspicion of being discontented and, designing Men setting up for themselves under new Pretences of Liberty and Power, neither enjoyed nor claimed in former Reigns.*

He says, the Author of *Municipium, &c.* arraigns the fundamental Laws of the Land, as derogatory to the Laws of Christ. And as for the Author of the *Rights, Powers, and Priviledges of an English Convocation*, he charges him with being a very assuming Writer, and talking much of his own Abilities; with appealing to Manuscripts and Records, which he was a Stranger to; with being severe and bitter in his Personal Reflections; and using taunting and opprobrious Language, past all Charity, and the Rules of Decorum; making his Adversary all over Fool and Knave; and with being trifling and childish in correcting small Mistakes. He says, That they that are Critical should be careful, that they do not themselves commit a Multitude of Errors, while they are running over their Articles against other Men; and that they do not tax a Fault in another, when the very Fault really is their own; against both which good Rules, this Author (he says) has offended; and that particularly in his, Reflections on the famous *Lyndwood*, and the Bishop of *Sarum*, and Dr. *Wake*. He charges him also with expressing much Rancour and Malice, as well as Rudeness; with

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triumphing over the Clergy upon their Loss of their Rights, as zealous as he appears for them; with creating Prejudice without Cause, and making Parties, when there is little or no Difference between them; and says, that no Writer ever manag'd an Argument with more Slightness and more superficial Touches, or indeed more Falsehood and Deceit than he.

He asserts, That *Diocesan* Synods, are more ancient than *provincial*. That Presbyters are no authoritative Part of *provincial Synods*. That *Capitular Proctors* were summoned to our Convocations, not for Counsel or necessary Consent in Spiritual Affairs, but for Secular Possessions and Civil Rights, which were often there treated of; and to support the Government with their reasonable Aid and Taxes. He distinguishes between true *Ecclesiastical Synods*, which had no Authority in, or Dependence on the Parliament, and *Parliamentary Assemblies* of the Clergy.

He says, That the lower, Clergy for many Ages did not come to Provincial Synods, but for a dutiful Attendance on the Bishops, and offered only a submissive Approbation of their Acts: And that their coming to Parliamentary Assemblies, was to give Money. And that it was by Degrees found expedient, that the same Clergy as was summon'd to the National Parliament, should at the same time be summoned to a Provincial Synod or Assembly, concurrent with that Parliament. But this was by another Writ, besides that contained in the Bishop's Summons, with the Clause *Præmunientes*: And even by another Writ from the King. And he charges Mr. *Atterbury* with miserable Confusion all along, as if he tho't every Parliamentary meeting of the Clergy, to be an Ecclesiastical Synod, and every Ecclesiastical Synod, to be a Parliamentary Body of the Clergy; than which nothing more false in Fact and Law: And says, That a Person that writes at so ficti-



tious a Rate, would be a much better Champion for another Church of Traditions and Legendary Tales, than for the Church of *England*, that can be supported by nothing but Sincerity and Truth.

He says, That Prohibitions were not sent by our Princes to Parliamentary Convocations, but to Synods only: and that Mr. *Atterbury's* account of Christian and

*English*

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*English Synods*, is the most inaccurate, confus'd, and mistaken Account that ever was given.

He wishes that the *Parochial Clergy* were more equally and fully represented in the *Convocation*: That their Proctors in the Lower House, might be at least a Balance to the other dignify'd Presbyters, and not be exceeded by them more than one half; One Hundred suppose to less than Forty.

He several Times charges Mr. *Atterbury*, with being very unjust to the Rights of the Church, in representing Affairs of Religion determin'd in Civil Councils. He takes a great deal of Pains to rectify the Matter of the *Premunientes* Clause: And then says, That *the English Clergy in their own Parliamentary Convocations, tax'd their own Body, to the 15 Car. II. 1663; when in a following Sessions of Parliament in 1664, by Measures wisely concerted between the Governors of the Church, and the leading Members of the House of Commons, the Clergy were in Silence to recede from the customary Right of taxing themselves apart from the Laity: And all their Ecclesiastical Benefices were to be now assessed, (as their Temporal Estates were before) upon the same Foot and Level with all other English Subjects in the Bills beginning in the House of Commons.* And thus departing from their ancient Practice of Taxing themselves, the End of the *Premunientes* he says was lost. Rectors and Vicars being now tax'd for their Glebe and Tythes, by the Commons, have a Vote in electing Members: And therefore have the less Occasion to be now represented

by any Members of their own Body. And in Opposition to Mr. *Atterbury*, who with great Vehemence presses the Execution of the *Præmunientes* Clause, he alleges, that the forbearing it, is no late Omission; that the restoring it would be no Benefit to the Clergy; that it would not make a Parliamentary Body of the Clergy; unless the Provincial Writs be added and executed; that if the Omission be an Offence, 'tis to the King, others are not concerned in it; that if the Church had had that Concern in it that is represented, it would hardly have been so long unobserv'd; and that the altering now, might be attended with ill Consequences: It might be the subject of some unseasonable Difference among the Bishops, or raise some unhappy Questions in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and be

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attended with surprizing Difficulties: It might revive the Claim of the Clergy to Tax themselves, and issue in their loosing their Votes in Country Elections.

Soon after came out a Pamphlet in 4to, entitled, *The Principles of Mr. Atterbury's Book considered, and his Arguments against Dr. Wake and others stated and examin'd.* This Author says, it was Mr. *Atterbury's* main Design to abuse and misrepresent his Adversary, state his Arguments upfairly, and answer what he never said. He asserts, That whatever Custom there may be for the Clergy's being *call'd* to Convocation when the Parliament fits, there is not the same Right for their *sitting* and *acting*. Not one Instance is brought to prove that the King since the Reformation, was ever denied the Power of proroguing the Convocation while the Parliament continu'd sitting; or that when he exercised his Authority in denying them to fit and act, the Legality of it was ever disputed. He charges Mr. *Atterbury* with a gross Mistake about the *Premunire* in the Case of the Clergy in the Time of *Henry VIII.* He confronts Mr. *Atterbury*, with Mr. *Smalridges Animadversions on Church*

*Government.* He says, that such Faults as Mr. *Atterbury's* were, are (God be thanked), to be found in few other Writers: He discover'd none such in any of those Authors, whom with all the Stock of Spite and Inguinity he is Master of, he sets himself to defame. This Author also charges him with falsly interpreting the Act of Submission. He says that Mr. *Atterbury* has this very particular Way of managing Controversy, that he is well aware what Authorities oppose his Notions: If they are down right Enemies, he denies them to be Legal Evidence: If by Fraud or perverting their plain Sense, he can reduce them to his Opinion, he takes that Method for imposing upon his Readers Credulity: And if Confidence of being in the Right can have any Influence, his Readers are sure never to want a Biass: He dilates on the Petition of the Convocation in *Edward VI.* Time, to the King for a Licence. And discovers his Resentment, that such a Storm should be raised against the Royal Supremacy in the Days of King *William*, who had been our Protector and Deliverer more than any Prince before him.

This was soon follow'd with *some Remarks upon the Temper of the late Writers about Convocations: particu-*

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*larly* Dr. *Wake*, Dr. *Kennet*, and the Author of Mr. *Atterbury's Principles*. This Author observes that they who were afraid to trust the Church with too much Power, had us'd all they could against their Adversaries: And though they inveigh'd so mightily against a rude unmannerly Way of being treated, had yet very plentifully bespatter'd their Opposers: He charges Dr. *Wake* with inveighing against the whole Body of the inferiour Clergy, (upon whose Credit that of Religion does in a great Measure depend;) and with representing his Adversaries as disaffected to the Church and State; as Men immoral and turbulent, acting against repeated Oaths and Subscriptions; Excommunicating

them, and excluding them from the Sacraments, and pronouncing them Papists or Presbyterians; Things not easily to be reconcil'd with Charity and good Manners.

And he says those that wrote after Dr. *Wake*, and for him, have not willingly fallen much short of hiin. He banters Dr. *Kennet* for his Dedication; and accuses him of making long Panegyricks upon himself; and says he desires his Grace of *Canterbury* to patronize a great deal of Scandal and ill Manners. He is very severe in his Reflections upon him, and also upon the Author of Mr. *Atterbury's Principles*: And then closes with a Motion, that every Writer may have a due degree of Resentment, according as he is found to Transgress the Rules of Temper and Moderation.

This was follow'd with an Occasional Letter, *on the Subject of English Convocations; by the Author of Ecclesiastical Synods and Parliamentary Convocations in the Church of England*. The Author reckons it beneath him to take Notice of the Remarks foremention'd. He leaves it to the World to judge on which Side the Temper lies. He frankly owns some Mistakes; but they are such as affect not the main Cause in Debate. He vindicates his Reflections on the Author he wrote against; says, he has not one Word detracting from him but as a Writer only. He says he had not exhausted his Subject; and mentions many other Faults he might have found with the Chapters which be had consider'd: And gives his Friend Assurance, that if he should go on, he would all along remember to join heartily with Dr. A. for all Legal Rights of an English Convocation; for all ne-

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cessary or expedients Powers of the Church, and all customary Priviledges of the Clergy; that so they might be on their Guard against their common Adversaries, and not open a Pass to any opposite Army, while they were skirmishing in their own Camp, and not gra-

tify the *Erastians*, the *Papists*, the *Assembly Men*, nor any other Party, who would be glad to see the Establishment lost, by disputing about the Constitution of it. He argues the unreasonableness of the Lower Houses pretending to a Right of adjourning themselves; and pleads for the Rights of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and says that when no Prince has challeng'd the Right of having the Premunitory Clause obey'd, and no Parliament has interpos'd, no Bishop been accus'd for not bringing up his premonish'd Clergy with him, when none of the inferiour Clergy have complain'd of not being duly premonish'd, return'd, and admitted to Parliament, when no Lawyers have pleaded a breach of Constitution in the Case, that after the silence and consent of all Parties concern'd, there should at last arise a private Man, that should of his own Sense request, or rather enjoin the Bishops to command the strict Execution of their Parliamentary Summons on the Lower Orders of the Clergy, and do this with a pure imposing on their Lordships and the Clergy, Men of Sense will admire what such a Proposal meant: And though to serve a Purpose it may be some little Time commended, and somewhat longer excus'd, yet it will on second Thoughts be discover'd to be a new and dangerous Project, that has no History nor Policy to support it; that would but divide the Church, and disturb the State, and put the whole Constitution out of Order,

Now also there was publish'd a *Letter to a Friend in the Country, concerning the Proceedings of the present Convocation*; a single Sheet in 4to. The Author laments the Disputes on Foot; and prays God they may have no ill Effects on the Ecclesiastical Constitution, nor give too much Encouragement to the Enemies of Episcopacy. Besides a great many Things hinted here before (which its needless to repeat) he says that the *Premunites* was at the beginning complain'd of and oppos'd by the Clergy as an encroachment upon the Rights and Liberties of the Church, and a diminution of the Metropolitans Power. And now for so many Ages it has

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had no effect in convening the Clergy, to plead for the reviving of it, and that too under the Notion of *Defending the Rights and Liberties of the Church*, is strange Doctrine to say no worse of it. He Argues from Instances, for the Archbishops Right to Prorogue the Lower House as well as the Upper, and Answers the Instances alledg'd against it; and vindicates the Proceedings of the Upper House with respect to pernicious Books, that had been Printed.

This was soon Answer'd by a Pamphlet intituled, *The Power of the Lower House of Convocation to Adjourn itself, vindicated from the Misrepresentations of a late Paper, &c.* The Author complains that the Lower Clergy in Convocation found themselves oblig'd either to contend with their Bishops, for the Rights of their House, or to give up the Constitution of an *English Synod*, and betray the Trust lodg'd in them by the Clergy of the Province. They however, (he says) would have kept it within themselves: But their Lordships having suffer'd a Vindication of their Proceedings and Pretensions to be made Publick, it was no longer in their Power. The Letter that had been Printed, is charg'd with giving a Relation that was lame and imperfect, nay inconsistent with Truth. It omitted, the unreasonable Attendance which the Bishops requir'd of the Lower Clergy, which was a great Grievance. Having touch'd on that, the Author sets, himself to prove the Power of the Lower House to Adjourn itself. He says it must have this Power because 'tis an *House*; which it could not be, if it had not a Power of sitting and rising at Discretion. He pleads that the Archbishop has now no summoning Power but what is *Ministerial*: And that therefore he having now no Authority to convene the Body of the Clergy; neither can he have any Authority to Prorogue, Adjourn, or Continue them. He Argues also from the sitting of Committees, by the sole Autho-

riety of the House, in the intervals of its Sessions; and from the mischievous Consequences that would attend the supposing the Power of adjourning the whole Synod to be in the Archbishop. His Graces Power (he says) at this rate, would be greater than what the Crown it self ever Practic'd: He'd then have it in his Power to quash intermediate Sessions, and to prevent the dispatch of all manner of Business, and so defeat the very ends

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of the Assembly, and the intentions of the Kings Summons. *Thus 'tis intimated, When any future Prince shall arise who has Thoughts of subverting the Church Establishment, and knows that the first and largest step towards it, is by suppressing Convocations, he hath nothing to do for the attainmt of this End, but only to make an Archbishop, who shall be ready to exert his adjourning Power as directed, and by that Means to prevent all Opposition that may arise from the united Counsels of the Clergy to the new Measures and Models intended.* And he adds, that of the Three Books that are left, which shew the Forms and Methods of Adjournment practic'd in the Lower House, (one of the Years 1586 and 1588; another of the Year 1640; and a Third of that Convocation which sat with the Long Parliament after the Restoration,) each has several Instances, wherein the very stile of Adjournment, shews the Power of Adjourning to be lodg'd in the Lower House itself. He Argues also from the Form of Adjournments in the Upper House Books; and asserts that it has been the Usage of the Lower House to Sit, Treat and Act, after the Upper House was risen; and on intermediate Days also, when the Upper House never sat at all. Several very nice and critical Remarks are made to Confirm and Support this. Among other Things he affirms as to the Convocation of 1661, *That all the Time that pass'd after 1664, may be suppos'd to have been a continu'd Dream, in which the Convocation slept over their Privilldges; and having once let go the great*

*Right of Taxing themselves, might be less careful to secure the others.* He says, that never any Body of Men maintain'd a Dispute of that length and Consequence, with more calmness or greater deference to their Superiours than the Lower House of Convocation hath done this: In which they persisted to the last, notwithstanding the frequent Changes of the Question, the slights and unreasonable hardships of every Sort, which were in the several steps of this Debate put upon them: And he seems fearful lest their Friends should be of Opinion that they have rather stoop'd too much than too little. For the Members of the Lower House when Assembled, are no longer to be look'd upon as so many private Persons, but as the Legal Representatives of Eight or Ten Thousand Men in Holy Orders, and carrying in them the Weight of the whole Clergy of the Province. And

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under this View he intimates they may reasonably hope for good Usage at least, if not for some little degree of Respect from their betters.

This was follow'd with *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation relating to Prorogations and Adjournments; from Monday Feb. 10. 1700. to Wednesday June, 25. 1701. Drawn up by the Order of the House.* The publisher intimates that this Narrative was drawn up, that the Lower House might be in a posture of Defence. That they found there were great endeavours us'd to prepoffess the Minds of the Inferiour Clergy against their Representatives in Convocation, as if they were invading the Rights of the Metropolitan, and trampling upon Episcopacy itself: And therefore the publisher thought it necessary that it should see the Light: Tho' for his doing this of his own Head, he begs the Pardon of those Gentlemen whose leave he owns he ought to have ask'd before. He reflects with freedom on the foremention'd *Letter to a Friend in the Country*, which he charges with false Assertions, and in con-



clusive Arguments, as well as Prevarications. He says, that *the Lower House of Convocation in 1689, had very unacceptable Business propos'd to them, and were so far from considering how they should sit to pursue it, that they desir'd nothing so much as to be discharg'd from it.*

The *Narrative* begins with applauding the decency of the Conduct of the Lower House, as well as the Justice of their Claim. It owns that the greatest Part of their Time was taken up in defending their Power to Adjourn themselves; a Thing which it represents as necessary to secure all the other Rights and Liberties of the inferiour Clergy, and of the utmost Consequence to the Preservation of the Church itself. For if the Archbishop has a Power to deprive Bishops of himself, and to Adjourn both Houses of Convocation as he will, 'tis intimated, *the whole Establish'd Ecclesiastical Constitution will depend so intirely upon his Pleasure, that should he so think fit, he alone might effectually give it up to Alteration or Destruction.*

The *Narrative* goes on to tell what they did from Day to Day, till it comes to the Reply of the Bishops, to the Answer of the Lower House, to the Two Questions put to the Prolocutor by the Archbishop, which is reflected on with Freedom, though not inserted.

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The Arguments urg'd are much the same as those in the *Answer to a Letter to a Friend, &c.* The *Narrative* says that in the Lower House, they carried it for their own Right to Adjourn themselves, by a Majority of Sixty six Voices against Twenty four: After which they desir'd a Conference, which being refus'd, and that refusal follow'd with a long Adjournment, they exercis'd their Right, and held intermediate Sessions. Many are the complaints here made of the Bishops, as making them attend needlesly; and as doing what in them lay to cut off all Communication between the Two Houses. The Prolocutor Dr. *Hooper* is vindicated from the *Præ-*

*varication* which he was charg'd with by the Bishop of *Bangor*; and an Account given of the steps taken by the Lower House with respect to the Bishop of *Sarum*'s *Exposition of the Thirty nine Articles, &c.*

The next Thing that was Printed was *the Right of the Archbishop to continue to Prorogue the whole Convocation*; in a Second Letrer, by Way of Reply to *the Power of the Lower House of Convocation to Adjourn itself, &c;* and the *Narrative, &c.* This Author says, that after all the endeavours to lessen the Character, and blemish the Conduct of the present Prelates, they have a sufficient share in the Esteem and Affections both of Clergy and Laity. He complains that some Archdeacons made the Justification of the Lower House, and the pretended Hardships put upon them by the Upper, a Part of their Visitatorial Charge. He answers the Arguments urg'd in their Favour. He says they may be an *House*, without being vested in such Powers and Priviledges as none of their Predecessors either enjoy'd or claim'd. He proves, that though the Archbishop is disabled by the Statute of Submission from summoning a Convocation at Pleasure, yet after receiving the King's Writ, he summons it as much by his own Authority as he did before. He inimates, That if the *English* Clergy have been *sleeping over their Priviledges*, it has been so ever since the Reformation: None having happen'd to Dream of the refin'd Scheme now contriv'd for the Enlargement of the present Members from the Authority of their Ecclesiastical Governors. He asserts that the Consent of the Inferior Clergy to a Continuation or Prorogation, was never either ask'd or given. He charges those he writes against, with being inconsistent in their

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Principles. When Dr. *Wake* asserted it to be a Part of the Princes Prerogative to summon Convocations when he shall think fit, he was severely corrected for giving the king so much Authority, betraying the Liberties of the

Church, and putting it in the Princes Power to destroy our Religion at Pleasure: But when they would evade the Authority of their Metropolitan by transferring it to the Crown, then all the Power they can give the King is tho't little enough, and there is no Danger at all to Religion, nor are the Liberties of the Church in the least affected. He next proves that the Argument from Committees to fit in the Interval, is not a sufficient Evidence of a Power to continue; insinuates, that the Danger of trusting the Power of continuing in one Hand, is urg'd upon Republican Principles; and that the Inconveniencies of a Power to continue at Pleasure, conclude as strongly against the Lower House, as against the Archbishop; that the Lower House of Convocation have in their Practices gone farther already than any of their Predecessors, but not near so far as the Principles used in their Defence will carry them. *This Principle of a separate Right to continue, (he says) introduces a co-ordinate Power of Presbyters with their Bishops in Syndical Matters; justifies them in the Denial of their Counsel and Assistance, tends to divide their Consultations and Interests, and pave the Way for a State of Presbytery, by making all Instances of Submission, to be Acts of Choise and not of Duty.* He goes on to the Argument from the Forms and Methods of Adjournments practised in the Lower House: And afterwards proves, that the Lower Clergy are included in the Continuations of the Upper House. He shows that in all the Instances produced in Favour of intermediate Sessions, the Clergy; met by the express Command, and Direction of the Archbishop, to consider the particular Matters that he proposed to them; and that such Meetings as were held by his Grace's Command can infer no Right in the Lower House to hold them without that Command: That the Appointment of Committees of the Lower Clergy, was always claim'd and exercis'd by his Grace: That these Meetings in the Intervals, could be no other than Committees, because they frequently

succeeded such Continuations as express an entire Suspension of Convocation Business: And that the Prolo-

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cutor's Prefence could be no Argument that they acted as a House, since he was usually at the Head of their Committees as well as of the House, &c. And he represents those as judging Right, who were apprehensive that till another Temper appear'd, the Clergy's Attendance upon their respective Cures, would be more for the real Service of the Church and Religion, than their meeting in Convocation: And says it will increase his Opinion of their Wisdom and Foresight and Concern for the Church, at least till more desirable Effects of a fitting Convocation can be seen than the late Proceedings gave Cause to expect in present Circumstances: And that it will be the more easily believ'd for the Future, that the meeting of the Clergy is not an equal Blessing to the Church, at all Seasons, and under all Dispositions.

But this was a very fruitful Debate, and made the Press produce very plentifully. A Letter came out to the Author of the *Narrative*, in *Vindication of the Proceedings of the Members of the Lower House, with Relation to the Archbishop's Prorogation* of it upon *May* the 8th. The Author professes his Trouble to be engaged in a Dispute of this Nature, wherein the Church in general must suffer, which Side of the Question soever prevails, and where there's no clearing one Part of the Sacerdotal Order, without laying the Blame on another. He complains much of the *Narrative* as not agreeing with the Minutes; and of the Carriage of the House to *Dr. Verney*, and *Dr. Trimnel*; and that Leaves were cut out of the Act Book. He reflects upon the omitting to intimate the Archbishop's Prorogation, and vindicates *Dr. Verney's* addressing thereupon to the Archbishop; and the Absence of those on *May* 16, who were present on the 30th, against the Reflections of the *Narrative*, and the Address of the Lower House: And

makes a Motion, that they that are in Authority, may not be fought to be divested of a Power they have been accustom'd to exercise, till the Usurpation is plainly made out.

This was follow'd with a *Letter to a Clergyman in the Country, concerning the Choice of Members, and the Execution of the Parliament Writ for the ensuing Convocation; Which upon the Kings summoning a new Convocation with his new Parliament, recommends care in the*

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Election

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Election of new Members, in Consideration of the Disputes on Foot between the Two Houses; and Intimates, that when they are determin'd to the Prejudice of the Lower Clergy, there's an End of all the Rights and Liberties of their House, and they are from that Moment; an useless and insignificant Part of the Constitution. This Writer observes, that the elective Members bear the Proportion of above Four to Five in the whole. And that the Influence of the Bishops is great both in Chapters and Diocesses, and that they'd be likely to exempt themselves towards procuring a Lower House, that would sacrifice its Rights and Liberties to the Upper. He represents it as a most unreasonable Thing for the Bishops to over-rule the Elections of those Proctors, who in Convocation were to represent the Grievances and Hardships which the Clergy suffer from their Lordships Courts and Officers. He says, it has been, resolv'd in the Lower House, *that the Intermedling of Bishops or their Officers, to byass the Election of Procurators to serve in Convocation, is a Grievance;* But that this Resolution (among others) was hinder'd from being carried to the Upper House, by some who had detemined that the Convocation should meet to no Purpose. He begs therefore, that the Clergy will represent to their Bishops, that their now intermedling, would be injurious to the Rights of the Clergy, and Utterly destructive of the Constitution of

an *English* Synod. He says, that the late Pleas for the Authority of Metropolitans, have not been advanced with any View of perpetuating the present Church Establishment: And that a temporal Government founded in Liberty, (as the *English* is) can never incorporate kindly with a Spiritual Society that is supported by Slavery: But will either reduce it to some kind of Conformity with it self, or quickly destroy it. He says, the *English* Clergy have so true a Respect for Episcopacy rooted in their Hearts, that its a Sign of their being ill used in an high Degree, and even forc'd to act on the Defensive, when they contend with their Bishop: And that they consult their Lordships Interests, by presenting if it be possible, any Diminution of their own; and are so far from attempting to encroach on the Power of their Bishops, that one End of their present Struggles to prevent such Encroachments.

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He intimates, that it had also been resolved, *That the not executing of the Clause Præmunientes in the Bishop's Writ, but supposing the same, after that the Right of the Clergy to meet in their Parliamentary Convocations hath been publickly disputed and denied, and the encouraging Books and Papers, written against the Rights and Authority of Convocations is a Grievance:* And he would have the Clergy demand the Execution of this Clause, which he intimates would fasten their Meeting so close to those of the Parliament, that neither the Malice of their Enemies, nor Treachery of their false Friends, would ever be able to dissolve the Union. He answers Objections against it: 'Tis with him a sufficient Proof, that the Execution of this Clause is of some Importance to the Constitution, that some Men are with so much Zeal and Eagerness bent and bid to oppose it. And he concludes with that Text of Scripture; *Be of good Courage, and let us play the Men for our People, and for the Cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth him good.* This was follow'd with a *Second Letter* upon the same

Subject; in which he endeavours farther to clear and confirm the Entry of the Archbishop's Parliament Writ, in the Convocation Acts of both Provinces, and to elucidate some other Matters.

In answer to these two Letters, came out *the Case of the Præmunientes considered*. The Author says, that now for some Time the Clergy have had a loud Alarm, that the Governors of the Church are destroying the Constitution of it. That there was a late Reign, when some Bishops were made, in Order to serve an ill Cause, and to carry on very Arbitrary Measures, but that since the Revolution it has been otherwise. That it is a meer Faction that runs down the present Bishops for imperious and arbitrary Men; and that the many Tragical Complaints publicly urg'd against them, are but the unreasonable Noise and Clamour of some of their Inferiors, moved by *Discontent* and *Disappointment*. That it was they that are against the Bishops that began the Dispute, and made the Assault; that the Writers on that Side have trespass'd in Point of Charity and good Manners, and publish'd so many Insinuations, Colours and Stories, that even *Martin MAR-PRELATE* did not more effectually affront the the Bishops of the C. of E. That they that have plead-

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ed against the Bishops, have been very inconsistent with one another, which thews that they begun their new Claims, before they had fix'd either the Ground or Extent of them: That themselves confess that the Rights they now claim, have not been claim'd in the Memory of Man; and that the Power of presiding over a Convocation is safe in the Hands of the present Primate: That they have not been ingenuous and fair in their Relation of Things; and that the Archbishop bore all their Behaviour, with that Tenderness and Affection that became his Character, and were peculiar to his Temper. In Answer to the two Letters,

he says, there's no Way of ending the Disputes, while the Church stands, but the Clergy's returning to their Duty; and that even then the Bishops can do no Synodical Act without them. He can see no Harm in it, for the Bishop of the Diocese to recommend this or that Person, as best qualified to represent his Brethren. He intimates, that the Abuses of Ecclestial Courts and Officers, were never made a Subject of the Lower Clergy's Remonstrance, till the last Convocation: That there is hardly one of the Bishops who discountenanc'd the late Attempts of the Lower Clergy, but what has been expressly reviled and slander'd, in some one or other of th late Papers and Pamphlets: And that the *Resolves* mention'd, pass'd not in a full House, and are not to be found, either in the Minutes or the Narrative. As for the Motion about strictly executing the *Præmunientes* Clause, which was Dr. *Atterbury's*, he answers it rut of Dr. *Kennet's* Reply to him: And concludes with telling him, that his Text in the Close, was much like *H. Peters* his *Curse ye Meroz*; and that he pray'd God to forgive him. In Answer to his Second Letter, He tells him that the Sight of that had convinc'd him, that his Cause was now capable of nothing but hardy Countenance, and slight of Hand: And that it would be given up for gone with all honest Mankind, when it can be no longer supported with sincerity and plainness; and when the last resort is to great Untruths, ambiguous Reserves, and the artifices of Deceiving.

Another Paper also came out against the foresaid *Letter to a Clergyman, &c.* The Writer of it had said, that it was the constant Practice ever since the Act of Sub-

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mission, in the front of the Acts of every Synod to enter the King's Parliament Writ with the Clause *Præmunientes*, as well as that to the Archbishop for calling the Clergy of his Province. And in Proof of this he ap-



peal'd to the Original Acts of the Convocations of *York* Province, and the Authentick Extracts of the Province of *Canterbury*. This Paper proves the contrary by a Certificate from *York*; and by Evidence from those *Canterbury* Extracts: And then signifies concern at so bold a Stroke, to serve a present Turn, before the falsity of it could be detected; at that Writers so shamefully imposing on his Brethren, and his prophaneness in applying a Text of Scripture in the close of his Letter, to the support of what was contrary to Religion and Truth. And that Writer having in this Case offer'd in so many Words, that if he herein deceiv'd, he was contented to forfeit all his Credit with any good Man for ever; This Animadverser tells him, that he could not see how he could avoid in that Respect falling under his own Sentence. He adds, That he could not help being in pain for the Church, when they who made most Noise of maintaining it, put its Defence upon such an Issue as this.

This was follow'd with a Reply to his Additional or Second Letter; wherein his Evasions were consider'd. This Author here freely told that Writer, that a complication of Falshoods, put together with so much Management, could not be the effect of Ignorance, though even that would not be to be pardon'd, at the end of such a solemn Appeal: But that all intended deceit (as this has all the Appearance of being) was of a blacker Completion, and requir'd a solemn *Recanting*. That *explaining* would not do. And that he had taken such lengths in his Assertion, that if he could keep up his Credit, under such a Cloud of Witnesses that so fully impeach it, he must conclude there is not Encouragement enough for Sincerity to be found in this World. But that he could not suppose his Brethren would set aside their regard to publick Records, rather than question the Integrity of one, who kept his Conclusion, even when he was forc'd to take Notice himself that his Premises fail'd. Nay, that he hop'd he himself would repent, of that which upon the strictest Enquiry

appear'd to him to be the greatest Prevarication he ever met with, except his Postscript, which also is here con-

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sider'd, which refers to a Clause in the Archiepiscopal Mandate.

These Reflections drew forth a *Third Letter to a Clergyman in the Country, in Defence of what was said in the Two former, about the Entry of the Parliament Writ, in the Journals of Convocation, and the insertion of the Clause in the Archiepiscopal Mandate.* He complains of his Answerers, that their chief Talent and Merit lay in darkning Disputes, and wearying Readers, by an endless Repetition of the same baffled Arguments, without any new Turn of Art or Improvement. The Art of spreading Scandal, he says is in our Time grown to an high pitch of Perfection; and some of the Order are extremely improv'd of late in their Skill this Way. For his Part, he says he is easier under the Reproaches of his Antagonist, than he should be under his Panegyrics. He asserts his own Innocence; and declares he had represented Facts truly, and that the Author or Authors be was engag'd with, had deny'd it upon meer frivolous Conjectures and Reasonings. He produces a Certificate of Five Parliament Writs to the Archbishop, inserted in the Extracts of Five Convocations for *Canterbury*; and another Certificate in Oppotition to the Assertions of his Antagonists. He says that the Wishes of those that wrote against him, to find the Facts he alledg'd False, were exceeding strong; and that they mistook those Wishes for Arguments. And that his Antagonist us'd his Words more like an Executioner shall a fair Answerer; and put what he said upon the Rack, to make it confess a meaning which he could not but know in his Conscience it was never intended to imply. He gives also a farther Account of the Affair of the *Archbishops Mandate*; and charges his Antagonist with a very gross and wilful Prevarica-

tion about it; and calls upon him either as publickly to disprove the Charge, or to own it. And confesses in the close that his Talk had been tedious, but that it was absolutely necessary, in Order to clear his own Integrity, and detect the Artifices of these Men, who he says, *make Lies their Refuge, and in Falshood hide themselves.*

But

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***A farther Account of the Proceedings of the Convocation.***

But its Time now to return to the *Convocation*, that was left sitting, when we broke off last. The Bishops (as has been already intimated) were considering the Report brought up from the Lower House. They drew up an Answer to it, and were for pursuing the Debate about the Right of Adjournment in Writing. This the inferiour Clergy were against, and on *March 31. 1701*, they Voted their own Right to Adjourn themselves\*. And then they sent the Prolocutor with a Message to the Upper House, intimating that they had consider'd their Reply, and desir'd a FREE CONFERENCE, upon the Subject Matter in Debate. The Archbishop requir'd their Answer in Writing. The Prolocutor told him, their Answer would take up about Twenty Sheets. The Archbishop answer'd, he did not confine them to length or breadth, but expected their Answer in Writing. The Lower House insisted upon a *Free Conference*; and drew up their Reasons for it, which were presented on the 5th of *April*.

The Upper House being willing to give what Satisfaction they could to the Lower, with respect to their Complaint against Mr. *Toland's* Book, Intit. *Christianity not Mysterious*, search'd Precedents, and agreed to advise with Council, upon there Two Queries, 1. *Whether the Convocations giving an Opinion concerning a Book, that is Heretical, Impious, and Immoral, is contrary to any Law?*

And, 2. *Whether the Words in the Paper sent to them by the Lower House, were such an Opinion as is contrary to any Law?* And having had the Judgment of some Eminent Lawyers, they gave this Answer to the Lower House, *that they did not find, how without a License from the King which they had not yet receiv'd, they could have sufficient Authority to censure Judicially any such Books: But on the contrary were advised, that by so doing, both Houses of Convocation might incur the Penalties of the Statute of 25 Hen. VIII.*

On April the 8th a Paper was deliver'd to the Prolocutor in Answer to that from the Lower House, deliver'd April the 5th, in which the Bishops tell them, 'That their Proceedings had been irregular, and without Precedent in sundry Particulars: That they could not find so much as one Instance of any Conference de-

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\* See the *Compleat History of England*, Vol. 3. p. 836, &c.

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'sir'd by the Lower House: That they were indeed once call'd up *ad Colloquium* in 1689, but that the Consequences of it were such as did by no Means discourage the doing of the like at this present Time: And that their pretending to make a recess, by their own Authority, apart from the Upper House, and without Order from the President, was altogether new, and such a Violation of his Authority, as could not be comply'd with, nor suffer'd, without destroying the Fundamental Constitution of an *English Convocation.*' After which the Archbishop made a grave Speech, and prorogu'd the Convocation to *May* the 8th. The Lower House sate afterwards as a House, for some Time that Day, and then adjourn'd themselves to the next Day. This (says my Author) was an affectation of Independence that was unknown to former Convocations, and never before attempted by any Presbyters, in any Episcopal Church.

On *May* the 8th the Archbishop told the Prolocutor, that 'what had been done in the Lower House, as a 'House, since the Prorogation, was not only null and 'without Authority, but of very dangerous Conse- 'quence to the Constitution. And that they could not 'receive from them, either by Word of Mouth or in 'Writing any thing done by the said House as a 'House in that Interval: At the same Time the Pro- 'locutor deliver'd a Paper, as the Act of the Lower 'House this Day, which was an Answer to what had been sent them about *Toland's* Book. 'They therein 'intimate their Apprehension of the little need there 'was to consult Lawyers about that Book; that the 'Archbishop might easily have obtain'd a License; that 'a bad use would be made of their omitting to express 'their dislike of so ill a Book: And justify their own 'Proceedings, and much complain of Grievances they 'suffer'd from the Upper House.

A Committee of Bishops prepar'd a Reply to this Pa- per; signifying, That 'they tho't it safest and most for the Interest of the Church and Religion, that in the Matter of *Toland's* Book as well as others; they should govern themselves by Precedents of former Convoca- tions: That his Majesty was the properest Judge, when to grant a License, and when not; Tho' consi- dering the Treatment which the License granted to

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'the Convocation in 1689 met with, it could not be 'tho't advisable to desire another, till a better Spirit 'had appear'd in those of the Lower House, than 'either did then or now: That they would endeavour 'to procure a Law for Regulating the Press, &c. That 'the Actions of the Lower House did not agree with 'their Profession; for that they had risen to higher de- 'grees of disrespect and invasion of the Metropolitan 'and Episcopal Rights, than ever was attempted by 'any Lower House of Convocation before, &c. And

‘that they had hereby given the greatest blow to the ‘Church, that had been given it, since the Presbyterian Assembly that sate at *Westminster*, in the late ‘Times of Confusion.

A Committee of Five Bishops was appointed, to meet a like Committee of the Lower House to inspect the Acts of each House in this Convocation, and report their Judgments. But the Lower House refus’d to appoint such a Committee. And when the Schedule of Prorogation was brought down to the Lower House, the Prolocutor refus’d to intimate it, and Adjourn’d to the next Day, instead of *May 16*. upon which Dr. *Verney* made the Address, that was mention’d before, upon Occasion of the *Narrative of the Lower House*.

The Lower House had been drawing *A Representation of their Sense upon the Bishop of Sarum’s Exposition of the Thirty nine Articles of the C. of E*, which they brought up *May* the 30th. Then happen’d the Altercation between the Bishop of *Bangor* and the Prolocutor, mention’d before.

The Paper presented with Relation to the Bishop of *Sarum’s Exposition*, represented it as the Sense of the Lower House, that it was a *Book that tended to introduce such a Latitude and Diversity of Opinions to the Articles were fram’d to avoid. That there were many Passages in the Exposition of several Articles, that appear’d to them to be contrary to their true meaning of them, and to other receiv’d Doctrines of the Church. And that there were some Things in it which seem’d of dangerous Consequence to the C of E as by Law Establish’d, and to derogate from the Honour of its Reformation.*

Then appear’d Dr. *Sherlock*, and Twelve other Members of the Lower House, and exhibited a complaint in Writing, to the Archbishop and Bishops, that they mov’d

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in the Lower House to enter their Protestation against *Intermediate Sessions*, but it was by a Vote carried against

them, which Vote was not allow'd to be Registered neither; and therefore they begg'd leave to be admitted to enter such Protestations: And they subscrib'd their Names to it.

*June* the 6th; The Archbishop told the Prolocutor, 'That he could not according to the Order of their 'House receive any Thing from him, till the Irregularity complain'd of was set Right: And yet at the repeated Request of the Bishop of *Sarum*, they were 'willing to receive the Paper their House had prepar'd 'against his Book.' The Prolocutor not having that Paper now at Hand was sent to fetch it; And when he went away left behind him a Paper by Way of Defence of the Proceedings of the Lower House, which was read in his Absence, by the Register. It contain'd their Reasons for declining to meet the Committee of Bishops as they were desir'd.

'They intimate they were a distinct House, and entirely at Liberty to admit or decline the Appointment of Committees as they saw fit. That the Bishops had 'no regular Way of seeing the Transactions of their 'House, but by their laying them before them: But 'that if the sight of their Journais was demanded as of 'Right, they had Reason to insist upon their Liberty. 'That they could see no ground for such a Committee. 'That they had Reason to expect their Lordships should 'put into their Possession the Journals of the Lower 'House, of 1586, 1588, 1640, 1661, &c. (which of 'Right belong'd to them) before they requir'd the Inspection of their present Proceedings. That they 'were however discourag'd by the Declaration made, 'that what they had done was of dangerous Consequence. And that their Lordships Sentence, cutting 'off all intercourse between the Two Houses, was not 'only over severe, being pass'd upon so small an Occasion, but destroy'd for the present the whole Design, 'and the very Being of a Convocation.

This Paper was referr'd to a Committee of Bishops to examine, who drew up a large and particlar Answer; signifying,

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'That it would have become the Lower House to 'have acknowledg'd the Patience and Tenderness of 'the Upper House. That searching Precedents, they 'had found they had a Right to appoint Committees; 'and that the Lower House had never before refus'd to 'comply with such an Appointment, That by their 'Refusal they had disobey'd the Authority of the Pre-'sident and Bishops, and broken the intercourse be-'tween the Two Houses. That for this they might 'have proceeded against them, by Canonical Admoni-'tions and Censures, which had hitherto been forborn: 'But that till they return'd to their Duty, Business could 'not proceed. That their Reasons offer'd for their Ju-'stification, were founded upon plain mistakes both of 'Right and Fact. That they assum'd to themselves to 'be an Independent Body: Whereas the whole Convo-'cation is but one Body; and both Houses were always 'continu'd and prorogu'd with one Instrument or Act; 'and that of this Body, the Archbishop was the Head. 'That the Aim of the Motion to have the Books in-'spected, was to prevent Mistakes, and take away all 'Occasion of Disputes and Controversies between the 'Two Houses. That their complaint of wanting for-'mer Journals, as if they had a Right to keep them '(if they knew where) was very unreasonable and un-'just. That the Registers and Act Books of both Houses, 'belong'd to the Archbishop. That the Ancient Regi-'sters were in the Library at *Lambeth*, where they had 'free Access to them. That had they met, the Bishops 'might have satisfy'd those of the Lower House, that 'their Adjourning themselves, &c. were not only Ille-'gal, but of dangerous Consequence. And therefore



'they move that they'l consider of their Irregularity, &c.

The Paper against the Bishop of *Sarum* being brought up, the Archbishop mov'd for the Particulars of their Charge against his Book: And waiting some Time for them to no purpose, Adjourn'd to *June* the 13th.

A Committee of Bishops, declar'd their Judgment as to the extraordinary steps of the Lower House.

1. 'Upon Occasion of the complaint against, the Bishop of *Sarum*, They declar'd it their Opinion, That 'the Lower House had no manner of Power, judicially to Censure any Book: That they ought not to

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'have entred upon the Examination of a Book of any Bishop of this Church, without first acquainting the President and Bishops: that their Censuring the Bishop of *Sarums* Book in general Terms, without mentioning the particular Pasages on which the Censure was grounded, was defamatory and scandalous: That that Bishop by his excellent *History of the Reformation*, approv'd by both Houses of Parliament, and other Writings, had done great Service to the C of E, and deserv'd the Thanks of their House: And that tho' private Persons may expound the Articles of the Church, yet that it could not be proper for the Convocation at this Time to approve, and much less to condemn such private Expositions.

2. As to the Altercation between the Prolocutor and the Bishop of *Bangor*, they declar'd they were of Opinion, that the Bishop had made a true and just Report of the Answer made him at the Door of the House: That the Prolocutor made the same Answer in Effect to the Archbishop in the House: That the Paper read by the Prolocutor in the House, was not about the irregularity complain'd of, but to introduce a Complaint against the Bishop of *Sarum* which had no Relation to it: That the Prolocutors Answer was such, as by no

Means ought to have been given, by him, to the Archbishop, or any Member of that House.

3. As to Dr. *Verney* and the rest of the Dissenters from the Majority in the Lower House, they declar'd it their Opinion that they had behav'd themselves as of Right and Duty they ought to do: They had maintain'd the just Rights of Convocation, and deserv'd the Protection of the Upper House: That the Prolocutor and some others of the Lower House, had violated the Methods of Proceedings in Convocation, endanger'd the Constitution of the Church, and been guilty of manifest Disobedience and Contempt.

*June* the 20th, the Prolocutor appear'd in the Upper House; and the Archbishop told him (as before,) that he could receive no Paper but that containing the Particularities of the general Charge against the Bishop of *Sarums Exposition*, which at that Bishops request he was ready to receive. The Prolocutor saying he had Two Papers, but could not present the one without the other, without the Direction of the Lower House, went back

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for the Opinion of the House, but did not return, till the Convocation was prorogu'd to *August* the 7th, and thence to *September* the 18th, till the Parliament was Dissolv'd, and the Convocation with it.

***The History of the Convocation in 1700. 4to.***

And here I shall take, Notice of the *History of this Convocation*, that first met on *February* 6, 1700, which was publish'd at large in 1702. I mention it here for some Reasons that will be obvious. It is said to be Faithfull, drawn from the *Journal of the Upper*, and from the *Narrative and Minutes of the Lower House*, The Author in his *Preface* reflects on the *Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower House*, as drawn up in hast and in Anger, never order'd by a full House in any proper Session, and read and debated in intermediate Contentions only. He asks how the Lower House came to a Power of punishing any Synodical Affairs without

the Concurrence of the Upper, or the Knowledge of the President? He says there was much disguise and subterfuge in the Edition of the *Narrative*: And that the publisher of it, was not master of the Argument; and either not well instructed in his Cause, or not well dispos'd to report it. He says, That the late Assembly Men would not Adjourn to the Day given by Authority, but carried their Disobedience a step beyond the Neighbouring Presbytery; and touches on many unwarranted Assertions and Reflections in the Preface to *the Narrative*. He takes Notice that the Original Minutes of this Lower House were not preserv'd, but had been all Burnt or otherwise destroy'd: But that all that remain'd, was an Act Book of the Lower House, not drawn out of the very Minutes of each preceding Day, upon fresh Memory, by the Actuary himself; but the Work of a Committee toward the end of the Session, to make up a Narrative rather than a Journal, more to justify themselves, than to deliver naked Matter of Fact.

In the Entrance on the *History*, the *Narrative* is Reflected on, for saying that the Rights they claim are indisputably clear: and necessary to the very Being of a Convocation. If it be so, this Author says we have had no Convocation in Being these 400 Years. As to the Temper boasted of, he says the World will Read and Judge. He says that Men of Design may inform the Clergy, that their Rights and Priviledges depend

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on frequent and uninterrupted Convocations; but if their Scheme should prevail, and the inferiour Clergy be bound to a continu'd Attendance during the whole Sessions of every Parliament, it would be soon found the Burden of the Church, and the Oppression of the Clergy. He sides with, and vindicates Dr. *Kennet* about the *Archiepiscopal Mandate*; and when he has done it makes this Remark: That in an Historical Subject, if Writers fail for want of Light and Know-

ledge, it is somewhat excusable; but when once they come to invent, and to impose their Inventions, for disgracing an Adversary, and deceiving a Reader, it must be downright want of Sincerity and Conscience. Reflections are all along inferred upon the Passages and Proceedings of the Lower House, and also upon the *Narrative*. He observes that the Lower House first exempted themselves from Obligation as to the *Place* which the Archbishop Adjourn'd them to; by Degrees they exempted themselves as to the *Time* also, till at length they entirely rejected the Authority of the *Schedule*. First they pleaded for a *Tacit*, and then they came to an *express Consent* to their own Prorogation; by which they took away the natural Sense of the Prolocutors *intimation*: For none can want to have their own Will and Pleasure *intimated* to them. There are many such Remarks made in the Course of this History.

There are also some other Passages to be there met with, one of which I think it proper to take Notice of.

When on *April* the 8th, Dr. *Finch* return'd from the Upper House to the Lower, with an Account that no Message would be receiv'd from them for want of the Prolocutors Presence, the Dean of *Glocester* in some resentment took Occasion to say, that once the Upper House denied this Correspondence with them, it was now Time for the House to return their Thanks to Mr. *Atterbury*, for his learned Pains in Asserting and Vindicating the Rights of Convocation. Upon which it was warmly Debated, and the Form of Thanks being propos'd to be chang'd, from *learned Pains in Asserting and Vindicating*, into his *Endeavours to Assert and Vindicate*, upon a Division of the House, it was carry'd as design'd, in the Affirmative. And then the Prolocutor

said,

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said, Mr. *Archdeacon of Totnes* I and the House (no Parliamentary Phrase says the author of the History) re-

turn you our Thanks, &c. Upon which Vote a Letter was afterwards sent to that University, *That whereas Mr. Francis Atterbury, Late of Christ Church had so happily Asserted the Rights and Priviledges of an English Convocation, as to merit the solemn Thanks of the Lower House of it, for his learned Pains on that Subject.—It might be hop'd the University would not be left forward in taking some publick Notice of so great a Piece of Service to the Church. And that the most proper and seasonable mark of Respect to him, would be to confer on him the Degree of Dr. of Divinity by diploma, without doing Exercise, or paying Fees:* Which was accordingly done.

Many other Particulars are contain'd in this *History*, not to be elsewhere met with: The taking distinct Notice of which would not consist with my designed Brevity.

***Dr. Hody's History of Councils and Convocations.***

About this Time also, Dr. *Hody*, publish'd *A History of English Councils and Convocations; And of the Clergies sitting in Parliament, &c.* in 8vo. In his Preface, he promises a faithful and impartial History; without adding, concealing, or false Colouring. He signifies that he had perus'd the Ancient Records of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, and examin'd the Edition of our *English Councils*. He declares himself an adversary to no Man and promises not to go out of his Way to find Faults in other Mens Writings; but that where he notes them, 'twas because they lay directly in his Way. He says he had no inclination to those modish Figures of Writing, Raillery and Contempt. And yet he could not forbear with indignation to take Notice of some late Reflections on the present Government both in Church and State.

He begins with an Account of the Members of which an *English Convocation* is made up, which have been in some Respects different at several Times, and upon several Occasions. He considers a Convocation, either in itself as it is a Synod, and call'd by the Archbishops Mandate, or as it is a part of the Parliament,

and summon'd by a Royal Writ directed to each particular Bishop. He says the *Præmunientes* Writ has seldom been executed by any Bishop, or if executed, never effectually obey'd: Neither has it been expected it

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Page 1. &c.  
p. 12.

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should be. He gives an Account of Ancient Synods; some *Welch*, others under *Augustine* first Archbishop of *Canterbury*, &c. He observes that in old Times they often held their Councils in open Fields, upon the Bank of some River, and under some great Oak. He mentions the Synods and Councils of the 9th Century. They consisted not only of Bishops, but of other the most Famous and Wise Men. He proceeds to the Synods and Councils of the 10th Century. In this Time the married Clergy or *Seculars*, were turn'd out of Monasteries and Cathedral Churches, and *Regulars* put in their Places. He goes on to those in the 11th Century, before the *Conquest*. Where the Author observes, That all those Charters in which Exemptions are pretended to be granted to Monasteries before the *Conquest* are spurious. He touches on the Laws of King *Edward* the Confessor: And it is observ'd out of an Ancient Writer, that even in the Confessors Time, as well as afterwards under the Conqueror, &c. the Clergy were represented by Two Proctors sent up from every Archdeaconry and Deanry, as the Commons by their Knights of Shires and Burgesses: But he says 'tis forg'd. He then considers State Councils or Parliaments after the *Conquest*, and how far the Clergy were concern'd in them. He gives a Lift of Bishops and Abbots and other Ecclesiasticks, who held of *William* the Conqueror as Tenants in Capite: He observes that many Presbyters were so. He goes on to Parliaments under the Conqueror. He observes that in those Times, the Masters of Chancery

and of the Rolls, the Clerks in Chancery, and of the Two Benches and of the Exchequer, were all Clergymen: And the Clerks of the Kings Courts being still Men in Holy Orders, all Livings in the Kings Gift, not exceeding the value of 20 Marks were therefore put into the Hands of the Lord Chancellor, to be dispos'd of among such Servants of his Majesty, as he saw deserv'd. The Clerks of Parliament were also Clergymen: And no longer since than 1551, the Clerk of the Parliament was Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. He comes next to Parliaments under *William Rufus*: And so to those under *Henry I*; and those under King *Stephen*: (1.) Under *Henry the II*: (2) Under *Richard I*: (3.) Under King *John*. (4.) Under *Henry III*. (5.) He considers how far the inferiour Clergy

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*P. 14. P. 34. P. 51. P. 66. P. 89. P. 106. P. 125. P. 132. P. 143. P. 174. P. 183. (1.) P. 210. (2.) P. 216. (3.) P. 251. (4.) P. 261. (5.) P. 291.*

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were concern'd in Parliament, after *Edward I*. (6.) And after many Remarks made upon the *Præmunientes* Clause, he concludes that it was continu'd in the Writs, after it became a constant Custom for the Clergy to meet in a separate Body by Venue of the Archbishops Mandate, that thereby our Princes might assert their Right of calling the Clergy (if they please) to Parliament; which the Clergy oppos'd, as an invasion and inroad upon their Liberties. (7.)

In the Third Part of his History, He gives an Account of Synods under the Archbishops *Stigand* and *Lanfranc*: (8.) In the Time of *Anselm* and *William Corbel* Archbishops: (9.) In the Time of Archbishop *Theobald*: (10.) Under *Henry II*. in the Time of *Theobald*, *Thomas Becket*, and *Richard* Archbishops: (11.) Under *Richard I*. in the Time of *Baldwin* and *Hubert* Archbishops: (12.) Under King *John* in the Time of *Hubert* and *Stephen Langton* Archbishops. (13.) Under *Henry III*. in the Time of *Stephen Langton*, *S. Edmund* and *Boniface*

Archbishops. (14.) He proceeds to give an Account of Convocations in the Reign of *Edward I.* under *John Peckham* and *Robert Winchelsea* Archbishops: (15.) In the Reign of *Edward II.* under *Robert Winchelsea* and *Walter Reynolds* Archbishops. (16.) In the Reign of *Edward III.* under *Reynolds*, *Mepham*, *Stratford*, *Islip*, *Langham*, *Wittlesey*, and *Sudbury* Archbishops. (17.) In the Reign of *Richard II.* under *Sudbury*, *Courtney*, and *Arundel* Archbishops. (18.) In the Reign of *Henry IV.* under Archbishop *Arundel*. (19.) In the Reign of *Henry V.* under *Arundel* and *Chichley* Archbishops. (20.) Extracts out of the Parliament Rolls of *Henry VI.* relating to Convocations. (21.) Convocations in the Reign of *Edward IV.* under Archbishop *Bourchier*. (22.) In the Reign of *Henry VII.* under Archbishop *Morton*. (23.)

***The Proceedings of the new Convocation.***

Together with the new Parliament, the King summon'd a new Convocation. Dr. *Sherlock* preach'd a Latin Sermon at the opening it, from *Jude v. 3.* Dr. *Woodward* Dean of *Sarum* (a Civilian grown Popular says my Author, by opposing his Diocesan to whom he ow'd his Preferments) carried it for Prolocutor, from Dr. *Beveridge* Archdeacon of *Colchester*. The Two Houses agreed in an Address to his Majesty, which was presented on *Jan. 22.* at *Kensington*.

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(6.) P. 371. (7.) P. 431. (8.) P. 1. &c. (9.) P. 23. &c. (10.) P. 40. &c. (11.) P. 60. &c. (12.) P. 76. (13.) P. 81. (14.) P. 90. (15.) P. 126, &c. (16.) P. 165. (17.) P. 179. (18.) P. 229. (19.) P. 245. (20.) P. 255 (21.) P. 277. (22.) P. 279. (23.) P. 280.

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They signify'd therein to his Majesty the deep Re-sentment everyone of them had, at their first hearing of the great Indignity which the *French King* offer'd to His Majesty and His People, in declaring the pretended Prince of *Wales* to be King of his Majesty's Realms and Dominions. They renew'd their Protestations of a firm and unshaken Allegiance: And assur'd his Majesty, they would do their utmost Endeavours in their



respective Places and Stations, to Maintain his right-ful Title, and the Succession in the Protestant Line as by Law Establish'd, against the said pretended Prince, and all other His Majesty's open and secret Enemies, &c. And the King gave them a Gracious Answer.

There was however a great Difference between the Two Houses, and between the Members of the Lower House, about the Right of Adjournment. This Difference was heighten'd on *Jan. 25*. For then a Member of the Lower House mov'd to change the Form of Entry in their Minutes, and to use the Phrase, of *Dominus Prolocutor Continuavit & Prorogavit quoad hanc Domum*; and it was done accordingly: The Prolocutor in his own Name, continu'd and prorogu'd that House, instead of intimating that it was continu'd and Prorogu'd.

This was excepted against by several Members on *Febr. 3*: But it was carry'd by a Majority, that there should be no Alteration, and that the Matter should not then be further debated: And when the Schedule of Prorogation came down from the Upper House, it was laid aside, while the House was proceeding to other Business. A Member mov'd that the Message deliver'd to the Prolocutor might be Communicated to the House, which he tho't they had a Right to insist on; the Majority oppos'd him, and they went on to appoint a Committee of Grievances. And then the Prolocutor Adjourn'd as by the Authority of the House, and the Dissenting Members Protested by Word of Mouth; and before the next Meeting, put their verbal Protestation into Writing. On *Febr. 9*. a Motion was made, that that Protestation might be admitted and entred, as a standing Evidence of their asserting the just Rights and Authority of the President. This was oppos'd by a Majority. But Dr. *Beveridge* propos'd a Question, *Whether upon the Supposition that the House may sit upon Syno-*

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*dicial Business, after the coming down of the Schedule; till they think. their Business over, the House would agree that the Schedule should be then executed, and the House Prorogu'd to the Day and Hour there specify'd, by Vertue of the said Schedule, and in Obedience to the Authority whereby the whole Convocation was prorogu'd. To evade answering this Question it was at last agreed, that a Committee should be appointed to consider of such all expedient about the Prorogation of the Lower House, as might tend to the composing of Disputes: And Eight were fix'd on one side, viz. Dr. Hooper, Dr. Jane, Dr. Aldrich, Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Binckes, Mr. Needham, Mr. Moor, and Dr. Wynne: And Eight on the other Side; viz. Dr. Beveridge, Dr. Hayley, Dr. Willis, Dr. Kennet, Dr. Trimnel, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Green, and Mr. Lloyd. And this Committee meeting Febr. 10, Agreed, That no Forms of Prorogurion should be us'd by the Prolocutor hereafter, that were not us'd before the last Convocation: That the Forms us'd by the Prolocutor in the Convocation of 1586, and 1588, should hereafter be us'd by the Prolocutor in the Order they lie in the Books, beginning with the First till they are all gone through: And that they should be pronounc'd by the Prolucutor, when the House agreed that their Business was over. After this, some boasted of the Advantage gain'd on the Side of the Lower House, and that the Archbishops Friends had given up his Cause; and excluded the Schedule from any concern in the Adjournment. To obviate which Sense, ome prepar'd a Paper against the next Session, in which they declar'd, That they understood the latter part of the Agreement aforesaid, with an Exception to any Case, when the President should see Cause to send an Order with the Schedule, signifying the express Time of intimating the Prorogation upon that Day: Otherwise if it were pretended to mean, that the Authority of the Archbishop, or any Order sent from the Upper House, was thereby excluded or diminish'd, they then solemnly protested against any such meaning, or intended meaning: Which was brought to be offer'd to the House, on Febr. 12.*

The Eight Members also drew up a Declaration of their Sense, in which they signify'd, among other Things, that they refus'd an Alteration that was offer'd on the Third Article of the Agreement foremention'd, *viz. That the Form should not be pronounc'd by the prolocu-*

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*tor till the House agreed that their Business was over:* This they refus'd, because tho' they might generally presume upon the Archbishops consent for their fitting to dispatch all proper Business; yet they could not agree to any Thing that should preclude his Right to Prorogue them immediately if he found it expedient: And that they us'd the Words *pronounc'd by the Prolocutor*, to prevent the putting any Question to the House about *Adjourning themselves*; and that the Prorogation might be always to the Time and Place appointed by the Schedule.

On *Febr. 12*, The Prolocutor being indispos'd, appointed the Dean of *Christ Church* to Act as his Deputy: And a Deputy so appointed, had been accepted, had Application been duly made to the President to Approve and Confirm him. But no such Application being made, the Archbishop sent for the Clergy, and prorogu'd the Convocation to the 14th, telling them that an incident had happen'd of great Moment, which he and his Brethren must take time to consider of.

On *Febr. 13*. *Dr. Woodward* the Prolocutor died, in his Lodgings at *Westminster*, in very unhappy Circumstances. (Says my Author) The Archbishop on the 14th told the inferiour Clergy he was much surpriz'd at the News of it, and adjourn'd them to the 19th. The Prolocutor before his last Sickness, had complain'd much of his Bishop, my Lord of *Sarum*, on Account of his Breach of Priviledge in his Treatment of him. The Case was thus: The Bishop Visiting his Clergy, The Clergy paid their Attendance: But the Dean of *Sarum* declin'd appearing a Rector of *Peusy*, without making

a reasonable Excuse; nay, rather aggravated his Absence with Contempt. The Bishop order'd a Citation in the usual Method. When the Time of Priviledge afterwards commenc'd, he ordred his Chancellor to put a *Stet* upon the Cause, and there was no farther Proceeding. Upon this a formal Complaint was on *Febr.* 9. presented to the Upper House, in which this was represented not only as an unlawful Molestation of a Member of the Lower House, but an injury offer'd to the whole Body of the Convocation, in the Person of the Referendary between the Two Houses of it. The Archbishop and Bishops answer'd, that the Proceedings refer'd to, were begun when there was no Priviledge,

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and that upon the opening of the present Convocation a *Stet* was put upon the Cause, nor was there any Citation of Process decreed since.

But these Matters were canvass'd without Doors as well as within: *And a faithful Account of what past in Convocation* was publish'd in Three Letters, Numb. 1, 2, 3. Where there are Hints of a setled Resolution taken, of rendring Convocations insignificant and useless. The Author in his first Letter says that for near 150 Years past, there is no one Instance of the Confirmation of a Deputy Prolocutor above: nor any Ground or Colour to believe that the Bishops at all intermedled with it.

On *Febr.* 19. the Archbishop dismiss'd the Clergy with a Speech: In which taking Occasion from their Complaint of the Bishop of *Sarum*, he tells them, 'he 'hopes for the Future, they would not be surpriz'd in- 'to Complaints, but would stay till they were assur'd 'they were well grounded both in *Right* and *Fact*. He 'adds that the Choice of a new Prolocutor would not 'now be so seasonable, for that many Members were 'absent, attending their respective Cures; and that a 'War was breaking out, which would turn Mens 'Tho'ts another Way: And that therefore he intended

'a Prorogation. He tells them their Heats had given 'great Offence, even to those that understand not 'the Nature of the Controversy, but were concern'd, 'that there should be any Differences among such as 'were by Profession the Ministers of the Gospel of 'Peace, &c.' The Prorogation was to *March 5*. The Second Letter now came out. The Author says that his Grace was pleas'd to read his Speech; and that more Members now attended than were present at the Choice of the last Prolocutor: That more came to Town upon this Occasion than had left it to go to their Cures; and he left his Friend to guess whether their Prefence might not be a truer Reason for the putting off the Election than the others Absence. He adds, that such hindrances as those mention'd had not been thought sufficient in other Instances: And that there was not even a War wanting in 1666 to call off Mens Minds from Convocational Business. He intimates that the fear of an Accommodation of their Differences was the Occanon of these unprecedented Proceedings. And in the Third Letter,

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he carps at the Representation given by the Upper House of the Proceedings of the Bishop of *Sarum* against his Dean, and shews the Grounds they went on in their Complaint.

About this Time came out an *Expedient propos'd*, in Answer to *the Right of the Archbishop to Continue and Prorogue the whole Convocation asserted*, The Author says, That there is no one Church throughout the Christian World more remarkable for Unity, and a good Correspondence between its Members than the C. of *E*, as by Law Establish'd, from the Time of its first throwing out the Superstition and Corruption of Popery, to its Second Deliverance from *Romish* Tyranny and Oppression; But that since, the Clergy have fallen out among themselves, and from little misunderstandings are in danger of breaking out into a Flame; And where-

as Divisions in the Church us'd to be heard by Synodical Assemblies and Councils, Things have been so manag'd by the fomenters of the Differences, as to make the very Meetings of the Clergy an Occasion of warmer Disputes. He observes that from the very Time that the Dissenters were by Law indulg'd, the Clergy of the Establish'd Church found themselves abridg'd of their Ancient Priviledges, He ascribes the Differences between the Two Houses, very much to the mistakes which both of them fell into, upon the Bishops changing their House, and removing to *Jerusalem Chamber*, leaving the Lower House to sit in *Henry VII's Chappel*. And the main of the Expedient propos'd, is that the Lower House should agree always to Adjourn to the Day to which the Archbishop Adjourn'd the Upper House, that they might be always ready to attend him where they were sent for. This was answer'd in a *Letter to the Author of the pretended Expedient*, which told him that an Expedient must begin in owning the Authority of the Metropolitan and his Suffragans: Whereas what he propos'd, reserv'd the Authority of Adjourning the Lower House to themselves: And that Grievances may be redress'd, but a Power so essential to the Constitution must not be parted with. Another Answer also came out, Entitled, *Reflections upon a late Paper, Ent. An Expedient propos'd*: This Author charges that Paper, as being rather an Invective against the Upper House, than an Expedient for reconciling them to the Lower.

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#### The Carriage of the Clergy.

After the Archbishops Speech, with which some were well satisfy'd, others discover'd their great dissatisfaction, They met again Two Days after, and chose a Chairman or Moderator. And when the Day came to which both Houses had been Prorogu'd, they meeting the Bishop of *Lincoln*, who as the Archbishops Com-

missary had Prorogu'd the Convocation to a farther Day, begg'd him to carry a Message to the Archbishop, of their desire to proceed to the Choice of a Prolocutor. He offer'd to take their Sense in Writing. Thereupon they cry'd out that it was the *Unanimous desire of the Lower House* of Convocation, &c. One present oppos'd, and said that they were not a House, and that many Members did not assent to such a Message; and that at most it could with Truth run only in the Name of *several Members of the Lower House*. This rais'd a new Clamour; and the Member who thus openly Dissented, was severely reflected on. And the King dying within a few Days after, the Convocation was Dissolv'd; tho' some would gladly have had it continu'd, because the Parliament did so: The Lawyers declar'd it could not be. And when they made an Attempt to have it continu'd by an extraordinary Clause added in some Parliamentary Bill, the Attorney General declared it was against the Queens Ecclesiastical Supremacy; upon which they were forc'd to acquieace in its Dissolution.

#### **King Williams Death.**

Our Glorious King *William* died at *Kensington*, on *March 8, 1701/2*. The Historian who wrote his Life,\* says, *That tho' he publickly profess'd the Establish'd Religion, yet he still retain'd a great Tenderness for the Dissenters, and was ever averse to Persecute People on the Account of their Belief*. And he elsewhere† intimates, *That he was by some look'd on as one who by Tolerating all Religions, intended to overturn the Establish'd Church*. The former Part of this Character argu'd him to have a just Sense of the Rights of Humane Nature, as well as of the true Interest of *Britain*: The Latter, is a Reflection that discovers at once the Ingratitude, Ignorance, and Bigotry, of those that made it. He had in-

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\* See the *Third Volume in Octavo*, p. 517.† *Preface to Volume First, Page IV.*

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deed a Regard to the Dissenters, and yet they were not even in his Reign intirely free from Hardships. He knew they were firm in his Interest, and true to his Title, and faithful in his Service; and they never gave him any uneasiness; It is not therefore to be wondred he should discover a good Opinion of them. Perhaps the Time may come, when that may prove not to be to their Disadvantage. They not only at first extoll'd him as their Deliverer from Popery and Slavery, but in the whole course of his Reign (which visibly aim'd at the Publick Good) they carried it to him with the Respect that was due to the great Defender of the Liberty of *Europe*: None more heartily Lamented the unspeakable Loss which the Nation sustain'd by his Death, or are to this Day more grateful to his Memory; or more thankful for the Settlement of the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant Line, which must be ascrib'd to his tender Concern for the securing our Liberty and Religion, to our Posterity after us.

## CHAP. XIX.

*An Account of the Case of the Dissenters, and of other material Incidents in the Reign of Queen ANNE, till the Passing the Bill against Occasional Conformity, in 1711.*

**K**ING *William* was no sooner dead, than the Dissenters felt the Effects of the Change. They that bore them ill Will before. and were ready to reflect upon them on all Occasions, now openly Triumph'd; and tho' their Hands were tied before, seem'd now to conclude they thould have full Liberty to deal with them as they pleas'd; and talk'd of nothing less than suppressing them. This was common in the City: And in several Parts of the Country, they talk'd of pulling down the Meeting Houses, as Places not fit to be



suffer'd. And in one Town\*, they actually went to Work, as soon as ever the Tidings of the Kings Death

reach'd

\* *Newcastle under Lime.*

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reach'd them. Several Sermons were preach'd, and Pamphlets dispers'd to blacken them as much as was possible. And such a violent Temper discover'd itself on a sudden, and such an inclination to Heat and Fury, as plainly shew'd the Parties affected to have been kept under an unnatural sort of Restraint before. Some that had taken the Oaths to King *William*, shew'd that they did not love him by Aspersion his Memory. He was bred up amongst the *Presbyterians*, and on that Account whatever he said or did, they could never think him a true Friend of their Church: But having now a Queen upon the Throne, that was bred up in the Way of the *Church of England*, they threaten'd Revenge upon those who had done them no other Injury, than the modest using the Liberty that had been Legally granted them amounted to. But Her Majesty openly declaring for the same Measures as had been pursu'd in the last Reign, and the House of Peers appearing Zealous for the Memory of King *William*, it was a curb and a check to them.

Among the many Addresses presented to Her Majesty at the first entrance on Her Reign, the Dissenting Ministers in and about the *City*, of all the Three Denominations, *Presbyterians*, *Congregational*, and *Antipædobaptists*, waited on Her in a Body, with Dr. *Daniel Williams* at the Head of them, with the following Address, Sign'd by all their Hands; which was afterwards inserted in the Gazette, of *March 23 1701/2*.

To Her most Excellent Majesty, *Anne*, by the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

‘WE Your Majesty’s most Loyal and Dutiful Sub-  
 ‘jects, the Protestant Dissenting Ministers in  
 ‘and about the City of *London*, crave leave humbly  
 ‘to Represent the deep Sense we have of the unspeak-  
 ‘able Loss, We and all Your Majesty’s good Subjects  
 ‘suffer by the Death of our late Glorious Monarch,  
 ‘*William* the Third.

‘But herein we are most sensibly and effectually  
 ‘Reliev’d, by Your Majesty’s most Happy and Peace-  
 ‘able Succession to these Crowns, whose rightful and, un-

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‘undoubted Title we acknowledge with the greatest  
 ‘Sincerity, and whose constant Zeal for the Protestant  
 ‘Religion is so justly Renown’d: For all which, with  
 ‘Unfeign’d Joy, we Bless and Adore the Divine  
 ‘Goodness.

‘We farther beg leave to Assure Your Majesty of  
 ‘our most Dutiful Affection, and inviolable Fidelity,  
 ‘to Your Royal Person and Government; not doubt-  
 ‘ing of our Share in the many Blessings of Your Ma-  
 ‘jesty’s Wise and Happy Reign, which we heartily  
 ‘Pray may be long over us.

This was the first Time that the Three Denominations  
 appear’d together at Court upon such an Occasion;  
 and it was design’d hereby to manifest to those who  
 were common Enemies to them all, that their Diffe-  
 rences among themselves were not such as hindred  
 them from maintaining a Brotherly Affection. They  
 took the Oath to the Government, as it was now al-  
 ter’d by the Parliament as freely as any Men; and de-  
 sir’d and aim’d at nothing but to live Peaceably and  
 Quietly, serving God according to their Consciences,  
 and to their utmost assisting and supporting the Go-  
 vernment, in a necessary, hazardous, and expensive  
 War against the Enemy of the Peace of *Europe*.

But the Debate about *Occasional Conformity*, which had been rais'd in the foregoing Reign, was now reviv'd with great Warmth. Few wrote on the Church Side, but what made this the Matter of their Invectives and Censures. The Moderation of the Dissenters towards the Establish'd Church that was formerly reckon'd a Vertue, was now represented as Criminal, and an Evidence of an ill Design: And that was cry'd down as sinful when it qualify'd for an Office, which they had from the first Declar'd to be Lawful in their Apprehension, and had accordingly practic'd in a private Capacity. It being the desire of many to bring them under a Popular Odium, this was reckon'd a proper step to it. This was the common Cry of the Leaders of the Party in the Election of a new Parliament: And the Populace that are usually led more by Noise than Reason, generally gave into it,

Before the new Parliament which was call'd this Year (and in Electing which there was a mighty struggle)

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sate down, a Pamphlet came out with this Title, *The Establishment of the Church, the Preservation of the State*; shewing the Reasonableness of a Bill against Occasional Conformity: In which the Author undertook to prove the encouraging Dissenters utterly inconsistent with that Duty of Charity that was ow'd them by the Church; that a civil Discouragement of them would be highly agreeable to Religion; that their Objections as to Cruelty, and with Respect to Conscience had nothing in them; and that the Countenancing them would be as little Politick as Pious. And it was soon follow'd by another, call'd, *The Case of Toleration Recogniz'd*; in which a strenuous Motion was made for the adding farther Conditions to the Toleration, and especially that of Incapacitating such as had Benefit by it, for all Civil Employments. And the Author has this remarkable Passage. *If the Strength of the Dissenting Interest is at*

*present so considerable as to make it dangerous to provoke them, by imposing Sacramental Tests, this is so far from being an Objection against them, that it is if a good Argument for having them. For if their Interest is so formidable, as to made it hazardous to offend them, it is full time to venture their Displeasure, when there is such Reason to dread their Power: And if they are not so terrible as they would make the World believe they are, it is prudent to prevent their being so. And he closes thus; I dare venture to conclude with the Words of David, That tho' Father and Mother should forsake us, tho' Kings and Queens should in their turns successively overlook our Rights, yet the Lord will be both a Sun and a Shield; Light and Protection to his People. It was Dedicated to the Earl of Marlborough, as to one of unsuspected Zeal for the Church. This was answer'd in an ingenious Letter to the Author, by no Occasional, but a constant Communicant with the Established Church: Who upon his own declar'd and avowed Principles, pleads for a simple Toleration, without any Preternatural Embargoes laid, or to be laid upon it, according to the unalienable Right of Humanity.*

The Queen at the opening of the New (and Her first,) Parliament, *Octob. 21*, told them, that She was resolv'd to defend and maintain the Church as by Law Established, and to protect them in the full Enjoyment of all their Rights and Liberties; but said not a word of the

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*Toleration.* The Commons in their Address, *October 27*, have these words; *We neither doubt of the full Enjoyment of all our Rights and Liberties, nor of Your Majesties Defending and Maintaining the Church as by Law Established. Your Majesty has been always a most Illustrious Ornament to this Church, and have been expos'd to great Hazards for it; and therefore we promise our selves, that in Your Majesties Reign, we shall see it perfectly restor'd to its due Rights and Priviledges, and secur'd in the same to Po-*

*sterity; which is only to be done, by divesting those Men of the Power, who have shewn they want not the Will to destroy it.*

Nov. 4. Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Annesly, were ordered to bring in a Bill for preventing *Occasional Conformity*. It was read a 2d time, Nov. 17, and a Motion made for the Exempting Protestant Diffenters from such Offices as cannot by Law be executed without receiving the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church of *England*, it was carried in the Negative. The Bill pass'd the House, and was sent up to the Lords; and Decem. 9, it pass'd there also, with some Amendments. The Prince was for the Bill, and most of the Great Officers of the Court; but a Majority of the Bishops were for such Amendments as occasion'd a Conference between the two Houses, and at length the dropping of the Bill.

As it now pass'd the Commons, it was to this Purpose: That 'As nothing is more contrary to the 'Profession of the Christian Religion, and particularly to the Doctrine of the *Church of England*, than Persecution for Conscience only; and in due Consideration of it, an Act past in the 1st Year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, for the exempting their 'Majesties Protestant Subjects dissenting from the *Church of England*, from the Penalties of certain 'Laws, which Act ought inviolably to be observ'd, 'and Ease given to Consciences truly scrupulous: Nevertheless, whereas the Laws provide that every Person to be admitted into any Office or Employment, 'should be conformable to the Church, as by Law Establish'd, by Enacting, that every such Person so to 'be admitted should receive the Sacrament of the 'Lord's Supper, to qualifie themselves to have and 'enjoy such Offices and Employment, and do after-

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'wards resort to Conventicles or Meetings for the  
'Exercise of Religion in other manner than according  
'to the Liturgy, &c. contrary to the intent and mean-  
'ing of the Laws already made: It was therefore  
'mov'd to be Enacted, &c. That if any Person or Per-  
'sons after the First Day of *March* 1702/3, either Peers  
'or Commons, having any Office or Offices, Civil or  
'Military, or receiving any Pay, Salary, Fee or Wages,  
'by Reason of any Patent or Grant, or having any  
'Command or Place of Trust under Her Majesty or  
'Her Predecessors, or by Authority deriv'd from Her  
'or them; or that should be admitted into any Service  
'or Employment relating to the Government of Cities,  
'Corporations, Burroughs, Cinque Ports and Port  
'Towns, who by the Laws are oblig'd to receive the  
'Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Rites  
'and Usages of the *Church of England*; should at any  
'Time after their Admission into such Offices or Em-  
'ployments, or having such Grants, or during their  
'continuance in them, or enjoying Advantage by  
'them, knowingly and willingly resort to, or be pre-  
'sent at any Conventicle, or Meeting under Colour  
'of any Exercise of Religion, in other Manner than  
'according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church  
'of *England*, at which Conventicle or Assembly there  
'should be Five Persons or more Assembled together,  
'over and besides those of the same Houshold, if in any  
'House where there is a Family inhabiting; or if in an  
'House or Place where no Family inhabits, where Five  
'Persons or more are so Assembled; or should know-  
'ingly and wittingly be present at any such Meeting,  
'altho' the Liturgy be there us'd, in Case Her Majesty,  
'the Queen Dowager, the Princess *Sophia*, or such  
'others as shall from Time to Time be lawfully ap-  
'pointed to be Pray'd for, shall not be Pray'd for in  
'express Words; shall forfeit the Sum of One Hundred  
'Pounds, and Five Pounds for every Day that any  
'such Persons should continue in the Execution of such  
'Office or Employment, after their being present at

‘any such Conventicle; to be recover’d by him or  
 ‘them that should Sue for the same, by Action, of Debt,  
 ‘Bill, Plaint or Information, in any of the Queens  
 ‘Courts at *Westminster*, &c.—And that every Person  
 ‘Convicted in any such Action, or upon any Informa-  
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‘tion, Presentment, or Indictment, in any of the  
 ‘Courts at *Westminster*, or at the Assizes, should be  
 ‘disabled from thence forth to hold such Offices or  
 ‘Employments, or to receive any Profit or Advantage  
 ‘by them, &c. And should be adjudged incapable to  
 ‘bear any Office or Employment whatsoever.—And  
 ‘that if any who should have been Convicted, and  
 ‘thereby made incapable to hold any Office or Em-  
 ‘ployment, should after such Conviction, Conform  
 ‘to the *Church of England*, for the space of One Year,  
 ‘without having been present at any Conventicle, and  
 ‘receive the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper at the  
 ‘least Three Times in the Year, they should be capa-  
 ‘ble of a Grant of any Office or Employment, or of  
 ‘being Elected into, or holding of any of the afore-  
 ‘said Offices or Employments.—And that all so  
 ‘Convicted and afterwards Conforming, should at the  
 ‘next Term after admission into any such Office, make  
 ‘Oath in Writing, in some of the Queens Courts at  
 ‘*Westminster*, Publickly, between 9 and 12 in the Fore-  
 ‘noon, or at the next Quarter Sessions for the County  
 ‘or Place where they reside, that they have Conform’d  
 ‘to the *Church of England*, for the space of One Year  
 ‘before such admission, without having been present  
 ‘at any Conventicle; and that they had receiv’d the  
 ‘Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper at the least Three  
 ‘Times in the Year; which Oath should be there in-  
 ‘roll’d, and kept upon Record.—And finally, That  
 ‘if any Person after such admission into any Office,  
 ‘should a Second Time offend in Manner aforesaid,  
 ‘and be thereof lawfully Convicted, he should incur

'double the Penalties foremention'd, to be recover'd in 'the Manner aforesaid, and forfeit such Office or Employment, and not be capable of having any Office 'or Employment, until he had Conform'd for the space 'of Three Years, in Manner aforesaid; whereof Oath 'to be made in Writing, in one of the Queens Courts 'at *Westminster*, or at the Quarter Sessions of the County where he Resides.

The Lords Amendments were mostly Alterations of Words and Expressions, except the Third of them, by which they disown'd that every Person to be admitted to any Office or Employment, was by law oblig'd to be intirely Conformable to the Church; or that that

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was the intention of the Law, when it provided that every Person to be admitted to Office should receive the Sacrament according to the Rites and Usage of the *Church of England*: And except the Alteration of the Penalties fix'd by the Commons. They brought down the Forfeiture from 100*l.* to 20*l.*, of which one Third to go to the Queen, another Third to the Poor, and the other Third to the Informer.

And they left out the 5*l.* for every Day the Offenders continu'd in their Office; and all the latter part of the Bill, with respect to future incapacity for Office, and the recapacitating, and the encreasing the Punishment for the Second Offence.

Their Lordships also added Five Clauses, by which they provided, that Oath should be made of the Offence to be punish'd, before some Judge or Justice within 10 Days after Commission; and the Prosecution be within Three Months, and the Conviction upon the Oath of at least Two credible Witnesses: That Dissenters should not be compell'd to hold any Office or Place, for which they could not be legally Qualified without taking the Sacrament: That the University Churches might be exempted, where Sermons were preach'd



without Prayers: That such as went to the *French* and *Dutch* Churches might be excepted: And that Governours of Hospitals, and Assistants of Corporations and Workhouses for the Benefit of the Poor, might be exempted also.

***The Conference between the Two Houses, about the Occasional Bill.***

On *Jan.* 16th, there was a Free Conference between the Two Houses about there Amendments. The Managers on the part of the Commons, were Mr. *Bromley*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Finch*, Mr. Solicitor General; and Sir *Thomas Powis*: On the part of the Lords, the Duke of *Devonshire*, the E. of *Peterborough*, the Bishop of *Sarum*, the Lord *Sommers*, and the Lord *Halifax*.

The Managers for the Commons intimated, ‘That ‘the intent of this Bill was only to restrain a *scandalous* ‘Practice, which was a reproach to Religion, and gave ‘Offence to all good Christians, and to the *Best* among ‘the Dissenters themselves. That it enacted nothing ‘NEW, and was only intended to make the Laws in ‘Being more Effectual. That this Bill appear’d to the ‘Commons absolutely necessary for the preventing ‘those Mischiefs which must prove destructive to the

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‘Church and Monarchy. That an Establish’d Religion ‘and a National Church are absolutely necessary, when ‘so many ill Men pretended to Inspiration, and when ‘there were so many weak Men to follow them. That ‘the only Effectual Way to preserve this National ‘Church, was by keeping the Civil Power in the ‘Hands of those whose Principles and Practices are ‘Conformable to it. That the Parliament by the Cor- ‘poration and Test Acts tho’t they had secur’d our ‘Establishment, and provided a sufficient Barrier to ‘disappoint any Attempts against them, by Enacting ‘that all in Offices should receive the Sacrament ac- ‘cording to the Usage of the C. of *E*, and never ima- ‘gin’d a Set of Men could at any Time rise up, *whose*

‘Consciences were too tender to obey the Laws, but harden’d enough to break them. That as the last Reign began with an Act in Favour of the Dissenters, so the Commons did desire, that in the beginning of Her Majesty’s Auspicious Reign, an Act might Pass in Favour of the C. of E, That those Men might be kept out of Offices, who have shewn they never wanted the Will, when they had the Power, to Destroy the Church. And that this Bill did not in any Respect intrench on the Act of Toleration, or take from the Dissenters any one Privilege they have by Law, or give anyone Privilege to the C. of E, which was not at least intended her by the Laws as they then stood.

‘As to the several particular Amendments made by the Lords, the Managers for the Commons insisted upon it, That if the Laws provided that they that had Offices should receive the Sacrament, and by that intended a Conformity; then, whosoever breaks the intentions of the Law, breaks the Law, or at least evades it; and that it was fit to provide against such a Practice. That if the intention of the Test Act, was the Reason to provide against such Evaders of it, the like intention in the Corporation Act, would serve for a Reason to provide against the Evaders of that. That by *Occasional Conformity*, the Dissenters might let themselves into the Government of all Corporations; and that it was obvious how far that would influence the Government of the Kingdom. That to separate from a Church which has nothing in it against a Mans Conscience to Conform to, is *Schism*: And

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‘that that is a Spiritual Sin, without the superadding a Temporal Law to make it an Offence. That *Occasional Conformity* declares a Mans Conscience will let him Conform; and in such a Man Non-Conformity is a wilful Sin, And why should *Occasional Conformity* be allow’d in Corporations, when the Lords

'agreed that out of Corporations it ought not to be  
 'allow'd? That in laying Penalties, the Commons  
 'would always endeavour to make them such as should  
 'neither tempt to Perjury, nor totally discourage In-  
 'formations and Prosecutions; which they thought  
 'the Lords Amendment would do, should they Agree  
 'to it. That the Punishment of *incapacity*, the *reca-*  
 '*pacitating*, and the *increase of Punishment* for a Second  
 'Offence, are warranted by many Precedents of the  
 'like Nature, in other Penal Laws. That an incapa-  
 'city is a very proper Punishment; and that a Second  
 'Offence is a *Relapse* and *Apostacy*, which makes it more  
 'heinous than the first Offence, and therefore deserve  
 'an encrease of Punishment. That he's indeed reduc'd  
 'to a very unhappy Condition, who is made incapable  
 'of serving his Prince and Country: But in the present  
 'Case both Prince and Country would be in a more  
 'unhappy Condition, to be serv'd by such, whose Prin-  
 'ciples are inconsistent with the Good and Welfare of  
 'the Establishment. That the *Toleration* was intended  
 'only for the ease of Tender and Scrupulous Consci-  
 'ences, and not to give a License for *Occasional Con-*  
 '*formity*. That Conforming and Non-Conforming are  
 'Contradictions; nothing but a firm Perswasion that  
 'the Terms of Communion requir'd are sinful and un-  
 'lawful could justify the one, and that that plainly  
 'condemns the other. That, the exempting Dissenters  
 'from serving Offices, would rather Establish *Occasional*  
 '*Non-Conformity*, than prevent *Occasional Conformity*;  
 '(and therefore increase and not cure the Evil the Bill was  
 'intended to Remedy. That the *Act of Uniformity*  
 'had provided for the Sermons or Lectures in the Uni-  
 'versities; and that therefore the Acts against Con-  
 'venticles in the 16 and 22. *Car.* II, made no particular  
 'Exceptions for them, and yet they were never taken  
 'to be Conventicles. That the exempting such as  
 'should be present at the Foreign Reformed Churches,  
 'would be to open a Door to evade this Law. And that

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'the Places of Governours of some Hospitals are very 'considerable Preferments, and given as such to the 'Clergy of the C of E; and that the Commons could 'never Consent, by any Law, to let in the Dissenters 'to the Enjoyment of them.

The Managers for the Lords on the other Hand declar'd, that, 'By agreeing so far as they had done to 'this Bill, they had gone a great Way for preventing 'the Evil it was intended to Remedy; and own'd it 'to be a Scandal to Religion, that Persons should Con- 'form only for a Place. That they did not think go- 'ing to a Meeting to be *malum in se*, for that the Dis- 'senter's are Protestants, and differ from the C. of E. on- 'ly in some little Forms, and therefore they tho't loss 'of Office a sufficient Punishment without an incapa- 'city. That it could never be tho't those of the better 'Sort would be Guilty of this Offence; if they were 'they should lose their Offices: That in inferiour Offi- 'cers of the Customs and Excise, who had little else 'to subsist on, loss of Office was severe enough since 'thereby they would be undone. And that this was 'yet more considerable in Patent Places, which by a 'Common Custom are Bought and Sold, and are of 'the Nature of Freeholds. That Incapacity was too 'great a Penalty; and that it is hard to imagine any 'Offence that is not Capital can deserve it. That there 'is no more Reason to punish this Offence with Incapa- 'city, than to make it Felony. That the Dissenters 'are not obnoxious to the Government as when the Cor- 'poration Act was made; the most considerable Per- 'sons amongst them being well affected to the present 'Constitution, and hearty Enemies to the Queens and 'the Kingdoms Enemies. That in some Corporations 'they took the Election of Members to serve in Par- 'liament to be only in such as are concern'd in the Go- 'vernment of them, as at *Buckingham*; and the Lords 'would not by this Bill deprive Men of their Birthrights;

'neither did they think fit to bring any greater Hardships upon the Dissenters, since great Advantages have accrued from the Act of *Toleration*. That the Lords did equally desire a good Correspondence betwixt the Two Houses, and were so satisfy'd of the necessity of Union at this Time, that they tho't all Measures fatal, that might create Divisions amongst Protestants

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'at Home, or check the necessary Union of the Allies Abroad. That in a Time of War they tho't Alterations unnecessary and dangerous, and were unwilling to bring any real Hardships upon the Dissenters at this Time, or give them any Cause of Jealousies and Fears. That the *Toleration* had had such good Effects, contributed so much to the Security and Reputation of the C. of E, and produc'd so good a Temper among Dissenters, That the Lords were unwilling to give the least discredit to that Act; *Liberty of Conscience*, and gentle Measures being most proper, and having been found most Effectual toward increasing the Church, and diminishing the number of Dissenters. That some Parts of the Bill had an Air of Severity not proper for this Season; that a proper Time ought to be taken to apply Remedies; the attempting too hasty Cures having often prov'd Fatal. That if there had been such Danger and Necessity, this Remedy would have been propos'd before. That if this Bill did Enact nothing NEW, there would not be such a Contest about it. That they did consent to a Punishment, but would proportion the Penalty to the Offence. That they hop'd their desires of securing the *Toleration Act*, the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom at Home, and the Interest of the Nation Abroad would meet with a fair Construction. That they tho't the only Contest between the Two Houses was which should most befriend and take Care of the Church; the one would procure a hasty settled

‘Submission, not so much to be depended on; the  
 ‘other would obtain for her a more gradual but a safer  
 ‘Advantage over Dissenters. That they conceiv’d both  
 ‘the last Reign and this began upon the same Bottom  
 ‘and Foundation; and that as in this Reign Her Ma-  
 ‘jesty has been pleas’d to give Gracious Assurances as  
 ‘to *Liberty of Conscience*, so in the last the Church ever  
 ‘met with Protection and Support. That it is hard as  
 ‘well as untrue, to say of the Dissenters, they *never*  
 ‘*wanted the Will, when they had the Power to destroy the*  
 ‘*Church and State*; since, in the last and greatest Dan-  
 ‘ger the Church was expos’d to, they join’d with her,  
 ‘with all imaginable Zeal and Sincerity against the  
 ‘Papists, their Common Enemies; and that ever since  
 ‘they have continu’d to shew all the Signs of Friend-

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‘ship and Submission to the Government of Church  
 ‘and State. That *Toleration* and *Tenderness* had ne-  
 ‘ver miss’d of procuring Peace and Union, as Perse-  
 ‘cution had never fail’d of producing the contrary  
 ‘Effects. That the Lords could not think the Dissen-  
 ‘ters could properly be call’d *Schismatics*; that such  
 ‘an Opinion allowed, would bring an heavy Charge  
 ‘upon the C. of E, who by a Law have Tolerated such  
 ‘a *Schism*: And that the Church Men having allow’d  
 ‘Communion with the Reformed Churches Abroad, it  
 ‘must follow they hold them not Guilty of *Schism*, or  
 ‘could not allow Communion with them. That this  
 ‘Bill would inflict a Second Punishment on them who  
 ‘fled from *France* for their Religion. That this might  
 ‘be us’d as an Argument to justify even the Persecution  
 ‘in *France*. That they could not depart from the  
 ‘Clause relating to the *Dutch* and *Walloon* Churches  
 ‘so long Establish’d among us, lest it should give great  
 ‘Disgust and Offence to the Allies Abroad, and at the  
 ‘same Time forfeit the greatest Character can be given  
 ‘a Church, that of *Tenderness* and *Charity* to fellow

‘Christians, &c. That as to *Workhouses*, they could  
 ‘not conceive, that the distributing of some *Presbyte-  
 ‘rian Bread to the Poor, and Dissenting Water-gruel to the  
 ‘Sick*, could ever bring any Prejudice to the C. of E:  
 ‘And that they were of Opinion, that the Dissenters  
 ‘were coming into the Church, and that nothing but  
 ‘terrifying Measures and Severity could prevent the  
 ‘happy Union.

‘Twas further added, That a Papist Convict, as  
 ‘soon as he Conforms himself, and receives the Sacra-  
 ‘ment is immediately clear’d; no Incapacity lies upon  
 ‘him. But this Act would carry the Matter farther to  
 ‘a Years Incapacity. A Papist that shall relapse and  
 ‘fall under a Second Conviction, is only Convicted  
 ‘over again, without any Aggravation of the Censure;  
 ‘which by this Bill would be much heighten’d upon a  
 ‘Second Offence: So that the Penalties of this Bill are  
 ‘higher than any the Law has laid on Papists for assist-  
 ‘ing at the solemnest Act of their Religion. Before  
 ‘the *Act of Toleration* pass’d, while Conventicles were  
 ‘Illegal and Criminal Assemblies, a Man in Office, that  
 ‘was present at them, was only liable to a Fine of 10*l.*  
 ‘Whereas by this Bill he’d be liable to a Fine of an 100*l.*

‘for

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‘for being present at them, tho’ they have an Impuni-  
 ‘ty by Law: It does not seem so very suitable that the  
 ‘same Action should be made 10 Times more Penal,  
 ‘after such an Impunity is granted, than it was before  
 ‘the passing that Law, while such Assemblies were  
 ‘Illegal. It seems insnaring, and unbecoming so mild  
 ‘a Government as ours, to lay so heavy a Penalty on a  
 ‘Crime so dubiously express’d: Nor is it proper that  
 ‘the Sums rais’d by the Bill should all go to the Infor-  
 ‘mer, which might give encouragement to false Accu-  
 ‘sations and Perjury. This *Occasional Conformity* has  
 ‘been both the Principle and Practice of some of the  
 ‘most Eminent among the Dissenters ever since St. *Bar-*

'tholomews in 1662.\* Nor is it  
 'a certain Inference, that because  
 'a Man receives the Sacrament in  
 'the Church, he can therefore  
 'Conform in every other Par-  
 'ticular. Occasional Conformi-  
 'ty was a step that carried  
 'many much further: And it  
 'was intimated that the Lords  
 'were not willing to ruin Persons  
 'utterly on Account of a Practice,  
 'that many well meaning Men  
 'have been and may be led  
 'into, and which they think  
 'naturally tends to bring them  
 'over intirely to the Church,  
 ' &c. &c.

'The Managers on the behalf of the Commons,  
 'Reply'd, that several Arguments urg'd by the Mana-  
 'gers for the Lords, were against the Bill, which they  
 'had seem'd to Agree to. That no Time could be  
 'more seasonable for this Bill than the Prefent, because  
 'good Laws may be obtain'd most easily in the best  
 'Reigns. That should any by this Bill be turn'd out  
 'of their Employments, and consequently lose their  
 'Votes in Elections, yet it cannot be said they lose  
 'their Birthrights, because no Man is born a Magi-  
 'strate. That some of the Lords Arguments had been  
 'so irregular as to defend Occasional Conformity: And  
 'that they were surpriz'd to hear a Prelate speak in  
 'Defence of such a Practice.'—They left the Bill

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*\* Not only Mr. Baxter and Dr. Bates were here mention'd, but it was said that there was a Famous and Learned Man that liv'd at Salisbury, Mr. Tombs, who was a very Zealous Conformist in all Points but one, Infant Baptism: Whence it was inferr'd, that receiving the Sacrament does not necessarily import an entire Conformity in every other Particular; no more than a Man who can subscribe to the Two first Articles of religion, is by that concluded to Assent to the rest of the Thirty Nine.*



with the Lords, and said that they hop'd they would not let the Publick lose the Benefit of so good a Law. But the Lords adher'd to their Amendments, and sent the Bill back to the Commons: And they persisting to disagree to them, for this Time the Bill came to nothing.

*The shortest Way with the Dissenters.*

At the end of the Session, *Feb. 27. 1702/3* the Queen declar'd from the Throne in Her closing Speech, *That She was firmly Resolv'd to Maintain the Act of Toleration: And Recommended Peace and Union, as the most Effectual Means that could be devis'd to discourage and defeat the Designs of our Enemies.* While this Bill was depending, a Pamphlet was publish'd, intituled, *The shortest Way with the Dissenters.* It was very Sharp and Poignant; and some on both Sides were at first amus'd with it, as questioning what its Design was; but it was not long before that was sufficiently discover'd. This Author here told the World, that the Representatives of the Nation had now an Opportunity, and perhaps the only one they should ever have, to secure the Ch. of *E*, and destroy her Enemies, under the Favour and Protection of a *true English Queen*: That this was the Time to pull up this Heretical Weed of Sedition, that had so long disturb'd the Peace of the Church, and poison'd the good Corn: That if it should be objected, that this renewing Fire and Faggot would be Cruelty, and accounted Barbarous, he answer'd, that 'tis Cruelty to kill a Snake or a Toad in cold Blood; but the Poison of their Nature makes it a Charity to our Neighbours to destroy those Creatures, not for any personal Injury receiv'd, but for prevention; Not for the Evil they have done, but the Evil they may do. And that as Serpents, Toads, and Vipers are noxious to the Body, and poison the sensitive Life, so the Dissenters poison the Soul, corrupt our Posterity, ensnare our Children, destroy the Vitals of our Happiness, our Future Felicity, and contaminate the whole Mass; and therefore they are to be rooted out of this

Nation, if ever we would live in Peace, serve God, and enjoy our own.

The Commons ordred the Book to be Burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman, and the Author to be Prosecuted. He pleaded for himself that he gave them but their own Language, or at least the Sense of their

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own Expressions when they talk'd of *hanging out bloody Flaggs, and Banners of Defiance*; and shew'd them what many of their Pamphlets and Sermons, as well as their common Conversation tended to: But it was not to be born. He must be made an Example, for the Terror of others.

***The Proceedings of the New Convocation.***

A Convocation was this Year called with the Parliament: And Dr. *Aldrich* Dean of *Christ-Church, Oxon*, was chosen Prolocutor. Both Houses presented an Address to the Queen, on *Nov. 6.* in which they expressed their *great Sense of the Favour and Goodness of God in setting her Majesty on the Throne of her Ancestors, and making her the Defender of that Faith, of which she had been so glorious an Ornament. They thank'd her Majesty, for her many gracious Assurances of her unmoveable Resolution to support and protect the C. of E. as by Law Establish'd, and to continue it to future Ages, by maintaining the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line.* And told her Majesty, *That they promised themselves, that whatever might be wanting to restore the Church to its due Rights and Priviledges, her Majesty would have the Glory of doing it, and of securing it to Posterity.* She told them in Answer, *That their Concurrence in this Dutiful Address, was a good Presage of their Union in all other Matters, which was very desirable for her Service, and the Good of the Church.* But they did not answer her Majesty's Expectations. The former Contest was soon reviv'd. Many Days were not passed before the Lower House applied to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his Suffragans, begging

that the Matters in Dispute, about which there had been Differences in two late Convocations, concerning the Manner of Synodical Proceedings, and the Right of the Lower House to hold intermediate Assemblies, might be taken into Consideration, and speedily determin'd, that so Business might not be hinder'd, nor the Order and Peace of the Church disturbed.

The Archbishop and Bishops made Answer *Nov.* 13. That they desired to put an End to all Differences, and preserve a good Understanding. That as for the faint of Proroguing, they were in Possession of a Right, deriv'd from their Predecessors; in the exercise of which, they would use such Methods as appear'd most conducing to Unity. And that accordingly they had appointed a Committee of seven Bishops, to

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meet with Deputies from the Lower House, to offer and receive what might conduce thereunto. The Committee of Bishops offer'd, that the Lower House might meet in Committees, to prepare Business between the Synodical Prorogations; And that when Business should be before the Convocation, the Archbishop with the Consent of his Suffragans, would so order the Prorogations, that there should be sufficient Time allow'd for the considering and finishing of it.

The Lower House replied *Nov.* 18: That they conceiv'd such a Power as the Archbishop claim'd, was no way inconsistent with the Right which they claim'd, to hold Assemblies, and continue to act as an House in the Intervals of Prorogations, which Right they look'd upon as so indispensably necessary to the Being of a Lower House, and which had lately been so openly oppos'd, and with so much Pretence of Authority denied, that they declared they tho't they could not answer the Trust repos'd in them, unless they continued to insist upon it: And therefore they renew'd their Request

that something might be offered, more effectual to the Purpose intended.

On that very Day, it was ordered by the House of Commons, that Mr. *Lloyd* (Son of the Bishop of *Worcester*,) should be prosecuted by the Attorney-General, *after his Privilege as a Member of the Lower House of Convocation was out*. This being taken Notice of by the said Lower House of Convocation, they on *Nov. 20.* ordered that their Prolocutor, and three of their Members, should wait on Mr. Speaker, of the Honourable House of Commons, to return their humble Thanks to him, and to that most Honourable House, for the great Favour which they had on all Occasions been pleased to express; And particularly for the late Regard which they of themselves, without Suggestion or Solicitation, were pleased to have to the Priviledges of their House, in the Case of one of their Members, who had the Misfortune to fall under their Displeasure. This was read to Mr. Speaker at his House, *Nov. 21;* and the same Day he read it in the House of Commons; who thereupon passed a Vote, by which it was resolv'd, *That the House would on all Occasions assert the just Rights and Privileges of the Lower House of Convocation.* Which made some conclude, that now they should certainly

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carry their Point. But the Archbishop and Bishops resolving to stand their Ground, the very next Day, *Nov. 12,* made Answer to the Lower House, that they tho't they had offer'd what was sufficient towards the ending the Differences there had been between them. That they could not depart from the Archbishop's Right of proroguing the whole Convocation, with Consent of his Suffragans, according to constant Usage. That by the same Act by which the Convocation is prorogu'd, the whole Business of the Convocation is continu'd in the State it is then in, to that farther Day of the next Session. That they could not admit of

their new Claim: and that what had been offer'd, was sufficient for the doing of any Business to be done in Convocation.

The Lower House therefore *Dec.* 2. representing it as not so reasonable, that either Housethould be judge over the other in its own Cause, proposed that both should join in an humble Application to the Queen, praying that she would take this Controversy into her Consideration, and appoint such Persons as she tho't fit, to bear and finally, determine it.

The Archbishop and Bishops on *Dec.* 11. answerd, that they could yield no farther than they had done, without manifest Injury to their Constitution as an Episcopal Church. That they did not admire their affecting to express themselves in a Manner that sets the two Houses on such an Equality, as was inconsistent with the Episcopal Authority, and the Presidency of the Archbishop: But that they could not think it proper to trouble her Majesty with this Controversy: And that it was not in their Power to part with any of those Rights with which they were intrusted by the Constitution of the Church, and the Laws and Customs of the Realm.

The very same Day the Lower House address'd the Upper, signifying their Trouble to find themselves aspersed, as ill affected to the Metropolitcal and Episcopal Rights, and that therefore they tho't themselves oblig'd to make and sign a *Declaration* that was annex'd, and to beg that their Lordships would not give credit to any such evil Suggestions, and cause their *Declaration* to be entered on their Books.

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The import of their, *Declaration* was, That *whereas they had been scandalously and maliciously represented as Favourers of Presbytery, in opposition to Episcopacy, they now declar'd, that they acknowledg'd the Order of Bishops as superior to Presbyters, to be of Divine Apostolical Insti-*

tution, and that they claimed no Rights, but what they conceiv'd necessary to the very Being of the Lower House of Convocation.

The same Day they presented an Additional Address, signifying, That whereas this their Declaration had given new Offence, and that from having been traduc'd for allowing too little to Episcopacy, they were now accused of ascribing too much to it, they begged therefore that their Lordships would take the Doctrine aforesaid into their mature Consideration, and that they would abet and support it, and discourage and repress the contrary, whether *Arian* or *Erastian* Opinions.

Some of the Lower House made a separate Address to the Archbishop, and Bishops upon this Occasion, signifying that they who had not subscrib'd the *Declaration* aforesaid, and who were reflected on in the Additional Address of the Lower House, did not object against the Truth of the Doctrine, (*viz.* That the Order of Bishops as superior to Presbyters, was of Divine Apostolical Institution) but against the Legality of asserting it; being apprehensive of the Danger of making any *Declaration* of that Nature in Convocation, without a *Royal Licence*: And therefore they disclaimed the said *Declaration*, and Begg'd that their Dissent and Protestation might be entred into the Acts of the Upper House; and that all that offer'd, might have leave to subscribe it.

*Dec.* 15. The Archbishop told the Prolocutor, that this was a Matter of great Moment, that requir'd mature Deliberation and good Advice: and that therefore he reserved it till they met again after *Christmas*.

But on *Dec.* 23. the Lower House presented a Petition to her Majesty, shewing that after ten Years Interruption of holding Convocations, several Questions arose in that in 1700, concerning the Rights and Liberties of the Lower House, and particularly about Prorogations and Adjournments. That the Upper House had refused a Verbal Conference. That in the

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next Convocation the same Question took Place, and that it was expected they thould absolutely submit to their Lordships Judgment, tho' in their own Cause. That in this Convocation they had applied to their Lordships to suggest a Method to settle the Matter: But not succeeding, had offer'd to submit it to her Majesty's Determination, which their Lordships also declin'd. They therefore fled for Protection and Relief to her Majesty, begging she would call the Question into her own Royal Audience, &c. The Queen promised to consider their Petition, and give them an Answer as soon as she could.

The Archbishop on *Jan.* 20. answer'd the Lower House, that rhe Preface to the Form of Ordination, contain'd a Declaration of three Orders of Ministers from the Apostles Times, *viz.* Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to which they had subscrib'd: But that he and his Brethren conceiv'd, that without a Royal Licence, they had not Authority to *attempt, enact, promulge or execute any Canon*, &c. by whatever Name it might be called, which should concern either Doctrine or Discipline: And that this was the Opinion of divers learned Persons in their own House: but that they took Notice of their Zeal for the Episcopal Order, and hop'd they would Act agreeably to it in their future Proceedings.

The Lower House, on *Feb.* 11. reply'd, that they wonder'd at their Lordships Caution, That they would not so much as satisfy the lower Clergy, that they did not dissent from them even in this Point too. They took the Freedom to tell their Lordships, that they misrecited the Statute of 25 *H.* VIII, and signify to them, that declaring their Sense concerning a Truth in Religion, speculatively only, and without requiring either Assent or Obedience, was not forbidden by that Act: And intimate their Sorrow, that the Reflections of

ignorant and malicious Men, of which they complain'd to their Lordships, were rather likely to be confirm'd by their Lordships Answer: And discover their Resentment of the closing Admonition, &c.

But the Contention was (as formerly) carried on without Doors as well as within. For about this Time came out, *The Narrative of the Lower House vindicated from the Exceptions of a Letter*, intit, *The Right*

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of the Archbishop to continue or prorogue the whole Convocation. The Author complains, that the Cause of the Lower House had been persecuted with Pamphlets. He asserts, that the Cause was important, and the Controversy of no small Moment. The Lower Clergy would preserve their Rights which they have enjoy'd for many Ages, and were never question'd till within these Five Years. He asserts the Justice of their Cause, and urges many Considerations in Proof of it: And then in *the Vindication continu'd*, he proceeds to give Evidence out of remaining Convocation Registers; and particularly the Journals of 1640. Now also came out, *a Reconciling Letter, upon the late Difference about Convocational Rights and Proceedings, as manag'd by those who have maintain'd the Liberties of the Lower Clergy*. This Letter complains, that there was now as much canvassing for Members of Convocation, as for those of Parliament. It observes, that Dr. *Atterbury* and Mr. *Hill* who join'd in the same Cause, are as wide in their Principles as East and West, never to be reconciled. That Dr. *A.* made two Editions of the same Book, directly contradicting one another in many material Points; That in both Editions he kept to the one Design of lessening the King's Prerogative in Convocational Affairs: And yet that he is since engaged in a meer opposite Argument, of advancing the Royal Prerogative much beyond the Act of the Clergy's Submission, and the Claims of any former Reign; by making



the Synod purely subsist by the King's Writ; and rendering the Archbishop an Instrument only of the King, and only Ministerial to him. He particularly observes, how little *the Rights, Powers, and Priviledges of An English Convocation, and the Power of the Lower House to adjourn it self,* agree in Principle and Notion, with each other, and with *the Narrative;* and Instances in 18 Particulars in which they differ. Another Pamphlet was publish'd, call'd, *The present State of Convocation in a Letter, giving the full Relation of Proceedings in several of the late Sessions: Beginning from Wednesday, Jan. 28th, And continu'd to Thursday, Feb. 19.* This was oppos'd to *the faithful Accounts* Number 1, 2. These *faithful Accounts* are charg'd with containing many Particulars misrepresented, and some intirely mistaken. The thus making Convoca-

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tional Transactions publick without Leave, is said to be raising a War in the Church, and drawing out the Clergy against one another. This Letter contains many particular Facts, not to be met with elsewhere, but at the Close of the Third Volume of *The Compleat History of England.* Another Pamphlet came out, call'd *the Case of the Schedule stated:* Giving an Account of the Rise and Design of that Instrument, and its Influence on the Adjournments of the Lower House of Convocation; and examining the Authorities urg'd in behalf of the Archbishops sole Power to prorogue the whole Convocation: To which was oppos'd, *the Schedule Review'd.* 'Tis here complain'd, That the Manger of the Cause of the Lower House had betray'd such an unsteadiness in his Opinions, and had recourse successively to such a Variety of Shifts, as would tempt one to think that he first resolv'd upon his Point, and then set himself to find out Ways to maintain it: That the Foundations of the Defence were so often chang'd, that it was a Sign the Cause had not been well

considered by the first Undertaker. He here attempts to prove, that the Principles of those of the Lower House upon the Point of *Continuation*, are fairly represented in the *Right of the Archbishop*, according to the Journal of the House, and the Books publish'd in Defence of their Proceedings. That by the *present Principles* of the Lower House as contained in their own Books, the Archbishop and Bishops have no *Security* that the Clergy shall attend their Lordships on the *Synodical Day*, nor any Power to oblige them to it: And that the Reasons offered in the *Vindication of the Narrative*, and by the Author of *the Case of the Schedule stated* in behalf of separate Adjournments and intermediate Sessions, are disagreeable to the Nature and Practice of Convocation, and the establish'd Distinction between Bishops and Presbyters. This was follow'd with, *The Parliamentary Original and Rights of the Lower House of Convocation cleared; and the Evidences of its Separation from the Upper House produc'd on several Heads; particularly in the Point of making separate Applications, as a distinct Body of Men to other Bodies or Persons in, Pueauance of an Argument for the Power of the Lower House to adjourn it self: The Schedule Review'd* is here represented as a despicable Performance. That

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Author is charg'd with imitating the new compendious Method of answering Books introduc'd by my *L. of S.* The several Particulars in which the Separation of the Synodical Clergy from their Bishops consists, are here dilated on; and it is inferr'd, that an House of Convocation so descended from an House of Parliament, and modell'd upon the Platform of it, and so resembling it in its several Forms, Usages, Interests, and Priviledges, cannot with any Probability be supposed to want one of the first Rights of a Parliamentary House, the Right of Adjourning it self.

At this Time also a Book was publish'd in 8vo, call'd *Synodus Anglicana*; or the Constitution and Proceedings of an *English* Convocation, shewn from the Acts and Registers thereof, to be agreeable to the Principles of an Episcopal Church: With an *Appendix*, containing the Registers of the Upper House, in 1562, 1640, and 1661; and the two entire Journals of the Lower House, in 1586, and 1588. This Author considers the Method of summoning an *English* Convocation, and the Manner of opening it: Shews that there's no Power in the Lower House to admit or deny Proxies: Considers the Election and Office of a Prolocutor, and by what Degrees the inferiour Clergy became a separate House from the Bishops: States the Manner of entring upon Business; and the Right of the Archbishop and Bishops, to require the Clergy to consider any particular Business; and to order Committees of the Lower House; and also to prescribe a Time for the return of Business committed to them, and to require Answers in Writing: Shews the Right of the President and Bishops to take to them the Assistance of Persons learned in the Law: And treats of the *Gravamina* or *Reformanda* in Convocation; and the Clergy's Petitions of other Kinds, and the Part which the Clergy have had in judicial Cases; and the Clergy's Right of a Negative, or final Dissent from the Upper House: He then considers the Manner of passing Business in Convocation, and the Proroguing or Dissolving it: And after producing the Registers foremention'd, he adds some Observations, concerning the Right of continuing, and concerning the Right to determine controverted Elections, and concerning the substituting a Prolocutor;

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and the Authority of the Summons to Convocation, &c.

Some of the Members of the Lower House, finding themselves unable to deal with the Bishop of Sarum in a judicial Way, in Convocation; now assaulted him with great Heat and Vehemence, with one Pamphlet after another from the Press. First came out *A Prefatory Discourse to an Examination of the Bishop of Sarum's Exposition on the 39 Articles, &c.* That Book is there represented, as giving great Offence to the Generality of the Clergy. It is accused, as encouraging a Latitude that would open a Way to a *Comprehension*: And the Three Heads of Complaint mentioned before, *p.* 605. that were sent from the Lower to the Upper House against it, are dilated on, Then came out *An Examination of his Exposition of the Second Article*, and that was followed with, *A Vindication of the 23d Article from his Exposition of it.* The Bishop published a Sheet which he call'd *Remarks on the Examination of the Exposition of the Second Article of our Church*: And a Friend of his published, *An Answer to the Prefatory Discourse*: And *A Defence of his Exposition of the 23d Article*, which he closes with a Motion, That they that were so angry with the Bishops Exposition, should give the World a better,

This Year I published the First Edition of my Abridgment of Mr. *Baxter's* Life, with the Reasons given by the silenced Ministers for their Nonconformity. I have had the Thanks of some that belong to the Establish'd Church, as well as several that were out of it: But many also have been displeas'd. Among the rest Dr. *Nichols* charges me, with some hard and severe Reflections: For which Charge if there be any Ground, I can safely say it was against my Intention. I am sure many such were wav'd, where some would have tho't there was sufficient Occasion, and Provocation. He also blames me for treating some Eminent Persons of their Communion, and the Church it self, with less Reverence than was becoming: And says, that when I gave the Reasons of Nonconformity, I accused the Church, in a Manner that

not a little disturb'd some of the gravest Men. But such sort of Charges were so common as the Times then went, that there may very well be look'd upon as Words in Course.

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This Year also was Printed, *A Letter from some Aged Nonconforming Ministers to their Christian Friends, touching the Reasons of their practice*: Which tho' drawn up without any concert between the Author or Authors and me, will be found by one that examines, to have much the same Faults as my Account has been charg'd with, which I extracted out of their Writings, and endeavour'd to tack together upon the most moderate and charitable Bottom, that a Conscientious Nonconformity can be suppos'd to allow of.

Now also Mr. *Sacheverel*, who became afterwards so Famous, publish'd a Discourse at *Oxford*, call'd the *Political Union*, in Qu: Retlecting upon the Toleration, and with a Design to advance the Temporal Power of the Church: And it was answer'd by a Discourse of the *Danger of Priestcraft to Religion and Government*, with some Politick Reasons for Toleration. This occation'd the coming out of the *new Association* of thore call'd Moderate Church Men, with the Modern Whigs and Fanaticks to undermine and blow up the present Church and Government, 4to. Part 1. Which was follow'd soon after with Part 2, with Reflections on divers Pamphlets.

Many other Pamphlets now appear'd: As Mr. *Hoadly's Vindication of Dr. Sherlock*, in Answer to Mr. *Taylor's* Treatise against him, about *Church Communion*. *The True Character of a Church Man: The character of a Low Church Man. A new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*; or Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compar'd. *The Case fairly Stated*, in a Dialogue between *Moderation* and *Constitution*. *A Case of present Concern*, in a Letter to a Member of the House Commons, in-

veighing against my *Abridgment*. Mr. *Stubbs's* Sermon *for God or for Baal: Or no Neutrality in Religion*.

Now also *the Case of the Regale, and of the Pontificate*, Stated in a Conference concerning the *Independency of the Church*, made a Noise. It came out before, but was now Reprinted with Additions, and may serve for a fit close of the Writings of this Year. This Book avowedly sets the Church above the State, and attempts to take from the Crown the Nomination of Bishops: Would have the Bishop pray'd for before the King or Queen, and would make Princes the Servants of the Church, and the Church to have an Authority over the

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King himself; and that not only to debar him the Prayers and Sacraments, but to proceed to Excommunication, if other Methods prevail not to bring him to Penance for open Scandals. 'Tis here asserted that the *Regale*, that is the Power of Princes in Matters Ecclesiastical (which by the Way has been commonly represented as a main Foundation our Reformation stands upon) is the effect of Popery, and the Cause of all manner of Mischiefs: And the quitting all pretences to it, is necessary to the thriving of Religion. This Author leaves the Reformation in a Schism: And moves for a Treaty with the Church of *France*, and is for so far reconciling our Differences as not to hinder Communion. He was for a Treaty between the *English* Convocation, and the general Assembly of the *Gallican* Bishops and Clergy: And in a Marginal Note condoles the Misfortune, that the *English* Convocation not being suffer'd to sit while that of *France* lasted, rendred any Treaty between them impracticable. But he seems to promise, that as the Issue of that *French* Assembly exceeded Expectation, so there may be a Time, when by the assistance of a reconciling Body of Men, who are not against a Peace with *France*, a most Glorious Step may be made in this great Work, by that King whom

God shall inspire to take his *Regale* out of the Way, from obstructing such mighty Ends as those propos'd, by which he would truly deserve the Title of most Christian, and most Catholick, and would be in good earnest the Defender of the Faith.

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***The Proceedings of the Parliament, about the Affair of Occasional Conformity.***

The Parliament met again, *Nov.* 9. this Year. The Queen in Her Speech earnestly desir'd them to *avoid Heats and Divisions, that would give Encouragement to the common Enemies of Church and State.* The Commons in their Address which was presented *Nov.* 11, promis'd they would take Care of it. The Lords in their Address which was presented the next Day, promis'd Her Majesty, *not only to avoid, but oppose, whatsoever might tend to create any disquiet or disunion amongst Her Subjects.* The Two Houses had not sate long, before the Bill for preventing *Occasional Conformity* which had miscarried in the former Session, was again set on foot, among the Commons. The Bill was the same in Substance now as before, and yet in several Things it differ'd. The Preamble, against *Persecution for Conscience only,*

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was now left out, The former Bill began with mentioning the *Act of Indulgence,* saying, That *that Act ought inviolably to be observ'd;* whereas, this takes not the least Notice of it. This Bill began with mentioning the Corporation and Test Acts, which it says, *manifestly inyended that all Persons to be admitted into such Offices and Employments, should be, and always remain Considerable to the C. of E. as by Law Establish'd; which Acts, it says, have been notoriously eluded, &c.* And in the *enacting Part,* whereas the former Bill allow'd but Four besides the Family where a Conventicle was held,

this allow'd Nine, and inflicted no Punishment, unless there were Ten or more, besides the Family. The *Penalty* in the former Bill was 100*l.* and 5*l.* for every Day that the Persons concern'd continu'd afterwards in Office: But now it was brought down to a Forfeiture of 50*l.* There were also some other Differences.

A Member of the House of Commons speaking to this Bill, among other Things, said that Her Majesty sufficiently shew'd Her desire to see it succeed the last Sessions, by the Prince of *Denmark's* constant Attendance upon it: And that he believ'd the Reason why some Persons oppos'd it, was because the Queen seem'd to espouse it. The Bill he said was lost because Two or Three Noble Lords were by turns to be Absent: And complain'd that the Miscarriage of the Bill was imputed to their want of Attendance, when at the same Time they were desir'd to be out of the Way. He represent-ed it as shameful, that there should be such Trimming in a Bill to prevent Hypocrisy. He said, when Members of Parliament and Ministers of State stand Neuter, in Matters that nearly concern the Interest of the C. of *E.* and have not Courage to own their Opinion, they very well deserve to be turn'd out. He banter'd the Archbishop of *C—y* as opposing the Bill, because my Lord *S—rs* told him it ought not to Pass; and intimated that none of the rest of the Bishops that were against the Bill could give a better Reason: And talk'd of moving for leave to bring in a Bill in Favour of Episcopacy. For (says he) since they are of the same Principles with the Dissenters, it is but just that they should stand on the same Foot. He argu'd that it could not be more unseasonable to Pass a Law for the farther Defence of the Ch. of *E.* here, than it was for *Scotland*

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last Sessions to Pass an Act for the Security of the Kirk there. And whereas it was pleaded that the Bill would create Division, he queried whether a Schism



was to be allow'd to avoid Division? He said one Dissenter in Place was capable of doing more Mischief to the C. of *E*, than Ten out of it. He concluded with saying, that the Practice of Occasional Conformity eluded the Force of one of the best Laws made in the Church of *Englands* Defence, and that it was Scandalous and knavish in itself; and that he might pretend to foretel, that by the Benefit of this Occasional Conformity, the Dissenters would come to be the Majority of the House of Commons, and then he'd venture to pronounce the Days of the Church of *England* few: And that he might not see such dismal Effects of a pretended Moderation, he heartily wish'd Success to the Bill. It past the Commons on *Dec. 7*, and was sent up to the Lords, who treated it so coldly, that they'd scarce allow it a second Reading. The Bishop of *Sarum* making a Speech upon the Occasion, said that he was sensible it was a Disadvantage, especially to one of his *Bench*, to speak against any Thing which in the Sound and first appearance seem'd to be intended for the Service of the Church, and that if he was, be not fully convinc'd that this Bill was not so, he could not have a Heart or a Face to speak against it. That he look'd upon himself as bound up in this respect by his Promise in the Address at the beginning of the Session. That the Bishops had been indecently reflected on because they could not think this Bill for the Service of the Church: But that they appeal'd to the World and their Dioceses as to their true Zeal for the Church; and that they were above such Calumnies. That the Capital Proceedings in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and the severe Act in her 25th Year, that punishes Meetings with Imprisonment, Banishment and Death was a blemish even of that glorious Reign. That the Repeal of that Act past in both Houses, *and its known by what Management it was, that it was not tender'd to the Royal Assent.* That Queens Treasurer was known to be a Church Papist or *Occasional Conformist*, and yet condemn'd in that great

Post 14 Years till his Death. She encourag'd *Occasional Conformity*, and no Body was uneasie at it.

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That the Severities of King *James's* Reign cast a Blot upon it, and the Proceedings, and the *Star Chamber*, and *High Commission*, not a little contributed to the Miseries of the Civil War. That the Proceedings in King *Charles's* Reign were severe, and set on with bad Designs. That after the Restoration it had been a very easie Thing to have made up all Differences among us; but the Design was to inflame them. That all the Severities of that Reign could not bring the Dissenters to Petition for a *general Toleration*. But that the whole Management with Relation to Dissenters was an Artifice to advance a *Popish* Interest. That by the *Toleration* Act, the Heat rais'd by the Dissentions is much allay'd. But that this Bill alarm'd them, who apprehended the *Toleration* was aim'd at; and that it was a Step, that would be follow'd by more; That this would make Men Jealous; and was very unseasonable, in a Time of War, when all was at Stake: And that to raise Discontents and Apprehensions in great Numbers at such a Time, might have very ill Effects. That any Thing that divides and weakens us must give our Allies a melancholly Prospect.

That Things are suspicious when the Men that promote them, and Write for them without Doors, are known and avow'd Enemies of the Government. He intimated that *L—— that High Church Man*, had written Two furious Books for this Bill. That he knew one of the eminentest Papists of the Age, say that he was for the C. of E. as by Law Establish'd: And that being ask'd how such a Profession could agree with Sincerity, he answer'd, that he look'd upon all the Laws of Queen *Mary*, as yet in full force. That the Fury with which this Matter was driven, heighten'd the Jealousie.

That it was hard that they who had all their Lives been building up the Church, must now be defam'd as undermining it, because they could not comply with other Mens Notions. That he own'd he began the World *on a Principal of Moderation*, which he had carried down through his whole Life, and in which he hop'd he thould continue to his Lives end. That he could not in the General condemn *Occasional Conformity*. That he had himself practic'd it in *Geneva* and *Holland*, and would do so again if there were Occasion. That

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supposing the Dissenters mistaken, yet he did not see why they might not be Tolerated in it. That the Dissenters have all along been call'd on to come as near the Church as they could: And after several other Reasons against the Bill, he added in the close, that he thought it ought not to be now entertain'd; but that the Subject matter of it ought to be left to be consider'd at a proper Time.

The Lord *Haversham* also made a Speech against it, and told the Lords that whether the posture of Affairs was consider'd at Home or Abroad, by Sea or Land, in Court or Camp, he could never think this a proper Time for such a Bill. And the Lord *M——n* said that if they pass'd this Bill, they had as good tack the pretended Prince of *Wales* to it. After a warm Debate, at the Second Reading the Bill was rejected by a Majority of 12. or 13 Voices. Among the Lords that were for the Bill, and that enter'd their Dissent when it was rejected, were the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Lord *Godolphin*.

#### **Occasional Conformity Debated from the Press.**

But there were warm Debates without Doors as well as within, about this Bill against Occasional Corformity. A little before this Session of Parliament, Dr. *Davenant* a Civilian, wrote a Book Entitul'd, *Essays upon Peace at Home, and War Abroad*, which was said

to be written with the Encouragement of the Lord Treasurer, perswading all to throw aside their Heats and Animosities, and Unite in their own Defence against the common Danger, with a design to dissuade from bringing in, and passing this Bill. Sir *Humphrey Mackworth* also, a Member of the House of Commons, publish'd a Treatise in Defence of the Proceedings of the Commons in Relation to that Bill, which was chiefly made up of the Arguments us'd a Year before on the same Subject. And Mr. *Tutchin*, the Author of the *Observator*, was Voted against by the Commons, for some of his Papers that related to Passages in the House about Occasional Conformity.

The Queen in Her Speech at the rising of the Parliament, press'd them *to go down into their several Countries, so dispos'd to Moderation and Unity, as it became all those who were joyn'd together in the same Religion and Interest.*

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This Year Mr. *James Owen* publish'd a Pamphlet in 4to, Entituled, *Moderation a Vertue, or the Occasional Conformist* justify'd from the imputation of Hypocrisy. It runs upon Seven Heads. The Author asserts, I. That *Occasional Conformity* is no new Thing, but warranted in some Cases, by the most sacred and incontestable Precedents. *John the Baptist* was an *Occasional Conformist* to the *Jewish Church*; and so was our *Lord Jesus Christ*, and his Apostles. *St. Paul* in particular was Eminent for it. He judg'd the occasional Use of the Levitical Ceremonies lawful to avoid Offence, and the constant Use of them sinful, because it would encourage an Opinion of their being necessary. The Apostles made no Laws for Uniformity in lesser Matters, nor was their Practice Uniform. The *Jewish Church* encourag'd *Occasional Conformity*, whilst she understood her true Interest; but when the narrow spirited Zealots prevail'd, they by their fierce Opposition

to *Occasional Conformity*, exasperated the *Romans* against them, to the utter subversion of their Church and State. II. That the Principles of the *Occasional Conformists* are truly Christian and Catholick. They confine not their Communion to anyone Sect or Party of Christians, but have an Universal and Comprehensive Charity towards all that belong to the Mystical Body: And to this was their *Occasional Conformity* owing, before the Corporation and Test Acts were made; and so could not be justly charg'd as a Crafty invention to get into Places. III. That the Difference between the Church and moderate Dissenter is inconsiderable: they agree in an hearty Opposition to Popery; in a firm Adherence to the Queen and the Protestant Succession: In subscribing the same Doctrinal Articles, and in the substance of publick Worship. The Things in which they differ are small, if compar'd with the great Things wherein they agree: And at the same Time there are great Differences in the Establish'd Church. The Presbyters are against the Bishops in Convocation; Some subscribe the *Articles* as *Articles of Peace*, and others as *Articles of Faith*: Some profess *Calvinism*, others espouse *Pelagianism*: Some are for the *Jus Divinum* of Monarchy, and the unalterable Succession in the right Line; and others as much against it, &c. When the Church allows so great a diversity of Opinions and Practice,

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why (says he) should the little Peculiarities of the harmless Dissenter, be a bar to his serving the Government? IV. That the employing of sober Dissenters in publick Trusts is so far from being prejudicial to the C. of E, that it really strengthens it, in Opposition to Immorality and Prophaneness. V. That *Occasional Conformity* is an advantage to the Church, and weakens the Dissenters, frequently adding to the former, and taking from the latter, as the Lords observ'd in their Debates. VI. That the late Bill against *Occasional Con-*

*formity* would have been highly prejudicial to the C. of *E*, by cutting off all hope of accommodating the Difference, between the Church and Dissenters, driving them to a total Separation: By bringing the C. of *E*. under the invidious imputation of Persecution: By exposing even the most sober part of the C. of *E*. to the Mercy of Informers: By widening our Breaches at a very unseasonable Juncture, when there is such a necessity of all Hands to obviate the Designs of *France* and *Rome*. VII. That the Dissenters from the Religion of the State, have been employ'd in most Governments. This was the Practice of the Ancient *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Persians*, *Grecians* and *Romans*; and that both under *Paganism* and *Christianity*. The same is observ'd in the *Jewish* Nation, and even in *Popish* Countries; with which the Argument is concluded.

At the same Time came out, *the Interest of England consider'd, in respect to Protestants Dissenting from the Establish'd Church, with some Tho'ts about Occasional Conformity*. This Author in his Preface, declares himself so Zealous for the Cause of Liberty, that he should not be afraid to lose his life for it. He observes in his Discourses that the Dissenters who were long run down as Rebels and Schismatics, were now represented as Hypocrites; as if they were doom'd to Calumny and Hardships. They are treated as Exceptions from Humane Nature, But since Interest might possibly be heard, when Justice can't, he undertakes to consider how the Interest of *England* is concern'd in their Treatment. He first considers *the Interest of the Government*. The Dissenters, he says will be disoblig'd by being Incapacitated for having any Place of Profit or Trust; they'l be affronted: For they'l be punish'd without offending; nay, after having gone the Government

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signal Service. He says they'd be depriv'd of their Property, and branded with Infamy and Disgrace,

which is proper Persecution. He intimates, that when they were thus weaken'd it would give ground of Fear, that their Extirpation was the Thing intended. He suggests therefore, That it is against the Interest of the Government, to make the Dissenters uneasy, who are considerable for their Number as well as their Substance: And that he that advised thus to disoblige them, in Hopes they would resent it, design'd ill to the Security of the Government; while he that should do it, in Hopes they would bear it with a Christian Patience, was an Enemy to the Reputation of the Government, and to the Christian Faith. He intimates also, that such a Method would weaken, and tend to subvert the Constitution: It would discourage a Number of Men of Sense and Substance from assisting the Government; and tend to destroy the Ballance of *England*. For as the Liberty of *Europe* would be destroy'd, should any one Power be suffered to become Exorbitant and out of the reach of the rest; so must we bid Farewel to the Liberties of *England*, when we allow one of the Parties there to be above the Check of the other. And he adds, That our Religion, and Liberty, our Property and Trade; our Peace and Credit; the Integrity of our Councils; the Administration of Justice, and the Success of our Arms; our happy Establishment under a Protestant Queen, and the Succession in the Protestant Line, are all built upon the Constitution, and can't fail to share in the Fate of the Foundation which supports them. He then proceeds to the *Interest of the Church*, and considers how that is concern'd in the Treatment of Dissenters. And here he asserts, that the C. of E. is in greater Danger from the Enemies of Religion, and of the Government, and from some of her violent Friends, who subvert her Constitution, whilst they pretend to put her upon a better Foundation, than from the Dissenters who stand upon the same Bottom, and only differ in the Plainness and Simplicity of the Superstructure: And 'tis highly for the Interest of the C. of E. to incorporate their

Strength with her own, that she may the better withstand the Designs of her Enemies: And that sooner or later the Dissenters will be found to be the Ballance of

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Religion, as well as of the Civil Constitution. He afterwards shews, that the Test Act, was not design'd to affect the Dissenters; and he vindicated them from the Charge of *Hypocrisy*; and shews that in the Affair of *Occasional Conformity*, they could produce Apostolical Example to support their Practice. He observes, That St. *Peter* generally worshipped God with the Use of *Jewish* Ceremonies, and sometimes without them: That St. *Paul* worshipped God generally without *Jewish* Ceremonies, and sometimes with them; That he advis'd *Timothy* to be circumcised at *Lystra*, but would not allow *Titus* to be circumcised at *Jerusalem*: That he did it in a Progress made to deliver a Decree, which term'd Circumcision a Subversion of Men's Souls: That he advis'd all that were *Jews* to remain so, and yet told the *Galatians*, that if they became *Jews* they could not be saved: That he allows the *Corinthians* to eat Meats offered to Idols, in the Idols Temple, and forbids them to eat those Meats in an Idolaters private Temple: And then says, That he that has read the Scriptures, till he is able to salve these Paradoxes, will understand the Reasons of Occasional Conformity, and none else.

Many other Pamphlets were also publish'd about this Time; as *Apostolical Conformity stated and asserted: A View of the present Controversy about Occasional Conformity, as far as Religion is engag'd in it; with a Vindication of Mr. Stubbs's Sermon, Some Considerations humbly offered to the Lord's in, relating to the Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity: And a Sermon of Mr. Sacheverel's, of the Nature and Mischief of Prejudice and Partiality.* Among others, there now came out a *Letter to a Clergyman in the Country*, concerning the Votes of the



Bishops, upon the Bill against *Occasional Conformity*; with a Design to prove that their Lordships neither acted against the Interest of Episcopacy, nor of the Establish'd Church, in being against that Bill. This Letter represents the Time as improper in which the Bill was propos'd: And intimates, that it tended to divide and enflame us: That it would be a Disadvantage to the Common Interest, and an Advantage to the common Enemy: that the Tho'ts of it much pleased the *Romanists*, who could not rejoice at as it would promote the Interest of the Church: That the great

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Concern for it which appear'd in those that hated the present Establishment, made it suspicious that it might have an ill Influence on the State of Affairs: That it was improper to begin a Reign, with what would alarum and discompose the Minds of the People: That it would be absurd to pretend to secure the Interest of Posterity, by making Laws likely to have pernicious Effects in our own Days: And as for the Bishops, it mov'd that their Behaviour and Characters might be considered and pleaded, that they had been the Chief Defenders of the Church against its Adversaries; and true to the Interest of the Nation. As for the Bill, it pleaded that it could be no Advantage. It could not strengthen the Security of the Succession in the Protestant Line, because it would turn out several that were well affected to it: That the natural Tendency of the Practice hereby prevented, was of present Advantage to the Church, tending to reconcile many to it: But that this Act would more incense Persons against the Church instead of convincing them, and so make them much more formidable to the Church than they were before, &c.

#### **Proceedings of the Convocation.**

The Convocation sitting again this Year with the Parliament, were divided as before. The Lower House,

on *December* 8. sent up a Paper to the Archbishop and Bishops, signifying that being called together to consult about such Matters as concern'd the Safety, Honour, and Advantage of the Church, they tho't themselves oblig'd above all Things to have a regard to the Soundness of its Doctrine, and to labour some effectual Provision against its being corrupted and depraved: And therefore they reminded their Lordships of the daring Licentiousness of the Press, through which there had for some Years past, several Books been printed, published, and dispersed, in which not only the Worship and Discipline of the Church, but the known Fundamentals of our Holy Religion had been impugn'd, &c. They added, That they had other Things lying before them, relating to the Discipline of the Church, which they conceived to be fit Matter to be enquired into by a Convocation: As *Clandestine Marriages*, and the Scandal said to be given by Neglect or Non-observance of the Ecclesiastical Laws and Canons in regard to Commutations: But that these Things requiring

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Time, They laid this Complaint against Heretical and Atheistical Books before them by itself. And they begg'd their Lordships would take the Matter into their serious Consideration; not doubting but that thro' their great Wisdom, and Interest with those in whom a sufficient Power is lodg'd, to effect so good a Work, some speedy Remedy might be found, and a Stop put to so growing an Evil.

The same Day also, they by another Paper, laid before their Lordships the Inconveniencies to which they were liable, for want of a more effectual Method for recovering Rates made for the Repair of Churches and Chappels. They desir'd it might be consider'd how far it was proper for the two Houses of Convocation to join in preparing such a Bill to be offered in Parliament, as might enforce the raising such Rates in

the most effectual Manner, consistent with the ancient Liberties of Holy Church, and the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

In *Feb.* 1703/4. The lower House sent up a Representation to the Bishops, intimating, that having by a Message brought by their Prolocutor from his Grace, *Dec.* 15. been encouraged to hope that against their meeting on *Febr.* 4. sufficient Power might have been procur'd for the joint Dispatch of Synodical Business, they had employ'd several Members in preparing Heads of Matters fit to be offered to their Lordships Consideration. And accordingly they represented to them, that a General Neglect of divers Canons and Constitutions now in Force, tends, to introduce such Customs as may in Time be interpreted to amount to a Prescription: And complain'd, That Matter of great Offence had been administred to Pious Christians, and many evil Consequences might arise from the Practice of such Ministers as read not the Common Prayer, *Distinctly, Reverently, and Intirely,* (as by the Rubrick, and by the, 14th Canon they are obliged to do) without either diminishing in regard of Preaching, or in any other Respect, or adding any Thing in the Matter and Form thereof.

They also complain'd, That the unjustifiable Use of the Form of Publick Baptism in Private Houses, had lessened the Reverence due to that Office; and had occasion'd those undue Practices of mutilating the pub-

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lick Form, and baptizing without the Sign of the Cross, or Godfathers and Godmothers: That Churchwardens were remiss in not making due Provision for the Administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: That Decency and Order were not duly observ'd in several Churches, and that several were irreverent and disorderly, covering their Heads in Time of Divine Service, &c: That due Care was not taken about

Holy Orders; and here the Things particularly complained of, were the little Caution used by some in granting, and by others in allowing of Letters Testimonial; the not insisting on true, certain, and sufficient Titles; the want of a strict and diligent Examination of such as offer'd themselves to be ordain'd; and an unnecessary Ordination of Persons without Degrees of Education, &c. That frequent Abuses happen'd by Clandestine Marriages, &c: That excommunicate Persons were not denounc'd as the 65th Canon prescrib'd; for want of which, the Awe of Excommunication has been diminish'd: That there were great Abuses about Commutations of Pennance: That Persons were suffer'd to instruct Youth without due Licences; and ignorant and disaffected Persons encourag'd to erect Seminaries, to the Prejudice of the Two Universities, and in which such Principals are instill'd into Youth as tend to perpetuate Schism, and subvert the Establish'd Constitution: That Persons were admitted to be Chancellors or Officials, and exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, without taking any Degree in any University: That the Presentments of Churchwardens were commonly defective, and yet they went unpunished: That the Practice of Registers was corrupt: That the Seat of Jurisdiction has been kept by other Persons besides the Judges themselves, and their lawful Substitutes: That Inconveniences have arisen for want of registering Testaments: That excessive Fees were exacted for Collations and Institutions: That Fees were unnecessarily demanded at Visitations, &c. That gross Errors were committed in some late Editions of the Bible and the Liturgy: And that the Stage was guilty of great Immorality and Profaneness. The Articles of this Representation were 21 in Number.

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The Archbishop told the inferiour Clergy, that an Order was given for the making out Copies of this Representation both for the present and absent Bishops: And that they would make the proper Use of it at all Times, and especially at their Visitations.

Her Majesty on *Febr.* 7. sent a Message to the House of Commons, by which she intimated, that she had remitted to the poor Clergy the Arrears of their Tenths, and would make a Grant of her whole Revenue arising out of her First-Fruits and Tenths, to be applied that Way. The House of Commons hereupon presented an Address of Thanks. The Convocation also for *Canterbury* presented a like Address of Thanks to her Majesty upon this Occasion, on *Febr.* 15. And the Convocation for *York.* that was now sitting soon after did the same: And the Lower House of Convocation, sent their Prolocutor with some of their Members to wait upon the Speaker of the House of Commons, by him to return their Thanks to that Honourable House, for their espousing the Interest of the Clergy, and promising to pursue such Methods as might best conduce to the Support, Honour, Interest, and Security of the C. of *E.* as now by Law Establish'd: And these Thanks of theirs, as Mr. Speaker (*Robert Harley, Esq;*) assur'd them by a Letter in return, were received with the Respect and Affection justly due, to that Reverend and Learned Body of the Clergy.

On *March* 10. 1703/4. The Lower House sent up a Paper to the Upper, asserting their Right to be summon'd, as often as a New Parliament was called, and that according to the Tenor of the Clause *Præmunientes*, as well as by Venue of the Royal Writ, and Archiepiscopal Mandate: And complaining that this had been omitted in many Dioceses; and that even the Royal Writ it self, and his Graces Mandate pursuant to it, had not been executed at all this Convocation, in the Diocese of *Bangor.* They also asserted their Right to have a Prolocutor chosen and admitted, at first, and as often as that Office should be vacant

by Death or Promotion; and to assume an Actuary; and have a convenient Place for Debates; and to dispose of the intermediate Time as they tho't good, &c.

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**More Writings all the Convocational Controversy.**

Several Things were also publish'd upon this Controversy without Doors: As *the New Danger of Presbytery*, &c. In which there is a Complaint, that tho' the Archbishops Right in Opposition to the Claims of the Lower House was fully justified, and the contrary Pleas answered, yet the Controversy was maintain'd with as much Heat and Confidence as ever. This it is intimated, created a Suspicion there was more at the Bottom than meer Zeal for the Rights of the Lower House. Their Proceedings this Author says, naturally tend to introduce a Presbyterian Parity imo the Church: And he refers to a Letter (printed some Time before) from the Borders of *Scotland*, for Proof that they used the very same Arguments and Methods, that the Puritans did in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, and the *Scotch* Presbyterians in the Reign of King *James I.* He says, the Lower House take a Method to destroy the Distinction of Orders between Bishops and Presbyters, and so create Confusion. This Year also came out, *A short State of some present Questions in Convocation: A summary Defence of the Lower House of Convocation*, concerning Adjournments. The pretended Independance of the Lower House upon the Upper, a groundless Notion: in Vindication of *the Synodus Anglicana*, and the *Schedule Review'd. A Letter from a Convocation-Man in Ireland to a Convocation-Man in England And the Marks of a Defenceless Cause*, &c. But the main Book that now came out, was, *The State of the Church and Clergy of England in their Councils, Synods, Convocations, Conventions, and other Publick Assemblies, Historically deduced from the Conversion of the Saxons to the present*

*Times*: By Dr. *Wake*. It is Dedicated to the Archbishops, and Bishops, and Clergy of the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*. In the Preface, he laments his being oblig'd to engage in such a Controversy; passes a Censure on his own former Work, and freely complains of Dr. *A.* for his wrathful and uncharitable Spirit; his Obscurity, and his Confidence; and says, that there was scarce a Leaf in his Book that would bear a rigorous Scrutiny, and but few that would stand the most favourable Examination. In his *First Chapter*, he considers the several Kinds of Assemblies of the Clergy of *England*, in a Parliamentary Convention, a Provincial Convocation, in Diocesan Synods and Pro-

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cial Councils. In the *Second*, he sets himself by Arguments to prove the real Difference both in Law and Fact, between a Parliamentary Convention of the Clergy, summon'd, by the Præmunitory Clause; and Provincial Convocations, summon'd, by the King's Writs to the two Archbishops. He shews they have different Rights, Powers, and Priviledges as such. In the *Third* he shews. That the Bishops and Clergy have a Right to be assembled in Convocation, at any, and all times, whenever the Affairs of the Church require their Consultation, or any Benefit may thence accrue to Religion: But have no Obligation to attend upon the Parliament, much less be forc'd to continue their Attendance during every Session, when they have either nothing to do, or nothing to countervail the Trouble and Charge of such all Attendance. In the *Fourth* he shews, That the Convocation has not as a proper Provincial Council, any Right to meet once a Year; by Vertue of the ancient Canons. In the Vth, VIth, VIIth, and VIIIth Chapters, he proves, that neither in the Time of *Edw.* I. nor any of the succeeding Reigns to the Time of *Hen.* VIII. did the two Convocations attend upon the Parliament, nor was it

accounted their Duty or Priviledge so to do. In Chap, IX. he shews that no Right can in this Case be prov'd from Custom. In the *Tenth*, he considers the Right of the Convocation to treat of Canons and Constitutions, without the Assent or Licence of the Prince. And at the End there is a large Appendix of Instruments and Records, very few of which were ever publish'd before.

This Year came out Mr. *Hoadley's Reasonableness of Conformity to the Church of England*, in two Parts; as Mr. *Olyffe's Defence of Ministerial Conformity* did a little before; both in Reply to my 10th Chapter, in which I acted but the Part of an Historian in representing the Sense and Reasons, of the ejected Nonconformists; and was not aware; That I assaulted any. Dr. *Nichols* speaking of Mr. *Hoadley's* Performance, is pleased to say, (how truly, let others judge) that *arguing from my Concessions, he stabs and cuts the Throat of the Cause which I had undertaken to defend.*\* However it yet survives; and as it unhappily falls out; the Frankness of those

\* Appar. ad Defens. Eccl. Anglic. pag. 110.

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who are most zealous for the Church, who are not backward upon Occasion to declare against such a soft Sense of the Terms of Conformity as these Gentlemen contend for, helps to keep it alive. I publish'd the First Part of my *Defence of Moderate Nonconformity*, in answer both to Mr. *Olyffe*, and Mr. *Hoadly*. Now also came out *the Church of England's Wish, for the restoring of Primitive Discipline*: In which the Author attempts to shew, that the C. of E. hath a Right to have her Discipline restored, which it has in vain wish'd to see effected ever since the Reformation; and that this was a proper Season. He fastens upon the Words in the *Commination*, that is used from Year to Year, accord-



ing to the Common Prayer Book, in which are these Words, That *in the Primitive Church there was a Godly Discipline, and till it may be restored again, which is much to be wish'd, &c.* He says, That Wishes are indeed Marks of a good Intention, and an acceptable Zeal where no more is possible to be done: But ever to wish, and make no Attempt towards the Thing wish'd for; if it be Zeal, is such as is a Reproach to it self. Now also came out, *A Letter concerning the Education of the Dissenters in their private Academies.* The Author brings heavy Charges against their Management, and particularly the dangerous Political Principles there instill'd: To which an Answer was return'd in the Year following.

***Farther Proceeding in Parliament about the Occasional Bill.***

M.D.CCIV. The Parliament met a Third Time in *October* this Year: Her Majesty signify'd in her Speech, *her Hopes that there would be no Contention among them, but who should most promote the Publick Welfare.* The Commons in their Address promised, that *they would endeavour by all proper Methods to prevent Divisions:* But on *Nov. 23.* bro't in the Bill against *Occasional Communion* a Third Time. It had now a Preamble of the same import with the first Bill, intimating, that the Act of Indulgence ought inviolably to be observ'd: It put the same Gloss upon the Corporation and Test Acts as before: The first enacting Clause was exactly the same with that in 1703: And the Difference in the other Part, was not in any Thing very material. At the second Reading it was mov'd to tack this Bill, to a Money Bill; but a Majority of 251 Voices against 134 carried it in the Negative. And when it was af-

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afterwards sent to the Lords, they carried it against a second Reading of it by a Majority of 71 Voices against 50. Had this Tacking Method succeeded, Publick Affairs would have been at a stand: And the

Queen minded the Parliament of it at their rising, when in her closing Speech she told them, *That they had so narrowly escap'd the Fatal Effects of unreasonable Humour and Animosity in that Session, that it ought to be a sufficient Warning against all dangerous Experiments for the Future.* This Tacking seemed to carry in it a Design to take away the Negative of the Sovereign and the Lords. And had the Lords thrown out the Money Bill on the Account of the Tack, the Parliament would in all likelihood have been dissolv'd presently, and the Preparations for the War hindred. This caus'd a general Indignation against the Tackers.

***Debates from the Press.***

Mr. James Owen's Discourse call'd *Moderation a Vertue*, had this Year a furious Reply to it, call'd *the Wolf stripp'd of his Shepherds Cloathing*, said to be written by Mr. Lesley: To which he return'd a modest Answer, and stil'd it *Moderation still a Vertue*. This was indeed an Answer to several bitter Pamphlets; and particularly to one, entit. *Occasional Conformity a most unjustifiable Practice*, as well as to *the Wolf stripp'd*. He here says, he does not wonder that such Gentlemen as now argu'd the Cause, should be unwilling to grant to Dissenting Protestants the Priviledges of *English-men*, since they denied them the Charity they ow'd to their Fellow Christians; pass'd a severer Sentence on their Everlasting State, than they did on Heathens or Pagans, and scarce allowed them the common Deference that is due to the Rational Nature. He represents it as very odd, that Occasional Conformity to the Church should be so vehemently oppos'd, by one that was no Member either of Church or State. He adds a Defence of the private Academies of the Dissenters, against Mr. Sacheverel's Mis-representations of them. Now also came out a Pamphlet call'd *Moderation truly stat'd*; which confounds Moderation with Lukewarmness in the Essentials and Vitals of Religion: As if there were no Difference between Divine Institutions, and Humane Additions.

Now also came out *The Rights of Protestant Dissenters*, in Two Parts: The First being the *Case of the Dissenters review'd*; The Second, *A Vindication of their Right to*

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*an Absolute Toleration, from the Objections of Sir Humphrey Mackworth.* The Dedication of this Tract to her Majesty, is an handsome Apology for the Dissenters, against the invidious Charges and Insinuations, of an Epistle Dedicatory to one of the Volumes of the Lord *Clarendon's* History. In the Tract it self, the Author represents the Dissenters Principles; shews their Right to a Toleration; vindicates them from the Charge of schism; and urges a great many Considerations in Proof of the justifiableness of Occasional Conformity, and the unreasonableness of attempting to incapacitate Men to serve the Publick upon the Account of it, &c. Now also came out the *Second Volume of Catholicism without Popery, in Answer to Sir H. Mackworth about Occasional Conformity.*

The Press indeed swarm'd about this Time upon this Subject. There was a *Serious Inquiry*; into this grand Question, *Whether a Law to prevent the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, would not be inconsistent with the Act of Toleration, and a Breach of the Queen's Promise? The Christianity of High Church consider'd.* A Letter to a Friend, concerning *the New Distinction of High and Low Church.* A *Brief Account of the Tack*, in a Letter to a Friend, Cassandra, *but I hope not, telling what will come of it, &c.*

***The Proceedings of the Convocation this Year.***

The Convocation sate at the same Time with the Parliament, and continu'd divided: The last Notice we took of them, was with respect to the Archbishop's first Speech to them on *March 17, 1703/4.* when he told them, that Order was given for the making out Copies of their *Representation*, both for the present and absent Bishops. When the Lower House was with the Arch-

bishop on *April* 3. 1704. He spoke to them largely of their *Representation* as he had promised, them he would do. He own'd to them their Right to complain of real Abuses and Grievances in the Church, but observ'd, that some of their Complaints did not come properly under the Power of the Canons, or the Authority purely Ecclesiastical: And that those of them that were properly Ecclesiastical, were laid down as Particulars preparative to a Royal Licence: And that the Abuses complained of had not commenc'd within a few Years last past, or been passed over every where with Supineness and Disregard: and that many of the Abuses they

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referred to, were mention'd in King *William's* Injunctions, and his own Circular Letter in pursuance of them, *An.* 1695. He told them withal, that since the Time of our Publick Deliverance from the open Attempts of Popery, there have never been more frequent and careful Visitations of Bishops In Person, never more Precautions and strict Examinations before giving Orders in most Dioceses, never more solemn and orderly Confirmations, even in very many Places where a Bishop had not been seen since the Reformation. He also said, they had promoted the good Design of setting up Schools of Instruction for the Poor, been concern'd for the propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in pressing the frequent Chatechizing of Youth, and helping forward the Conversion of Dissenters of all Sorts, by sound Arguments and gentle Methods, and exerting themselves in behalf of the Protestant Succession, which is necessary to the preserving the Queen, and the Faith of which she is Defender. And yet he own'd, there was Reason for all possible Care and Diligence in rectifying Abuses; and that the Bishops needed their Assistance, &c.

On *Dec.* 1. 1704. The Lower House of Convocation presented another Representation to the Archbishop

and his Suffragans, signifying their Grief at the general Complaint of the Clergy, that tho' Convocations had been held now for some Years, after a long discontinuance, yet the Publick had not hitherto reap'd the Benefits that might be expected: That this tended to disparage the Constitution of the Church, and tempted some to speak against the Necessity and Usefulness of Ecclesiastical Synods. They promise for Time to come to do what they can to silence that Complaint: And intimate that the Fault did not lie in them that more had not been done. That the unhappy Disputes between the two Houses had been their Hindrance, but that they neither raised them, nor omitted any Means they could contrive for bringing them to a regular Determination. That they would gladly have receiv'd Directions, but none being offered, they tho't they might without Presumption make their Applications about such Matters to their Lordships. Accordingly some Years ago, they laid, before *them Toland's Christianity not Mysterious*, and desir'd Directions what Course to

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take to suppress such Books, but could not obtain the Advice and Direction they prayed for, Afterwards other Books of the like Nature were published, and they had reminded their Lordships again of the Liberty of the Press, pointing at a Book *of the Immortality of the Soul*, which the House of Commons had since censur'd, to their own Honour, and the Reproach of the Convocation. They had since laid Other Grievances before them, and should be glad to know what had been done towards the redressing them: But that they had no Intention to bring their Lordships under any Odium. They therefore beg their Lordships to exert their Vigilance and Zeal, for rescuing Convocations from that Contempt, into which they are in Danger of falling; and that they would impart to their Clergy the result of their wise Consultations about what might be done

by the Synod for the Honour of Religion, and the Maintenance of the Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline of the Church; and candidly to receive their dutiful Applications from Time to Time.

At present, they repeated a Motion formerly made, concerning a Bill for the more easy and speedy Recovery of Church Rates; and desired, that some of their House that had Jurisdiction, might be permitted to join with their Lordships, in preparing the Heads of a Bill for that Purpose, which they intimated, was therefore the more needful, because of the Damage done to several Churches by the late Storm. They begg'd Leave again to take Notice of the many pernicious Books that were publish'd and dispers'd, and requested their Lordships (as formerly) to use their Interest in Parliament for a Bill to repress the Licentiousness of the Press. They represented also the encreasing Difficulties of the Parochial Clergy, about administring the Holy Sacrament indifferently to all Persons that demand it, in order to qualify themselves for Offices; because they saw not how they could in several Cases, act conformably to the *Rubricks* and *Canons* of the Church, in repelling such Persons as were unworthy, and particularly notorious Schismaticks, without exposing themselves to vexatious and expensive Suits at Law. They beg they would use their Interest for the freeing them from these Difficulties, and in the mean Time, give them Directions how to behave themselves under such Exigences.

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On *Febr.* 14. 1704/5 another Paper was brought up by the Lower House, in which they represented to his Grace and their Lordships, that among many other Encroachments of the *Dissenting Teachers* upon the Office and Rights of the Clergy, their frequent presuming to Administer the Holy Sacrament of Baptism in Private Non Licens'd Houses, was a great Abuse of evil Consequence, no Way warranted by the Act of

Toleration. They begg'd their Lordships would take this Matter into their wise Consideration, and by all proper Means endeavour to put a stop to all such bold intrusions upon the Rules and Discipline of the Church. —They also intimated, that they could not without great Concern observe, how the Numbers of Non Licens'd Schools and Seminaries was multiply'd, and how the Dangers arising thence encreas'd; and under a deep Sense of what might be the fatal Consequence of such irregular Societies, as gave no Security to Church or State, and which they believ'd were labouring the Subversion of both, they earnestly beseech'd their lordships, to use their utmost Authority and Interest for the suppressing such Seminaries, and thereby prevent the growth of Popery, Schism, and Sedition.

At the same Time they carried up another Paper, in which they intimated to their Lordships, the unwelcome Necessity they had more than once found themselves under, of laying before them their Complaints against the Bishop of *Sarum*: And yet as unwilling as they were to multiply Complaints, they now found themselves compell'd by a groundless Aspersion with which he had lately loaded them, and which they should seem to have deserv'd, should they continue silent under it. Their Representation of Grievances last Winter they declare to have been inoffensive and respectful, and they add, that it had been favourably receiv'd and answer'd: But that from thence the Bishop had taken occasion to insinuate, if not to affirm, that many of the Persons concern'd in preparing it,\* were *Enemies to their Lordships, the Queen, and the Nation*. Which reproachful Character the Bishop gave of them to the Clergy of his Diocese, and had since publish'd to the World, even while they were Assembled in Synod. They thank God they are Conscious the Accusation did not belong to them. They ever accounted the Enemies

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\* *They herein refer to the Bishop of Sarum's Charge, at his Triennial Visitation, in 1704.*

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or false Friends of Episcopacy to be for that Reason thiers. They Reverence the very Bishop against whom they complain. They were ever zealously devoted to Her Majesty's Interest, even before She Ascended the Throne. That, they had receiv'd such unparallel'd Marks of Royal Favour and Bounty, that they should be the most disloyal Subjects and the unworthiest of Men, if they should not make Her all the returns of Duty and Gratitude that were possible. And that they could not be Enemies to the Nation, when they were born and bred in it, and had true *English* Hearts and *English* Principles suitable to their Birth and Education. Being therefore openly aspers'd by undistinguishing Reflections, they beg that his Grace and their Lordships would interpose their Authority and influence, that the Bishop may be oblig'd either as openly to disclaim any such intended meaning, or to make some sufficient and speedy Reparation.

A Third Paper also was offer'd by the Clergy at the same Time in which they complain that their Paper of *Dec.* had had no Reply. That they were hindred in Business by so frequent, Adjournments, which tended to frustrate the Use, and subvert the Constitution of an *English* Convocation, &c.

The Archbishop and Bishops made large Observati- on on the Paper that came from the Lower House *Dec.* 1. They, observe that this Paper was not directed to the President, whom they, had endeavour'd to deprive of his Ancient Title. They tell them that it is they, who by their unwarrantable Claims and En- croachments made it impossible for the Convocation to do the Church any Service. That should, their in- novations run on, there would be a new Danger of Presbytery; for Presbyters would be enabled hereafter to bid defiance to their Ecclesiastical Superiours, and to act independently from them, in the highest and most general Concerns of the Church. That 'tis



strange any of the Clergy should understand so little of the Constitution, as to complain that no Business is finish'd, when the Royal License has not enabled to begin any: Or that they should hope that an Attempt to do Holiness while this was wanting, could have any other Effect than the encreasing Differences. For that they'd be still running into irregular Practices

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against which their Brethren would enter their Protestations, and against which their Lordships must find some other method of Proceeding. That their Lordships could not but look upon the seeming earnestness of the Clergy to proceed to Business; as a design to render themselves Popular, and their Superiours odious: And that it was dangerous to those whom they represented. That in 1689 the Lower House was for superseding all Business with a Royal License in their Hands, &c. That there are Laws and Canons in being sufficient to correct and punish Offenders. That if any Thing hindered Discipline, it was the Reproaches industriously spread amongst the Clergy against the Bishops and their Proceedings. That the present Disputes grew purely from the Attempts of some of the Clergy to disengage themselves from the Authority of the Bishops, by Priviledges which their Predecessors never claim'd nor pretended to, and therefore they were amaz'd at their solemn contrary Declaration. The steps the Bishops had taken are reckon'd up, by which they had testify'd their desire of Peace and good Agreement. That the Convocation has really no Authority to pass such Censures upon Books as they desir'd: That Grievances of the Clergy may be regularly offer'd by their Representatives in Convocation. But that 'tis without Precedent for Presbyters to expect, that their Metropolitan and Bishops should be accountable to them for their Conduct and Behaviour in their several Visitations. And that as concerning Directions about their

refusal of the Holy Sacrament to unworthy Persons; they could give them no better than the *Rubricks* and *Canons* of the Church, which he that would strictly and religiously observe, could not be wanting either in a dutiful Regard to his Superiours, or in a Conscientious Care of the Flock.

The Archbishop on *Febr.* 14. ask'd the Prolocutor of the Lower House, if they had had any intermediate Sessions since the last Synodical Day? The Prolocutor answer'd, that they had had one the Monday before. He told him it was very irregular, and that he *admonish'd* them to hold no more intermediate Session, which was a violaton of the Presidents Right, and contrary to the constant Custom of Convocations.

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*Febr.* 21. The Prolocutor told the Archbishop that their House had taken his *Admonition* into Consideration; and represented in return, that they had not been Guilty of any irregularity by their intermediate Session; that the holding such Sessions as oft as they shall see Cause is no violation of the Presidents Right, nor contrary to the Custom of Convocations, but an unquestionable Right of the Lower House, from which they could not depart. And that if the *Admonition* was intended as judicial, they Protested against it as Void and Null, and of no Effect in Law, and to which no Obedience can be due: And desir'd that this their Answer and Protestation (for which they were ready to Assign their Reasons), might be enter'd in Form by the Register in the Acts of the Day.

On *March* 15. 1704/5, at the Proroguing the Convocation, the Archbishop made a Speech to the Prolocutor and the Clergy, and told them, that whereas they had brought up many Complaints, the greatest Part of them did not require any Answer, after so many former Expressions of the Judgments and Resolutions of the Bishops concerning them. That their Paper

of *Dec.* 1. was of so undutiful a Nature, that it might justly be accounted an Act of Clemency in their Lordships to pass it by without Censure: And yet they drew up Observations upon it, and enter'd them in their Register, and they might be seen by anyone that desir'd it. That there is no such Thing as *Adjournments*, in the Language or Practice of Convocation, and that *Prorogations* have been all along manag'd by Commissaries, from the Restoration to the Revolution. That their Representation concerning unlicens'd Schools and Seminaries was a Matter of Law. That their former Complaints against the Bishop of *Sarum* had not sufficient Ground. That in what they now complain'd of, the Bishop referr'd to flying Reports set about to the prejudice of the Upper House, which they had all Reason to complain of; tho' they pray'd God to forgive the Guilty, and pity'd those who were led away by wilful and perpetual misrepresentations. That their Lordships would govern themselves by the *Articles* and *Rubrics*, the *Canons* and *Statutes*; and that they knew no way of retrieving the Honour of Convocations, but by the departing of the Clergy of the Lower House

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from unwarrantable Claims, and Innovations, and returning to the Ancient Canonial Methods.

He added, that this Convocation was near an end, and a New one would probably be summon'd: And that if new Occasion should be offer'd, he should think himself oblig'd to exert his Authority, seeing no better Fruit had been reap'd from his past Conduct, which some ascrib'd to fear and others to remisness. And he told them, he wish'd that the Clergy of the next Convocation might govern themselves by the Constitution as it is, and not as they would desire it might be; that they might not divide in Two, that Body of the Convocation which is but One; but prevent all Irregularities, and thereby all Censure, by Meeting together

with such peaceable Tempers and dutiful Dispositions, as became their Function and Order, &c.

I have drawn up this Brief Account, out of *the Complainer Reprov'd, the Complainer further Reprov'd, and the Collection of Papers*, publish'd in 1705.

I this Year publish'd the Second Part of the *Defence of Moderate Nonconformity*, in Answer to the Reflections of Mr. *Ollyffe* and Mr. *Hoadly*, with an *Introduction* that contains (as I conceive) the Merits of the Cause in Debate, between the Conformists and the Nonconformists. Here I, that had before but acted as an Historian, and represented the Sense of others as fairly and faithfully as I could, gave my own Sense and Principles, for which I own myself to be Accountable, to anyone that will fairly take them into Consideration. At this Time came out Anonymous *Reflections* on my *Abridgment*, in a Dialogue between a Churchman and a Peaceable Dissenter, which was follow'd with some other Essays of the same Kind; condemning my Book to the Flames, and inveighing against the Ejected Ministers, without any concern what was said, so it might but blacken: But I never could think it worth while to take Notice of a Writer of his Complexion, let him be ever so much affronted at it. A Defence of the *Dissenters Education* was Printed; and soon after, *A Defence of the Letter*, Printed about it the Year before: And Mr. *Wesley* now tho't fit to set his Name to his Answer, tho' he did not at first to the Letter upon that Subject.

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***The Dissenters not for confining Liberty to themselves.***

Among the many Clamours rais'd about this Time against the *Dissenters*, one was, that they did not deserve to have *Liberty* themselves, because they were Enemies to the *Liberty* of others. This was started as a Maxim, that they that would be for straitning of others if they were able, could not reasonably expect

*Liberty* from those that were in Power, when they differ'd from them. I shall not set myself to Debate this Maxim, or consider what might be objected against it: But shall not the World understand, that the Dissenters took another Way to Answer it. For they were apply'd to, by some of the Denomination of *Quakers*, who complain'd to them, that in *New England* there were some severe Laws of a long standing, not repeal'd, tho' not of late rigorously put in Execution against Persons of their Character, which they desir'd their kind Interposition to screen them from, as they would manifest they were real Friends of *Liberty*, and not for confining it to themselves. Hereupon the following Letter was drawn up, and Sign'd by several of the other Three Denominations of Dissenters, and sent in their common Name to some Ministers of Reputation in *New England*, to be Communicated to their Brethren.

*Reverend and dear Brethren,*

YOU may from the enclosed gather the Occasion 'of our giving you this Trouble. As for an Application to the Queen therein desir'd, we could by 'no Means count it agreeable to the Respect we have 'for our Brethren of *New England*, had we tho't it 'ever so suitable to our more private Station and Ministerial Character. We pretend not to Form a Judgment in the present Case, which would not be Just, 'without a full hearing of both Sides; much less 'would we presume to dictate Measures to you about it.

'We cannot reasonably suppose, but you as well as 'We, are for a Liberty of Conscience as full as it is 'here Establish'd and enjoy'd; since you are not so 'much as charg'd with having lately executed those 'Laws among you, which might now appear to infringe it, whatever peculiar Reasons your Ancestors 'had for first enacting them.

'We

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'We conclude you agree with us, that the Truth is 'not to be propagated or maintain'd, by external Force 'or Violence, against Errors or Mistaken, but by the 'gentle Methods of Argument and Perswasion: And 'we cannot but judge it disagreeing with the 'Spirit and Principles of the Gospel, and an en-'croachment upon the Divine Prerogative, and the 'undoubted Rights of Mankind, to punish any for 'their conscientious and peaceable Dissent from the 'Establish'd Way of Religion, whilst they are not just-'ly chargeable with any Immorality, or what is plainly 'Destructive of Civil Society.

'Since this is our real Sentiment, and we are call'd upon to own it, we think our Selves oblig'd thus to express it, for the avoiding that odious Imputation of denying to others what we claim our Selves: And that we may not give any handle or colour, for the undermining your and our common Liberties. We would also do, whatever may be done with Christian Prudence, to engage the Affections of those who differ from us; and at the same Time testify our abhorrence of the *Popish* pretended *Infallibility*, and *French Persecution*.

'We cannot think the Truth to be betray'd, or any Way injured by the avowing such Principles, as secure it the Liberty to speak for itself; and which if universally espous'd, must open it a Way into all Parts and Places of the World.

'Therefore upon the whole, we conceive that the Honour of God, and the Interest of our Redeemer engage us thus to appear for *Liberty of Conscience*. And we perswade our Selves, you will look upon our laying this Matter so freely before you, as an Instance of our Brotherly Affection to you; nor is it the wide distance of Place, or any little difference of Sentiment that may possibly be, which can lessen our

Concern for Members of the same Mystical Body of Christ.

'We therefore humbly offer it to the serious Consideration of yourselves, and by you to your fellow Labourers in the Ministry, together with other Christian Brethren, what farther Assurance may be prudently and fitly given, that in the present Affair you are like minded with us, and are not to be out done by any in

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'the Evidence and Exercise of a truly Christian Charity; and that you will rather employ your own Interest for the procuring some such Liberty as is here allow'd, than that others should be left to try what their Endeavours can do, which we would gladly divert them from, in expectation of what this Letter may produce.

'Finally Brethren, you will not forget that the Apostle tells us after the mentioning of Faith Hope and Charity, that *the greatest of these is Charity*; since you are (we doubt not) guided by that *Wisdom from above*, which is not only *Pure* but *Peaceable*, *Gentle*, *and Easie to be intreated*, *full of Mercy and good Fruits*, *without Partiality, and without Hypocrisy, &c.*

About this Time also Came out, *The Layman's Reasons for his joining in Stated Communion with a Congregation of Moderate Dissenters*, in a single Sheet, which well deserves to be preserv'd, and shall therefore be here inferred.

***The Layman's Reasons for his Nonconformity.***

**M**Y Case is in short this. I am born in a Christian Nation, and baptiz'd into the Christian Faith; and I reckon it my unspeakable Honour and Happiness that I am so, and that live in the Times of Reformation. In this Nation, wherever I am, I find Publick Assemblies for Religious Worship, all agreeing to Worship the same God, in the Name of the same Mediator, under the Conduct and Influ-

'ence of the same Spirit, according to the Rule of the  
'same Scriptures, holding Communion with the Uni-  
'versal Church in Faith, Hope and Love, under the  
'Presidency of Gospel Ministers, by the same Ordi-  
'nances of the Word, Sacraments and Prayer, looking  
'for the same Blessed Hope: All these Assemblies con-  
'cur, in their Testimony, not only against *Jews*, Pa-  
'gans, and Mahometans Abroad, but against Atheists,  
'Infidels and Profane at Home; and likewise in their  
'Protestation against the Tyranny and Idolatry of the  
'Church and Court of *Rome*.

'But I find there is same Difference among these  
'Christian Assemblies; tho' all good Christians are  
'one in Christ by Faith, and one with each other by  
'Holy Love, yet in outward and lesser Things I ob-  
'serve they do not all agree; and it is no Surprize to

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'me that they do not; for I know that the best are im-  
'perfect in this World. 1. I find some of there Assem-  
'blies, and indeed far the greater Number, *Established*  
'and *Appointed* by an Act of Parliament at the Time  
'of the happy Restoration, 14 *Car.* 2. The Ministers  
'presiding in these Assemblies ordain'd by Bishops, usu-  
'ally presented by Lay-Patrons, and to the great Ad-  
'vantage of their Ministry dignified, and honourably  
'provided for by the Civil Government; the Ordi-  
'nances Administred in these Assemblies according to  
'the Book of Common Prayer; and the Discipline  
'manag'd by the Chancellor of the Diocess and his  
'Court.

2. 'I find some few of these Assemblies, *Permitted*  
'and *Allowed*, by another Act of Parliament 27 Years  
'after the former, at the Time of the late Glorious  
'Revolution, 1. *W.* and *M.* The Ministers presiding  
'in them ordain'd by Presbyters, chosen by the Peo-  
'ple, and tho' taken under the Protection, yet desti-  
'tute of the Authority and Support of the Civil Pow-



'ers. The Ordinances Administred in them not by a  
'set, prescribed, constant Form, but by the Rule of  
'the Scripture in general, and according to the Mea-  
'sure of the Gift given to him that Ministers. The  
'Discipline manag'd by the Minister himself, who  
'presides in other Ordinances, with the Advice and  
'Concurrence of the Congregation. Providence hath  
'so cast my Lot, and *appointed the Bounds of my Habi-*  
'*tation*, that Assemblies of both these Kinds are within  
'my Reach.

'And through the Grace of God I think I can truly  
say, this is my *Character*. I am heartily concerned  
about my Soul, and my everlasting Condition. It is  
my Care and Desire to please God, and to work out  
my Salvation. All other Interests and Concerns are  
nothing to me in Comparison with this. I seriously  
profess I am afraid of Sin, and am sollicitous to be  
found in the Way of my Duty, and to get all the  
Help I can to forward me towards Heaven, and fit  
me for it. Hereunto I can add this further Protesta-  
tion, that through the Grace of God I have a Catho-  
lick Charity for all good Christians. I cannot mono-  
polize the Church; 'tis narrow enough, I dare not  
make it narrower. I love a good Man, whatever

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'Party he belongs to, and him that follows Christ,  
'tho' he doth not *follow with me*. *He that fears God,*  
'*And works Righteousness, accepted of God,* and shall  
'be accepted by me.

'My Practice is this. I join myself sometimes with  
'the Assemblies of the Publick Establishment, if an Op-  
'portunity offers itself on a Week-day; or if I happen  
'on a Lord's Day to be out of the Reach of such  
'Assemblies, as I chuse stately to join with, I freely  
'and chearfully attend the Divine Service of the  
'Church, knowing nothing in the Prayers but what I  
'can heartily say *Amen* to, which I chuse rather to

'do than to Answer aloud after the Minister. And  
'this I do, that I may testifie my Catholick Charity,  
'and my Communion with, and Affection to all good  
'Christians, tho' I be not in every Thing of their  
'Mind. Hereby likewise I endeavour to *fulfil all*  
'*Righteousness*, and in my Place I bear my Testimony  
'to that which is of God in the Publick Establishment,  
'wherein I *do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.*

'But I constantly join in all the Ordinances with a  
'Congregation of moderate and sober Dissenters;  
'with them I hold Stated Communion, and with  
'them, after many serious and impartial Thoughts,  
'have put myself under the Ministerial Conduct,  
'and Inspection of a Preacher or Teacher, *Allow'd,*  
'tho' not *Authoriz'd* by the Law of the Land, but one  
'who is manifested in my Conscience to be a true and  
'faithful Minister of Jesus Christ.

'The Reasons why I chuse my settled Communion  
'with Dissenters are these Six, which abundantly satis-  
'fie my own Conscience at present, not judging other  
'Mens Consciences, not knowing what further Light  
'God may hereafter give me in this Matter.

I. 'I think it is my Duty to *own and adhere to that*  
'*Ministry, which seems to me to be wrongfully and inju-*  
'*riously excluded from the Publick Establishment,* and the  
'Exclusion of which was professedly intended and de-  
'sign'd by the Act of Uniformity. By making such  
'Oaths, Declarations, and Subscriptions, the indi-  
'spensible Terms of their Admission into the Ministry,  
'or Continuance in it, as they could not comply with,  
'without sinning against their Consciences, they were  
'and are effectually shut out from the Publick Esta-

blishment:

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'blishment: This I take to be a Wrong both to *them*  
'who are well worthy of the Church's double Ho-  
'nours, and to *the Church* which stands in need of, and  
'would be greatly benefited by their useful Labours.

‘I therefore think that I ought in my Place both to  
 ‘bear my Testimony against the Exclusion of them, lest I  
 ‘should partake with other Mens Sins, and should be  
 ‘found to have said a Confederacy with those that put  
 ‘so many burning, shining Lights under a Bushel; and  
 ‘also to aid, assist and encourage those that are so ex-  
 ‘cluded, putting my Soul into their Souls stead, and  
 ‘then doing as I would be done by. Were I a Mini-  
 ‘ster I must be shut out as they are, and should expect  
 ‘to be countenanced in suffering for Conscience-sake,  
 ‘and therefore cannot but countenance them. And  
 ‘this is that which I verily believe most Men will do  
 ‘when it comes to be their own Case, whatever they  
 ‘talk when they are uppermost. Those who at any  
 ‘Time have thought themselves unjustly restrain’d  
 ‘from the publick Exercise of their Ministry, have  
 ‘ever yet thought themselves oblig’d to exercise it in  
 ‘private as they could, and their Friends oblig’d to  
 ‘stand by them in it, and so I believe they ever will.

2. ‘I think it is my Duty to chuse rather stately to  
 ‘join in those Administrations which come nearest to the  
 ‘Divine Institution, than in those which have in them an  
 ‘unnecessary Mixture of Humane Invention. How far  
 ‘Men may lawfully devise and use Ceremonies of  
 ‘their own, under pretence of beautifying God’s Or-  
 ‘dinances, and edifying themselves and others, I pre-  
 ‘tend not to be a competent Judge; but to me it seems  
 ‘very plain that the Ordinances of Christ are purer,  
 ‘and look better without them, and that those who  
 ‘make the Scripture only their Rule, and admit no-  
 ‘thing into their Worship but what is warranted by  
 ‘that, are to be preferr’d much before those who Pra-  
 ‘ctice many Things in their stated publick Worship,  
 ‘which they do not produce any Ground or Warrant  
 ‘for in the Holy Scripture. To me it seems much bet-  
 ‘ter in Baptism only to wash a Child with Water in  
 ‘the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in Token  
 ‘that he shall not be ashamed to confess Christ crucified,

'which is Christ's Institution, than besides that, in  
'Token of the same Thing to sign him with the Sign  
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'of the Cross; and in the Lord's Supper to use the  
'Gesture Christ's Disciples us'd, rather than another  
'devised by Men. Having chosen the Scripture for the  
'standing Rule of my Faith and Practice, I chuse to  
'have Communion with those who seem to me to keep  
'most closely to it.

3. 'I think it is my Duty to *chuse rather stately to  
join with those who Assert and Maintain the Liberty  
wherewith Christ has made us free, than with those that  
willingly submit to the Impositions of Men in the Things  
of God, and justify those Impositions.* I am very well  
satisfied, that when my Redeemer, in kindness to his  
Church, broke the Yoke of that Ceremonial Law  
which was given by *Moses*, he did not leave it in the  
Power of any Man, or Company of Men in the  
World, to make another like Yoke, and lay that upon  
the Necks of the Disciples. I doubt not but there is  
a Power in the Christian Magistrates, or other Go-  
vernours of the Church, to restrain and correct Na-  
tural Indecencies in any of the Necessary Circumstan-  
ces of Publick Worship, Time, Place, Habit, or  
Gesture, and that, in any of these which unavoidably  
renders the Administration of the Ordinances either  
despicable, or inconvenient, or unprofitable to those  
that attend upon them; but I see nothing in the Gos-  
pel which warrants any Governours, Civil or Sacred,  
to impose such Habits and Gestures as they please,  
because they think them Decent, upon those who  
think them incongruous, and then to make the use  
of them the indispensable Condition of their Commu-  
nion. In the Religious Assemblies of the Dissenters  
I observe, that generally every Thing is done with  
the Gravity and Decorum that becomes the Solemnities  
there perform'd. I see no uncouth Habits, I hear

no noisie Responses, but all Things are manag'd Decently and in Order, with Reverence and to Edification; and yet no Ceremonies are impos'd, no Terms of Communion made which Christ has not made, no Days made Holy but that which God has made so, no stress laid upon the Holiness of Places, which the New Testament gives not the least hint of since the Destruction of the Temple, and therefore I chuse to join with them, for where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty: Their Ministers are not ty'd up to

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'anyone prescribed Form of Prayer, but are at liberty 'to vary and enlarge according to the Improvements 'of their Knowledge and Warmth of their Devotion, 'and the Case of those whose Mouth they are in Pray- 'er: And, as I think, every Minister ought to have 'some Competent Measure of the Gift of Prayer as 'well as Preaching, and that otherwise he is not duly 'Qualified; so I think, having that Ability, he ought 'not to be abridg'd of his Liberty to use it, *especially, 'not in the Administration of Sacraments. All Things 'are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the 'Power of any, 1 Cor. 6. 12.*

4. 'I think it is my Duty to chuse rather to join with 'those that refuse to admit into Communion with them, 'such as are openly Vicious and prophane, than with those, 'that being under an unhappy Obligation to Administer the 'Lord's Supper to all in Office, and to transfer the Trial of 'all Suspensions to the Bishop's Court, cannot possibly use so 'strict a Discipline. Not that I think I am ever 'the worse for bad Peoples joining with me in 'the Lord's Supper, but perhaps they are the worse 'for my joining with them; and I would not be access- 'ry to the hardening of them in their Impieties. I do 'not expect to meet with any Society of Christians 'perfectly pure on this side Heaven; there are Spots, I 'know, in our Feasts of Charity: But I must prefer

‘those who appear to me either to be more pure from  
 ‘the mixture of corrupt Members, or at least more  
 ‘solicitous and desirous to be so, and more ca-  
 ‘pable of being so by their Constitution. I have  
 ‘seen with much satisfaction many of the Church  
 ‘of *England* Zealous against Vice and Prophaneness,  
 ‘and active for the Suppressing of it, and have a  
 ‘mighty Value and Veneration for them upon that Ac-  
 ‘count, and wish their Constitution would allow them  
 ‘to do more, by Church Censures, in Prosecution of  
 ‘that worthy Design than I apprehend it will; but for  
 ‘that Pious Zeal of theirs I have so often heard them  
 ‘call’d Presbyterians, by those that are Bigots for Epis-  
 ‘copacy and the Ceremonies, that I confess it has made  
 ‘me love the Presbyterians the better, since Zeal  
 ‘against Prophaneness enters so much into their  
 ‘Character, even their Enemies themselves being  
 ‘Judges.

X x 3

5. ‘I

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5. ‘I think it is my Duty to *chuse rather to join with  
 ‘those Churches, whose Constitution leaves room for Ca-  
 ‘tholick and Comprehensive Charity, than with those whose  
 ‘avowed Principles and Sentiments force them to Mono-  
 ‘polize the Church in England to themselves, and forbid  
 ‘them to own the Dissenting Ministers as true Ministers,  
 ‘and their Churches, as true Churches.* This I confess  
 ‘has a mighty Influence upon me. The sober Dissent-  
 ing Ministers, as far as I am acquainted with them,  
 are manifest in my Conscience to be faithful Mini-  
 sters of Jesus Christ; and in their Administrations I  
 cannot but see the Institution of Ordinances ob-  
 serv’d, and every Thing well fitted to answer the  
 End of them: I know many who constantly attend  
 in their Assemblies, and have observed them to be  
 sound in their Principles, sober in their Lives, honest  
 in their Dealings, constant in their Devotions, and  
 in all Instances to have given undeniable Proof of

their being sincere good Christians; when therefore in the Books and Sermons that plead for the Church of *England*, I and these Ministers censur'd and condemn'd as Usurpers, Impostors, and Lay-intruders; all their Administration null'd, their Assemblies denied to be Parts of the Catholick Church, all that join with them sentenced as Schismatics to the Pit of Hell, and no Hopes of Salvation given them, but what God's General Mercy allows to Moral Heathens; and all the Reformed Churches that have no Bishops, falling so far under the same Censure, that their Ministers cannot be admitted Ministers of the Church of *England*, unless they be Re-ordain'd, while those that have been Popish Priests may; and all these harsh Censures excus'd from Uncharitableness with this; that they cannot help it, their Principles lead 'em to it; then think I, the Lord deliver me from such Principles, and from that pretended Unity which is destructive of real Charity! On the other Side, I find the Dissenters willingly owning the Establish'd Churches as true Churches, their Ministers as true Ministers, their Principles leading them to do so. I often hear them in their Publick Assemblies pray for them, and for their Success in their Ministry, and profess their Communion with them in Faith, Hope and Love, and in their common

'Converse

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'Converse I hear 'em speak of them with Love and Respect. My Judgment and Indication leads me to the 'charitable Side, as the best and safest; and by all I 'have read and heard in this Controversy, that appears 'to me to be the Side of the Dissenters.

6. 'I think it is my Duty to *attend on those Administrations which I find to be most for my own Edification in Faith, Holiness, and Comfort, and best (with me) to answer the Ends of Holy Ordinances.* Herein 'I hope I may be allow'd to judge for my self; I have

‘often tried both, and if I know my own Heart, ‘without prejudice or Partiality, and I must say, that ‘I have found my Heart more affected and enlarg’d ‘in those Confessions, Prayers, and Thanksgivings, ‘which have been offered up without a stated prescribed Form, than ever it was in those that have been ‘unavoidably ty’d up to certain Words. Far be it from ‘me to make Comparisons of Men’s Abilities and Performances. I greatly honour and value the Gifts and ‘Labours of many that are in the Publick Establishment; but to my Capacity the Dissenters Praying ‘and Preaching is most adapted, and most profitable; ‘and those I am to reckon the *best Gifts*, and to *covet earnestly*; which I find by Experience best *for me*. ‘Sabbath Time is precious, and I would willingly improve it so as will be most for my Advantage in ‘keeping up Communion with God, and preparing ‘for Heaven. If it be owing to my own Weakness ‘that these Administrations are most agreeable to me, ‘yet while I sincerely design God’s Glory, and my ‘own Spiritual Benefit therein, I trust, through ‘Christ, that God will not only forgive me, but accept ‘me, and that they also *who are strong will bear with my Infirmities*.

‘These are the Pripiciples I go upon, and from them ‘I conclude,

1. ‘That if the present Dictate of my Conscience ‘and Practical Judgment be, that it is my Duty to ‘chuse my stated Communion with the Congregations ‘of Dissenters, then it is my Sin if I do not do it; ‘for, *to him that knows to do good, and doth it not, to him it is Sin*.

X x 4

2. ‘Then

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2. ‘Then by Occasional Communion with the ‘Church of *England*, whereby I design to testifie my ‘Charity and Catholick Communion, and my Approbation of that in it which is good, I do not in the



'least condemn my stated Communion with the Dis-senters; for though I am not convinced that it is a Sin of Commission at any Time to join with the Established Church, nor that any Thing in itself unlawful is required as the Condition of Lay Communion, yet upon the Grounds aforesaid I am fully convinced it would be a Sin of Omission *not to join* with the Dissenters. I will not condemn any Thing that is good, nor refuse a less good, when a better is not in my reach; but when it is, I think I am obliged in Duty to God, and in Concern for my own Soul to prefer it. *All Things are lawful for me, but an Things edifie not.*

3. Then in all this I am far from judging and censuring those who differ from me. I walk according to my present Light, preferring that which I think and find to be best; and I verily believe those good Christians whom I know, that constantly join with the Publick Establishment do so too, preferring that which they think and find to be best; and both they and I (I trust) are accepted of God. To those who condemn me herein, I shall only offer that reasonable Demand of *St. Paul's*, 2 Cor. 10. 7. *If any Man trust to himself that he is Christ's, let him of himself think this again, that he is Christ's, even so are we Christ's.*

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***The Memorial of the Church of England.***

The Miscarriage of the Occasional Bill, provok'd some Men to that Degree, that they seem'd terribly fearful the Church would be ruin'd, and with great Bitterness inveighed against the Government, the Ministers of State, The House of Lords, the Bishops; and all that contributed to the crossing of their Designs. In the Election of a New Parliament which came on this Year, The *Danger of the Church* was the common Cry on one Side, while the Danger from the *Tackers* was the Cry on the other; but the Moderate Party carried it: *The Memorial of the Church of England* was sent

forth to enflame the Nation, and made more Noise than any Thing that had been of a long Time pub-

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lish'd. This *Memorial* bitterly complain'd of the great Favour shewn to the Dissenters and their Abettors, and represented the Church, as us'd most unmercifully by the Queen and her Ministry, and most terribly Persecuted: And among others, there is this remarkable Passage in it; *If the Dissenters will be disoblig'd if they are not put into Place and Authority, and the C. of E. will be disobliged if they are, whence may the greatest Inconvenience arise? Perhaps our wise Men think themselves secure in the Passive Principles of the Church, against any Resentments on that Side; and therefore bend all their Application to gain t'other, whose Temper and Principles are more mutinous.\**

*If this be their true Motive, they may be simple well meaning Men, but must be wretched Politicians.*

*The Principles of the C. of E.*

*will dispose Men to bear a great deal; but he's a Mad-man that tries how much. For when Men are very much provoked, Nature is very apt to rebel against Principle, and then the Odds are vast on Nature's Side. Whether the Provocations given to the C. of E. may not if continu'd, be strong enough*

*to rouze Nature, some of our Statesmen would do well to consider in Time. For tho' the Church is not to be wrought up to Rebellion, yet they may be so alarm'd, as to secure themselves, at the Expence of those Ministers who give them the Alarm. Nor is it to be expected, that they should long bear to be thus used, and see a Party that they know seek their Ruin, courted at their Expence. This whole Memorial was indeed a plain Threatning of the Court and the Ministry. Enquiry was made after the Author or*

Authors; but no satisfactory Discovery could be made. This Pamphlet gave general Offence. It was answer'd Paragraph by Paragraph: And yet some there were that vindicated it. It was for a Time the most common Subject of all Conversation. And whoever will be at the Pains to give it the reading now, and compare several Passages of it with what has since happen'd, will be apt to conclude, that they who fram'd this *Memorial*, gave Measures to others, and had the Conduct of the whole Party.

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*\* Of this, the World is left to judge by the Sequel. That the Temper of High Church has been sufficiently Mutinous, appears from the Memorial, and the other Pamphlets and Sermons, which were publish'd in Pursuance of it: And that their Principles are bad enough, appears from their Practices, in the Insurrection upon the Trial of Dr. Sacheverel, and its Consequences.*

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It was presented by the Grand Jury of the City of *London*; and by Order of that Court burnt at the *Old-Baily*, and before the *Royal-Exchange*: And the new Parliament met in *October*, under the Impressions of ill Designs on foot, among some that pretended a mighty Zeal for the Interest of the Church.

#### ***The Proceedings in Parliament.***

Her Majesty in her first Speech to the two Houses, *Oct. 27.* among other Things earnestly recommended 'An Union of Minds and Affections, as that which 'would above all Things disappoint and defeat the 'Hopes and Designs of our Enemies: *And added these 'memorable Words:* I cannot but with great Grief ob'serve, there are some amongst us, who endeavour to 'foment Animosities; but I perswade my self they 'will be found to be very few, when you appear to 'assist me, in discountenancing and defeating such 'Practices. I mention this with a little more Warmth, 'because there have not been wanting some so 'very malicious, as even in Print to suggest the C of 'E. as by Law Establish'd, to be in Danger at this 'Time. I am willing to hope not one of my Subjects, 'can really entertain a Doubt of my Affection to the

‘Church, or so much as suspect that it will not be my ‘chief Care to support it, and leave it secure after me. ‘And therefore we may be certain that they who go ‘about to insinuate Things of this Nature, must be ‘mine and the Kingdom’s Enemies, and can only ‘mean to cover Designs which they dare not publickly ‘own, by endeavouring to distract us with unreasonable and groundless Distrusts and Jealousies. I will always affectionately support and countenance the C. of *E.* as by Law Establish’d. I will inviolably ‘maintain the Toleration, &c.’ The Lords in their Address, intirely Harmoniz’d with her Majesty, in these Words: ‘We assure your Majesty, we will do all ‘we can to discountenance and defeat the Designs and ‘Practices of those who foment Animosities among ‘your People, and will ever shew the utmost Detestation of those ungrateful and wicked Men, who labour to dishonour your Majesty’s Reign, and distract ‘your Subjeas with unreasonable and groundless Jealousies of Danger to the C. of *E.* We shall be ready to concur in all Measures requisite to put a stop to the Malice ‘of these Incendiaries.’ The Commons also were in

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the same Disposition, as appears from these Words in the Address of their House: ‘It is the greatest Concern imaginable to us, to find your Majesty has so just Reason to resent the Ingratitude of some, who endeavour to foment Animosities and Divisions amongst us: And we cannot without Indigation reflect, that there should be any so Malicious as to insinuate that the C. of *E.* as by Law Establish’d, is, or ever can be in Danger, for want of your Majesty’s Care and Zeal to support and maintain it. These Suggestions proceed from your Majesty’s and the Kingdom’s Enemies, who to cover their own Disaffection to the present Establishment and Administration, endeavour to distract your Subjects, with un-

reasonable and groundless Distrusts and Jealousies. Your Majesty may be assured, that your Commons will zealously concur in every Thing that may tend to discourage and punish such Incendiaries, and to disappoint your Enemies both at Home and Abroad.

*Debates about the Danger of the Church.*

On *Dec.* 6. There were warm Debates in the House of Lords upon this Capital Point, whether or no the Church of *England* was in Danger. The Lord *Rochester* declared himself afraid the Church was in Danger, because of the Act of Security which had passed in *Scotland*, by which that People were Arm'd, and so had a Power given them to invade *England*, where they had a great Party of Friends, who never wanted Will to destroy the Church. That he tho't the Heir of the Crown ought to be present, in order to be fully acquainted with our Constitution, and enabled to prevent Evil Designs upon Church and State. And that the *Occasional Bill* was in it self so reasonable, and the Churches Request in it so small, that the Industry for opposing it, gave the greater ground of Suspicion. The Lord *Halifax* said, that the Act of Security in *Scotland*, was wholly foreign to Church Affairs. That the Absence of the Princess *Sophia* was a Danger to the Church, but lately started; and that he hop'd the Acts for Lords Justices had made such Provision, that he thought no Evil could happen to the Church after the Queen's Death, before her Arrival. That a Clergyman in a Company of Convocation-Men (as he could prove) had said, that that Princess was an *unbaptiz'd Lutheran*; and therefore he wonder'd how her coming

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should now be reckon'd such a Security to the Church. That it had appear'd to that House, when they canvassed the *Occasional Bill*, that it would not prove a Security to the Church, but rather the contrary. That there had been Times when the Church was in Dan-

ger. As when King *Charles* II. reigned, that was a *Romanist*, and yet the Church thought her self then secure, and those Patriots who stood up in Defence of it, and endeavour'd to prevent the Evils that might ensue from a Popish Succession, were discountenanc'd and punish'd. That when that Successor came to the Throne, and the Church was apparently in the greatest Danger, some could fit in the *High Commission Court*, &c. That after the Accession of King *William* to the Crown, the Cry of the *Churches Danger* began, and was continu'd all his Reign; but he could not tell upon what Ground. That upon her Majesty's Succession the Complaint was silent for a Time, but reviv'd upon her making some Alterations in her Ministry; but without any just Reason, &c. The Bishop of *London* in Proof of the *Churches Danger*, urg'd the commonness of Prophaneness and Irreligion, and the Licentiousness of the Press; and that Sermons were preach'd, in which Rebellion was authorized, and Resistance to the higher Powers encouraged: In which he referr'd to a Sermon of Mr. *Hoadly's* before the Lord Mayor, printed not long before. The Bishop of *Sarum* replied, that if the Doctrine of that Sermon was not good, he did not know what Defence his Lordship could make for his Appearance in Arms at *Nottingham*. He imputed all the present Clamour to the Ambition and Discontent of particular Men. And said, that the Church would always be subject to the Enmity of Prophaneness and Irreligion; and reflected on some Sermons preach'd at *Oxford* upon Publick Occasions, The Archbishop of *York* intimated his Apprehension of Danger from the increase of *Dissenters* and their *Academies*; and mov'd that *the Judges might be consulted what Laws were in Force against such Seminaries, and by what Means they might be suppressed*. The Lord *Wharton* mov'd for consulting the Judges about Means of suppressing the Schools and Seminaries of Non-Jurors, &c. And added, that after all the Cry of the *Churches Danger*, he could find nothing in it, but the D. of *B*—, E. of *R*.

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and the E. of *N.*, were out of Place, &c. The Bishop of *Ely* mov'd for consulting the Judges about the Power of the Queen to visit the Universities; complaining of the heat and passion of the Gentlemen there, which they inculcated upon their Pupils, who brought the same Fury with them to the Parishes when they came Abroad, to the great disturbance of Publick Charity. He complain'd also, of the undutifulness of the Clergy to their Bishops, and the difficulty they had to govern them regularly. The Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, also complain'd of the opprobrious Names the Clergy gave their Bishops, and the calumnies they laid on them, as if they were in a Plot to destroy the Church, and had compounded to be the last of their Order, and when the Plot was ripe, were to resign their Bishopricks, and accept a Pension for Life, &c. The Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* complain'd of the Terms of *High Church* and *Low Church*. The D. of *Leeds*, said that the Church could not be safe without the Act against *Occasional Conformity*; and added, that the Q—had in Discourse with him declar'd her Self of that Opinion. The Lord *Sommers* said, that for Men to raise groundless Jealousies at this Time of Day, could mean no less than an intention to embroil us at Home, and to defeat all our Glorious Designs Abroad. Upon the whole, it was carried by a Majority of 61 Lords against 30, that the C. of E. was not in Danger; and it was Resolv'd, *That the C. of E, as by Law Establish'd, which was rescu'd from the extreamest Danger by K. WILLIAM III. of Glorious Memory, is now by God's Blessing, under the Happy Reign of Her Majesty, in a most safe and flourishing Condition: And that whoever goes about to suggest and insinuate, that the Church is in Danger under Her Majesty's Administration, is an Enemy to the Queen, the Church, and the Kingdom.* And 28 Lords entred their Protest against this Resolution, with their Reasons.

On *Dec.* 8. the Commons debated the same Point in a full House. Mr. *Bromley* began; urging the same Arguments to prove the Church to be in Danger, as had been insisted on in the House of Peers; and he was back'd by Sir *J. P.* But it was carried that the Church was safe, by 212 Voices, against 162. The Two Houses agreed to lay their *Resolution* before Her Majesty, and made an Address to Her accordingly; and begg'd

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that She would take effectual Measures for the making the said *Resolution* Publick; and also for punishing the Authors and spreaders of these seditious and scandalous Reports, &c. And pursuant to it a Proclamation was issu'd out, offering a Reward of 200*l.* to anyone that should discover the Author or Authors of the *Memorial*, so as that he might be brought to Justice for his Offence, &c.

Her Majesty in Her closing Speech at the end of the Session, express'd her Self thus. *Your Unanimity and Zeal, which I have observ'd with great Satisfaction, throughout the whole Session, against every Thing that tends towards Sedition, doth so much discourage all such Attempts for the Future, and hath set such an Example to the whole Kingdom, that I doubt not but you will find the Effects of it every where: And I assure my Self you will make it your Business and Care to improve and perfect that good Work you have so far advanc'd; and by continuing to shew a dislike of all Factions, and turbulent Proceedings, and resolving to discountenance the encouragers of them, you will soon make the whole Kingdom sensible of the good Effects of so Prudent and Happy a Conduct.*

#### **The Affair of Carolina.**

Another Thing that made no little Noise this Session was the Affair of *Carolina*. A Petition was presented to the House of Lords, Sign'd by Mr. *Joseph Boone*, and many Merchants of *London*, representing that King *Charles II.* granted a Charter bearing date *March 24.* 1663.



to *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, &c. and their Heirs, the Tract of Land, &c. call'd *Carolina*, to be held of the Crown of *England* as a County Palatine, with Power to them and their Heirs to make Laws for the Government of the said Colony, &c. That express Provision is made in the said Charter, for a Toleration, and Indulgence to all Christians in the free Exercise of their Religion. That in 1669 the Lords Proprietors of the said Colony, settled the Method of its Government in several Articles, call'd, *The Fundamental Constitutions of the said Colony*. That in them it was provided expressly, *That no Person should be disturb'd, for any speculative Opinion in Religion, and that no Person should on the Account of Religion, be excluded from being a Member in the General Assembly, or from any other Office of the Civil Administration*: And that these Constitutions were confirm'd in 1689. That after the Act of Uniformity many Sub-

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jects of *England* transplanted themselves thither; and that the greatest Part of the Inhabitants were Protestant Dissenters from the C. of *E*, and liv'd in Peace, under the Freedom of the said *Fundamental Constitutions*. But that in 1703, great Partiality and Injustice was us'd in the Choice of a new General Assembly, which on *Nov.* 4. 1704, had pass'd an Act, by which the Lay Persons were incorporated for the Exercise of several Exorbitant Powers, and all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, with absolute Power to deprive a Minister of the C. of *E*. of his Benefice, not only for Immorality, but Imprudence, and any incurable Animalities between him and his Parith, &c. That they had also pass'd another. Act, *May* 6. 1704, to incapacitate every Person from being a Member of any General Assembly for Time to come, unless he had taken the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Rites of the C. of *E*, by which all Protestant Dissenters are made incapable of being of the said Assembly: And yet that by the said Act, all Per-

sons who will take an Oath, that they have not receiv'd the Sacrament in any Dissenting Congregation for a Year past, tho' they had not receiv'd in the C. of *E*, were made capable of being of it: And that in the Preamble to the said Act it is asserted, that by the Laws and Usage of *England*, all Members of Parliament are oblig'd to Conform to the C. of *E*, by receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites of the said Church. That this Act was past illegally: And the said Colony hereupon in danger of being ruin'd. Hereupon the House of Lords, after hearing the Lord *Granville*, who was then Palatine of the Province of *Carolina*, by his Council, and debating the Matter among themselves, made an Address to Her Majesty, signifying that they had receiv'd such a Petition and weigh'd it, and come to the following Resolutions.

1. That it was the Opinion of the House, that the late Act of the Assembly in *Carolina*, entitul'd, *An Act for the Establishment of Religious Worship*, &c. as far as it relates to the Establishing a Commission for the displacing Rectors, &c. is not warranted by their Charter, or Consonant to Reason, but repugnant to the Laws of this Realm, and destructive to the Constitution of the C. of *E*.

2. That the late Act there, for the more effectual Preservation of the Government, by requiring

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all Members of the Commons House of Assembly to Conform to the Religious Worship of the C. of *E*, is founded upon falsity in Matter of Fact, is repugnant to the Laws of *England*, contrary to the Charter, an encouragement to Atheism and Irreligion, destructive to Trade, and tends to the depopulating and ruining of the said Province, &c.

***The Proceedings of the Convocation.***

With this new Parliament, a new Convocation also for the Province of *Canterbury* met at *St. Pauls*, Oct. 25. The Latin Sermon was preach'd by Dr. *Stanhope*,

Dr. *Binks* carried it from Dr. *Stanhope* for Prolocutor, and was presented by the Dean of *Christ Church*. The Upper House soon agreed in an Address to Her Majesty, which they sent down to the Lower. It contain'd humble Thanks for Her affectionate Care and tender Concern for the C. of E. as Establish'd by Law, from Her first Accession to the Throne to this Day. And then they added thus, by way of Harmony with the Two Houses of Parliament: *We are exceedingly griev'd that any of your Subjects should be so ungrateful and unworthy, as once to suggest that our Church can be in Danger, for want of such Support and Encouragement in your Majesty's Reign, as may make it Flourish in your own Time, and leave it secure after you. And altho' it is no new Thing for designing Men to prostitute the venerable Name of the Church to the Service of their own private Ends, yet we think it very strange that any should be found so extreamly weak, and undutiful as to be deluded by these groundless Clamours, when they have been so often and so publickly confuted by your Royal Word and Actions; and when the happy State of the C. of E. is so much observ'd and esteem'd Abroad, that several of the Foreign Churches are endeavouring to accommodate themselves to our Liturgy and Constitution. To insinuate that the Church is in Danger, under these Circumstances, and against all the Testimonies and Assurances of your Royal Care and Protection, can proceed from nothing but Prejudice, Interest, and Ambition. We humbly crave leave to express our just Resentment of the indignity of all such Suggestions, not only as false and groundless in themselves, but chiefly as they are dishonourable Reflections upon your Royal Promises for the Support of the Church, and upon your Princely Wisdom in choosing the most proper and effectual Measures to that end. We beg leave also in a deep Sense of your Majesty's Goodness, and an intire dependance*

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*upon your Royal Word, to express our great Joy and Satisfaction, in the flourishing Condition of the Church under your*

*most Auspicious Government. We are sure it will always be in your will to Support and Protect it; and that the Distractions which these groundless Jealousies are intended to raise, may never put it out of our Power, we Promise to use our utmost Endeavours to discountenance them, and in our several Stations, to defend and preserve inviolably, so far as in us lies, the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of our Church as by Law Establish'd; and to promote Peace and Unity amongst your Subjects; praying earnestly for your Majesty's long and Prosperous Reign over us; as under the Divine Providence, the greatest Blessing and Security that either Church or State can enjoy.*

Some in the Lower House were for agreeing to this Address with Alterations: But the Majority carried it for drawing up one of their own. A Committee was fix'd on, and the Dean of *Christ Church* at their next Meeting reported an wholly new Form, which contain'd Thanks to Her Majesty for Her great Zeal for the Church, and tender Affection to it, but express'd not that full Satisfaction as to the safety of the Church, and that Indignation against such as represented her to be in Danger, as appear'd in that which came down from the Upper House. This new Address was carry'd up by the Prolocutor, *Nov. 19.* The Archbishop made Answer in Writing, that they could not receive their Address, but requir'd them to go back to their House, and to consider the Address sent down to them, and either agree to it, or bring up their Exceptions against it in Writing.

Some of the Lower House, when they return'd were for doing this: But the Majority, in Two Meetings. agreed, that such Notice be taken of those Words in the Message from the Upper House, *We cannot receive the Address you have offer'd tous,* as to affirm, and effectually assert their Right, of having what they offer'd to the Upper House receiv'd by his Grace and their Lordships: That it was proper for the House in their Answer to say, that they conceiv'd their Lordships refusal, was an infringement of that Right: That it is not a necessary

Duty of the Lower House to reconsider, when their Lordships require it, what they have declar'd to their Lordships they have maturely consider'd, and cannot

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join in it. That the Lower House notwithstanding their Lordships expectation express'd in their Message, was still at Liberty to disagree, without offering their Exceptions: However, they agreed to reconsider the Address of the Lords, and to lay before them the substance of the Resolutions foregoing. They also agreed, not to depart from their former Resolution of not joining with their Lordships in their Address; and afterwards, not to carry up any Exceptions to their Lordships Address; but to signifie to them that it is the undoubted Right of the Lower House to have the Paper they presented receiv'd by their Lordships, and that they hop'd they would be satisfy'd upon perusing it: And that the Lower House entirely confided in Her Majesty's Zeal for the C. of E, and an hearty detestation of all Persons that should endeavour to raise any Jealousies concerning it. And pursuant to there Resolutions, a Paper was carry'd from the Lower to the Upper House, on *Dec. 1.*

On *Dec. 16,* the Dean of *Peterborough* Protested against the Irregularities of the Lower House: And particularly against: the Prolocutors proroguing the House by the Authority of the House itself: The pretending to a Power to put the Prolocutor into the Chair before he is confirm'd by the Archbishop and Bishops: The pretending to a Power to give leave to their Members to absent themselves, and substitute Proxies: The electing an Actuary in prejudice of the Right of the Archbishop: The late disrespectful and undutiful Carriage of the House to the Archbishop and Bishops, in refusing their Address to Her Majesty, without making any Exceptions, &c. his Protestation was sign'd by 50 Persons and Proxies besides himself. The Lower House

would not suffer this Protestation to be read, and therefore it was carried to the Upper, and enter'd in their Acts.

Some Time after the Convocation was prorogu'd to *March 1*; by which Time Her Majesty was pleas'd to send a letter to the Archbishop, dated *Febr. 25*. signifying Her concern that the Differences in Convocation were still kept up, and rather encreas'd than abated: And that She was the more surpriz'd, because it had been Her constant Care and Endeavour to preserve the Constitution of the C. of E. as by Law Establish'd, and to discountenance all Divisions and Innovations whatso-

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ever: Declaring She was Resolv'd to maintain Her *Supremacy*, and the due Subordination of Presbyters to Bishops, as Fundamental Pans thereof; and that She expected that he and his Suffragans should act Conformably to his and Her Resolution; and that in so doing they might be assur'd of the Continuance of Her Favour and Protection: And that neither of them should be wanting to any or the Clergy, whilst they were true to the Constitution, and dutiful to Her, and their Ecclesiastical Superiours; and preserv'd such a Temper as became All, but especially those who were in Holy Orders: And She requir'd him to Communicate this to the Bishops and Clergy; and on *March 1*, to prorogue the Convocation to such Time as appear'd most convenient. The Archbishop being indispos'd, sent the Bishop of *Norwich*, to Communicate the Queens Letter to the Convocation. The Members of the Lower House who came up with the Prolocutor had scarce Patience to stay and hear the Letter; and when they came to their own House, they Adjourn'd themselves to the Wednesday following.

#### **Books and Pamphlets this Year publish'd.**

Mr. *Olyffe* this Year publish'd his 2d *Defence of Ministerial Conformity*; and Mr. *Hoadly* his *Defence of the Reasonableness of Conformity*: Both which I consider'd in my

*Defence of Moderate Nonconformity*; Part the 3d: Containing a Vindication of the Silenc'd Ministers for continuing their Ministry; of the Reasons of the People for adhering to them, and their Successors; and of the *Occasional Conformity* of them and their adherents.

Mr. *Benjamin Hoadly*, also, this Year preach'd a Sermon at *St. Lawrence Jewry*, before the Election of the Lord Mayor, upon *Rom. 13. 1.* as he had some Time before Printed a very good Sermon on the Anniversary Day of Thanksgiving for the Queens Accession to the Crown. He so strenuously defended Liberty and Property, that he fell under the Indignation and Censures of High Church. They thundred against him in a variety of Pamphlets; according to their usual Custom. One publish'd a *Vindication of the London Clergy* from the Aspersions which he had cast upon them. Another, *St. Paul no mover of Sedition*; Or a brief Vindication of that Apostle, from his false and disingenuous Exposition, &c. But he defended himself nobly, in his *Measures of Submission*, &c. for which all true hearted *English Men*

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own themselves indebted to him. For my Part, tho' I have often wondred that his Principles did not carry him farther, and that he should not be as much against an *Ecclesiastical* as a *Civil Slavery*, yet it troubled me to be engag'd in a Controversie with one, who was so serviceable to his Country.

Mr. *Dodwel* upon his old narrow Bottom, now publish'd a Tract, Entituled, *Occasional Communion Fundamentally Destructive of the Discipline of the Primitive Catholick Church; and contrary to the Doctrine of the latest Scriptures, concerning Church Communion*, Oct. And another Celebrated Writer, publish'd *An Historical Account of Comprehension and Toleration*, from the Old Puritan, to the New Latitudinarian, with their continu'd Project and Designs, in Opposition to the Orthodox Establishment. My *Abridgemmt* comes in for a taste of

his genteel, mild, candid Spirit and Treatment: But I doubt not much to the Credit of the Writer, or the Satisfaction of the Reader, that has any regard to the *Words of Truth or Soberness*. Now also came out, *The Rights of the Church of England*, in Answer to the Rights of the Protestant Dissenters. Dedicated to the House of Commons. He very handsomely calls the Gentleman he writes against, an *insolent Author*; and he treats him accordingly. He complains in his Preface, of having to do with *provoking, exasperating, incorrigible Adversaries*; but I doubt his Way of dealing with them, did not make many Converts. He tells the World he has to do with a *pert Writer, a wretched Upstart, an insolent Scribler, and an ignorant and impudent Advocate*: 'Twas therefore a wonder he should bestow so much Pains upon him. Why did he not put his Time to a better Use? But when he talks of a *Shismatical Party* that burnt *London*, and the Ships at *Chattham*, were plotting Mischief against the Church of *England* at *Hanover*, and were ready at the watch Word and Signal given, to mob the House of Commons, Assassinate Her Majesty, and join with a Foreign Enemy to invade the Kingdom, and subvert the Church and Government, he takes an effectual Way not to be believ'd, as long as any Memorials of the Times present are remaining; nor to be regarded in his malevolent Charges and furious Invectives.

Now also came out a Justification of the Dissenters from Mr. *Benner's* Charge of Schism; and Mr. *Palmer's*

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Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters towards the *Church of England*, in Answer to Mr. *Wesley's* Defence of his Letter. And tho' that Author has since fallen in with the *Church of England*, yet that makes no alteration in the Truth of Matters of Fact related, nor does it abate of the Strength of the Argument pursu'd. And finally; now also came out, Mr. *Tallent's short Hi-*



*story of Schism*, for the promoting of Christian Moderation, and the Communion of Saints. The Two Notions which this Tract opposes are there; that all who are Guilty of Schism, live in a Course of Sin, as ruinous as Murder or Adultery, and are in a State of Damnation; and that we may not at any Time Worship God with such. The first Notion, that Schismatics are out of the Church and cannot be sav'd, but are in a damnable State, is prov'd to be taken from the *Romanists*; and it is shewn that it has no ground in Scripture; that it cuts off a great part of Christ's Church, and damns Multitudes of excellent Persons in all Ages and Places; and he shews it by reckoning up the most eminent and remarkable Schisms; and he adds, that this Notion is grounded only on some Passages in St. *Cyprian*, and others of the Fathers, which are consider'd. The second Notion, that we are not to Worship God with Schismatics, comes also, he owns, from the Fathers: But he considers the Scriptures they alledge in the Case, and gives Instances of some that Communicated with Schismatics in the Primitive Times. And he shews that its good to Worship God sometimes, with those with whom we do not constantly; and answers Objections against it; and shews that he understood, and was really willing to maintain the Communion of Saints, as well as keep it as an Article in his Creed.

In M. DCC. VI. The Dissenters of the Three Denominations, with Mr. *Spademan* at their Head, presented the following Address to the Queen at *Windsor*, June 17, after the signal Victory at *Ramelles*.

*May it please Your Majesty,*

THE late surprizing Progress of Your Majesty's Forces, and those of Your Allies in *Flanders*; under the Command of the most Illustrious Prince,

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'the Duke of *Marlborough*, and of those in *Spain*,  
'commanded by the Noble Earls of *Peterborough* and  
'*Galway*, happily supported by your *Royal Navy*, under  
'the conduct: of your Prudent and Valiant Admirals,  
'engages us humbly to Congratulate your Majesty  
'on so Glorious an Occasion.

'The Signal Answer it has pleased God to return  
'to those Devout Prayers, which your Majesty and  
'your People, by your Pious Direction, address'd to  
'Heaven, inspires us with a Joy equal to the Mor-  
'tification it gives your Enemies: And while your  
'Majesty ascribes your many Victories to the Arm  
'of the Almighty, and repeats your Royal Com-  
'mands to your People to offer him solemn Thanks-  
'giving, we cannot but look upon your Majesty's  
'Piety, as a hopeful Pledge of the like future Suc-  
'cesses.

'As the important Consequences of your Majesty's  
'Triumphs make a daily Accession to your Glory, so  
'they give us an agreeable Prospect of the Speedy Re-  
'duction of the Power of *France* to its just Limits, the  
'Restitution of Liberty and Peace to *Europe*, the ef-  
'fectual Relief of the *Reformed* Churches Abroad,  
'and the Security of that Provision the Law has made  
'for a Protestant Succession to the Crown of this  
'Kingdom.

'We gratefully acknowledge the Share we have in  
'the Blessings of our Majesty's auspicious Reign,  
'which preserves to us both our Civil and Religious  
'Liberties, and take this Occasion to renew to your  
'Majesty, the Assurance of our inviolable Fidelity, to  
'which not only our Interest and Inclination, but the  
'sacred Tyes of Gratitude and Conscience oblige us:  
'And we shall use our utmost Endeavours in our sever-  
'al Stations to promote that Union and Moderation  
'among your Protestant Subjects, so often recommend-  
'ed by your Majesty, as highly necessary to the Com-  
'mon Safety.

'May the Divine Providence that has made  
'Your Majesty not only Head of the Protestant Interest, but  
'Chief in the Confederacy, for the Glorious Cause of  
'Common Liberty, give your Majesty the Satisfaction  
'of seeing both more firmly establish'd than ever by the  
'Influence of your Counsels and Success of your Arms,

'May

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'May your Majesty's Exemplary Piety, Zeal for the  
'Reformation of Manners, and Parental Care of all  
'your People, even those of the remotest Colonies, be  
'eminently rewarded by the great God, with the con-  
'stant Prosperity of your Government. May your  
'Reign be honour'd with an happy Union of your  
'two Kingdoms of *Great Britain*. May your Royal  
'Consort the Prince enjoy a confirmed Health. May  
'your Majesty continue to rule in the Hearts of your  
'People, and be late advanced to a Throne of Glory  
'in the Kingdom of Heaven.

#### **The Union between *England* and *Scotland*.**

The Union between *England* and *Scotland*, was the great Affair of this Year. It had been oft attempted, but never could be brought to bear till now. The Commissioners of the two Kingdoms having adjusted the most material Points, the Articles agreed on were first passed by the Parliament of *Scotland*, and then by the *English* Parliament. Some of both Nations were zealous for it, hoping that such an Union would much add to our common Strength and Safety, and disappoint some obvious Designs of our Enemies. Others were as much against it; on one Hand through a Jealousy of Trade, and thro' a Fondness of Independency on the other. And it was observed, that as many were against it in *North-Britain*, out of fear it would ruin the *Church of Scotland*, so were others in *South-Britain*, apprehensive it would ruin the *Church of England*. In order to the giving Satisfaction on both Sides, An Act passed in *Scotland* previous to the Union, confirming

the Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church there, and providing for the continuance of it, without any Alteration to the People of *North-Britain* in all succeeding Generations: An Act also passed here, for securing the *Church of England* as by Law Establish'd, effectually and unalterably; by which it was enacted, that the Act of the 13 *Eliz.* for the Ministers of the Church to be of a sound Religion, and the Act of Uniformity past in the 13 *Car.* II. and all, and singular other Acts of Parliament now in Force for the Establishment and Preservation of the C. of E. the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof, should remain, and be in full Force for ever. And it was enacted, that both these Acts should for ever be holden and adjudged to be Fundamental

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and Essential Parts of the Treaty of Union between the two Kingdoms; and both were accordingly inserted in express Terms in the Act for ratifying the Union, and declared to be Essential and Fundamental Parts thereof.

The thus Confirming the Act of Uniformity, and the Ecclesiastical Constitution here in *England*, in all Particulars; upon the present Foot, for Perpetuity, was reckon'd by the Dissenters to make their Way the clearer, since all Hopes of a farther Reformation of the Constitution (of which there is so much need) were hereby taken away. The old Puritans many of them fell in with the Establish'd Church, in hope of that Way contributing to a farther Reformation: And they that adhere to their Principles, have once the Restoration been often pressed to imitate their Example, and fall in with the Establish'd Church, with that View; and some worthy Persons actually have done it: But the Government by this Settlement of all Things in the Church as they were to Perpetuity, and embodying this Settlement with the Union, and making it a Fun-

damental Part of it, has quite silenc'd that Plea, and made it as senseless to urge it, as it would be weak to regard it. So that hence forward, all that are convinc'd that a farther Reformation is needful, and that it is their Duty in their Places to pursue it, are bound in Conscience to Keep at a Distance from that Church, which has (as much as in it lies) barr'd all Avenues of further Light, and determin'd by a Law that it will be, as it is, for ever. This the Dissenters could not but be concern'd at, and sorry for, and yet as for the *Union* they rejoic'd in it, in hope it might strengthen the Security of the Protestant Succession, and answer other good and valuable Ends.

***The Convocation.***

The Convocation met at the same Time with the Parliaments usually. Tho' they had in their former Session, differ'd much about the Form of an Address to her Majesty, yet now they agreed pretty unanimously; and both Houses present an Address on *Dec. 6.* by Way of Congratulation upon the wonderful Success of her Majesties Arms, &c. and they acknowledg'd the Church to be safe under her Majesty's Administration, &c. Afterwards they were prorogu'd, and the Lower House was uneasy, because there was no Prospect of

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Business. On *Feb. 12. 1706/07.* the Queen sent a Royal Writ to the Archbishop, requiring him to prorogue them to *March 5.* and he accordingly did it. The Lower House tho't this a new Breach of their Parliamentary Rights, and prepared a Paper against the Day to which they were prorogued, to acquaint the Upper House, that upon Examination they had found, that such issuing of a Royal Writ to order the Convocation to be prorogu'd, in Time of Parliament, an unprecedented Act, and inconsistent with the Priviledges of Convocation. And this Paper they carried up on *March 19.* But several Members dissented from it, as an unjust Impeachment of her Majesty's Supremacy.

***Books and Pamphlets.***

The Bishop of *Lincoln* on *May* 20th this Year, began his Primary Visitation at *Lincoln*, and his Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese was publish'd. He there complains of some, that *professed themselves to be not only the true, but almost the only true Sons of the C. of E. who deserted the Publick Communion, and went into separate Assemblies, and set up Bishops against Bishops, Presbyters against Presbyters, and Altar against Altar:* And says, That *there are deplorable Heats and Animosities among many that still continued to live under the same Government, to go to the same Churches, and join in the same Sacrament with one another. That they had been divided by new Names, into new Parties, and new Interests and had spoken, written, and acted with great Bitterness and Rancour against one another, &c.*

Now also came out *Mr. Ollyffe's Third Defence of Ministerial Conformity:* which contains a Repetition of many Things said before, but little that was new. He says, that in the 13 *Eliz. cap. 12.* Ordination by Presbyters was own'd, upon Persons subscribing to all the 39 Articles.\* But certainly, That must be his Mistake. In my Statute Book, the Words are there, *and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion which only Concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments.* He's however, for *the Power of the Church* to decree Rites and Ceremonies; assenting and consenting to the Use of Things, not extremely, approved of; and reckons Submission a Duty in compliance with Authority, even where the Bounds which God has fixed for that Authority may be exceed-

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\* P. 3.

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ed: I envy him; not his Satisfaction. When he distinguishes between an explicate owning the Power of the Church to impose, and submitting to what the State requires in order to Liberty, he'll see how I am

free of a Difficulty he reckons me exposed to. And when he states his Case right, and does not omit the most essential Circumstances, I can soon tell him what is to be said between Father and Son: But as he has stated it, he and I are far from differing. For me, he's free to give what Degree of *Approbation* to the Ceremonies he pleases, provided I have but my Liberty. He may call Mr. *Agas's* Rhetorick mine, tho' I produce his very Words, about *every Point and Syllable, &c.* if he thinks good: He may argue as freely as he pleases about plain stubborn Matter of Fact, produc'd out of the *Lord's Journal*, that will neither bow nor bend. I don't see but we are, and are like to be, where we were. I doubt not, but (as he freely owns,) he and his Brethren desire and long for a Reformation as well as we: Let us then Pray heartily for it, and study what in us lies to promote it, in our several Ways, and according to our Light, and endeavour to strengthen instead of weakening each others Hands, and manifest by our Carriage, that we heartily wish each other good Success; and this is more likely to yield Comfort upon Reflection, than drawing the Saw of Contention, and printing of *Indexes*, and heavy Personal Charges, where God that knows the Secrets of all Hearts will at last be the Judge. I only wish that now he is in the Constitution, he may not either from those that have the Management of it, or from his own Tho'ts, upon putting Things together, come under any such Uneasiness, as might abate his Usefulness.

This Year also came out *The Compleat History of England*, in Three Volumes. The Third Volume of which, contains Several Reflections upon the Dissenters all along, that are unkind; and some that are not reconcilable to Truth; justifying most of the Severities that had been used towards them: And for that Reason I have taken Notice of its Suggestions, from one Period to another, in the foregoing Historical Remarks.

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*An. 1706.***The Fourth Letter for Toleration.**

Now also came out Mr. *Lock's* Fourth Letter for Toleration.\* He observes, That his Antagonist reviv'd the Controversy, after twelve Years Silence. That Writer, he observes, owns that *a Magistrate who upon just and sufficient Grounds believes his Religion true, is oblig'd to use Moderate Penalties to bring Men to his Religion:* But that any Magistrate, who upon weak and deceitful Grounds believes a false Religion to be true, is oblig'd to use the same Means, he denies. But 'tis queried, who must be judge whether the *Grounds* upon which such a Magistrate *believes his Religion to be true, are just and sufficient?* If every Magistrate must judge for himself, whether the Grounds upon which he believes his Religion to be true, are just and sufficient, the Limitation to his believing it upon just and sufficient Grounds, might have been spared: For no Magistrate will be thereby excluded from an Obligation to use Force to bring Men to his own Religion: For anyone who believes any Religion to be true, cannot but believe the Grounds upon which he believes it to be true, are just and sufficient; and if he judged otherwise, he could not believe it to be true. If another must judge for the Magistrate, then every Magistrate who upon Grounds that that other Person judges to be just and sufficient, believes his Religion to be true, is obliged to use Force to bring Men to his Religion. But such a Person needs Infallibility. 'Tis said, *The Magistrate being obliged to use Force, only so as to bring Men to the true Religion, must be able certainly to know which is the true Religion, And that there is a full Assurance which Men may and ought to have of the true Religion, which they can never have of a false one, &c.* Well then, 'tis queried, Whether the Magistrate must be determined by his full Assurance to promote by Force, that Religion of which he is fully assur'd? 'Tis said, *this Assurance must be grounded upon such clear and solid Proof, as leaves no reasonable Doubt in an attentive*



*and unbiassed Mind.* Well, the Magistrate can see no reasonable Doubt but this is his Case: is he not then to use Force? It seems not, if his be not *the true Religion*: For 'tis said, that *this Assurance can never be had but of the true Religion.* Whereupon says Mr. Lock to his Antagonist, this is to say, that *the Magistrate is to use Force in favour of that Religion which you judge to be true, and not which he himself judges to be true. But*

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\* 'Tis in his *Posthumous Works*, p. 235.

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who (says he) made you a Judge for him? Without this, says he, All talk of full Assurance pointing out to the Magistrate the true Religion, that he is oblig'd by Force to promote, amounts to no more than his own Religion, and can point out no other to him. For tho' 'tis not to be imagin'd there are as clear and solid Grounds for the belief of false Religions, as there are for the belief of true, (to put a Question, about which, is in effect to query, whether Falshood has as much Truth in it, as Truth itself?) Yet as Matters stand, the Religion which the Magistrates of the World are oblig'd to promote by Force, must be either their own, or none at all. And in reality, the Magistrates Perswasion of his own Religion, which he judges so well grounded as to venture his Future State upon it, cannot but be sufficient to set him upon doing, what he takes to be his Duty in bringing others to the same Religion. And what Advantage can that bring to true Religion, which Arms 500 Magistrates against it, (who must unavoidably in the State of Things in the World, act against it) for one that uses Force for it? Magistrates have nothing to determine them in using Force in favour of Religion, but their own Perswasion of the Truth of any Religion: And this in the variety of Religions which the Magistrates of the World have embrac'd, cannot direct them to the true. So that the Plea for the Magistrates using Force for promoting the true Religion, upon this Foot, gives as much Power and Authority to the King

of France to use it against his Dissenting Subjects, as to any other Prince in Christendom to use it against theirs. For 'tis the Perswasion of the Mind, produc'd by such Reasons and Grounds as do affect it, that alone does, or is capable to determine the Magistrate in the use of Force, for performing of his Duty: From whence it necessarily follows, that if Two Magistrates have equally strong Perswasions concerning the Truth of their Religions respectively, they must both be set on Work thereby, or neither. For tho' one be of a false, and the other of the true Religion, yet the Principle of Operation, that alone which they have to determine them, being equal in both, they must both be determin'd by it; unless it can be said that one of them must Act according to that Principle, which alone can determine, and the other must Act against it. From which incipacity in Magistrates to perform their Duty, if it

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be their Duty by Force to promote the true Religion, it may justly be concluded, that to use Force for the promoting any Religion, cannot be their Duty.

#### **The Rights of the Christian Church.**

Now also came out; *The Rights of the Christian Church* asserted, against the *Romish* and all other *Priests*, who claim an Independent Power over it: With a Preface concerning the Government of the C. of E, as by Law Establish'd. There has not been a Book publish'd in many Years that made more Noise. Some were much taken with the *Manner* of this Book, and by that tempted to think the better of the *Matter* of it; while others were so disgusted with the *Manner* of it, that that prejudic'd them against the *Matter* and Argument. I pretend not here to Act the Part of a Censor, or an Advocate; and could not be either, without several Distinctions. Far be it from me to pretend to justify the *Matter* in all Points, and much less the *Manner* of treating some *Divine Institutions*; and yet I'll give a brief

Abstract of the main Argument of the Book, as I have done of some others relating to the Convocational Contest, which I believe prov'd no small Temptation to some of the warmest Invectives of this Book, which have kindled such Indignation in some, against the Author or Anthors.

The Preface undertakes to shew, That they who make the greatest Noise about the Danger of the Church, are the greatest Enemies to it, by asserting such Notions as undermine both Church and State, and are in direct Opposition to the Principles of the Reformation: And that they mean some other Church, besides the C. of E. which being Establish'd by Acts of Parliament is a meer Creature of the Civil Power, as to its Polity and Discipline, which makes all the Contention. The Convocation of the C. of E, he says, has no Power which is not deriv'd from, and dependent upon the Parliament; none but what they can abridge, curtail, and annul as they think fit. And he asserts, that 'twas not till *Rome* got the ascendant here, that the Clergy attempted to bind the Laity, by Laws they never consented to: But their Design was never brought to Perfection. He says it does not depend upon the Clergy, but upon the Sovereign National Powers whether there shall be a National Church: And consequently the Legal Establishment of the Faith, the Worship, the

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Doctrinal Articles, Discipline, Rites and Ceremonies of the National Church, must be, wholly owing to them; And as far as the Magistrate establishes any Thing, they are Part of the Civil Constitution. And as our Kings and Parliament have the sole Legislative Power, so they have trusted the Supream Executive Power, in Ecclesiasticals as well as Civils, with the King or Queen; in Proof of which he cites several Acts in the Reigns of *H. 8. Edw. 6, and Q. Eliz.* And in Proof that even in Popish Times our Governours

did not think that Bishops had a Divine Right to Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; he argues, from their exempting Places from their Power, and from the exercise of the higher Acts of Episcopal Jurisdiction, by some Deans and Archdeacons. He says, the Law all along has set the same bounds to the Ecclesiastical as to the Civil Courts, both as to Persons and Things. He observes, that our Parliaments have from Time to Time, depriv'd Bishops as well as our other Ecclesiasticks; which is a sufficient Proof they tho't they had not their Bishopricks by a Divine Commission, because they could no more take away or even suspend such a Commission than give it: Nay, that the Legislative Powers can dissolve a Bishoprick, as they did that of *Durham* in the Reign of *Edw. 6*, and make Two Bishopricks into one, &c. And all the Power which the Clergy have in the National Church being deriv'd solely from the Parliament, he infers none can be for the Church as it is settled by Law, who don't abhor all Independent Power in the Clergy.

He farther observes, that the Clergy having all sworn to the *Regal Supremacy*, we ought not to presume that they suppose that Supremacy inconsistent with any Powers which they claim by Divine Right; and the Bishops and leading Divines at the Reformation have freely given their Opinions against an Independent Power. All the Bishops, upon the Clergies owning *Hen. 8.* to be the supream Head of the Church, took out Commissions for the exercising of their Spiritual Jurisdiction. And the Kings Spiritual Supremacy as settled by Acts of Parliament, has been by our Divines made the Charaderistick of the C. of *E*, against Popery and Fanaticism: And was not only the Means by which the Reformation was carried on, but the Ground on which

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the whole was justified. And tho' our Princes do not Preach or Administer the Sacraments, but the Laws

leave this to the Clergy, yet this does not prove they are more independent than Lawyers, Physicians, and Men of other Professions and Employes. He observes, that while what the People had suffer'd by the Independent Power, of the Popish Clergy was fresh in their Minds, they did all that was possible to guard against any such Power for the Future; and the Clergy minding Religion more than their private Interest, disown'd all Pretences to that Power: But when they imagin'd the Court had a design upon the Liberty of the People, they tho't their coming into that Project with all their Force, might deserve to have their selting up for an Independent Power conniv'd at, if not encourag'd; which came to that height in King *Charles I's* Time, that the Bishops openly deny'd their receiving their Jurisdiction from the Crown, and that even when they sate in the Kings High Commission Court. That Archbishop *Laud* was for setting up an Independent Power, in defiance of the Laws of the Land, the Oath of Supremacy, the Principles of Reformation, and of the Church he pretended so much Zeal for; and that he was for an *English*, tho' not a *Roman* Popery. That upon the Restoration of King *Charles II*, it soon became an Establish'd Principle with High Church, that there were Two Independent Governments in the same Nation, and that the Government of the Church was by Divine Right in the Bishops: And that the lower House of Convocation was lately for having the Bishops acknowledg'd, to be not only of *Divine*, but *Divine Apostolical Right*; which must mean either a *Divine Divine Right*, or a *Divine Humane Right*. That Bishop *Sparrow*\* asserted, 'That in Controversies about Doctrines, where the Church has receiv'd no clear Determination, from Christ and his Apostles, she has Power to declare her own Sense in the Controversie, and to determine which Part shall be receiv'd and profess'd for Truth by Her Members, and that under Ecclesiastical Censures and Penalties. The Sentence shall bind to Submission, tho' the Superiours may err in the Sentence:

Better that Inferiours be bound to stand to such fallible Judgment, than that every Man be suffer'd to interpret Laws, and determine Controversies: And there was none that oppos'd him,

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\* *Preface to Collection of Articles, &c.*

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He farther observes, That the Parliament having exercis'd their Power in Spirituals, by depriving the Non-juring Bishops, and the Sees being by the Kings Authority fill'd again, it has caus'd a Schism in High Church: And they who adhere to the Bishops depriv'd by Parliament, condemn those who do not, as acting contrary to their common Principle, of Church and State being under a distinct Government. Which Principle the others on the contrary are so far from disowning, that they endeavour to reconcile it with their deserting the Bishops depriv'd by the Lay Powers; and thereby betray, their Cause instead of defending it, and expose themselves to the scorn and contempt of their Adversaries. That tho' nothing is now so common as to call the opposing the Doctrine of Two Independent Powers the *Erastian* Heresie, yet 'tis plain from the Letters annex'd to *Erastus's* Treatise of Excommunication, that the ablest of the Reformers Abroad were in his Sentiments; and Archbishop *Whitgift* Licens'd it, and as Mr. *Seldens* says, writ with his own Hand in one of the Books finely Gilt, these Words, *intus quam extra formosior*. After this, he quotes some Passages of Mr. *Lesley*, Mr. *Dodwel*, Mr. *Hill*, &c. in support of the inherent Power and Authority of the Clergy, and by Way of invective against the Regal Supremacy. He says its strange, that they whose Principles are nearer to the Church of *Rome* than that of *England*, should be represented as the only Churchmen. He appears surpriz'd at the Convocations mentioning the restoring of the Church to its *due Rights and Priviledges*; and seems to wonder they did not declare what they were: Especially when

they constantly represent it, as the most perfect most compleat, and best constituted Church that is: Whereas, as (he says) if the Government of it did belong to the Clergy by a Divine Right, it must be as to its Government and Discipline, the worst constituted Church in the World.

In his *Introducion*, he observes, that the Doctrine of Two Independent Powers has occasion'd a prodigious Number of Quarrels, between Prince and Priest; and among the Clergy themselves. He asserts, that naturally Men are in a State of equality. Even Parents have not an absolute Power. Men lose their equality by consent, in forming themselves into Bodies Politick. Government was first founded on

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the consent of the Parties concern'd, and still continues on the same Foot. Men engage in a Political Union for the Defence of themselves and their Properties, and oblige themselves to assist the Magistrate in punishing all such injuries as the Good of the whole will not permit to go unpunish'd. The Magistrate is fully authoriz'd to punish the Evil, and reward the Good: And not only to punish one that does an injury to a single Person, but anyone that injures the whole Society. When Men associated on a Civil, they Were oblig'd also to do the same on a Religious Account; one being necessary for the support of the other. But in Religious Matters Men are to follow the Dictates of their Consciences; and cannot have a Sovereign Representative, to determine for them what they shall Believe or Profess. 'Tis impossible that Men thould ever submit to Government, but with an intent of being protected in so necessary a Duty as Worshipping God according to Conscience, as well as in any other Matter whatever. The Magistrate has no Pretence to use Force, when no Person is injur'd, tho' Conscience were not concern'd; much less ought he to do it when Conscience is concern'd: And consequently his Power is confin'd to such

Religious Matters as are likewise Civil; that is where the Publick has an Interest. The good of the Society is the Supream Law. All Church considerations must give Place to it: And no Man on any Church Pretence whatever, can be exempt from the Magistrates Jurisdiction. He has the same Power over Men when met together for the Worship of God, as when met together upon other Accounts: Whom he is then so far from having a Right to disturb, that he is oblig'd to secure them from all manner of Harm, as long as they do nothing prejudicial to the Publick; but much more so, if their Meetings tend to promote the general Good, as Mens assembling to Worship God according to their Consciences does.

In *Chap. I.* He shews that there cannot be Two Independent Powers the in same Society, Independent Power is Supream. There can't be Two such at the same Time, either about the *same* or *different* Things. Not about the *same*; because by One Power a Man may be oblig'd to do a Thing, and by t'other forbid to do it; and so the same Action would be a Duty and a

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Sin: Nor about *different* Things; for then he might be oblig'd to be at the same Time at different Places, and to do Things opposite and contrary. Who can suppose that the *God of Order* would ever involve us in such inextricable Difficulties, as to subject us to Two Powers which are either apt to clash and interfere continually about the same Things, or else to command, if not contrary, yet different Things at the same Time? *Ecclesiastical* Power will be continually interiering with *Civil*. If the Civil Magistrate cannot deprive an Ecclesiastick, he cannot put him to Death; because in deprivation of Life is included deprivation of all Offices and Employes. If the Power of Excommunication belongs independently to the Clergy, the Magistrate could no more (by Banishment or Imprisonment, &c.)



deprive a Man of the Communion of the Church, than a Priest could do that, by which a Mans Death would follow unavoidably. The *Druids*, who got the sole Power of Excommunication to themselves, by Vertue of it govern'd all Things; and Kings were only their Ministers, to execute their Sentences. 'Tis unjust for Two Independent Powers to judge about the same Things; for this would subject the same Persons to undergo Two Trials, and be punish'd Twice for the same Crime. If there be Two different Independent Governours, the Civil Governour could have no more Power on a Civil Account over the common Subject, than t'other on an Ecclesiastical: Nor could they hinder one another of the Obedience due to each; and consequently, the Magistrate could not deprive one of his Life and Liberty, or use any other restraining Method, because this must either for ever, or for a Time, rob the Ecclesiastical Governour of a Subject, to whom he has at all Times an Independent Right. They must needs destroy each others Power, and free Men from all Subjection to either.

In *Chap. II*, He asserts, That the Clergy's assuming to themselves a *Jurisdiction*, and terming it *Internal*, in contradistinction to the Magistrates which they call *External*, is only amusing People with Words, and a blind to make Men believe a Difference where there's none, in order to usurp a Power which belongs not to them. When Men endeavour to assume a Power over Conscience, the most they can do is to make Hypocrites.

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The Clergy who contend not only for the necessity but the lawfulness of National Churches, give up all their Pretences to an Independent Power in every Thing relating to 'em, even in the most speculative and mysterious Points. For if they allow that the Magistrate can enact, that no Person shall enjoy any Preferment in the National Church, who does not profess such or

such Articles, they cannot deny him a Power to deprive any who shall disown them; because 'tis only putting those Laws, they acknowledge he has Power to make, in Execution.

In *Chap. IV.* He shews there's no immutable Form of Church Discipline. The only Way (he says) to prove this or that Form of Ecclesiastical Discipline, in this or that Place to be Divine, is to shew that it is there the fittest for the End it was design'd to promote. The same Garment may as well serve Children and Men, as the same Regimen can fit People for all Times and Circumstances. Means to an End are of a mutable Nature. Were but this granted, we should have no more Quarrels about Modes, and Forms, and Ceremonies: There would be no Uncharitableness, Hatred or Persecution; but the Christian Religion would as it was design'd, render all its votaries wonderfully Happy. Christianity is a Religion not only to last to the end of the World, but in Time to extend to all the Nations of it. And considering how widely different Nations are in all Circumstances and Respects; there can be no particular Form of Church Polity which must not somewhere or other be prejudicial to the End it was instituted for.

*Chap. V.* Shews, That the Clergies endeavouring at all Independent Power, not only prevents the further spreading of the Gospel, but is the Cause of its having already lost so much Ground. This Doctrine of *Imperium in Imperio*; he says, would have been us'd by the Emperors as an Argument to justify their usage of the Christians. Heathen Authors would have eternally insulted the Christians upon this Head: Nor would they have been so wanting to themselves, as to neglect Offering at something in their frequent Apologies for their Justification. They could not upon this supposition have asserted the disinterestedness of those who first preach'd the Gospel, as a grand Argument for the Truth

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of it. This Doctrine prejudices Infidels against Christianity. 'Twas this Independent Power was the chief occasion that Christianity lost so many fair Provinces it once possess'd, which became an easie Prey to the barbarous Nations, and made the conquer'd submit to the Religion of the Conquerors. Had it not been for the Ambition of the Bishops in continually fighting against one another for Dominion, with their Anathema's and Excommunications, so senseless a Religion as that of the *Alcoran*, could never have taken such deep Root, or spread itself so far and wide in so short a Time. And as this Independent Power occasion'd *Mahometism* in the *East*, so it produc'd *Popery* in the *West*.

*Chap.* VI. Shews that this is most destructive to the Interest of Religion, and the Cause of the Corruptions under which Christianity Labours. *Chap.* VII. Shews that an Independent Power in any set of Clergymen, makes all Reformation unlawful, except where those who are suppos'd to have this Power do consent. And *Chap.* VIII. That this Independent Power has been the occasion of infinite Mischief to the Christian World, and is utterly inconsistent with the happiness of Humane Society. He says, that it is plain from all Histories, that according to the measure of this Independent Power, the Clergy have reach'd in any Place, the People have been proportionably impoverish'd and ruin'd. He mentions the sad Effects in Popish Countries, and also among Protestants. He observes, that the Clergy here in *England* after the Restoration, became *Tools of the Papists; of which they were so sensible in the Day of distress, that the most eminent among them, with the general Approbation of the rest, made solemn Declarations of easing their Protestant Brethren, when Providence should put it in their Power. Yet when the Convocation in 89 had by the favour of Heaven an Opportunity of performing those Promises; was there not a Party among 'em who resolv'd to keep Faith as little with Schismaticicks, as some former Councils*

*with Hereticks? And therefore with scorn they rejected all Terms of Accommodation, and tho't the very recommending to 'em such Alterations in Things indifferent, as would make Conforming to the Church so easie, as few Protestants either at Home or Abroad should scruple, an Affront never to be forgiven; which was the Foundation of the inveterate Malice which that glorious Prince, to whom we owe our*

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*Religion and Church was to the last persecuted: Nor could the Bishops, even those who had signaliz'd themselves in Defence of the Church, receive better Quarter.* He quotes several Authors against the Independent Power of the Clergy; as the Lord Clarendon, Dr. Barrow, Gomarus, Gualterus, and Father Paul: And says that none is qualified to believe Two Independent Powers, who has not Faith enough for Transubstantiation.

*Chap. IX.* Shews that the hypothesis of none being capable of governing the Church except Bishops, and that none can be Bishops except those who derive their Power by a continu'd and uninterrupted Succession in the Catholick Church from the Apostles, destroys the very Being of the Church. Here the Author advises some People, no more to attack the Dissenters on such Principles, as unchurch all who departed from *Rome*, &c, And *Chap. X.* Sheweth, That the Catholick Church consists of several Bodies Independent on each other, &c: Where the Author asserts, That when Men do not think it sufficient for Salvation to be united to Christ by true Faith, and to one another by Christian Love, leaving every Community to form what Ecclesiastical Government they think fit, but make it necessary to the very Being of Christianity, to be united by some one external Head or Government, which is to be the Center of Catholick Union and Communion; he cannot see how a Popedom can be avoided: And he shews, That the Clergy have maintain'd such Maxims, in Order to oblige People to yield

an implicate Faith, and blind Obedience to their Dictates as must condemn all Separation from the Church of *Rome*, on the Account of her peculiar Doctrines; of which he gives Instances, &c. And upon the whole, I should be glad to see a good Answer to the Book, upon the *Jure Divino* bottom, of any one particular Form of Church Government.

M. DCC. VII. This Year Mr. *Higgins* the Clergyman made a great Noise, in defiance of the Government, about the Danger of the Church, in many Pulpits, from one end of the Town to the other: But he could not have Influence enough to do the Mischief he seem'd to intend and aim at. There was a general Addressing to her Majesty after the Union: The Dis-

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senters of the Three Denominations, presented the following Address upon that Occasion.

*May it please your Majesty,*

‘**A**mongst the rest of your Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, we beg Leave with all Humility, to congratulate your Majesty, upon the Accession every Year makes to the Glories of your Auspicious Reign; and more especially upon, the happy Union of your two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*.

‘We adore that Divine Providence which hath remov’d the Difficulties, that were insuperable to your greatest Predecessors, even under the Advantages of Peace, and reserved to your Majesty the Honour of making us one flourishing People, through your wise and steady Councils, together with the unparallel’d Judgment, Application, and Fidelity, of your Majesty’s Commissioners, and your two Parliaments.

‘By this entire *Union* of the two Nations, we with Joy, behold the Peace and Quiet of your Majesty’s Government firmly settled; the *Protestant Succession* to the Imperial Crown of *Great-Britain*, and the

‘Reformed Interest in general secured; the Strength  
 ‘and Honour of the whole Island much advanced;  
 ‘and our common Safety, both against Attempts from  
 ‘Abroad, and Breaches upon our happy Civil Con-  
 ‘stitution at Home, effectually provided for.

‘Herein, we have a repeated Instance of your Ma-  
 ‘jesty’s Parental Care of your People; and cannot but  
 ‘hope that so illustrious an Example, will inspire all  
 ‘your Protestant Subjects with that generous Love and  
 ‘Charity, that it may never more be in the Inclina-  
 ‘tion of any of them, to molest one another, upon  
 ‘Religious Accounts.

‘May the Great God so prosper your Arms, and  
 ‘those of Your Allies, that your Majesty may be the  
 ‘glorious Instrument of re-establishing the Peace, and  
 ‘securing the liberty of *Europe*; and at the same Time  
 ‘of restoring our Protestant Brethren Abroad, to their  
 ‘ancient Rights.

‘May your Majesty and your Illustrious Consort the  
 ‘Prince be continued in Health.

‘May your sacred Majesty be blessed with a long  
 ‘and prosperous Reign, over a People more reformed

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‘in their Manners, and united in Affection, (according  
 ‘to your Majesty’s earnest Recommendations,) and  
 ‘still reap the Benefits of a Government, which by  
 ‘the Divine Blessing, you have made so considerable  
 ‘for Safety and Greatness.

‘May all these our Requests be as fully answer’d,  
 ‘as those we have offered to the Almighty for this  
 ‘Union.

‘Then will our Thanksgivings be lasting, and your  
 ‘Majesty will have the Satisfaction of transmitting Li-  
 ‘berty and Union to all succeeding Ages.

But the Union was no sooner over, and far from  
 being settled, before the Pretender, with a *French* Force,  
 went for *Scotland*, with a Design to dissolve it. There

wanted not some both in *North* and *South* that encouraged this Attempt. And tho' he went *North*, yet we had those among us, that represented his coming to be with this Design, to rescue the C. of *E.* from *Danger*: But a Church of his saving; must have afterwards been at his Mercy.

The Dissenters were under several Hardships, and had Cause enough to complain of their Treatment, notwithstanding their *Toleration*, and the Countenance given them by her Majesty, and those that were about her. One *Roger Rosen* a *Lancashire* Man, a Person aged above 69, was this Year carried to *Lancaster* Gaol, by Vertue of a Writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, whose original Crime was only the teaching a few little Children to read *English*. He was cited to *Chester*, at the Instance of one *Spakeman* Schoolmaster of *Eccles*. For neglecting to appear, he was excommunicated, and his Prosecutor took out the Queen's Writ; and the poor Man was in Danger of starving. And upon Occasion of his Case and some others, a Representation was drawn up, of which I shall here annex a Copy, as an Evidence, that the Dissenters had Reason for some Uneasiness at this Time, even tho' Things were kept from coming to Extremity.

'Mr *Peach* a Protestant Dissenting Minister, has 'been twice Convicted and Fined by *Simon Biddulph* 'of *Burdingbury*, and *William Palmer* of *Lad-brook*, Esq;.  
'Justices of the Peace for the County of *Warwick*, 'for Preaching at *Southam*, in a Place certified, as the 'Act of Toleration *primo Gulielmi & Mariae* requires,

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'on Pretence that the Qualification taken by him in 'the County of *Northampton*, when he lived there was 'not sufficient, tho' it was in all Points according to 'the Act of Toleration; nor yet would the above 'mentioned Justices and others at the Quarter-Sessions 'at *Warwick*, admit him to repeat his Qualification;

‘pretending that he had no Settlement at *Southam*; ‘neither would they accept of sufficient Security offer’d ‘for his not being Chargeable to the Parish there; ‘his Books with other Goods have been seized for ‘Preaching, as above; and part of them sold, he ‘himself and his Family have been forced from their ‘Abode at *Southam*. The Convictions against him, ‘(removed by *Certiorari*, and yet depending before the ‘Court of *Queen’s-Bench*, after more than Twelve Times ‘Attendance, and great Changes in Law,) do not so ‘much as aver that he was once called by the said Ju- ‘stices to answer for himself (the Truth being unde- ‘niablely otherwise:) Or that he was not sufficiently ‘qualified according to the Act of Toleration, but ‘without the least Notice taken of this Act, do pro- ‘ceed upon that against Seditious Conventicles, 22d ‘*Charles II*.

‘*William Story* of *Middleton* in *Yorkshire*, and seve- ‘ral other Protestant Dissenting Hearers, both Men ‘and Women, have been cited to the *Ecclesiastical Court* ‘at *York*, for absenting from their Parish Church, and ‘divers of them prosecuted on to Excommunication, ‘after they had qualified themselves as Hearers ac- ‘cording to the Act of Toleration; a *Capias Excom- ‘municatum* has been taken out against them, and they ‘forced to abscond; and whereas some Stay was given ‘to those Proceedings, by shewing that the *Signifi- ‘cavit*, on which the *Capias* had been obtain’d, was ‘Vicious and Defective; the *Ecclesiastical-Court* has ‘since made out a new *Significavit*, with Amendments, ‘for procuring another *Capias* upon the same Matter.

‘There have been, and are divers other Prosecutions ‘against Protestant Dissenters, for, or by Reason of ‘their Nonconforming to the Church of *England*, to ‘their great Charge and Trouble, and to the raising ‘just Apprehensions in all other Dissenting Protestants ‘both Teachers and Hearers, of whatsoever Denomi- ‘nation; who according to the forementioned Proce-

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'dure (which appears to be without Precedent in any  
'Parallel Case or State of Things) are every one plainly  
'liable to be Convicted, and Fined, to have their  
'Goods seized, and Persons imprisoned, nor may hope  
'to deliver themselves without a very tedious and ex-  
'pensive Course of Law, if at all, tho' they observe  
'the Act of Toleration, and are read, at all Times to  
'give those Legal Assurances mentioned in that Act,  
'which anyone Justice of the Peace is thereby  
'impower'd to require at any Time from any Per-  
'son, who goes to any Meeting for Exercise of Re-  
'ligion; and in the mean while all their Meeting  
'Places are certified, and the Doors of 'em open to all  
'who shall think fit to observe what they act or speak  
'in their Assemblies: besides that, they dare appeal to  
'all impartial Observers, whither their whole Conduct  
'and Carriage do not abundantly testify, that they are  
'Persons no Ways ill affected or dangerous to the Pub-  
'lick; but loyal Subjects and hearty Protestants.

It would be a vain Thing to argue, with a Man that  
won't own these to be Hardships.

The Convocation could not even yet agree; but the  
Lower House continu'd to thwart the Upper. They  
were uneasy at being prorogu'd by a Royal Writ to  
*March 5*. They by a Paper represented this as unpre-  
cedented, *March 19*. The Archbishop and Bishops  
answered *April 2*. that their *Application*, and the Proofs  
that supported it were in many Particulars far from  
being true: But the *Royal Supremacy* being concerned in  
the Matter, they would lay it before her Majesty.  
They did so; while the Convocation was in the mean  
Time prorogu'd by the Archbishop to *April 10th*: And  
this was the Occasion of a Letter from her Majesty to  
the Archbishop, dated *April 8*. in which she signified  
her Resentment of the Proceedings of the Lower  
House: Intimating that she looked upon them as guilty  
of an *Invasion of her Royal Supremacy reposed in her by*

*the Law and the Constitution of the C. of E;* and declaring, that if *any Thing of the like Nature was attempted for the future, it would make it necessary for her to use such Means for the punishing Offences of this Nature, as are warranted by Law.* The Lower House continued sitting after the Prorogation. But on *April 10.* when the Archbishop sent for the Lower House to communicate

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her Majesty's Letter, and some Members: appear'd without the Prolocutor, he asked for him, and was told he was gone into the Country. This appeared to be a Contempt or Neglect of such a Nature, that it was not to be suffered; whereupon he proceeded to pass a Sentence of Contumacy against him for his Absence, reserving the Punishment of his Crime to the 30th of the same Month, to which Day the Convocation was prorogu'd, by a Schedule, back'd with a Royal Writ, The Archbishop deferr'd the Punishment, on Purpose, that the Prolocutor might have Opportunity by his Submission, on that Day that was fixed on to have prevented it. But in this Interval, a Protestation against the Archbishop was prepared by the dissatisfied Members of the Lower House, which was offered to the House on *Apr. 30.* with an Intimation, that it was the Opinion of an eminent Counsellor who had been advised with that no Process begun before a Prorogation upon the Royal Writ, could be continued after such Prorogation; and a Concern seemed to be discovered, that the Royal Supremacy should be this Way broken in upon: And so they who by the Archbishop, and the Queen herself, were charged with invading the Royal Supremacy, were willing it should be believed, that none had a greater Concern for the Supremacy than they, and therefore by a Protestation which was carried up *April 30.* by the Prolocutor, the Majority of the Lower House declared the Sentence of Comumacy, and the Process continued after the Prorogation, to be an Invasion of the

Royal Supremacy, unlawful, and altogether null: And yet tho' the Prolocutor carried up this at the Command of the House, yet he himself submitted, and begged Pardon of the Archbishop, and so the Sentence was taken off.

This Year Dr *Nichols* publish'd his *Latin* Defence of the *Church of England*, with an Historical Introduction: Wherein after stating the Case in the Way that he tho't would do his Cause most Service, and venting his Complaints as to the unsuccessfulness of all the Methods of Peace that had been hitherto tried, (intermixing with some moderate Hints some severe Reflections, which might very well have been spared) he undertakes to lay open all the Controversies between the Nonconformists, and the Establish'd Church, and then appeals to the Foreign, Protestant Churches. Mr. *Wesley*, about the

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same Time published his Reply to Mr. *Palmer's* Vindication of the Dissenters. And Mr. *L.* the Second Part of the *Wolf stripp'd* in Answer to the Rights: of the Church; laying open the Designs of Atheists, Deists, Whiggs, &c. against the Church. Mr. *Hoadly* also now publish'd his *Defence of Episcopal Ordination*. I soon drew up a Reply to it, both as to the Historical and Argumentative Part, in a Letter to the Author, but forbore Printing it, that I might not give him Disturbance in the pursuit of his Political Contest in which he was so happily engag'd; and so much to the Satisfaction of the true Lovers of his Country: However, some having wonder'd I have made no return to this last Book of Mr. *Hoadly's*, I shall here bestow a few Reflections upon it, being ready to follow it with a particular Reply, if it be tho't needful.

Its stil'd a *Defence of Episcopal Ordination*; which needed no Defence, because it was not assaulted, by those that pleaded for the warrantableness of Ordination by Presbyters. I have given my Sense of the main Positions he here lays down about Ordination, in p. 199. and 200. of this Volume, to which

my Reader is referr'd. He fetches his main Proof from the Fathers, notwithstanding my Intimation from the First, that that was unavoidable, was so displeasing. However a little Evidence from Scripture would to us be more convincing, than a great deal from the Fathers. He represents the Fathers as giving their Testimony to Episcopacy, as a plain matter of Fact; whereas they give their Testimony as to Fact; with their Judgment; which Judgment of theirs we are no farther bound to regard, than as it is supported with suitable Proof. We have no Proof from Scripture of any other Episcopacy design'd for continuance, than what was Pastoral. We have no Apostolick Writings left, besides the sacred Scriptures. The Fathers differ in their Judgment, Sentiment and Report. It was Mr. *Dodwel* in his Dissertations on *Irenæus* who first started the Tho't, that we have as good Proof for the Divine Authority of Bishops as we have for that of Scripture: This put the Author of *Amyntor* upon pleading, that we have no better Proof for Scripture than we have for Bishops; and between them, the Authority of the Writings of the New Testament has been weaken'd. Their Authority is not properly weaken'd,

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by such as receive their Report of the sacred Ministry, and whatsoever the Fathers assert concerning it, that they can prove from thence, at the same Time as they receive their Report concerning those sacred Writings, in which they in the Main agree; but by those that would insinuate we have not better Proof of their Divinity, than we have of the Divine Institution of any other than Pastoral Episcopacy for a Continuance, tho' those sacred Writings are silent in it. While the Fathers much differ in their Account about Episcopacy, we find that all their Quotations of Passages out of the New Testament in their Writings, do agree with our Bibles to this Day in all, Capital Matters; and all those

Things that have been charg'd as Alterations, Additions or Corruptions, in our New Testament Writers, together with the various Lections that have been Collected, are either in Matters sufficiently plain in other Parts of the same sacred Writings, or in Things of small Moment. No encouragement can be justly said to be given to Scepticism, by demanding good Proof, where an Apostolical Foundation is pretended. The Fathers resolv'd their faith into the divinely inspirited Writings: But many of them that represented the Episcopacy they had in their Days as *Apostolical*, might mean no more than that it was *Ancient*; (for parallel Instances may be produc'd:) And when they gave Catalogues of Bishops up to the Apostles Days, we have no Evidence that they that are mention'd first in their Lists, were so much as reckon'd to be such Bishops as were in the Church after the Days of *Constantine*. Pastoral Episcopacy was risen to too great a height (in my Apprehension) in the Days of *Ignatius*, but I can't find Diocesan Episcopacy in his Epistles, and yet much less can I do it, in the Celebrated Epistle of *Clement*. Tho' *Ignatius* died a Martyr for Christianity, and his Name is therefore to be honour'd, yet I am not therefore able to say as he, *That what God is in the World, that is the Bishop in the Church; Or that he that does any Thing without the privity of the Bishop, is to be tho't to serve the Devil:* Nor durst I say with Bishop *Pearson*, *That there's no Obedience here commanded) but what is necessary to avoid Schisms, and preserve the Unity of the Church.* The Fathers were often warm and eager. He that observes *Ignatius's* saying, *That*

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*whosoever fasteth upon the Lord's Day, or upon any Saturday except that one Saturday (meaning Easter-Eve) is a Murderer of Christ, will make great abatements, for what he says about Episcopacy, and what other Fathers (of a like disposition) say in other Cases. Besides;*

How can the Testimony for Episcopacy be said to be Universal? For what Creed ever declar'd, what general Council ever determin'd that Episcopacy was of Apostolical Institution? The pack'd Council of *Trent*, was the first that attempted it; and a late angry Lower House of an English Convocation (upon whom Mr. *Hoadly* himself has upon Occasion been pretty severe) were for treading in their Steps. But this wont prove an Universality. The most that the Quotations allעד'g'd amount to, is that some held Episcopacy of Apostolical Institution: But still as zealous as the Convocation was for that determination, there yet are many even in the C. of E. of a different Judgment; and 'tis not unlikely but it was the same in the Christian Church heretofore; and St. *Jerom's* frankness is an evidence of it.

A Multitude of Fathers agreed in deriving the Millenarian Notion from the Apostles; which may keep us from being frighten'd with the big Names at Fathers about Episcopacy. That Notion was indeed afterwards condemn'd: And that is a Proof, that the Church was sensible, that the joint consent of many Fathers together, in deriving a Thing from the Apostles, was no solid Proof that it truly came from them. Of the celebrated *Tables of Succession*, as urg'd in Proof of Diocesan Episcopacy, I say the same, as Mr. *Hoadly* does of the Genealogy in *Genesis*, as urg'd in Proof of the Patriarchal Power,\* *If those Tabless might have been given us, tho' the Persons mention'd had not been Diocesan Bishops, then their being thus deliver'd is no Argument that the Persons nam'd in it were so*, The Argument is as strong in this Case as in that. The Change in the Church from a Parity to an Inequality among their Pastors (which was more early in some Churches than others) may I think be accounted for upon a Principle (which obtain'd betimes) that provided Divine Institutions were but kept up, and administred by Persons set apart to Office, the several Churches might manage themselves in what Way and Manner was to them the most agreeable, without any danger of sinning, or flying in the Face of the

Apostles;

\* *Examin. of the Patriarchal Scheme*, p. 39.

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*An. 1707.*

Apostles; which Principle there are many that still adhere to. And as for Proof that there was no such disparity among the Guides of the Church, in the Three first Centuries, as in after Ages, that well known Book, call'd; *An Enquiry into the Constitution, Worship and Discipline of the Primitive Church*, hath said enough to satisfy a reasonable Man.

I can't find any Proof that Presbyters and Bishops have a distinct Commission: and if they Act by the same Commission, the Ordinations of Presbyters are as valid, as those of superiour Bishops, I can find no difference made in *Mat. 28. 19*, where the Commission is given; between one sort of Ministers that might Ordain, and another that might not. I here say, as Mr. *H.* in another Case; † *That a Thing of such importance which would for ever have prevented all Disputes about so great a Point, should not once be plainly laid down, where there was most occasion for mentioning it; nay, that there should not be the least intimation about it, is incredible.* Tho' many Words are bellow'd, I cannot find any suitable Proof, (1.) That the confinement of the Power of Ordination to Bishops exclusive of Presbyters is Divine: And (2.) That this Divine Order is Universal, and design'd for all Times and Places without exception.

These Tho'ts I have pretty largely pursu'd in my Reply, the publication of which may be now the less needful, since we have so just, and full a Discourse of Mr. *Ba[?]*ses upon this Subject, which came out this Year, entituled, *A clear Account of the Ancient Episcopacy*, proving it to have been Parochial, and therefore inconsistent with, the present Model of *Diocesan Episcopacy*. As for Mr. *Hoadly's* Remarks upon my *Introduction*, I reserve them to a Second Edition of that *Introduction*, with *Notes*, in which his Suggestions, and those of some other Writers will be consider'd. And as for Personal

Reflections, tho' some of them are peevish enough, and discover sufficiently that its hard even for Reason and Grace in Conjunction, to check the influence of a disordered Body; they are all forgiven for the sake of the Service he did his Country, in so nobly defending Resolution Principles, for which he so deservedly had the Thanks of the Representatives of the *Commons of Britain*, in which no Man more heartily concurr'd than I.

In

† *Exam. of the Patriarcal Scheme*, p. 57.

719

An. 1708.

In the beginning of this Year, an Address was presented to Her Majesty, by the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations, upon Occasion of the disappointment of the Design upon *North Britain*, in the Words following.

*May it please Your Majesty,*

‘ON the first Advice of the design'd Invation of this Your Kingdom, we tho't our Selves oblig'd after earnest Prayers to God, humbly to Address Your Majesty, to signify our deep Resentment of the Attempt of the Pretender; whose usurped Title can no more recommend him to the *British* Nation, than his Religion, and the Power that Supports him.

‘Nor can we forbear to express the utmost Abhorrence of the Presumption of the *French* King, who takes upon him to impose Princes of his own forming upon other Nations, after having oppress'd and enslav'd his own.

‘We are so entirely in the Principles of the late happy Revolution, that we account the *British* Monarchy, and the Blessings of Your Majesty's Reign, too valuable to omit any Thing that lies in our Power for the Support and Defence of Your Royal Person and Government.



‘While the faithful Adherence of our Brethren of *North-Britain* to Your Majesty in this Juncture, gives us a very particular, Satisfaction, we take leave to renew to Your Majesty, the Assurance of our invaluable Fidelity: And what, we say on this Occasion, is, not only our own, but the Unanimous Sense of the People under our Care, who all own Your Majesty’s Rightful and Lawful Title to the Imperial Crown of these Realms; and would be thankful for a greater Capacity, to shew that their Zeal for Your Service is not inferiour to that of the most approved and Loyal of their Fellow Subjects.

‘The late Union of *England* and *Scotland*, the wise and early Precautions taken by Your Majesty and Your Council, to prevent the Designs of Your Enemy; the Prudent and Vigorous Resolution of Your Parliament, and above all, Your Majesty’s dependence on the Divine Aid and Protection,

‘seem

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720

*An.* 1708.

‘seem very happy Presages of Success and Victory: And make us Hope, that God has reserv’d for your Majesty, the Honour of effectually securing the Protestant Succession at Home, of advancing the Interest of the Reformed Churches Abroad, and of completing the Recovery of the Liberties of *Europe*.

‘That the Great God would continue to guard your sacred Person, to preserve the Life of your Royal Consort, to bless your Majesty’s Councils and Arms, and those of your Confederates; and that after a very long and glorious Reign, your Majesty may Exchange your Temporal for an Eternal Crown, is the Prayer of your most Obedient and Faithful Subjects.’

This Year a New Parliament was chosen, and sate, but meddled not with any Ecclesiastical Matters in their first Session. The Convocation also met, and

were prorogu'd by the Archbishop, pursuant to the Queen's Writ, before the Sermon was preach'd, that used to precede the Choice of a Prolocutor; with respect to which Choice the Lower Clergy were divided, between Dr. *Atterbury* and Dr. *Willis*. They were prorogu'd from *November*, to *Febr.* 25. following.

At this Time was publish'd a Letter from a Gentleman in *Scotland* to his Friend in *England*, against the *Sacramental Test*; as inconsistent with the Union, dangerous to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of *North-Britain*, and to such Parts of their Civil Constitution as are reserv'd to them: inconsistent with the Civil Interest of *Great Britain* in general; contrary to the Design of our Saviour's Institution of the Lord's Supper, and to the Doctrine of the C. of E. And an Apology for this letter.

The *Test Act* is here represented as contrary to the Rules of Religion, because it requires an End in receiving the Sacrament, that must prophane it, and such as bears no Proportion to the Original Design of it; and usurps an Authority which no Power on Earth can lay any just claim to, to apply Divine Institutions to such Ends as only serve the Interest of Politick Societies; and obliges such as have any Civil Post to take the Sacrament, without any regard to the fitness which the law of Christ requires, for that So-

lemnity.

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721

*An.* 1709.

lemnity. It looks as if it was no Matter, how ill a Character a Person bore, if it can be cover'd with the Name of Churchman; which shews that it is not the Honour of Religion, but the secular Interest of a Party that is principally regarded, &c.

About this Time also came out, Dr. *Potters Discourse of Church Government*; wherein the Rights of the Church, and the Supremacy of Christian Princes, are vindicated and adjusted.

This Year was here at Home more remarkable for nothing, than Dr. *Sacheverels* Sermon at *St. Pauls* on *Nov. 5*, which was entitled, *The Perils of False Brethren both in Church and State*, which gave great Offence to all the Assertors of the late Revolution. His Impeachment is yet fresh in Memory. In the Time of his Trial there was an open Rebellion against the Government, tho' the Parliament was fitting; the Members of both Houses were insulted; and several Meeting Houses were broke open, in and about the City, and the Pulpits and Pews Burnt by a Riotous Multitude; and other Places, nay even the *Bank* itself, as well as Private Houses of Persons of Note were threaten'd; the Queens Guards were openly resisted; and such a Spirit discover'd itself, as not a little terrify'd all the hearty Friends of the Government, Pethaps the Time may come when it may be generally better known by whose influence and encouragement this open Rebellion was rais'd in defiance of the Queen and Parliament. However the Trial went on, and the Sermons of the Dr. at *St. Pauls* and at *Derby* Assizes were ordered to be burnt; and the celebrated *Oxford Decree*, together with them. This deserves a Remark.

'The House (of Lords) taking into Consideration 'the Judgment and Decree\* of the University of *Oxford*, pass'd in their Convocation *July 21. 1683*, given 'in Evidence by Dr. *Henry Sacheverel* at his Trial, upon the Impeachment of the House of Commons, and 'thereupon lately Reprinted; it was resolv'd by the 'Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, that the said Judgment and Decree contains in 'it several Positions contrary to the Constitution of 'this Kingdom, and destructive to the Protestant Succession as by Law Establish'd. And it was thereupon 'Ordred, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Par-

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\* See of this Decree, p. 360, 361.

liament Assembled, that the said Judgment and Decree, lately Printed and Publish'd in a Book entituled, 'An intire Confutation, of Mr. *Hoadly's* Book of the 'Original of Government, taken from the *London Gazette*, publish'd by Authority at *London*, shall be burnt 'by the Hands of the common Hangman, in the Presence of the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, at the 'same Time, and Place, when and where the Sermons of Dr. *Henry Sacheverel* are ordered to be 'Burnt.

At the rising of the Parliament, the Queen had these Words in Her Speech: *For my own Part, as it has pleased God to give Success to my Endeavours for the Union of My Kingdoms, which I must ever esteem as one of the greatest Blessings of My Reign, so I hope his Divine Goodness will still continue favourable, and make, Me the happy Instrument of that yet more durable Union of the Hearts of all my People, in the Bonds of mutual Affection; that so there may remain no other Contention among you, but who shall exceed the other in contributing to advance our present Happiness, and secure the Protestant Succession.*

The Convocation in *Ireland* sate this Year, and presented an Address to the Queen and another to the Lord Lieutenant, and then were suddenly prorogu'd: But we hear nothing of the Convocation in *England*, who were of such a Temper that their greatest Enemy could not well wish them a greater Mischief than that they might have scope to fit and act according to their Inclination.

At this Time came out, *new High Church, turn'd old Presbyterian*; shewing that among those call'd *Presbyterians*, that had carried Things to the greatest Extremity, none of them had run higher, for the independency of the Church on the State, than High Church had done since the Revolutlon: That they scarce published a Book, but it was full of Complaints of our unchristian Laws relating to the Church: That they are continually exalting themselves, and their Authority and Dignity: And that they exceed the rankest Pres-

byterians in their Claims, and their scandalous Reflections, &c. and are as much as any ever were, for the founding Dominion in Grace, &c.

Now

723

Now also came out *Seditious Preachers, Ungodly teachers*, exemplify'd in the Case of the Ministers ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. Opposed chiefly to my *Abridgment*; which I shall touch upon in my Preface to my Second Volume.

*An.* 1710.

Addresses came in this Year from all Parts, full of great Professions of Loyalty to the Queen, and Indignation against the late Ministry, and some of them reflecting on the Parliament and on all that pretended to Moderation. In *April*, the Persons that were active in the late Rebellious Tumults, were brought to their Trial to the *Old Baily*, and *Damaree* and *Purchase* were found Guilty, and condemn'd: But Justice was not executed upon them; and they have since been pardon'd. The Dissenters were not a little solicited to make Application to the Court for Pardon for them; and it was signify'd; that it would discover a very forgiving Temper, which was a Christian Spirit, if they would interpose. But they (who had been foolishly charg'd by some with pulling down their own Meeting Houses,) tho't it more proper for them to sit still, concluding the Concern of the Government to be greater, than their own, Personal Concern, tho' their Loss was considerable. Overtures were also made them about the repairing the Damage they had sustained; but nothing was receiv'd.

There was a great Ferment in the Nation when the Parliament was dissolv'd, and a new one chosen: But the Queen in her Speech to her New Parliament on *Nov. 27.* told them, That *as she was resolv'd to encourage and support the C. of E. as by Law Established and preserve the British Constitution, according to the Union; so also would she maintain the Indulgence by Law allow'd to*

*scrupulous Consciences.* The Commons in their Address had this Passage; *As we are Fellow Christians and Fellow-Subjects with those Protestant Dissenters, who are so unhappy as to entertain Scruples against Conformity with our Church, we are desirous and determin'd to let them quietly enjoy that Indulgence which the Law hath allow'd them.* And they voted Fifty new Churches to be built in and about the City.

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724

*An. 1710.*

The Convocation also met, and Dr. *Bennet* preached before them; and Dr. *Atterbury* was chosen Prolocutor. Her Majesty wrote a Letter to the Archbishop, dated *Dec. 12.* in which she signified her Hopes, that the Consultations of the Clergy might be of use to repress the Attempts of Persons of loose and prophane Principles, and prevent the like for the Future: And promised she would give them all fitting Encouragement to proceed in the dispatch of such Business as properly belong'd to them, and grant them such Powers as should be tho't requisite for carrying on so good a Work; confiding in them that her Royal Intentions would not be frustrated, by unreasonable Disputes about unnecessary Forms and Methods of Proceeding, &c. The Convocation met *Dec. 13.* The Archbishop proposed to the Inferior Clergy an Address to her Majesty by Way of Thanks, &c. They were for enlarging some Parts of it, which the Bishops were not free to; and this had like to have created a new Difference. The Archbishop hereupon prorogu'd them to *January* the 17th, at which some were disgusted. He then prorogu'd them to *January* the 24th, 1710/11. at which Time my Lord *Dartmouth* Secretary of State, brought them a Licence under the Broad-Seal to sit and do Business, in as ample a Manner, as was ever granted since the *Reformation*; the Fruits of which are yet expected.

This Year also Mr. *James Pierce*, of whom the World had had a Taste before, in his Controversy with Dr. *Wells*, wrote a Vindication of the *English Dissenters*, in Answer to Dr. *Nichols's* Defence of the Church of *England*: And he wrote it in good clean *Latin*, as Mr. *Spademan* had his *Stricturæ Genevenses*, (which I forgot to make mention of in its proper Place) some Time before: And I don't hear that anyone has undertaken a Reply. Mr. *Benjamin Robinson* also this Year wrote his *Review of the Case of Liturgies and their Imposition*; in answer to Mr. *Bennet's* *Brief History of pre-composed set Forms of Prayer, and his Discourse of Joint-Prayer*.

Tho' the First Semon of this Parliament passed over, without any Motion for the *Occasional Bill*, yet they that watched Opportunities for it, having that Affair much at Heart, were not willing to miss a Second, and

defer

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725

*An. 1711.*

defer it to a Third. At length when both Sides had written themselves out of Breath upon the Subject, this Bill which was so much long'd for by some, and so much dreaded by others, was on *Dec. 15. 1711.* brought into the House of Peers. The Title was plausible; 'twas to preserve the Protestant Religion, and to confirm the Toleration, and farther to secure the Protestant Succession, &c. But the Body of the Bill was the same as had been so oft rejected before, and that upon such solid Reasons. It must be own'd, some Concessions are therein granted to the Dissenters, but not to be compared with the Contempt to which it exposes them.

Thus after Fifty Years Exclusion from the Publick Churches, by the Act of Uniformity, during the one Half of which they were expos'd to great Rigours and Severities, tho' during the other Half they have had more Liberty, are the poor Dissenters excluded

the Service of the State. So far are we from any Hopes of a Coalition, which has been so often talked of, that nothing will do but an entire Submission. *Consciencs truly Scrupulous* may indeed still have their Liberty: But they that would be capable of any Places of Profit or Trust, must quit the Meetings after *March 25. 1712.* and they that in all Times and Changes adher'd to the true Interest of their Country, must be publickly branded. Perhaps the Time may come when Persons may have other Tho'ts of this Matter than while in the Heat of Action.

And by what Ways and Means this Design, that had been so long contriving and so often disappointed, was at last brought to bear; and under whose Agency and Management the Bill passed so currently, and without Opposition, even with those who had all along had an Opinion of its pernicious Tendency: And whether it in the Event answered the Designs and Intentions of those who were the great Agents in it, what were the Consequences of this Step to the Dissenters, and also to the Church, and to the State; and to Religion, and to that Christian Charity, that all who have any value for Religion, ought to have a Concern for:

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A a a 3

How

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*An. 1711.*

How many persons and Families were Sufferers by it; how much the Papists rejoic'd at it, and what an Advantage it gave them (who are never backward to improve Opportunities) to compass their Designs, I leave to be consider'd, and related by such as come after me.

THE



I

THE

*Reformed Liturgy.**The Ordinary Publick-Worship on the  
LORD's-DAY.*

The Congregation being Reverently composed, let the Minister first crave God's assistance, and acceptance of the Worship, to be performed in these or the like Words.

**E**TERNAL Incomprehensible, and Invisible GOD, infinite in Power, Wisdom, and Goodness, dwelling in the Light which no Man can approach, where thousand thousands minister unto Thee, and ten thousand times ten thousand stand before Thee, yet dwelling with the humble and contrite, and taking pleasure in thy People: Thou hast consecrated for us a new and living way that with boldness we may enter into the Holiest, by the blood of Jesus, and hath hid us seek Thee, while thou mayest be found: We come to Thee at thy Call, and worship at thy footstool. Behold us in thy tender mercies. Despise us not, though unworthy. Thou art greatly to be feared in the Assembly of the saints and to be had in Reverence of all that are about Thee. Put thy fear into our hearts, that with Reverence we may serve Thee; sanctify us, that thou mayest be sanctified of us, when we draw nigh Thee. Give us the Spirit of grace and Supplication, to help our infirmities, that our prayers may be faithful, fervent, and effectual. Let the desire of our Souls be to Thee; let us draw near Thee with our hearts, and not only with our lips, and worship thee, who art a

Spirit, in Spirit and Truth. Let thy Word be spoken and heard by us as the Word of God: Give

**A a a 4**

**us**

1 Tim. 1. 15. Psal. 147. 5. Mat. 19. 17. 1 Tim. 6. 16. Dan. 7. 10. Isa. 57. 15. Psal. 149. 4. Heb. 10. 19, 20. Isa. 55. 6. Psal. 95. 6. 12. 2. & 99. 5. & 51. 1, 17. & 89. 7. Jer. 32. 40. Heb. 12. 28. 1 Thes. 5. 23. Levit. 10. 3. Zech. 12. 10. Rom. 8. 26. Jam. 5. 16. & 1, 6. Isa. 26. 8. Mat. 15. 18. Job. 4. 23, 24. 1 Thes. 2. 13. Act 16. 14. Mark 4. 12. Phil. 1. 29. Prov. 1. 24. 25. Eccles. 5. 1. Joh. 6. 45. Heb. 4. 22. 13. 2. Cor. 10. 4, 6.

2

Psal. 69. 30. Psal. 106. 46. Psal. 9. 14. Psal. 105. 3. Psal. 51. 15. Psal. 19. 14. Heb. 13. 21. us attentive, hearing Ears, and opened, believing understanding hearts, that we may no more refuse thy Calls, nor disregard thy merciful out-stretched-hand, nor slight thy Counsels and Reproofs; but be more ready to hear, than to give the sacrifice of Fools. But thy Laws into our hearts, and write them in our minds, and let us be all taught of God. Let thy Word be unto us quick and a powerful; a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the hearts; mighty to pull down strong-holds, casting down imaginations and reasonings, and every high thing that advanceth it self against the knowledge of God; and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ; Let us magnifie Thee with thanksgiving and triumph in thy Praise. Let us rejoyce in thy Salvation, and glory in thy holy Name. Open thou our lips, O Lord, and let our mouths show forth thy praise. And let the words of our mouths, and the meditation of our hearts be acceptable in thy sight, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. Amen.

**Or thus, when Brevity is necessary.**

**O** Eternal, almighty, and most gracious God, Heaven is thy Throne and Earth is thy Foot-stool, holy and reverend is thy Name; Thou art praised by the heavenly hosts, and in the Congregation of thy Saints on Earth, and wilt be sanctified in all that come nigh unto Thee. We are sinful and unworthy dust, but being invited by Thee, are

bold, through our blessed Mediator to present ourselves and our supplications before Thee. Receive us graciously, help us by thy Spirit; let thy fear be upon us: Let thy Word come unto us in power, and be received in love, with attentive, reverent, and obedient minds. Make it to us the savour of life unto life. Cause us to be fervent in Prayer, and joyful in thy Praises, and to serve Thee this day without distraction, that we may find that a day in thy Courts, is better than a thousand, and that it is good for us to draw near to God; through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

*Next*

Isa. 66. 1. Psal. 111. 9. Luke 2. 13. Psal. 103. 20. Heb. 1. 6. Psal. 149. 1. Lev. 10. 3. Gen. 18. 27. 2 Tim. 2. 5. Dan. 9. 18. Hos. 14. 2. Rom. 8. 26. Heb. 12. 28. 2. Thes. 2. 10. Luke 19. 48. Isa. 1. 19. 2 Cor. 2. 16. James 5. 16. Psal. 63. 5. 1 Cor. 7. 35. Psal. 84. 10. & 73. 28.

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3

*Next, let one of the Creeds be read by the Minister,  
saying,*

In the Profession of this holy Christian Faith we are here assembled.

**I** believe in God the Father, etc.

**I** believe in our God, etc.

And sometimes *Athanasius* Creed.

### **The Ten Commandments.**

God spake these Words and said, etc.

For the right informing and affecting the People, and moving them to a penitent believing confession, some of these Sentences may be read.

Gen. 1. 17. Rom. 5. 12. Rom. 3. 23. John 3. 16. 18. 19. 20. Gal. 3. 13. John 3. 5.

**GO**d created man in his Image,

*By one man, sin entred into the World, and death by sin and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned.*

*For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God.*

*God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life.*

*He that believeth on him shall not be condemned, but he that believeth not, is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God.*

*And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.*

*For every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reprov'd,*

*Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us.*

*Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*

*That which is born of the Flesh is Flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit.*

*Verily*

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4

*Mat. 18. 3. Verily I say unto you, except ye be converted, and become as little Children, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

*Ezek. 33. 11. Say unto them: As I live saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live: Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die oh house of Israel.*

*Luke 16. 10. I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the Angels of God, over a sinner that repenteth.*

*18, 19. I will arise and go to my Father, and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against Heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy Son.*

**The Confession of Sin, and Prayer for Pardon and Sanctification.**

**W**ho most holy, Righteous, and Gracious God, who hatest all the workers of iniquity, and hast appointed death to be the wages of sin, but yet for the glory of thy mercy hast sent thy Son to be the Saviour of the World, and hast promised forgiveness of sin through his blood, to all that believe in him and by true Repentance turn unto Thee, and that whosoever confesseth and forsaketh his sin, shall have mercy; we confess that we are vile and miserable sinners, being conceived in Sin; by Nature children of wrath, and transgressors from the womb. All we like sheep have gone astray, and turned every one to his own way. Thou madest us, and not we our selves. Thou boughtest us with a price, and we are not our own, and therefore we should have wholly given up our selves unto Thee, and have glorified Thee with our souls and bodies, as being Thine. What ever we did should have been done to thy Glory, and to please Thee, in the obeying of Thy will. But we have displeased and dishonoured Thee, and turned from Thee, exalting, seeking and pleasing our selves. Thou art the King of all the world, and thy Laws are holy, just, and good. but we have denied Thee our due Subjection and Obedience, being unruly and self-willed, minding the things of the Flesh, and making provision for its lusts: We have staggered at Thy Word through Unbelief, and have not fully placed our trust and hope

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Psal. 5. 5. Rom. 6. 23. Ephes. 1. 6, 12. Joh. 4. 42. Rom. 3. 25. Eph. 1. 5. Luke 24. 47. Act. 5. 37. Prov. 28. 13. Rev. 3. 17. Psal. 51. 5. Eph. 2. 3. Isa. 48. 8. Isa. 53. 6. Psalm 100. 3. 1 Corinth. 6. 20. 2 Cor. 8. 5. 1 Cor. 10. 31. & 7. 32. 1 Thes. 4. 1. 1 John 3. 22. Rom. 2. 23. 1 Chron 21. 7. Phil. 2. 21. Luke 18. 14. Rom. 15. 1. Psal. 47. 7. Rom. 7. 12. Dan. 9. 9, 10. Tit. 1. 7, 10. Rom. 8. 5. & 13. 14 & 4. 20. Psal. 78. 7, 22. Isa. 51. 7, 8. Luke 12. 4, 5.

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5  
in Thee. We have rather feared Man that is dust, and can but kill the body, than Thee, that canst de-

stroy both Soul and body in hell. Thou art infinitely good, and love it self, yet have we not fully taken Thee for our portion, nor loved thee with all our heart, and soul, and might, nor made Thee our full desire and delight. But we have inordinately loved our selves, and the World, and the things of the World, and lived by sense when we should have lived by faith, and cared and laboured for the food that perisheth, when we should have laboured for the one thing needful, and that which endureth to everlasting life; we have been slothful servants, yielding to Temptations, ashamed of our Duty, losing our precious Time; when we should have been fervent in Spirit, serving the Lord, cleaving to Thee with full resolution, redeeming the time, and with diligence making sure our Calling and Election. We have not with due holiness and reverence drawn near Thee, and used thy holy Name, thy worship, and thy Day: We have dishonoured and disobeyed our Superiours, and neglected our Inferiours. We have been guilty of not loving our Neighbours as our selves, and not doing to others, as we would they should do to us, but have sought our own against their welfare, not forbearing, and forgiving, not loving our enemies, as we ought, not following Peace, nor studying to do good to all according to our Power. We have sinned secretly and openly, in thought word and deed, ignorantly and presumptuously, in passion, and upon deliberation, against thy Precepts, Promises and Threats; against thy mercies and thy judgments, under thy patience, and in thy sight, against our consciences, our purposes, and our covenants; when we were hastning to death and judgment, for which, through all our lives we should have prepared; Thou hast commended thy wonderful love towards us in giving thy Son to dye for sinners, to reconcile us to Thee while we were

enemies; and all Things bring made ready, thou hast sent thy messengers to invite us to come in, preaching to us the glad Tidings of Salvation, and freely offering us pardon and life in Jesus Christ, but we have made light of it, and neglected this great Salvation, and made excuses or too long

delays;

Psal. 100. 5. 1 Joh. 4. 16. Psal. 16. 5. Mat. 22. 37. Psal. 37. 4. 1 Joh. 2. 15. 2 Tim. 5. 7. Joh. 6. 27. Luke 10. 21, 22. Mat. 25. 26. Rom. 12. 11. Eph. 6. 11, 13, 14. Mar. 8. 38. 2 Tim. 1. 8. Eph. 5. 15. Rom. 12. 1, 19. Acts 11. 23. 2 Pet. 1. 10. Luk. 1. 71. Heb. 12. 28. Psal. 111. 9. 2. Tim. 2. 19. Phil. 3. 3. Psal. 29. 2. Rev. 1. 10. Rom. 13. 7. Tit. 3. 1. Eph. 6. Mat. 29. 39 & 7. 12. 1 Cor. 10. 24. Ephes. 4. 2, 32. Mat. 5. 44. Heb. 12. 14. Gal. 6. 10. Psal. 19. 12, 13. Rom. 2. 4. Psal. 51. 4. Rom. 2. 15. Psal. 78. 32, 37, 42. Luke 12. 35, 36, 40. Rom. 5. 6, 8, 10. Luke 14. 17. & 8. 1. Act. 13. 26. Rev. 22. 17. 1 Joh. 5. 11, 12. Matth. 22. 5. Heb. 2. 3. Psal. 119. 60. John 12. 48. Heb. 12. 25. Act. 7. 51. 2 Tim. 3. 8. Luke 15. 18. Numb. 16. 38. Rom. 1. 18. Eph. 5. 6. Dan. 9. 7, 8. Psal. 51. 1. Psalm 41. 1. & 143. 2. Psal. 51. 9, 11. Lev. 26. 25. Rev. 1. 5. Joh. 1. 29. Ephes. 1. 6.

6

delays; undervaluing our Redeemer, his blood and merits, his offered grace and endless glory, rejecting his holy Doctrine and Example, resisting his Spirit, Ministers, and Word. We have sinned, O Lord, against Thee, and against our own Souls, and are not worthy to be called thy Children: We have deserved everlasting wrath; to us belongeth confusion, but mercy and forgiveness to Thee. Have mercy upon us, O God, according to the multitude of thy Mercies. Heal our souls that have sinned against Thee, and enter not into judgment with thy servants. Hide thy face from our sins, and blot out all our iniquities. Cast us not away from thy presence, and avenge not upon us the quarrel of thy Covenant. Wash us in the blood of the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the World. Accept us in thy Beloved Son, who was made a curse for us, and was wounded for our transgressions, that we might be healed by his stripes. Turn us, O God of our salvation, and cause thy face to shine upon us. Give us Repentance unto life: Cause us to loath ourselves for all the evils that we have committed. Give us that broken

contrite Spirit which thou wilt not despise. Create in us a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within us. Take out of us the old and stony heart, and give us a new and tender heart. Give us the Spirit of thy Son, and be our God, and let us be thy people. Enlighten our understandings to know the wonderful Things of thy Law, the dimensions of thy love in Christ, the mysteries of thy kingdom, and the riches of the glory of thy Inheritance in the Saints, and that we may approve the Things that are excellent, and may escape the snares of the Devil, and may hate every false way. Shed abroad thy love in our hearts by thy holy Spirit, and cause us so to love Thee, that nothing may separate us from thy love. Put thy fear into our hearts, that we may never depart from Thee. Cause us to seek first thy Kingdom, and its Righteousness, and (as those that are risen with Christ) to seek the things that are above, and to lay up a treasure in Heaven, and let our hearts and conversations be there; mortifie our earthly inclinations and desires. Crucifie the World to us, and us unto the World by the Cross of Christ.

Cause

Mat. 12. 18. Gal. 3. 13. Isa. 53. 5. Psal. 85. 4. & 67. 1. Act. 11. 18. Ezek. 20. 43. Psal. 51. 17. Ezek. 36. 26. Gal. 4. 6. 2 Cor. 6. 16. Jer. 13. 13. Ezek. 11. 20. Psal. 119. 18. Ephes. 3. 18. Mat. 13. 11. Eph. 1. 18. Rom. 2. 18. 2 Tim. 2. 26. Psal. 119. 104. Rom. 5. 5. & 8. 35, 39. Jer. 32. 40. Mat. 6. 3. Col. 3. 1. Matth. 6. 20, 21. Phil. 3. 20. Coloss. 3. 5. Gal. 6. 14. Rom. 1. 17. Heb. 11. 1. 1 Cor. 4. 1 Pet. 3. 11. Luke 13. 14. 1 Cor. 9. 24. 1 Pet. 4. 2. Col. 1. 10. 2 Cor. 5. 9. John 6. 38. Psal. 40. 8. Psal. 1. 2. Tit. 2. 12. 1 Pet. 1. 14, 15. 1 Pet. 1. 22. Ephes. 4. 2, 32. James 5. 17. Psal. 15. 4. Ephes. 5. 15. Phil. 1. 10. Titus 2. 14. Mat. 5. 44. Rom. 12. 19. Luke 21. 19. Mark 8. 34. Heb. 11. 26. Rom. 8. 17. Rev. 2. 10, 11.

7

Cause us to live by faith, and look at the Things that are unseen; and use the World, as not overusing it, seeing the fashion of it passeth away; striving to enter in at the strait gate, and running so as to obtain; let us no longer live the rest of our time to the lust of Men, but to the will of God, studying in all things to please Thee, and to be accepted of Thee; let us not seek our own wills, but the will of him that called us; yea, let us delight to do



thy will, O God, let our delight be in thy Law, and let us meditate therein day and night; cause us to deny Ungodliness, and worldly Lusts, and to live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world, as obedient Children, not fashioning our selves, to the former lusts of our ignorance; but as he that hath called us is holy, let us be holy in all manner of Conversation. Cause us to love one another with a pure heart, fervently, forbearing and forgiving one another, if any have a quarrel against another, even as Christ forgave us. Give us the wisdom which is first pure, and then peaceable. In our Eyes let a vile person be condemned, but let us honour them that fear the Lord. Cause us to walk circumspectly without offence, and to be zealous of good Works, to love our enemies, and not to give place to wrath; and in patience to possess our souls. Help us to deny our selves, and take up our Cross, and follow Christ; esteeming his reproach to be greater riches than the treasures of the world, that having suffered with him, we may also be glorified with him. Though we must be tempted, help us to overcome, and be faithful unto the death, and then let us receive that Crown of Life, through the merits and intercession of Christ Jesus our Lord, and only Saviour, in whose comprehensive words, we sum up our Requests, saying as he hath taught us, Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come, &c.

**Or thus when Brevity is necessary.**

O Most great, most just and gracious God, thou art of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, thou condemnest the ungodly, impenitent, and unbelievers; but hast promised mercy through Jesus Christ to all that repent and believe in him, We confess that we

were

Hab. 1. 13. Jud. 15. Luke 13. 3. Mar. 16. 16. Psal. 51. 5. Eph. 2. 3. Rom. 3. 22. Ezek. 20. 37.

8

were conceived in sin, and are by nature children of wrath. And have all sinned and come short of the glory of God. In our Baptism thou tookest us into the bond of the holy Covenant, but we remembered not our Creator in the days of our Youth, with the fear, and love, and obedience which we owed thee: not pleasing, and glorifying thee in all things: nor walking with thee by faith in an Heavenly conversation, nor serving thee fervently with all our might: but fulfilled the desires of the flesh, and of the carnal mind. We have neglected and abused thy Holy Worship, thy Holy Name, and thy Holy Day. We have dishonoured our superiours, and neglected our inferiours: We have dealt unjustly and uncharitably with our Neighbours not loving them as our selves nor doing to others as we would they should do to us. We have not sought first Thy Kingdom and Righteousness and been contented with our daily bread, but have been careful and troubled about many Things, neglecting the one Thing necessary. Thou hast revealed thy wonderful love to us in Christ, and offered us pardon and salvation in him: But we made light of it and neglected so great salvation, and resisted thy Spirit, Word and Ministers, and turned not at thy reproof: we have run into temptations; and the sin we should have hated, we have committed in thy sight both secretly and openly, ignorantly and carelessly, rashly and presumptuously, against thy precepts, thy promises, and threats, thy Mercies and thy judgments; our transgressions are multiplied before Thee and our sins testify against us; if Thou deal with us as we deserve, Thou wilt cast us away from thy presence into Hell, where the worm never dieth, and the fire is not quenched. But in thy mercy, thy Son, and thy promises is our hope. Have mercy upon us most merciful father. Be reconciled to us, and let the blood of Jesus Christ cleanse us from all our sins. Take us for thy children, and

give us the Spirit of thy Son. Sanctify us wholly, shed abroad thy love in our hearts, and cause us to love Thee with all our hearts. O make thy face to shine upon thy servants; save us from our sins, and from the wrath to come; make us a peculiar people to Thee, zealous of good works, that we may please Thee, and shew forth thy praise. Help us to redeem the time, and give all diligence to make our Calling and Election sure. Give us things necessa-

ry

Mat. 28. 19. Ecc. 12. 1. Deut. 11. 1. Col. 1. 10. 1 Cor. 10. 31. Gen. 5. 22. 2 Cor. 5. 7. Phil. 3. 20. Rom. 12. 11. Deut. 6. 5. Eph. 2. 3. Rom. 8. 7. Exod. 20. 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, &c.. 2 Pet. 2. 9. Rom. 13. 8, 9. Mat. 7. 12. Mar. 6. 33. 1 Tim. 6. 8. Luk. 10. 41, 41. Rom. 5. 8. Luk. 24. 47. Rom. 3. 25. Mat. 22. 4, 5. Heb. 2. 3. Acts 7. 51. Prov. 1. 23. Jam. 4. 7. 1 Pet. 5. 9. Psal. 51. 4. Psal. 19. 12, 13. Isa. 59. 12. Psal. 103. 10. & 50. 11. Mar. 9. 44. Psal. 52. 8. Eph. 1. 12, 13. Psal. 71. 5. & 78. 7. & 119. 81. & 51. 1. 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19. 1 Joh. 1. 7. Gal. 4. 6. 1 Thes. 5. 23. Rom. 5. 5. Deut. 10. 6. Psal. 31. 16. Mat. 1. 21. 1 Thes. 1. 10. Tit. 2. 14. Col. 1. 10. 1 Pet. 2. 9. Ephes. 5. 16. 2 Pet. 1. 10. Mat. 6. 11.

9

ry for thy service, and keep us from sinful discontent and cares. And seeing all these things must be dissolved, let us consider what manner of persons we ought to be, in all holy conversation and godliness. Help us to watch against temptations and resist and overcome the Flesh, the Devil and the World; and being delivered out of the hand of all our enemies; let us serve Thee without fear in holiness and righteousness before Thee all the Days of our life. Guide us by thy Counsel, and after receive us into thy glory, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour. Amen.

1 Tim. 6. 4. Heb. 13. 5. Mat. 6. 25, &c. 2. Pet. 3. 11. Mat. 26. 41. James 4. 6. Gal. 5. 17. 1 Joh. 5. 4, 5. Rev. 2. 17. &c. 2 Pet. 2. 19. Luke 1. 17. Psal. 73. 2. 4

**[Here use the Lord's Prayer as before.]**

For the strengthening of Faith, and raising the Penitent, some of these Sentences of the Gospel may be here read.

**Hear what the Lord faith to the Absolution and  
Comfort of Peniten't Believers.**

**THE** Lord your God is gracious and merciful, and will not turn away his face from you, if ye return unto him. 2 Chron. 30. 9.

If any Man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the Propitiation for our Sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole World. 1 John 2. 2.

Be it known unto you Men and Brethren, that through this Man, is preached to you the Forgiveness of Sins, and by him, all that believe are justified, from all Things, from which they could not be justified by the Law of Moses. Acts 13. 38, 39.

Where Sin abounded, Grace did much more abound, That as Sin reigned unto death, even so might Grace reign through righteousness unto Eternal Life through Jesus Christ our Lord. Rom. 5. 20, 21.

If we walk in the light as he is in the Light, we have fellowship one with another, And the Blood of Jesus Christ his Son, cleanseth us from all Sin. If we say that we have no Sin; we deceive ourselves, and the Truth is not in us. If we confess our Sin, he is faithful and just to forgive us our Sin, and to cleanse us from all Unrighteousness. 1 John 1. 7, 8, 9.

Come

10

Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden; and I will give you rest. Take my Yoke upon you, and learn of me for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your Souls. For my Yoke is easie, and my burden is light. Mat. 11. 28, 29, 30.

Whosoever will, let him take of the Water of Life freely. Rev. 21. 17.

All that the Father hath given me, shall come to me, and him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out. Joh. 6. 27.

I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and Iniquities I shall remember no more. Heb. 8. 12.

**Hear also what you must Be, and Do for the  
time to come, if you would be Saved.**

*NOW if any Man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. Rom. 8. 9.*

*If any Man be in Christ, he is a new Creature; old Things are passed away, behold all Things are become new? 2 Cor. 5. 17.*

*There is no Condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit. For they that are after the Flesh, do mind the things of the Flesh, but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit.*

*For to be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace.*

*For the Carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the Law of God, neither indeed can be.*

*So then they that are in the Flesh cannot please God.*

*For if ye live after the Flesh ye shall die, but if through the Spirit ye mortifie the deeds of the Body ye shall live. Rom. 8. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13.*

*Now the works of the Flesh are manifest, which are these, Adultery, Fornication, Uncleaness, Lasciviousness, Idolatry, Witchcraft, Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Heresies, Envyings, Murder, Drunkenness, Revellings, and such like, of the which I tell you before, as I have told you in time past, that they which do such Things, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God.*

*But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, tempe-*

*rance,*

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11

*rance, against such there is no Law. And they that are Christs, have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts. Galatians 5. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.*

*Let us walk honestly at in the Day, not in rioting and drunkenness: not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ,*

and make no provision for the Flesh to fulfill the Lusts thereof. Rom. 13. 13, 14.

Love not the World, neither the Things that are in the World, if any Man love the Word, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the World, the lust of the Flesh, the lust of the Eye, and the pride of Life, is not of the Father, but is of the World. 1 John 2. 15, 16.

Enter ye in at the strait gate, for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be that go in thereat. Because Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. Mat. 7. 13, 14.

For the grace of God that bringeth Salvation, hath appeared unto all Men, teaching us, that denying ungodliest and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly in the present World, looking for the blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ. Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity, and purifie to himself a peculiar People zealous of good Works. Tit. 2. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Blessed is the Man that walketh not in the Counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of Sinners, nor sitteth in the Seat of the Scornful. But his delight is in the Law of the Lord, and in his Law he doth meditate day and night. Psal. 1. 1, 2.

The ungodly shall not stand in the Judgment, nor Sinners in the Congregation of the Righteous. Psal. 1. 5.

Wherefore we receiving a Kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably, with reverence and godly fear, for our God is a consuming Fire. Heb. 12. 28, 29.

Seeing then that these Things shall be dissolv'd, what manner of Persons ought ye to be, in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hasting to the Coming of the day of God. 2 Pet. 3. 1, 12.

Therefore my beloved Brethren, be ye stedfast, unmovable, always abounding in the Work of the Lord, for as much as ye know, that your labour is not in vain in the Lord. 1 Cor. 15. 58.

B b b

Then

12

Then may be said the 95 or the 100 Psalm, or the 84.

And next the Psalms in order for the day; And next shall be read a Chapter of the Old Testament, such as the Minister findeth most seasonable; or with the liberty expressed in the Admonition before the second Book of Homilies.

Luke 4. 16, 17, 18.

After which may be sung a Psalm; or the *Te Deum* said, then shall be read a Chapter of the New Testament, and then the Prayer for the King and Magistrates. And after that, the sixty seventh, or ninety eighth, or some other Psalm, may be sung or said, or the *Benediction*, or *Magnificat*. And the same order to be observed at the Evening Worship, if time allow it.

**N**EXT after the Psalm the Minister shall (in the Pulpit) first reverently, prudently, and fervently pray, according to the State and necessities of the Church, and those especially that are present, and according to the Subject that he is to preach on. And after Prayer, he shall preach upon some Text of Holy Scripture suiting his Matter to the necessities of the Hearers, and the manner of delivery to their Quality and Benefit. Always speaking from Faith and holy Experience in himself, with plainness and perspicuity, with reverence and gravity, with convincing evidence and authority, with prudence, caution, faithfulness, and impartiality, with tender Love and melting Compassion, with fervent Zeal, and perswading Importunity, and with frequency and unwearied Patience, waiting on God for the Success. After Sermon he shall pray for a Blessing on the Word of Instruction and Exhortation, which was delivered; And in his Prayers (before or after Sermon) ordinarily he shall pray for the Conversion of Hea-

thens, Jews, and other Infidels; the subversion of Idolatry, Infidelity, Mahometanism, Heresy, Papal Tyranny and Superstition, Schism and Prophaneness, and for the free progress of the Gospel, and the encrease of Faith and Godliness, the honouring of Gods Name, the enlargement of the Kingdom of Christ, and the Obedience of his Saints through the

Na-

Luke 4. 16, 17, 18. Acts 13. 27, & 1. 2. Neh. 8. 4, 6. & 9. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. 10. 38. Act. 12. 12. 1 Tim. 4. 5. Acts 1. 14. & 16. 13. 16. 1 Tim. 2. 8. 1 Cor. 14. 15, 16. Luke 4. 16, 18. Neh. 8. 8. Act 20. 7, 9. 2 Tim. 4. 1, 2. Act. 4. 20. 2 Cor. 4. 13. Joh. 16. 29, 1 Cor. 2. 7, 13. Mat. 7. 29. Tit. 2. 15. Mat. 21. 45. Mar. 12. 12, 13, 17. Eph. 6. 19, 20. Jude 22, 23. Act. 18. 25. 2 Tim. 2. 24, 25. 1 Tim. 5. 17. Act. 20. 36. Psal 2. Rev. 11. 15. 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2, 3. 2 Thes. 2. 1, 2. & 2. 8. 1 Thes. 2. 16. Rev. 18. 19. Mar. 6. 9. &c. & 9. 37, 38. 1 Tim. 2. 2. Eph. 6. 19. 1 Thes. 5. 2. Joh. 17. 20.

13

Nations of the Earth. And in special for these Nations; for the King's Majesty, and the rest of the Royal Family, for the Lords of his Majesty's Council, the Judges and other Magistrates of the Land, for the Pastors of the Church, and all Congregations committed to their Care and Government, Always taking heed that no mixtures of imprudent, disorderly Expressions, of private discontent and passion, of unreverent, disobedient, seditious, or factious Intimations, tending to corrupt, and not to edifie the Peoples minds, do turn either Prayer or Preaching into Sin. And ordinarily in Church-Communion, especially on the Lords Day (which is purposely separated for the joyful Commemoration of the Blessed Work of Mans Redemption) a considerable proportion of the Publick Worship must consist of Thanksgiving and Praises to God, especially for Jesus Christ, and his Benefits; still leaving it to the Ministers discretion to abbreviate some parts of Worship, when he seeth it needful to be longer on some other.

The Sermon add Prayer being ended, let the Minister dismiss the Congregation with a Benediction, in these or the like Words.

**Blessed are they that hear the Word of God, and**



keep it. Luke 11. 28.

The Lord bless you, and keep you, the Lord make his face to shine on you, and be gracious unto you; The Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you Peace. Levit. 6. 24, 25, 26.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen. 2 Cor. 13. 14.

Except there be a Communion in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper to be celebrated, or any further Worship to be performed, and then the Minister may delay the Benediction till the End.

And because when there is leisure, the Prayers of the Church should be as full as the Rule and our Necessities require; let the following General Prayer be used, when the Minister findeth it convenient, instead of the Litany and Collects.

B b b 2

Here

1 Sam. 12. 23. 2 Cor. 4. 5. Phil. 1. 15, 16. Jam. 3. 1, 15, 16, 17. Luke 9. 55. 1 Cor. 14. 26. 2 Cor. 10. 8. Psal. 92. 1. Rev. 1. 10. Acts 20. 7. Col. 3. 16, 17. Psal. 118. 1 Cor. 4. 1, 2. 1 Tim 3. 5. & 3. 15. 2 Tim. 2. 2, 15. Acts 20. 7, 9.

14

Here are also adjoined a Thanksgiving for Christ and his benefits, and a Hymn to be used at the discretion of the Minister either after Sermon, or at the Communion, or on other Days.

#### A Prayer for the King, the Royal Family, and Magistrates.

**A**lmighty God, by whom Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice, who rulest in all the kingdoms of Men, and givest them to whomsoever thou wilt, who by thy special Providence hast set over us thy Servant Charles our King: Crown him with thy Blessings, and satisfie him with thy Goodness. Save him by thy right hand, and defend him against such as rise up against him; prolong his life in Peace and Righteousness, grant him the Spirit of Wisdom and Counsel, the Spirit of Holiness, and the

fear of the Lord, that he may know how to go in and out before this great People over whom thou hast set him. Let not thy Law depart out of his mind, or mouth, but let him meditate in it day and night. Make him as an Angel of God to discern between good and evil, that in his eyes a vile person may be contemned, but he may honour them that fear the Lord, that his eyes may be upon the faithful of the Land, that they may dwell with him, and they that are perfect in the way serve him; Remove the Wicked from before him, that his Throne may be established in Righteousness, and grant that under him we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all Godliness and Honesty. And when he hath finished his course on Earth, let him inherit a Crown of Righteousness, and reign with Christ for ever. Bless the Queen Mother, the Illustrious Prince, James, Duke of York, and the rest of the Royal family, endue them with thy Holy Spirit, enrich them with thy heavenly Grace, and make them blessings in their Generation. Endue the Lords of his Majesties Council, and all the Nobility, the Judges, and all the Magistrates of the Land with Wisdom from above, that they may rule as in thy fear, and judge Righteous Judgement, and may take heed what they do, as judging not for man, but for the Lord, that Justice may run down as Water, and Righteousness as a mighty stream; Let all his Majesty's Subjects duly submit to him

and

Prov. 8. 15. Dan. 4. 32. Heb. 2. 9. Psal. 65. 11. & 93. 14. & 65. 4. & 60. 5. & 80. 13. & 59. 1. & 61. 6. Isa. 45. 13. Mat. 3. 3. Isa. 59. 8. & 11. 2. 1 Kin. 1. 3, 7, 9. Josh. 1. 8. Zech. 12. 8. 2 Sam. 14. 17. Psal. 15. 4. & 101. 6. Pro. 25. 5. 1 Tim 2. 1. 2 Tim. 4. 7, 8. Rev. 21. 5. Zech. 8. 13. Isa. 60. 15. Jam. 3. 17. 2 Sam 23. 3. Joh. 7. 27. 2 Chron. 19. 6. Amos 5. 24. Rom. 13. 1, 2, 3. Rev. 11. 15. Psal. 68. 28. Jer. 31. 23. Mat. 6. 13.

15

and obey him, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake: Let all his Kingdoms be the Kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Son Christ, that God may dwell amongst us, and that it may be said of them, The Lord bless thee, O habitation of Justice, and Moun-

tain of holiness. For thine, O Father, with the Son and Holy Ghost, is the Kingdom, and Power, and Glory for ever. Amen

#### The General Prayer.

**O** Most Holy, Blessed and Glorious Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Three Persons, and One God, our Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, our Lord, our Governour and Father, hear us, and have mercy upon us, miserable sinners.

O Lord our Saviour, God and Man, who having assumed our Nature, by thy sufferings and death, and burial, wast made a Ransom to take away the sins of the World; who being raised from the dead, ascended and glorified, art made Head over all things to the Church, which thou gatherest, justifiest, sanctifiest, rulest, and preferbest, and which at thy coming Thou wilt raise and judge to endless Glory. We beseech Thee to hear us, miserable sinners, make sure to us our Calling and Election, our unfeigned Faith and Repentance; that being justified, and made the Sons of God, we may have Peace with him, as our reconciled God and Father.

Let thy holy Spirit sanctifie us, and dwell in us, and cause us to deny our selves, and to give up our selves entirely to Thee, as being not our own, but Thine.

As the World was created for thy Glory, let thy Name be glorified throughout the World; Let Self love, and Pride, and Vain-glory be destroyed, cause us to love Thee, fear Thee, and Trust in Thee with all our hearts, and to live to Thee.

Let all the Earth subject themselves to thee their King. Let the Kingdoms of the World become the Kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ. Let the Atheists, Idolaters, Mahometans, Jews, and other Infidels, and ungodly People, be converted. Send forth meet Labourers into the Harvest, and let the Gospel be preached throughout all the World.

Pre-

Mat. 28. 10. Joh. 5. 7. 1 Cor. 8. 4, 6. 1 Tim. 1. 17. Mal. 2. 10. Heb. 1. 2, 3, 5, 8. 1 Pet. 2. 8. Psal. 22, 28. 1 Cor. 12. 4, 5, 6. Psal. 103. 19. Luke 11. 2. Acts 7. 59. Heb. 2. 14, 9. 1 Cor. 15. 4. 1 Tim. 3. 6. John 1. 29. Eph. 1. 20, 22. Rom. 8. 30, 33, 34. Eph. 5. 1. 1 Thes. 4. 16, 17. 2 Pet. 1. 10. 2 Tim 1. 5. Rom. 5. 1, 2, 10. 2 Cor. 6. 18. Gal. 4. 6. 1 Pet. 1. 2. Rom. 8. 11. Mat. 8. 34, 35. 2 Cor. 8. 5. 1 Cor. 6. 19, 20. Rev. 4. 11. Job. 11. 28. Mat. 5. 16. Psal. 22. 23, 27, 28. 2 Tim. 3. 2. Mat. 7. 22. Gal. 5. 26. Gal. 2. 19. Psal. 2. & 47. 7. Rev. 11. 15. 1 Tim. 2. 26. Acts 26. 18. Rom. 11. 25. Mat. 9. 38. & 24. 14.

16

Preserve and bless them in thy Work. Sustain in patience, and seasonably deliver, the Churches that are oppressed by Idolaters, Infidels, Mahometans, or other Enemies, or by the Roman Papal Usurpations.

Unite all Christians in Jesus Christ, the true and only universal Head, in the true Christian and Catholick Faith and Love, cast out Heresies and Corruptions, heal divisions, let the strong receive the weak, and bear their Infirmities; Restrain the Spirit of Pride and Cruelty, and let nothing be done in Strife, or Vain-glory.

Keep us from Atheism, Idolatry, and Rebellion against Thee; from Infidelity, Ungodliness and Sensuality; from Security, Presumption and Despair. Let us delight to please Thee, and let thy Word be the Rule of our Faith and Lives; let us love it, and understand it, and meditate in it Day and Night.

Let us not corrupt or neglect thy Worship; nor take thy Holy Name in vain, keep us from Blasphemy, Perjury, profane Swearing, Lying, contempt of thy Ordinances, and from false unworthy, and unreverent thoughts and speeches of God, or holy things; and from the neglect and profanation of thy Holy Day.

Put it into the hearts of the Kings and Rulers of the World, to submit to Christ, and rule for him as Nursing fathers to his Church: And save them from the temptations that would drown them in sensuality, or would break them upon Christ as a

Rock of offence by engaging them against his holy Doctrine, Ways and Servants.

Have mercy on thy Servant Charles our King, protect his person, illuminate and sanctifie him by thy Spirit that above all things he may seek thine honour, the increase of faith, and holy Obedience to thy Laws; and may govern us as thy Minister, appointed by Thee for the terrour of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well, that under him we may live a quiet and peaceable life in all Godliness and Honesty.

Have mercy upon all the Royal family, upon the Lords of the Council, and all the Nobility, the Judges, and other Magistrates of these Lands. Let them fear Thee, and be Ensamples of Piety and Temperance, haters of Injustice, Covetousness,

and

2. Thes. 3. 1, 2. Rev. 2. 3, 19. & 3. 10. Luke 18. 7. Rev. 18. & 19. Eph. 4. 3, 5, 13, 15, 16. Titus 3. 10. 2 Cor. 2. 17. 1 Cor. 1. 10. Rom. 14. 1. & 15. 1. 3 John 9. Rom. 1. 31. Luke 9. 55. Psal. 77. 10. Phil 2. 3. Psal. 14. Eph. 2. 3, 12. 2 Tim 3. 2, 3, 4. 1 Cor. 6. 9. 2 Thes. 2. 10. Rom 8. 24. Psal. 40. 8. & 1. 2. Isa. 8. 20. Psal. 119. 97, 27. Mat. 15. 9. Exod. 20. 4, 7, 8. Mark 7. 21, 22. James 5. 12. Eccl. 5. 1, 6. Ezek. 2. 26. Neh. 13. 17. Rev. 1. 10. Pro. 21. 1. Psal. 2. 10, 11, 12. Isa. 49. 23. 2 Chron. 15. 6. Rom. 1. 11. 1 Tim. 6. 9. Mat. 21. 44. Joh. 11. 48. Psal. 2. 2, 3, 4. 1 Tim. 2. 2. Psal. 59. 1. 2 Chron. 1. 10. & 29. 3. & 15. 12, 13. Rom. 13. 3, 4. 1 Pet. 2. 14. 1 Tim. 2. 2. Psal. 72. 1. Prov. 8. 16. Exod. 18. 21. Job 29. Isa. 1. 17, 23. Psa. 15. 4.

17

and Pride, and Defenders of the Innocent: in their eyes let a vile person be contemned, but let them honour them fear the Lord.

Let every soul be subject to the Higher Powers, and not resist; Let them obey the King, and all in Authority, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake.

Give all the Churches able, holy, faithful Pastors that may soundly and diligently preach thy Word, and guide the flocks in ways of Holiness and Peace, overseeing and ruling them not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; not as being Lords over thy Heritage, but the Servants of all, and Ensamples to the Flock; that when the chief Pastor shall appear, they may receive the Crown of Glory.

Let the people know those that are over them in

the Lord, and labour among them, preaching to them the Word of God; let them highly esteem them in love for their Works sake, account them worthy of double honour, and obey them in the Lord.

Let Parents bring up their Children in Holy Nurture, that they may remember their Creator in the days of their Youth, and let children love, honour, and obey them. Let Husbands love their Wives, and guide them in knowledge and holiness; and let Wives love and obey their Husbands. Let Masters rule their Servants in thy fear, and Servants obey their Masters in the Lord.

Keep us from Murders and violence, and injurious passionate Words and Actions.

Keep us from Fornication and all Uncleanness, from Chambering and wantonness, from lustful Thoughts and filthy Communication, and all unchaste behaviour.

Keep us from stealing or wronging our Neighbour in his propriety, from perverting Justice, from false witnessing and deceit, from slandering, backbiting, uncharitable censuring or other wrong to the reputation of our Neighbours.

Keep us from coveting anything that is our Neighbours. Let us love our Neighbours as our selves, and do to others as we would they should do to us.

Cause us to love Christ in his Members with a pure and fervent Love, and to love our Enemies, and do good to all, as we are able; but especially to the household of faith.

## B b b 4

## Give

Rom. 13. 1, 2, 5. 1 Tim. 2. 2. 1 Pet. 2. 13. 2 Cor. 3. 6. Jer. 3. 15 2 Tim. 4. 2. Eph. 4. 11, 13. Jam. 3. 17. Ezek. 34. 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3, 4. Mat. 20. 20, 25, 26, 27. Heb. 13. 7, 17. 1 Thes. 5. 12, 13. 1 Tim 5. 17. Eph. 6. 1. Eccl. 12. 1. Exod. 20. 12. Eph. 6. 1, 2. & 15. 25. 22. 1 Pet. 3. 7. 1 Col. 4. 1. & 3. 22, 23, 24. 1 Joh. 3. 15. Luke 3. 14. 2 Cor. 7. 2. Pro. 29. 22. Mat. 5. 22. Mat. 5. 27, 28. 1 Cor. 6. 9. Rom. 15. 13. Eph. 5. 3, 4, 12. Eph. 4. 28. 1 Thes. 4. 6. Psal. 82. 2. Pro. 19. 5. & 10. 18. Psal. 15. 3. Mat. 7. 12. Exo. 20. 17. Mat. 22. 39. Mat. 7. 12. Mat. 25. 40. 1 Pet. 1. 22.

Give us our necessary sustentation and provision for thy service, and contentedness therewith; Bless

our labours, and the fruits of the Earth in their season, and give us such temperate weather as tendeth hereunto; Deliver us and all thy Servants from such sickness, wants, and other distresses, as may unseasonably take us off thy service. Keep us from gluttony and drunkenness, slothfulness, unlawful gain, and from making provision for the flesh to satisfy its lusts.

When we sin, restore us by true Repentance and Faith in Christ: Let us loath our selves for our transgressions. Forgive them all and accept us in thy well beloved Son; save us from the curse and punishment which they deserve, and teach us to heartily to forgive others; Convert our enemies, persecutors and slanderers, and forgive them.

Cause us to watch against temptations, to resist and overcome the Flesh, the Devil and the World; and by no Allurements of Pleasure, profit or honour, to be drawn from thee to sin, let us patiently suffer with Christ that we may reign with him.

Deliver us and all thy People from the enmity and rage of Satan and all his wicked Instruments; and preserve us to thy Heavenly Kingdom.

For thou only art the Universal King: All Power is thine in Heaven and Earth: Of Thee, and through Thee, and to Thee are all things, and the glory shall be Thine for ever. Amen.

#### Concerning the Psalms for publick Use.

*We desire that instead of the imperfect version of the Psalms in Meeter now in Use, Mr. William Barton's Version, and that perused and approved by the Church of Scotland there in use (being the best that we have seen) may be received and corrected by some skilful Men, and both allowed (for grateful variety) to be Printed together on several Columns or Pages, and publicly used; At least until a better than either of them shall be made.*

#### A Thanksgiving for Christ, and his gracious Benefits.

**A** Most Glorious God, accept, through thy beloved Son, though even from the hands of sinners, of thanks-

giving, which thy unspeakable love and mercies as well as thy Command, do bind us to offer up unto Thee.

Thou

Mat. 5. 44. Gal. 6. 10. Luke 11. 3. 1 Tim. 6. 8. Deut. 28. 3, 4. Psal. 112. & 128. Deut. 11. 14. Phil. 2. 27. Rom. 13. 13, 14. & 12. 11. Mat. 8. 36. 1 Joh. 2. 1, 2. Gal. 6. 1. James 5. 19, 20. Ezek. 6. 9. Eph. 1. 6, 7. Heb. 7. 25. Mat. 6. 12, 14, 15. & 5. 44. Luke 23. 34. Mat. 26. 41. Jam. 4. 7. 1 Joh. 2. 13. & 5. 4. Rom. 8. 13. Gal. 5. 17. 1 Joh. 2. 16, 17. 2 Tim. 2, 18. Rom. 8. 17. 1 Pet. 5. 8. Psal. 140. 1, 2, 3. 1 Tim. 4. 18. 1 Tim. 2. 17. Mar. 6. 13. Rom. 11. 36. Psal. 119. 108. Eph. 1. 6. Psal. 116. 17. 2 Cor. 9. 15. Psal. 107. 22. 2 Cor. 1. 3.

19

Thou art the father of mercies, and the God of all consolation, full of compassion, gracious, long suffering, plenteous in Goodness and truth, keeping mercy for Thousands, forgiving Iniquity, Transgression and Sin. For thy glory thou didst create us after thine Image; Thou madest us a little lower than the Angels, and Crownedst us with glory and honour, giving us Dominion over the works of thy hands, and putting all these things under our feet. And when we forsook Thee and broke thy Covenant, and rebelled against Thee, and corrupted our selves, and turned our glory into shame; thou didst not leave us in the hands of death, nor cast us out into utter Desperation; But thou didst so love the sinful World, as to give thy Son to be our Saviour. He took not upon him the nature of Angels, but of Man, The word was made flesh and dwelt among us. This is the unsearchable Mystery of love which the Angels desire to pry into, He was tempted, that he might succour them that are tempted, and conquered the tempter, that had conquered us: He became poor that was Lord of all; to make us rich. He did not sin, but fulfilled all righteousness, to save us from our unrighteousness. He made himself of no reputation, but was reviled, scorned and spit upon, enduring the Cross, and despising the shame to cover our shame, and to bring us unto glory, thou laidst upon him the Iniquity of us all. He was bruised and wounded for our Transgressions, that we might be healed by his



stripes. he gave himself a Ransom for us, and died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. We thank thee for his death that saveth us from death, and that he bore the curse to redeem us from the curse, and for his life which opened us the way to life. Thou hast given him to be head over all things to the Church, and hast given the Heathen to be his Inheritance, and given him a name above every name, and given all power and judgment unto him. We thank thee for the New and better Covenant, for thy great and precious promises; That thou hast given us eternal life in Christ. That we have the clear and sure Revelation of thy will in the Holy Scriptures. That thou foundedst thy Church upon Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head Corner-stone. And hast committed to thy Ministers the word of

Recon-

Ps. 86. 15. Exo. 33. 6, 7. Isa. 43. 7. Rev. 4. 11. Gen. 1. 27. Pia. 8. 5, 6. Deut. 31. 16. & 32. 5. Hos. 4. 7. Psal. 6. 10. Hos. 13. 4. Gen. 4. 4. Joh. 3. 16. Heb. 2. 16. John 1. 14. Eph. 3. 8. 1 Tim. 3. 16. 1 Pet. 1. 12. Heb. 2. 18. Mat. 4. 10. 2 Cor. 8. 9. 1 Pet. 2. 22. Mat. 4. 10. 1 Joh. 1. 9. Phil. 2. 7. Heb. 12. 2. Rev. 3. 18. Psa. 32. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 23. Heb. 2. 10. Isa. 53. 5, 6. 1 Tim. 1. 6. 1 Cor. 15. 3. Heb. 2. 14. Gal. 3. 13. Mat. 11. 28. Rev. 22. 14. Eph. 1. 22. Psa. 2. 8. Phil. 2. 9. Mat. 28. 19. Joh. 5. 22. Heb. 8. 6. 2 Pet. 1. 4. 1 Joh. 5. 11. 2 Pet. 1. 19. Psal. 119. 130. Eph. 1. 20. 2 Cor. 5. 19, 20. Act. 26. 17, 18. Tit. 3. 3, 4, 5, 6. 2 Tim. 2. 25. Eph. 4. 18. Joh. 12. 40. 1 Tim. 4. 2. Psal. 81. 11, 12. Joh. 5. 4. Luk. 19. 27. 1 Pet. 3. 20. Rom. 10. 21. Heb. 12. 25. Ezek. 33. 11. Pro. 1. 22, 23.

20

Reconciliation, that as Ambassadors speaking in the stead of Christ they might beseech us to be reconciled unto thee. We thank thee that by them thou hast opened our eyes, and turned us from darkness unto Light, and from the power of Satan unto God. We were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, taken captive by Satan at his will: but thy mercy saved us by the washing of Regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost. Thou mightest justly have left us to the blindness of our minds, and to the hardness of our hearts, to seared consciences, to be past feeling, to our own hearts lusts to walk

in our own Counsels, and to work uncleanness with greediness, when we so oft refused to come to Christ that we might have life, and would not have him to reign over us. But thy patience waited on us in our sin; And all the day long didst thou stretch forth thy hand to a disobedient and gain-saying People. When we turned from thee, thou calledst after us, to turn and live: Thou drewest us to thy Son, and openedst our hearts to attend unto thy Call: Thou lovedst us first, and was found of them that sought thee not. Thou hast pardoned our great and manifold transgressions, and justified us by Faith in Christ, and given us Repentance unto life: Thou hast adopted us to be thy sons, and joint heirs with Christ; and made us his members, and given us his spirit: We are no more strangers but fellow Citizens with the Saints, and of thy Household; Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope, by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an Inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, that fadeth not away, reserved in Heaven for us. Thou keepst us by thy mighty power through Faith unto Salvation: ready at last to be revealed, though (when they are needful) we must for a season be in heaviness under tribulations; thou hast promised, that all things shall work together for our good; in all our straits thou grantest us access to the Throne of grace, bidding us call upon thee, in the time of trouble, and promising to deliver us, that we may glorify thee, every where we have leave to lift up unto thee holy hands, Especially in the house of Prayer, and the Assembly of the Saints. Thou

hast

Joh. 6. 44. Act. 16. 14. 1 Joh. 4. 19. Rom. 10. 20. Amos 5. 12. Rom. 5. 1. Act. 11. 18. Rom. 8. 14, 15, 16, 17. Eph. 5. 30. Gal. 4. 6. Eph. 2. 19. 1 Pet. 1. 3, 4, 5, 6. Rom. 8. 28. Eph. 3. 12. Heb. 4. 16. Psal. 50. 15. 1 Tim. 2. 8. Mar. 11. 13. Psal. 89. 7. & 28. 6. & 31. 22. Psal. 86. 13.

21

hast heard the voice of our supplications when we have cried unto thee; great is thy mercy towards us. O Lord thou hast delivered our souls from the lowest hell; thou hast sent forth from Heaven thy mercy and truth: and saved us from the reproach of him that would swallow us up: thou art our hiding place: In the secrets of thy presence thou preservest us from trouble, from the pride of men, and from the strife of Tongues. Thou dost compass us about with Songs of deliverance. O love the Lord all ye his Saints! for the Lord preserveth the faithful, and plentifully rewardeth the proud doer. He dealeth not with us after our sins, his Anger is but for a moment, but in his favour is life. In his wrath he remembereth mercy: All thy paths O Lord, are mercy and truth to such as keep thy Covenant. We come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercies, O give thanks unto the Lord for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever. Glory ye in his Holy Name, let the hearts of them rejoyce that seek him. Blessed are the People that know the joyful sound: They shall walk O Lord, in the Light of thy Countenance. In thy name shall they rejoyce all the day, and in thy righteousness and favour shall they be exalted; Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, they will be still praising thee. O satisfie us early with thy mercy, that we may rejoyce and be glad in thee all our days. Guide us by thy Counsel, and afterwards receive us unto thy glory; where with all the blessed host of Heaven, we may behold, admire, and perfectly and joyfully praise thee, our most glorious Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, for ever and for ever. Amen.

Psal. 57. 3. & 31. 20. & 32. 7. & 31. 33. & 103. 10. & 30. 5. Hab. 3. 2. Psal. 32. 6. Psal. 25. 10. Psal. 5. 7. Psal. 107. 1. Psal. 105. 3. Psal. 89. 15. 16. Psal. 84. 4. Psal. 90. 14. Psal. 73. 24. Joh. 17. 24. Rev. 22. 4.

### The Hymn.

#### The First Part.

Bless the Lord O my Soul! And all that is within me bless his holy Name, Bless the Lord O my soul, and forget not all his Benefits: who forgiveth all thine Iniquities, and healeth all thy diseases! who redeemed thy life from destruction, and crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies. As far as the East is from the West so

far

Psal. 103. 1, 2, 3, 4, 12.

22

far hath he removed our transgressions from us; behold what love the Father hath bestowed on us, that we should be called the Sons of God; because thy loving kindness is better than Life, my Lips shall praise thee. Thus will I bless thee while I live, I will lift up my Hands in thy name. My Soul shall be satisfied as with marrow and fatness, and my mouth shall praise thee with joyful Lips, Whom have I in Heaven but thee, and there is none on Earth that I desire besides thee. My Flesh and my Heart faileth, but God is the strength of my Heart, and my Portion for ever. For, lo all that are far from thee shall perish, but it is good for me to draw near to God. I am continually with thee. Thou hast holden me by thy right hand, in the multitude of my thoughts within me, thy comforts delight my Soul. Thou shalt guide me with thy Counsel, and afterward receive me to glory.

1 Joh. 3. 1. Psal. 63. 3, 4. Psal. 73. 25, 26, 27, 23. Psal. 94. 19. Psal. 73. 24.

#### The Second Part.

**H**OW excellent is thy loving kindness O God, therefore do the Sons of Men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings. They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy House, and thou shalt make them drink of the Rivers of thy pleasures, for with thee is the Foun-

tain of life. In thy light we shall see Light; therefore my Heart is glad, and my Glory rejoyleth. My flesh also shall rest in hope. Thou wilt shew me the path of Life. In thy presence is fulness of joy, and at thy right hand are pleasures for ever more. Surely Goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my Life. And I shall dwell in the House of the Lord for ever. O continue thy loving kindness to them that know thee, and thy righteousness to the upright in heart. To the end that my glory may sing praise unto thee and not be silent, O Lord my God, I give thanks to thee for ever.

Psal. 36. 7. 8. 9. Psal. 16. 9. 11. Psal. 23. 6. Psal. 36. 10. Psal. 30. 12.

#### The Third Part.

Glory to God in the Highest: On earth Peace; Good will towards men! Praise ye the Lord, sing to the Lord a new Song; His praise is in the Congregation of Saints. For the Lord taketh

plea-

Luke 2. 14. Psal. 149. 1, 4, 5, 6.

23  
 pleasure in his People, he will beautify the meek with salvation. Let the Saints be Joyful in Glory. Let the high praises of God be in their mouths. All thy works praise thee, O Lord, and thy Saints shall bless thee. They shall speak of the Glory of thy Kingdom, and talk of thy Power: To make known to the sons of men thy mighty Acts, and the glorious Majesty of thy Kingdom. Thy Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and thy Dominion is through all Generations. The Elders and Saints about thy Throne rest not Day nor Night, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come. Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive Glory, and Honour, and Power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created. They sing unto thee the Song of Moses,

and of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; Just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorifie thy Name! for thou only art holy: for all Nations shall come and Worship before thee, for thy Judgments are made manifest. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive Power, and Riches, and Wisdom, and Strength, and Honour, and Glory. For thou hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, and made us Kings and Priests to God.

Psal. 145. 10, 11, 12, 13. Rev. 4. 8. 11. & 15. 3, 4. & 5.12. 13. 9. 10.

#### The Fourth Part.

O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the Children of men! Let them Sacrifice the Sacrifices of Thanksgiving, and declare hid works with rejoycing. Sing unto the Lord, bless his Name, shew forth his Salvation from day to day. Worship the Lord in the Beauty of Holiness, fear before him all the Earth. Let the Heavens rejoyce and the Earth be glad before the Lord; for he cometh, for he cometh to Judge the Earth. With Righteousness shall he Judge the World, and the People with Equity. Bless the Lord ye his Angels that excel in strength, that do his Commandments, hearkening to the voice of his Word. Bless ye the Lord all ye his Hosts, ye Ministers of his that do his pleasure; Bless the Lord all his Works

in

Psal. 107. 21, 22. 22. Psal. 96. 2. Psal. 29. 2. Psal. 96. 9, 11, 13. Psal. 103.20. 22.

24

in all places of his Dominions. Bless the Lord, O my soul; my mouth shall speak the Praises of the Lord, and let all Flesh bless his holy Name for ever and ever. Let every thing that hath Breath praise the Lord. Praise ye the Lord.

*The Order of Celebrating the Sacrament of  
the Body and Blood of Christ.*

*This or the like Explication of the Nature; Use, and Benefits of this Sacrament, may be used at the Discretion of the Minister, when he seeth it needful to the Instruction of the Communicants.*

**T**HAT you may discern the Lord's Body, and understand the Nature, Use and Benefits of this Sacrament; you must know that God created Man in his own Image, to know, and love, and serve his Maker; That Man fell under the guilt of sin and condemnation, and left his holy Fitness for the work for which he was created. That hereupon the wonderful love and wisdom of God provided us a Remedy in our Redeemer, to the end he might not lose the glory of his Creation, that he might pardon and save us upon terms; Securing the honour of his Justice, and attaining the ends of his Law and Government, and recover us to his love and service, by appearing to the World, in the greatest demonstrations of Goodness, Love, and Mercy. By the greatest Miracle of Condescension, he first promised, and then gave his only Son, the Eternal Word, to take man's nature into personal union with his God-head; that being God and Man, he might be a fit Mediator between God and Man, to restore us, and reconcile us to himself. Thus Jesus Christ conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin *Mary*, became the second *Adam*, the Physician and Saviour of undone Sinners, the Captain of our Salvation, to be the glorious King and Head of all that are sanctified and saved. He revealed the Ho-

liness,

Psal. 145. 21.

Psal. 150. 6.

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25

liness, the Goodness, and the Love of God, by the perfect Holiness, Goodness, and Love of his Blessed

Person, Doctrine, and Conversation, and by suffering for us all the Afflictions of this life, and at last the cursed death of the Cross, as a Sacrifice and Ransom for us. That all this might be effectual to our Recovery, he made for us a new and better Covenant, and preached it himself, undertaking the Pardon, Justification, and Sanctification of all that by unfeigned Faith do take him for their Saviour, repenting of their sins, and consenting to be sanctified by his Word and Spirit (by which also he inviteth, and draweth men to himself, and giveth them to believe): Into this blessed, pardoning, saving Covenant, we are first solemnly entred by Baptism. And when Christ was ready to have the World, and to give up himself a Sacrifice for us, and intercede and exercise the fulness of his Kingly Power, as the Churches Head; and by his grace to draw men to himself, and prepare them for his glory; he did himself institute this Sacrament of his body and blood at his last Supper, to be a continued Representation and Remembrance of his Death, and therein of his own and his Fathers Love until his coming, appointing his Ministers by the Preaching of the Gospel, and Administration of these Sacraments, to be his Agents without, and his Spirit within, effectually to communicate his Grace.

[The Lords Supper then is an holy Sacrament instituted by Christ, wherein Bread and Wine being first by Consecration made Sacramentally or Representatively the body and blood of Christ, are used by breaking and pouring out to represent, and commemorate, the Sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood, upon the Cross once offered up to God for sin; and are given in the Name of Christ unto the Church, to signifie and solemnize the renewal of his holy Covenant with them, and the giving of himself unto them, to expiate their sins by his Sacrifice, and sanctifie them further by his Spirit, and confirm their right to everlasting life: And they are received,



eaten, and drunk by the Church, to profess that they willingly receive Christ himself to the Ends aforesaid (their Justification, Sanctification, and Glo-  
 rification,)

26

rification,) and to signifie and solemnize the renewal of their Covenant with him, and their holy Communion with him, and with one another.]

It being the renewing of a mutual Covenant that is here solemnized as we commemorate Christ's Sacrifice, and receive him and his saving benefits; so we offer and deliver to him our selves, as his redeemed, sanctified people, to be a living acceptable Sacrifice, thankfully and obediently to live unto his Praise.

Before the receiving of his holy Sacrament, we must examine our selves, and come preparedly: In the receiving of it, we must exercise holy affections suited to the work: and after the receiving of it, we must by consideration of it, endeavour to revive the same Affections, and perform our Covenant there renewed.

The holy Qualifications to be before provided, and in Receiving exercised, and after Receiving, are these, 1. A true belief of the Articles of the Christian Faith, concerning Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; the Person, Offices, Works, and Sufferings, and Benefits of Christ. 2. The sense of our sinful and undone condition, as in our selves, and of our need of Christ: so as humbly to loath our selves for our transgressions, with the sense of our present weaknesses to be strengthened, and sins to be forgiven. 3. A true desire after Christ for pardon, and spiritual Nourishment and Salvation. 4. A thankful sense of the Wonderful Love of God, declared in our Redemption, and in the present offers of Christ, and Life. 5. The exercise of holy love and joy in the sense of this unspeakable Love, (if these two be not felt before we come, yet in, and after the Sacra-

ment) we mull strive to exercise them. 6. A love to one another, and forgiving wrongs to one another, with a desire after the Communion of Saints. 7. The giving up our selves in Covenant to God, with resolution or renewed Obedience. 8. A patient hope for the coming of Christ himself, and of the Everlasting kingdom, where we shall be perfectly united in him, and glorified with him.

lasting

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Those only are to be invited to the Lord's Table, and to come, that truly repent and believe, and unfeignedly consent to the terms of the Covenant (though all are not to be invited thus to believe and repent, and so to come,) But those are to be admitted, by the Pastors, if they come, who, having the use of reason to understand what they do, and examine themselves, have made a personal Profession of Faith, Repentance, and Obedience; and are Members of the Church, and not justly for Heresie or scandalous sin removed, from its present Communion.

The Benefit of the Sacrament is not to be judged of only by present Experience and Feeling, but by Faith. God having appointed tis to use it, and promised his Blessing, we may and must believe, that he will make good his Promise; and what ever we feel at present, that we sincerely wait not on him in vain.

*The Exhortation.*

**Y**ou are invited hither, Dear Brethen, to be Guests at this Holy Table, by the Lord's Command, to receive the greatest Mercy, and to perform the greatest Duty. On Christ's Part, All things are made ready. The Feast is prepared for you, even for you that by sin have deserved to be cast out of the presence of the Lord; for you that have so

oft neglected and abused Mercy. A Fear of the Body and Blood of Christ, free to you, but dear to him. You were lost, and in the way to be lost for ever, when by the greatest Miracle of Condescending-love, he sought and saved you. You were dead in sin, condemned by the Law, the Slaves of Satan; there wanted nothing but the Executing stroak of Justice to have sent you into endless misery; when our dear Redeemer pitied you in your blood, and shed his own to wash and heal you. He suffered that was offended, that the offender might not suffer. He cried out on the Cross, *My God, My God, Why hast thou forsaken me*, that we who had deserved it, might not be everlastingly forsaken. He died, that we might live. O how would the mercy

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of Redemption have affected you, if you had first lain one year, or month, or day in Hell! Had you but seen your dying Lord, or seen the damned in their misery, how do you think you should have valued the Salvation that is now revealed and tendred to you? See here Christ dying in this holy Representation. Behold the sacrificed Lamb of God, that taketh away the Sins of the World! It is his will to be thus frequently crucified before your eyes. O how should we be covered with shame, and loath our selves, that have both procured the death of Christ by sin, and sinned against it? And how should we all be filled with joy, that have such mysteries of mercy opened, and so great Salvation freely offered to us! O hate sin, O love this Saviour: See that you come not hither without a desire to be more Holy, nor with a purpose to go on in wilful sin. Be not deceived, God is not mocked; but if you heartily repent, and consent to the Covenant, come and welcome; We have commission from Christ to tell you, that you are welcome. Let no trembling, contrite soul draw back, that is willing to be Christ's

upon his Covenant terms, but believe that Christ is much more willing to be yours. He was first willing, and therefore died for you, and made the Covenant of Grace, and sent to invite and importune you to consent, and stayed for you so long, and gave you your Repentance, your willingness and desire. Question not then his willingness, if you are willing. It is Satan and Unbelief that would have you question it, to the injury both of Christ and you. Come near, observe, believe, and wonder at the Riches of his Love and Grace: For he hath himself invited you to see and taste, that you may wonder. You are sinners, but he inviteth you to receive a renewed, sealed Pardon of your sins, and to give you more of his Spirit to overcome them. See here his broken Body and his Blood, the Testimonies of his Willingness. Thus hath he sealed the Covenant, which pardoneth all your sins, and secureth you of your Reconciliation with God, and your Adoption, and your right to everlasting Blessedness. Deny not your consent, but heartily give up your selves to Christ, and then doubt not but

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your Scarlet, Crimson-sins shall be made as white as Wooll or Snow. Object not the number or greatness of them against his Grace: There is none too great for him to pardon to penitent Believers. Great sins shall bring great glory to his Blood and Grace. But strive you then for great loathing of your sins, and greater love to such a God, and greater thanks to such a Saviour. Unfeignedly say, *I am willing Lord to be wholly Thine*, and then believingly take Christ, and Pardon, and Life; as given you by his own appointment in the sealed Covenant. And remember that He is a coming. He is coming with thousands of His mighty Angels, to execute judgement on the ungodly; but to be glorified in his Saints, and admired in all that do believe. And

then we shall have greater things then these. Then shall you see all the Promises fulfilled, which now are sealed to you, on which he causeth you to trust. Revive now your love to one another, and forgive those that have wronged you, and delight in the Communion of the Saints: And then you shall be admitted into the Church Triumphant, where with perfect Saints you shall perfectly rejoyce, and love and praise the Lord for ever. Receive now a crucified Christ here represented, and be contented to take up your Cross, and follow him. And then you shall reign with a glorified Christ, in the Blessed Vision and Fruition of that God, to whom by Christ; you are now reconciled. Let Faith and Love be working upon these things, while you are at this holy Table.

Then shall the Minister use this or the like Prayer;

**M**ost Holy God, we are as stubble before thee, the Consuming Fire. How shall we stand before thy Holiness, for we are a sinful People, laden with Iniquity, that have gone backward and provoked the Holy one of Israel, when we were lost, thy Son did seek and save us, when we were dead in Sin, though madest us alive. Thou sawest us polluted in our blood, and saidst unto us live. In that time of love thou coverest our nakedness, and enterdst into a Covenant with us, and we

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became

Mal. 4. 1. Heb. 12. 29. 1 Sam. 6. 20. Mal. 3. 2. Isa. 1. 4. Luke 19.10. Eph. 2. 5. Luk. 15. 32. Ez. 16. 6, 8, 9. Col. 1. 13. Jer. 6. 28. Deut. 4. 23. Deu. 6. 5, 6. & 11. 22.

<sup>30</sup>  
became thine own. Thou didst deliver us from the power of Darkness, and translate us into the Kingdom of thy dear Son; and gavest us remission of sin, through his blood. But we are grievous Revolters, we have forgotten the Covenant of the Lord our God; we have engaged to love thee

with all our hearts, and to hate iniquity, and serve thee diligently, and thankfully to set forth thy praise. But we have departed from thee, and corrupted our selves by self-love, and by loving the world, and the things that are in the world, and have fulfilled the desires of the Flesh, which we should have crucified. We have neglected our duty to thee, and to our neighbour, and the necessary care of our own Salvation. We have been unprofitable servants, and have hid thy Talents, and have dishonoured thee, whom in all things we should have pleased and glorified. We have been negligent in hearing and reading thy Holy Word, and in meditating and conferring of it, in publick and private Prayer, and Thanksgiving, and in our preparation to this Holy Sacrament, in the examining of our selves, and repenting of our Sins, and stirring up our hearts to a believing and thankful receiving of thy grace, and to Love and Joyfulness, in our Communion with thee and with one another. We have not duly discerned the Lord's Body, but have profaned thy Holy Name and Ordinance, as if the Table of the Lord had been contemptible. And when thou hast spoken Peace to us, we returned again to folly. We have deserved, O Lord, to be cast out of thy presence, And to be forsaken, as we have forsaken thee, and to hear to our confusion, Depart from me, I know you not, ye workers of iniquity. Thou mayest justly tell us, thou hast no pleasure in us, nor wilt receive an offering at our hand. But with thee there is abundant Mercy. And our Advocate Jesus Christ the Righteous, is the propitiation for our sins: who bare them in his Body on the Cross, and made himself an offering for them, that he might put them away by the sacrifice of himself: Have mercy upon us, and wash us in his Blood, Cloath us with his Righteousness, take away our iniquities, and let them not be our ruin, forgive them and remember them no more:

**¶** thou that delightest not in the death of sinners, heal our backslidings, love us freely, and say

unto

Psal. 100. 3. 4. Heb. 12. 25. Deut. 9. 12. & 12. 5. 2 Tim. 3. 2. 1 John 2. 15. Eph. 2. 2. Gal. 5. 24. Mat. 22. 37, 40. Luk. 10. 42. Mat. 25. 30. Rom. 2. 23. 1 Cor. 10. 31. 1 Thes. 4. 1. Luke 8. 18. Mat. 24. 15. Psal. 1. 2. Deut. 6. 6. Phil. 4. 6. 1 Cor. 11. 27, 28. Isa. 64. 7. Col. 2. 7. Act. 7. 42, 45, 46, 47. 1 Cor. 11. 29. Mal. 1. 7, 10, 12. & 2. 10, 11. Psal. 115. 8. Gen. 4. 16. Psa. 51. 11. 2. Chro. 15. 2. Mat. 22. 12. Mat. 7. 23. Mal. 1. 10. 1 Pet. 2. 24. Isa. 53. 10. Psal. 51. 1. Rev. 1. 5. Hos. 14. 2. Ezek. 18. 38. Heb. 8. 12. Ezek. 33. 11. Hos. 14. 4. Psal. 35. 3. 1 John 6. 37. Hos. 14. 2. Mat. 22. 4. Mat. 5. 6. John 6. 55. & 4. 14. Eph. 3. 18, 19. 1 Pet. 1. 8. Mat. 15. 27. Joh. 6. 35, 51.

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unto our souls, that thou art our salvation. Thou wilt in no wise cast out them that come unto thee, receive us graciously to the feast thou hast prepared for us, cause us to hunger and thirst after Christ and his Righteousness, that we may be satisfied. Let his Flesh, and Blood be to us Meat and Drink indeed; and his spirit be in us, a well of living water, springing up to Everlasting Life. Give us to know the Love of Christ, which passeth knowledge. Though we have not seen him, let us Love him: And though now we see him not, yet believing let us rejoice with Joy unspeakable, and full of glory; Though we are unworthy of the Crumbs that fall from thy Table, yet feed us with the Bread of Life, and speak and seal up Peace to our sinful wounded souls. Soften our hearts that are hardened by the deceitfulness of sin: Mortifie the Flesh, and strengthen us with might in the inward man; that we may live and glorifie thy Grace, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour. Amen.

Here let the Bread be brought to the Minister, and received by him and set upon the Table, and then the Wine in like manner (or if they be set there before) however let him bless them, praying in these or the like words.

**A**lmighty God, thou art the Creator, and the Lord of all things. Thou art the Sovereign

Majesty whom we have offended; Thou art our most loving and merciful Father, who hast given thy Son to reconcile us to thy self, who hath ratified the New Testament and Covenant of Grace with his most precious blood; and hath instituted this Holy Sacrament to be celebrated in remembrance of him till his coming. Sanctify these thy Creatures of Bread and Wine, which according to the Institution and Command, we set apart to this holy use, that they may be Sacramentally, the Body and Blood of thy Son Jesus Christ. Amen.

Then (or immediately before this Prayer) let the Minister read the words of the Institution, saying,

**HE**AR what the Apostle. *Paul* saith, *1 Cor. 11.*  
(*For I have received of the Lord that which also*

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*Psal. 85. 8. Eph. 4. 30. Heb. 3. 13. Col. 3. 5. Eph. 3. 16. Psal. 119. 175. Psal. 100. 3. Rev. 4. 11. 1 Tim. 1. 17. Psal. 51. 4. Deut. 32. 6. 1 John 3. 1. John 1. 16. Luke 22. 20. Hth, 9. 17. Luke 22. 19. 1 Cor. 11. 23, 24, 25, 26.*

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*I deliver unto you; that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed, took Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, Eat, This is my Body which is broken for you: This do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the Cup, when he had supped, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood, This do ye, as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me; For as often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.]*

**Then let the Minister say,**

**THIS** Bread and Wine being set apart, and consecrated to this Holy use by God's appointment, are now no Common Bread and Wine, but Sacramentally the Body and Blood of Christ.

**Then let him thus Pray,**

**M**ost merciful Saviour, as thou hast loved us to the death, and suffered for our sins, the Just for the Unjust, and hast instituted this holy



Sacrament to be used in remembrance of Thee till thy coming; We beseech Thee, by thine intercession with the Father, through the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood, give us the pardon of our sins, and thy quickening spirit, without which the Flesh will profit us nothing. Reconcile us to the Father; Nourish us as thy Members to Everlasting Life. Amen.

Then let the Minister take the Bread, and break it  
in the sight of the People, saying,

THE Body of Christ was broken for us, and offered once for all to sanctify us: Behold the sacrificed Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the World.

In like manner let him take the Cup, and pour out  
the Wine in the sight of the Congregation, saying,

WE were redeemed with the precious Blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish, and without spot.

Then

Act. 7. 59, 60. Rev. 1. 5. 1 Pet. 3. 18. Luk. 22. 2, 19, 20. 1 Cor. 11. 26. Heb. 7. 25, 27. & 9. 26. Joh. 4. 10. & 6. 63. Rom. 8. 9. 11. Heb. 2. 17. Col. 2. 19. John 6. 27. Mat. 26. 26. Heb. 10. 12. John 1. 29.

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Then let him thus Pray.

**M**ost holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, by whom Christ was conceived, by whom the Prophets and Apostles were inspired, and the Ministers of Christ are qualified and called, that dwellest and workest in all the Members of Christ, whom thou sanctifiest to the Image, and for the service of their Head, and comforted them that they may shew forth his Praise: Illuminate us, that by Faith we may see him that is here represented to us. Soften our hearts, and humble us for our sins. Sanctifie and quicken us, that we may relish the spiritual food, and feed on it to our Nourishment and growth in Grace. Shed

abroad the love of God upon our Hearts, and draw them out in love to him. Fill us with thankfulness and holy Joy, and with love to one another; comfort us by witnessing that we are the Children of God. Confirm us for new Obedience. Be the earnest of our Inheritance, and seal us up to everlasting life. Amen.

*Then let the Minister deliver the Bread thus consecrated and broken to the Communicants, first taking and eating it himself as one of them, when he hath said;*

**T**Ake ye, eat ye, This is the Body of Christ which is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of him.

*In like manner he shall deliver them the Cup, first drinking of it himself, when he hath said,*

**T**his Cup is the New Testament in Christ's Blood, or [Christ's Blood of the New Testament] which is shed for you for the remission of sins, Drink ye all of it in remembrance of him.

Let it be left to the Ministers choice, whether he will consecrate the Bread and Wine together, and break the Bread, and pour out the Wine immediately; or whether he will consecrate and pour out the Wine, when the Communicants have eaten the Bread. If he do the latter, he must use the fore-

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going

Ma. 28. 19. John 15. 26. Mat. 1. 20. 1 Pet. 1. 21. Act. 20. 23. Rom. 8. 9. 1 Cor. 12. 11. 1 Pet. 12. 15. & 2. 9. Joh. 14. 16. Eph. 1. 17, 18. Luk. 24. 31. Ezek. 36. 26. Zech. 12. 10. Rom. 8. 5. Joh. 6. 53, 54, 55, 56, 57. Rom. 5. 5. Cant. 1. 4. Eph. 5. 18, 20. Rom. 14. 17. 1 Thes. 4. 9. Rom. 8. 16. 1 Cor. 1. 8. Eph. 1. 13, 14. 1 Cor. 11. 24. Mat. 26. 27, 28. 1 Cor. 11. 26.

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going Prayers and Expressions twice accordingly, and let it be left to his discretion, whether he will use any words at the breaking of the Bread, and pouring out the Wine, or not; And if the Minister chuse to pray but once, at the Consecration,

Commemoration, and Delivery; Let him pray as followeth, Or to this sense:

**A** Almighty God, though art the Creator, and the Lord of all. Though art the Sovereign Majesty whom we have offended. Thou art our merciful Father, who hast given us thy Son to reconcile us to thy self; who hath ratified the New Testament and Covenant of Grace with his most precious blood, and hath instituted this holy Sacrament to be celebrated in memorial of him, till his coming. Sanctify these thy creatures of Bread and Wine, which according to thy Will, we set apart to this holy use, that they may be Sacramentally, the Body and Blood of thy Son Jesus Christ. And through his Sacrifice and Intercession, give us the pardon of all our sins, and be reconciled to us, and nourish us by the body and blood of Christ to Everlasting Life. And to that end, give us thy quickening spirit to shew Christ to our believing souls, that is here represented to our senses. Let him soften our hearts, and humble us for our sins, and cause us to feed on Christ by Faith; Let him shed abroad thy love upon our hearts, and draw them on in love to thee, and fill us with Holy Joy and thankfulness, and fervent love to one another, let him comfort us by witnessing that we are thy Children, and confirm us for new Obedience, and be the Earnest of our Inheritance, and seal us up to life Everlasting, through Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Let it be left to the Ministers discretion, whether to deliver the Bread and Wine to the People (at the Table) only in General, each one taking it, and applying it to themselves; or to deliver it in General to so many as are in each particular form; or to put it into every persons hand: As also at what season to take the Contribution for the Poor. And let none of the people be forced to sit, stand or kneel in the Act of Receiving whose Judgment is against it.

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The Participation being ended, let the Minister pray thus, or to this Sense.

**M**ost Glorious God, how wonderful is thy power, and wisdom, thy Holiness and Justice, thy love and mercy in this work of our Redemption, by the Incarnation, Life, Death, Resurrection, Intercession, and Dominion of thy Son! No power or Wisdom in Heaven and Earth, could have delivered us but thine. The Angels desire to pry into this Mystery, the Heavenly Host do celebrate it with praises, saying, Glory to God in the Highest; On Earth peace; God will towards men. The whole Creation shall proclaim thy Praises, Blessing, Honour, Glory and Power be unto him that sitteth upon the Throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive Power, and Honour, and Glory, for he hath redeemed us to God by his blood, and make us Kings, and Priests unto our God. Where sin abounded, Grace hath abounded much more. And hast thou indeed forgiven us so great a debt, by so precious a Ransom? Wilt thou indeed give us to reign with Christ in Glory, and see thy face, and love thee, and be beloved of thee for ever? Yea, Lord thou hast forgiven us, and thou wilt glorifie us, for thou art faithful that hast promised. With the blood of thy Son, with the Sacrament, and with thy Spirit, thou hast sealed up to us these precious promises. And shall we not love thee, that hast thus loved us? Shall we not love thy Servants, and forgive our Neighbours their little debt? After all this shall we again forsake thee, and deal falsly in thy Covenant? God forbid: O set our affection on the Things above, where Christ sitteth at thy right hand; Let us no more mind earthly Things, but let our Conversation be in Heaven, from whence we expect our Saviour to come and change us unto the likeness of

his Glory. Teach us to do thy Will, O God, and to follow him, who is the Author of Eternal Salvation, to all them that do obey him. Order our steps by thy Word, and let not any iniquity have dominion over us. Let us not henceforth live unto ourselves, but unto him who died for us and rose again. Let us have no fellowship with the unfruit-

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Rom. 1. 4. 1 Cor. 1. 24. Eph. 3. 10. Rom. 3. 22, 26. Tit. 3. 4. Rom. 5. 6. Acts 4. 12. 1 Pet. 1. 12. Luke 2. 13, 14. Rev. 5. 12, 13. 9. 10. Rom. 5. 20. 1 Pet. 1. 19. Mat. 18. 32, 33. Rev. 3. 21. & 22. 4. Rom. 8. 38, 39. Heb. 10. 23. 2 Pet. 1. 4. Heb. 9. 15. Eph. 4. 30. Luke 7. 47. Mat. 18. 33. 1 John 4. 11. Ezek. 9. 13, 14. Psal. 44. 17. Rom. 6. 1, 2. Col. 3. 2. Phil. 3. 8, 19, 20, 21. Psal. 143. 10. Heb. 5. 9. Psal. 119. 133. 2 Cor. 5. 15. Eph. 1. 11. Mat. 5. 16. 2 Cor. 1. 12. Psal. 119. 5. Luk. 22. 31. 1 Pet. 5. 8, 10. Eph. 6. 11. Rom. 16. 20. 1 Cor. 6. 20.

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ful works of darkness, but reprove them. And let our light so shine before men, that they may glorifie thee. In Simplicity, and Godly Sincerity, and not in fleshly wisdom, let us have our Conversation in the world. O that our ways were so directed that we might keep thy Statutes. Though Satan will be desirous again to lift us, and seek as a roaring Lion to devour, strengthen us to stand against his Wiles, and shortly bruise him under our feet. Accept us, O Lord, who resign our selves unto thee, as thine own; and with our thanks and praise, present our selves a living Sacrifice to be acceptable through Christ, Useful for thine honour; Being made free from sin, and become thy Servants, let us have our fruit unto Holiness, and the end Everlasting Life, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

*Next add this or some such Exhortation, if there be Time.*

**DE**ar Brethren, we have been here feasted with the Son of God at his Table, upon his Flesh and Blood, in preparation for the Feast of Endless Glory. You have seen here represented, what sin deserveth, what Christ suffered, what wonderful

Love the God of infinite Goodness hath expressed to us. You have had Communion with the Saints, you have renewed your Covenant of Faith, and thankful Obedience unto Christ; You have received his renewed Covenant of Pardon, Grace and Glory unto you. O carry hence the lively Sense of these great and excellent Things upon your Hearts: You came not only to receive the Mercy of an hour only, but that which may spring up to endless Joy: You came not only to do the Duty of an hour, but to promise that which you must perform while you live on Earth. Remember daily, especially when Temptations to unbelief, and sinful heaviness assault you, what pledges of Love you here received; Remember daily, especially when the Flesh, the Devil, or the World, would draw your Hearts again from God, and Temptations to sin are laid before you; what bonds God and your own consent have laid up-

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*Rom. 12. 1. 2 Tim. 2. 21. Rom. 6. 22.*

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on you. If you are penitent Believers, you are now forgiven, and washed in the Blood of Christ. O go your Way, and sin no more. No more through wilfulness, and strive against your sins of weakness. Wallow no more in the mire, and return not to your vomit. Let the exceeding Love of Christ constrain you, having such Promises, to cleanse yourselves from all filthiness of Flesh and Spirit, perfecting Holiness in the fear of God: And as a chosen Generation, a Royal Priesthood, an Holy Nation, a Peculiar People, to be Zealous of good Works, and shew forth the Praises of him that hath called you.

Next sing part of the Hymn in Meeter, or some other fit psalm of Praise (as the 23. 116. or 103. or 100, &c.) And conclude with this or the like Blessing.

**N**OW the God of Peace, which brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ that great Shepherd of the Sheep, through the Blood of the Everlasting Covenant, make you perfect in every good work, to do his Will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory for ever and ever. Amen.

*The Celebration of the Sacrament of  
Baptism.*

**L**ET no Minister, that is therein unsatisfied, be forced against his Judgment, to baptize the Child of open Atheists, Idolaters, or Infidels, or that are unbaptized themselves, or of such as do not competently understand the Essentials of Christianity (what it is to be a Christian) and the Essentials of Baptism, nor of such as never since they were baptized, did personally own their Baptismal Covenant, by a credible Profession of Faith and Obedience, received and approved by some Pastor of the Church,

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Church, as before Confirmation is required, and in His Majesty's Declaration. Nor yet the Child of Parents justly excommunicate, or that live in any notorious, scandalous sin, or have lately committed such a sin (as if the Child be gotten in Adultery or Fornication) and being justly convict of it, refuseth penitently to confess it, and promise Reformation. But if either of the Parents be duly qualified, and present the Child to be baptized (or another for them in case they cannot be present) the Child is to be received unto Baptism.

And if both the natural Parents are Infidels, Excommunicate, or otherwise unqualified, yet if any become the Pro-parents and owners of the Child, and undertake to educate it in the Faith of Christ, and Fear of God, and so present it to be Baptized:

Let it be done by a Minister whose judgment doth approve it, but let no Minister be forced to it against his judgment. Let the parents or owners come to the Minister at some convenient time the week before, and acquaint him when they intend to offer their Child to Baptism, and give an account of their foresaid capacity, and receive his further Ministerial assistance for the fuller understanding of the use and benefits of the Sacrament, and their own duty. The Font is to be placed to the greatest conveniency of the Minister and People. The Child, or Children being there presenced, the Minister may begin with this or the like Speech directed to the Parent, or Parents (that presenteth it.)

**TH**at you may perform this service to God with understanding, you must know, that God having made Man in his own Image, to love and serve him, our first Parents willfully corrupted themselves by sin, and became the Children of Death, and the Captives of Satan, who had overcome them by his Temptation: And as by one Man sin entred into the World, and death by sin, so death passed upon all, for that all have sinned, and came short of the glory of God. We are conceived in sin, and are by Nature children of wrath: For who can bring a clean Thing out of an unclean. By the offence of one, Judgment came upon all men to condemnation,  
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But the infinite Wisdom and Love of the Father hath sent his Son to be the Saviour of the World. The Word was made Fleth, and dwelt on earth, and overcame the Devil and the World; fulfilled all Righteousness, and suffered for our sins upon the Cross, and rose again, and reigneth in Glory, and will come again, and judge the World in righteousness. In him God hath made and offered to the world a Covenant of Grace, and in it the pardon of sin to all true penitent Believers, and



power to be the Sons of God and Heirs of Heaven: This Covenant is extended to the seed also of the Faithful, to give them the benefits suitable to their Age, the Parents dedicating them unto God, and entring them into the Covenant, and so God in Christ, will be their God, and number them with his People.

This Covenant is to be solemnly entred into by Baptism (which is an holy Sacrament instituted by Christ, in which a person professing the Christian Faith (or the Infant of such) is baptized in Water into the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in signification and solemnization of the holy Covenant, in which, as a penitent Believer, (or the Seed of such), he giveth up himself (or is by the Parent given up) to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, from henceforth (or from the time of natural capacity) to believe in, love and fear this blessed Trinity, against the Flesh, the Devil and the World; and this especially on the account of Redemption: And is solemnly entred a Visible Member of Christ and his Church, a Child of God, and an Heir of Heaven. How great now is the mercy, and how great the duty that is before you? Is it a small mercy for this Child to be accepted into the Covenant of God, and washed from its Original sin in the blood of Christ, which is signified and sealed by this Sacramental washing in Water, to be accepted as a Member of Christ and of his Church, where he vouchsafeth his protection and provision, and the means and Spirit of Grace, and the renewed pardon of sin upon repentance, and for you to see this happiness of your Child? The duty on your part, is, first to see that you are stedfast in the Faith and Covenant of

Christ,

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Christ, that you perish not yourself, and that your Child is indeed the Child of a Believer: And then you are believingly and thankfully to dedicate your

Child to God, and to enter it into the Covenant in which you stand. And you must know, that your Faith and Consent, and Dedication will suffice for your Children no longer then till they come to age themselves, and then they must own their Baptismal Covenant, and personally renew it, and consent, and give up themselves to God, or else they will not be owned by Christ. You must therefore acquaint them with the Doctrine of the Gospel as they grow up, and with the Covenant now made, and bring them up in the fear of the Lord. And when they are actually penitent Believers, they must present themselves to the Pastors of the Church, to be approved and received into the Communion of the Adult Believers.

If the Persons be before well instructed in the nature of Baptism, and Time require brevity, the Minister may omit the first part of this Speech, and begin at the description of Baptism, or after it. If there be need of satisfying the People of the duty of Baptizing Infants, the Minister may here do it; otherwise let the Questions here immediately follow.

*The Minister shall here say to the Parent, and the Parent answer as followeth.*

**I**T being the faithful and their Seed to whom the Promises are made; and no Man will sincerely dedicate his Child to that God that he believeth not in himself; I therefore require you to make Profession of your own Faith.

Quest. *Do you believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.*

Answ. All this I do unfeignedly believe:

Quest. *Do you repent of your sins, and renounce the Flesh, the Devil, and the World, and consent to the Covenant of Grace, giving up yourself to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as your Creator and reconciled Father, your Redeemer and our Sanctifier?*

*Answ.*

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*Answ.* I do.

[Or thus rather, if the Parent be fit to utter his own Faith.]

*Quest.* Do you remain steadfast in the Covenant which you made in Baptism yourself?

*Answ.* Repenting of my sins, I do renounce the Flesh, the Devil, and the World, and I give up myself to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, my Creator and reconciled Father, my Redeemer and my Sanctifier.]

*Quest.* Do you present and dedicate this Child unto God, to be Baptized into this Faith, and solemnly engaged in this Covenant unto God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, against the Flesh, the Devil, and the World?

*Answ.* It is my desire (or) I do present, and dedicate him for this end,

*Quest.* Do you here solemnly promise, that if God continue it with you till it be capable of Instructions, you will faithfully endeavour to acquaint this Child with the Covenant in which he was here by you engaged, and to instruct and exhort him to perform this Covenant, as ever he looks for the blessings of it, or to escape the curses and wrath of God; that is, that he renounce the Flesh, the World, and the Devil, and live not after them: And that he believe in this One God, in Three Persons, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, his Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier. That he resign himself to him as his absolute Owner, And obey him as his Supream Governour, and love him as his most gracious Father, hoping to enjoy him as his Felicity in endless Glory?

*Answ.* I will faithfully endeavour it.

*Quest.* Will to this end faithfully endeavour to cause him to learn the Articles of the Christian Faith, the Lords Prayer, and the ten Commandments, and to read, or hear the holy Scriptures, and to attend on the public Preaching of Gods Word? Will you endeavour by your own Teaching, and Example, and Restraint, to

*keep him from Wickedness, and train him up in a holy Life?*

*Ans.* I will faithfully endeavour it by the help of God.

Then

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**Then let the Minister pray thus, or to this Sense.**

**W**HOM most merciful Father, by the first Adam sin-  
 tred into the world, and death by sin, and  
 we are all by nature Children of wrath; but thou  
 hast given thy only Son to be the seed of the Wo-  
 man; the Saviour of the World, the Captain of our  
 Salvation, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself,  
 and to wash us in his blood, and reconcile us unto  
 thee, and to renew us by the Holy Ghost, and to  
 bruise Satan under our feet: In him thou hast  
 established the Covenant of Grace, and hast appoint-  
 ed this holy Sacrament of Baptism for our solemn  
 Entrance into the Bonds of the Covenant, and sta-  
 ting us in the Blessings of it, which thou extendest  
 to the faithful and their seed. We dedicate and offer  
 this Child to thee, to be received into thy Covenant  
 and Church. We beseech thee to accept him as a  
 Member of thy Son, and wash him in his Blood  
 from the guilt of Sin, as the Flesh is washed by  
 this water. Be reconciled to him, and take him for  
 thy Child, renew him to the Image of thy Son,  
 make him a fellow Citizen with the Saints, and one  
 of thy Household. Protect him and provide for him  
 as thy own, and finally preserve him to thy Heav-  
 enly wisdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Sa-  
 viour. Amen.

Then the Minister shall ask of the Parent the Name  
 of the Child to be Baptized, and naming him,  
 shall either dip him under the Water, or else pour  
 Water upon his Face, if he cannot be safely or  
 conveniently dipt, and shall use these Words with-  
 out Alteration.

I Baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and  
of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

AND HE SHALL THUS DECLARE.

**T**His Child is now receiv'd by Christs appointment  
into his Church, and solemnly entred into the  
holy Covenant, and engaged, if he lives to the use  
of Reason, to rise with Christ to newness of life, as  
being buried with him by Baptism, and to bear his  
Cross,

Rom. 5. 12. Eph. 2. 3. Joh. 3. 16. Gen. 3. 15. Joh. 4. 42. Heb. 9. 26. Rev. 1. 15. Rom. 5.  
10. Tit. 3. 5. Rom. 16. 10. Heb. 8. 6. Mat. 28. 19, 20. Gen. 17. 10, 11. Ezek. 20. 37. Rom.  
6. 3, 4. Tit. 3. 5. 1 Cor. 12. 12. Gen. 17. Rom. 9. 8. Acts 2. 19. Matth. 23. 37. Deut. 30. 10,  
11, 12. Mat. 10. 11, 14. 1 Cor. 12. 12, 13. Rev. 1. 5. Eph. 5. 26. Job 11. 52. Heb. 2. 13. Eph.  
2. 19. & 3. 15. Zech. 9. 11, 15, 16. 1 Pet. 5. 7. 2 Tim. 4. 18.

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Cross, and confers Christ crucified, and faithfully  
to fight under his Banner against the Flesh, the De-  
vil, and the World, and to continue his faithful  
Souldier and Servant to the death, that he may re-  
ceive the Crown of Life.

Then he shall give Thanks and Pray.

**W**E thank thee, most merciful Father, that when  
we had broken the Law, and were condemned  
by it, thou hast given us a Saviour, and life in him,  
and hast extended the Covenant of Grace to Belie-  
vers, and to their seed, and hast now received this  
Child into thy Covenant and Church, as a Member  
of Christ by this Sacrament of Regeneration. We  
beseech thee, let him grow up in Holiness; and when  
he comes to Years of discretion, let the Spirit re-  
veal unto him the mysteries of the Gospel, and the  
riches of thy love in Jesus Christ; and cause him to  
renew and perform the Covenant that he hath now  
made, and to resign himself, and all that he hath,  
entirely unto thee his Lord, to be subject and obedi-  
ent to thee his Government, and to love thee his Fa-  
ther with all his heart, and soul, and might, and

adhere to thee, and delight in thee as the Portion of his Soul, desiring and hoping to enjoy thee in everlasting Glory. Save him from the Lusts and Allurements of the Flesh, the Temptations of the Devil, and the baits of the pleasure, profit and honour of the World, and from all the corruptions of his own heart, and all hurtful violence of his Enemies. Keep him in Communion with the Saints, in the love and use of thy Word and Worship. Let him deny himself, and take up his Cross and follow Christ, the Captain of his Salvation, and be faithful unto the death, and then receive the Crown of life, through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

*Then use this Exhortation or the like to the Parents.*

**Y**O U that have devoted this Child to God, and engaged it in Covenant to him, must be thankful for so great a mercy to the Child, and must be faithful in performing what you have promised on your parts, in instructing and educating this

D d d

Child

Rom. 5. 12, 18. Gal. 3. 13. 1 Joh. 5. 11. Acts 2. 39. 1 Cor. 12. 12, 13. Psal. 44. 3, 4. 2 Cor. 8. 5. Psalm 119. 94. Eph. 5. 24. Matth. 22. 37. Deut. 10. 20, 21. & 11. 22. & 30. Psal. 16. 5. & 27. 4. Tit. 1. 2. & Tit. 2. 13. & 3. 7. 1 Joh. 2. 5, 6, 17. Gal. 5. 14. Mat. 6. 13. Psal. 81. 12. Jam. 1. 14. Luke 1. 71. 1 Cor. 10. 16. 1 Joh. 1. 7. 2 Cor. 6. 14. 1 Pet. 1. 2. Joh. 9. 31. Luk. 9. 23. Heb. 2. 10. Rev. 2. 10.

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Child in the Faith and fear of God, that he may own and perform the Covenant now made, and receive all the blessings which God hath promised. Hear what God hath made your Duty, *Eph.* 6. 4. Fathers provoke not your Children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. *Prov.* 22. 6. Train up a Child in the Way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it, *Prov.* 29. 15. The Rod and Reproof give Wisdom, but a Child left to himself bringeth his Mother to shame. *Deut.* 6. 5, 6, 7. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy might; and these

Words which I command thee this Day, shall be in thy Heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy Children, and thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in the House, and when thou walkest by the Way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. *Joshua* saith, *Josh.* 24. 15. As for me and my House we will serve the Lord. And *Paul* saith of *Timothy*, *2 Tim.* 3. 15. From a Child thou hast known the holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto Salvation, through Faith which is in Christ Jesus.

*Then say to the People thus, or to this Sense.*

**Y**OU have heard Beloved, how great a dignity we were advanced to in our Bapism, to how great Duty we are all engaged. O search and try, whether you have kept or broken the Covenant which you made, and have lived according to the dignity of your Calling. And if any of you be Atheists, Unbelievers, or Ungodly, and love not God above all, and neglect Christ and his Salvation, and are yet unsanctified, and live after the Flesh, the Devil, and the World, which you here renounced; as you love your Souls, bewail your perfidious Covenant-breaking with God. Trust not the Water of Baptism alone: If you are not born again of the Spirit also, you cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, *Joh.* 3. 5, 6. Baptism will not save you, if you have not the answer of a good Conscience unto God, *1 Pet.* 3. 21. If any Man have not the

Spirit

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Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his, *Rom.* 8. 9. Much less those wretches that hate Sanctification, and despise and scorn a holy Life, when they were by Baptism engaged to the Holy Ghost the Sanctifier; Can you think to be saved by the Covenant, which you keep not? O no! Your perfidiousness aggravateth your Sin and Misery. *Eccles.* 5. 4, 5. When thou vowest a vow to God, defer not to pay it,

for he hath no pleasure in Fools: Pay that which thou hast vowed; better it is that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay. O bless the Lord, that it is a Covenant of such Grace which is tendred to you. That upon true Repentance and Conversion, even your Coveant-breaking shall be forgiven; And therefore penitently can down yourselves before the Lord, and believably cast yourselves on Christ, and yield to the teachings, and sanctifying Operations of the Holy Ghost. Yet know the Day of your Visitation, and forsake the Flesh, the Devil, and the World, and turn to God with all your Hearts, and give up yourselves intirely to your Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, and he will have Mercy upon you, and will abundantly pardon you. But if you still live after the Flesh, you shall die: And if you continue to neglect this great Salvation, there remaineth no more Sacrifice for Sin, but a certain fearful looking for of Judgment, and Fire, which shall devour the Adversaries.

Let no Children be privately baptized, nor any Minister forced to baptize them any where, besides in the Publick Assembly, unless upon some special weighty Cause. If there be occasion for baptizing the Adult, let the Minister accordingly suit his Expressions.

D d d 2

Of

<sup>46</sup>  
*Of Catechizing, and the Approbation of those that are to be admitted to the Lord's Supper.*

**SE**eing none can be saved at Years of discretion, that do not actually believe, and personally give up themselves in Covenant to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; Therefore as Patents must do their Parts, so Ministers must Catechize the Ignorant, and diligently labour to cause them both to learn the Form of wholesome Words (even the Lords Prayer,



and the ten Commandments, and some brief, yet full and sound Catechism) and to understand the meaning of them, and to engage their Hearts into the love of God, and a holy Obedience to his Laws.

To this end, let the Minister either every Lords Day, before the Evening Prayers, or at some convenient Hour, or on some other Day of the Week, as oft as he can, examine publickly such as are not admitted to the Lords Supper, and take an account of their Learning, and understanding the Creed, the ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the Catechism. And let him by questioning and explication, help them to understand them; And let such of the several Families of the Parish come in their turns, when they are called by the Minister to be thus Catechized. Also let the Minister either go to their Houses, or rather appoint the Persons aforesaid in their courses at a certain Hour and Place (in the Church or any other fit Place) to come to him for personal Instructions, where he may confer with those that are unmeet to be catechized Publickly, or unwilling to submit to it, and there with humble, prudent, serious Instruction and Exhortation, let him endeavour to acquaint them with the substance of Christian Faith and Duty, and to help them to make sure their Calling and Election, and to prepare for Death and Judgment, and exhort them to love, and to good works, and warn them least they be hardened through the deceitfulness of Sin. But let him not in publick or private meddle with

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Impertinencies, or spend the Time about smaller Matters, or singular Opinions, nor sift People to know Things unfit, or unnecessary to be disclosed, nor meddle with Matters that do not conceal him, as a Minister, to enquire after; But help them to learn, and understand, and practice the Christian Religion expressed in the Catechism.

*The Catechism.*

LET none be admitted by the Minister to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, till they have at Years of discretion understood the meaning of their Baptismal Covenant, and with their own Mouths, and their own consent openly before the Church, ratified and confirmed, and also promised, that by the Grace of God, they will evermore endeavour themselves faithfully to observe and keep such Things as by their Mouth and Confession they have assented to; And so being instructed in the Christian Religion, do openly make a credible Profession of their own Faith, and promise to be obedient to the Will of God.

A Profession is credible, when it is made understandingly, ferioufiy, voluntarily, deliberately; and not nullified by contradiction in Word or Deed. And that Profession is incredible, that is made ignorantly, ludicrously, forcedly, rashly, or that is nullified by verbal or practical contradiction. And it must be practice first, that must make Words credible, when the Person by perfidiousness hath forfeited his Credit. It is not private Persons only, but the Pastors of the Church that must approve of this Profession. Therefore before any are admitted to the Lords Supper, they shall give a good account of their Knowledge, Faith, and Christian Conversation conformable thereunto, unto the Pastors of their respective Congregations, or else shall produce a Certificate, that they have been approved or admitted to the Lords Supper in another Congregation, of which they were Members, and, that by an allowed Minister, upon such approved Profession as aforesaid.

D d d 3

If

See the Rubrick for Catechism, and Confirmation in the Common Prayer, and also His Majesty's Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

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If the Person be able and willing, let him before the Congregation give the foresaid account at large of his Knowledge, Faith and Obedience: But if through backwardness, or disability for publick Speech, he shall refuse it, let him make the same Profession privately to the Minister, and own it in the Assembly, when the Minister shall declare it, and ask him whether he owns it: But unless it be in case of some extraordinary natural Imperfection, and disability of utterance, let him at least openly recite the Creed, and profess his consent to the Covenant with God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Let the Minister of every Parish keep a double Register; one of the Names of all that are there baptized, another of the Names of all that are approved upon their foresaid credible Profession, and so admitted into the number of Communicants, or that have a certificate of such Approbation, regularly, elsewhere performed.

And if Confirmation be continued, let His Majesty's Declaration be observed, requiring [That Confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed, by the Information, and with the consent of the Minister of the Place.]

Let no Minister be inforced to admit any himself to the Lords Supper, who hath been clancularly and irregularly approved.

Those that after this Approbation, prove scandalous offenders, shall not by the Minister be suffered to partake of the Lords Table, until they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented, and amended their former naughty lives.

*Of the Celebration of Matrimony.*

**BE**fore the Solemnizing of Marriage between any Persons, their purpose of Marriage shall be published by the Minister, three several Lords days in

the Congregation; at the Place or Places of their most usual Abode respectively. And of this Publication, the Minister who is to joyne them in Marriage,

shall

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shall have sufficient Testimony, before he proceed to solemnise the Marriage; the Parents consent being first sufficiently made known.

At the Celebration, the Minister shall either by a Sermon, or other Exhortation, open to them the Institution, Ends, and Use of Marriage, with the conjugal Duties which they are faithfully to perform to each other. And then shall demand of them whether it be their desire and purpose to be joyned together in the Bond of the Marriage-Covenant, and if they answer affirmatively, he shall say to them.

I require and charge you, as you will answer at the dreadful Day of Judgment (when the secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed) that if either of you do know any Impediment by Precontract or otherwise, why you may not lawfully be joyned together in Marriage, you discover it, and proceed not.

*If no Impediment be discovered by them or others,  
he shall proceed to Pray.*

**M**ost merciful Father, who hast ordained Marriage for mutual help, and the the increase of mankind with a legitimate Issue, and of the Church with a Holy seed, and for prevention of uncleanness: Bless thy own Ordinance to these persons, that entering the state of Marriage in thy fear, they may there intirely devote themselves unto thee, and be faithful in all conjugal Affections and duties unto each other, [and if thou bless them with Children] let them be devoted unto thee, and accepted as thine own, and blessed with thy grace, and educated in thy

fear. Subdue those corruptions that would make their lives unholy or uncomfortable, and deliver them from temptations to impiety, worldliness, inquietness, discontent or disaffection to each other, or to any unfaithfulness to thee or to each other; make them meet helps each other in thy fear, and in the lawful management of the Affairs of this World. Let them not hinder, but provoke one another to Love and good Works; and so reserving the day of their separation by death,

D d d 4

let

If they be Young, it may be said, Bless them with Children. and let them be devoted, &c.  
 Gen. 2. 18. & 1. 28. Mal. 2. 15. 2 Cor. 7. 14. 9. Heb. 13. 4. Luke 1. 6. Eph. 5. 22. &c. Mal. 2. 15. 16. Psal. 127. 3. Mat. 19. 13, 14. Deut. 29. 11, 12. Ezek. 16. 8. Pro. 20. 7. Eph. 6. 4. 1 Pet. 3. 1, 7. 1 Tim. 3. 11. & 5. 13, 14. 1 Cor. 7. 5, 29. Gen. 2. 18. Pro. 5. 18. Heb. 10. 26. 1 Cor. 7. 29. Luke 12. 40. 1 Pet. 3. 7. Rev. 19. 7. Joh. 17. 24.

so

let them spend their Days in an holy Preparation, and live here together as the Heirs of life that must rejoice at the great Marriage day of the Lamb, and live for ever with Christ and all the holy Angels and Saints in the Presence of thy glory. Amen.

The Woman if she be under Parents or Governours, being by one of them, or some deputed by them, given to be married, the Man with his Right hand shall take the Woman by the Right hand and shall say,

I A. do take thee B. to be my Married Wife, and do promise and Covenant in the presence of God, and before this Congregation, to be a loving and faithful Husband to thee, till God shall separate us by death,

**Then the Woman shall take the Man by the Right hand, with her Right hand, and say,**

I B. do take thee A. to be my Married Husband, and I do promise and Covenant in the presence of God, and before this Congregation, to be

a loving, obedient, and faithful Wife unto thee, till God shall separate us by death.

**Then let the Minister say,**

These two Persons A. and W. bring lawfully married according to God's Ordinance, I do pronounce them Husband and Wife. And those whom God hath conjoined, let no Man put asunder.

Next he may read the Duty of Husbands and Wives out of *Ephes.* 5. 2. *Col.* 4. 2. 1 *Pet.* 3. and *Psalm* 128. or some other pertinent Psalm may be said or sung: And let the Minister exhort them to their several Duties, and shall Pray:

**M**ost merciful Father, let thy Blessings rest upon these Persons, now joyned in lawful Marriage, Sanctifie them and their Conversations, their Family, Estates, and Affairs unto thy Glory.

Fur-

*Gen.* 28. 3. *Tit.* 1. 15. 1 *Tim.* 4. 5. 1 *Cor.* 10. 31. 1 *Thes.* 3. 12.

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Furnish them with love to thee and to each other, with meekness, patience and contentedness. Let them not live unto the Flesh, but unto the Spirit that of the Spirit they may reap everlasting Life, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Then let him conclude with a Benediction.

**G**OD Almighty, the Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, bless you in your Souls and Bodies, Family and Affairs, and preserve you to his heavenly Kingdom. Amen.

*The Visitation of the Sick, and their  
Communion.*

**T**HE Visitation of the Sick being a private Duty, and no part of the Publick Liturgy of

the Church, and the case of the Sick being so exceeding various, as to Soul and Body; and it being requisite that Ministers be able to suit their Exhortations and Prayers to the condition of the Sick, let the Words of such Exhortations and Prayers be left to their Prudence.

So urgent is the necessity of the sick, and so seasonable and advantageous the opportunity, that Ministers may not negligently over-pass them, but in love and tenderness instruct them according to their several Conditions; endeavouring the Conversion of the ungodly, the strengthening of the weak, and comforting such as need Consolation, directing them how to improve their Afflictions, and helping them to be sensible of the evil of Sin, the negligences and miscarriages of their Lives, the vanity of the World, their necessity of a Saviour, the sufficiency of Christ, the certainty and excellency of the Everlasting Glory; Exhorting them to Repentance and to Faith in Christ, and to set their Affections on the Things above; And (if they are penitent Believers) comfortably to hope for the Kingdom

which

*Eph. 5. 25. Gal. 5. 22. Rom. 8. 1, 13. Gal. 6. 8.*

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 which God hath promised to them that love him, committing their Souls to their Redeemer, and quietly resting in the will, and love, and promises of God; Resolving if God shall recover them to health, to redeem the Time, and live the rest of their Lives unto his Glory. And being willing, if it be their appointed Time, to depart and be with Christ: And they must be exhorted to forgive such as have wronged them, and to be reconciled to those with whom they have been at variance, and to make a pious, just, and charitable disposal of their Worldly Estates.

*The Order for Solemnizing the Burial  
of the Dead.*

**I**T is agreeable to Nature and Religion, that the Burial of Chistians be solemnly and decently performed. As to the Cases; Whether the Corps shall be carried first into the Church, that is to be buried in the Church-yard; And whether it shall be buried before the Sermon, Reading, or Prayer, or after, or in the midst of the reading, or whether any Prayer shall be made at the Grave, for the Living; Let no Christians uncharitably judge one another about these Things. Let no People keep up groundless usages, that being suspicious, grieve their Minister and offend their Brethren. Let no Minister that scrupleth the satisfying of Peoples ungrounded desires in such Things, be forced to do it against his Conscience; and let Ministers that do use any of these Customs or Ceremonies, have liberry, when they suspect that the People desire them upon some Error, to profess against that Error, and teach the People better.

Whether the Minister come with the Company that brings the Corps from the House, or whether he meet them, or receive them at the burial Place, is to be left to his own discretion. But while he is with them, let him gravely discourse of Mans Mortality, and the useful Truths and Duties thence to be inferred: And either at the Grave, or in the

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Reading Place, or Pulpit, by way of Sermon, according to his discretion. Let him (at least if it be desired) instruct and exhort the People concerning death, and the life to come, and their necessary preparation; seeing the spectacle of Mortality, and the season of Mourning, do tend to prepare Men for a sober considerate entertainment of such Instructions: And he may read such Scriptures as may mind them of Death, Resurrection, and Eternal Life, as



I *Cor.* 15. or from *verse* 10. to the end, And *Job* 1. 21. & 19. 25, 26, 27. *John* 11. 25, 26 & 5. 28, 29. And his Prayer shall be suited to the occasion.

Whenever the Rain, Snow, or Coldness of the season, make it unhealthful to the Minister or People to stand out of Doors, at least then let the Reading, Exhortation, and Prayers, be used within the Church.

*Of Extraordinary Days of Humiliation,  
and Thanksgiving, and Anniversary  
Festivals.*

**WH**EN great afflictions lye upon the Church, or any special part or Members of it, or when any great Sins have been Committed among them, it is meet that in Publick, by fasting and prayer, we humble our selves before the Lord, for the averting of his displeasure; and on such occasions it is the Pastors duty to cause his own, and the Peoples sins, with Penitence, and tenderness of heart, and by his Doctrine and Exhortation, to Endeavour effectually to bring the People to the sight and sense of their Sin, and the deceits of it, and to a firm Resolution of better obedience for the time to come, being importunate with God in Prayer for pardon and renewed Grace.

Upon the receipt of great and extraordinary Mercies, the Church (having opportunity) is to Assemble for publick Thanksgiving unto God, and the Minister to stir up the People to a lively sense of the great-

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greatness of thore Mercies, and joyfully to Celebrate the praises of God, the Author of them. And it is not unmeet on these Days to express our joying in Fealling and outward figns of Mirth, provided they be used moderately, spiritually, and in-offensively, and not to gratifie our sensual desires, and that we relieve the poor in their necessities

(which also on days of Humiliation and other Seasons, we must not forget.) The occasions of such days of Humiliation and Thanksgiving being so various, as cannot be well suited by any standing Forms, the Minister is to apply himself to the respective Duties, suitable to the particular occasions.

Though it be not unlawful or unmeet to keep Anniversary Commemoration by Festivals, of some great and notable Mercies to the Church or State, the memory whereof should be transmitted to posterity; nor to give any Persons their due Honour who have been the Instruments thereof: Yet because the Festivals of the Churches Institution now observed, are much abused, and many sober Godly Persons, Ministers, and others, are unsatisfied of the Lawfulness of the Celebrating them as Holidays, let the abuse be restrained; and let not the Religious observation of those Days by publick Worship, be forced upon any that are thus unsatisfied, provided they forbear all offensive behaviour thereupon.

*Of Prayer and Thanksgiving for Particular Members of the Church.*

**BE**sides the Petitions that are put up for all in such distresses, in the General Prayer, it is meet that Persons in dangerous sickness, or other great affliction of Body or Mind; and Women that are near the Time of Child-bearing, when they desire it, shall be particularly recommended to God in the Publick Prayers of the Church. Because all the Members constitute one Body, and must have the same Care one for another, as suffering all with one that suffereth, and rejoicing all with one that is ho-

noured,

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noured: And the effectual fervent Prayer of the Righteous, especially of the whole Congregation, availeth much with God. But because diseases, di-

stresses, and grief of Mind, are so various that no Forms that are Particular can suit them all; And because every Minister should be able to suit his Prayers to such various Necessities of the People: We desire, that it may be left to his discretion to pray for such according to their several Cases, before or after Sermon. But we desire that except in case of sudden necessity, they may send in their Bills of Request to him, the night before, that he may consider of their Cases, and may publish only such, and in such Expressions, as in prudence he shall judge meet for the Ears of the Assembly.

In the more ordinary Cases of Persons in sickness, danger, and distress, and that are delivered from them; these following Prayers may be used, or such like.

A Prayer for the Sick, that is in hopes of Recovery.

**M**ost merciful Father, Though our Sin doth find us out, and we are justly afflicted for our Transgressions, yet we are not consumed in thy wrath; but thou punishest us less than our Iniquities do deserve; though thou causest Grief, yet wilt thou have compassion according to the multitude of thy mercies, for thou dost not willingly afflict and grieve the Children of men: Thou revivest the spirit of the humble, and the heart of the Contrite ones, for thou wilt not contend for ever, neither wilt thou be always wroth, for the spirit would fail before thee, and the Soul which thou hast made. Look down in tender mercy on the affliction of this thy Servant; O Lord, rebuke him not in thy wrath; neither chasten him in thy hot displeasure. All his desire is before thee, and his groaning is not hid from thee; Have mercy upon him, O Lord, for he is weak. O Lord heal him, whose Bones and Soul is vexed. In Death there is no remembrance of thee, In the Grave who shall give thee thanks? Remember that we are but flesh, a Wind

that passeth away and cometh not again: wilt thou  
break a leaf driven to and fro, and wilt thou pur-

sue

Num. 32. 23. Luke 23. 41. Lam. 3. 22. Ezra 9. 13. Lam. 3. 32, 33. Isa. 57. 15, 16, 17. Psal.  
25. 18. & 6. 1. & 38. 9. & 6. 2, 3, 5. & 78. 39. Job 13. 25.

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sue the dry stubble? Remember not the Iniquities  
of his Youth, or his transgressions: look upon his  
Affliction, and his pain, and forgive all his sins.  
Though the sorrows of Death do compass him about,  
yet if it be for thy glory and his good, recover him,  
and let him live and praise thy Name. Rebuke his  
sickness, direct unto such means as though wilt bless.  
In the time of his trouble we call upon thee, do  
thou deliver him, and let him glorifie thee; however  
shew him the sin that doth offend thee, let him search  
and try his ways, and confess and turn from his  
Iniquity, and let it be good for him that he was  
afflicted. Let this be the fruit of it to purge and  
take away his sin, That being chastened of the Lord,  
he may not be condemned with the World. And  
though chastisement for the present seemeth not to be  
joyous but grievous, yet afterwards let it yield  
the peacable fruit of righteousness to this thy Ser-  
vant, that is exercised therein. In the mean time,  
O Lord, be thou his Portion, who art good to the  
Soul that seeketh thee, and waiteh for thee. Let  
him patiently and silently bear thy yoke, let him  
hope and quietly wait for thy salvation: Consider-  
ing that thou wilt not cast off for ever: that thy  
anger is but for a moment, but in thy favour is  
Life. Weeping may endure for a night, but joy  
cometh in the morning: and that whom thou lovest,  
thou chastenest, and scourgest every son whom thou  
receivest; and that if he endure chastening, thou  
dealest with him as a Son. If he be recovered, let  
him devote himself entirely to thy glory: That when  
thou hast put off his sackcloth and mourning, and  
girded him with gladness, he may speak thy praise,

and give thee thanks. If he receive the sentence of Death in himself, let it cause him to trust in thee that raisest the dead, knowing that as thou didst raise up the Lord Jesus, thou wilt raise him up also by Jesus: Therefore suffer not his hope to faint: but though his outward man perish, yet let his inward man be renewed from day to day: and let him live by faith, and look at the things which are not seen, even at the exceeding eternal weight of glory. Let him be found in Christ, not having his own righteousness, but that which is of God by faith. Restrain the tempter, and deliver thy servant from the sinful fears of death, by Christ, who through death, destroyed the Devil that had the power of

death

Psal. 25. 7, 18. & 116. 3. Isa. 38. 16, 19. Psal. 119, 175. Luke 4. 39. Isa. 38. 21. Psal. 50. 14. Job 10. 2. Psal. 139. 13. Lam. 3. 40. Psal. 119. 71, 67. Isa. 27. 9. 1 Cor. 11. 32. Heb. 12. 11. Lam. 3. 24, 25, 26, 27, 31. Psal. 30. 5. Heb. 12. 6, 7. Isa. 38. 19, 20. Psal. 116. 9, 12. &c. Psal. 30. 11, 12, 2 Cor. 1. 9. & 4. 16. & 5. 8. Heb. 10. 38. 2 Cor. 14. 15. 17. Phil. 3. 9. 1 Cor. 10. 13. Heb. 2. 14. 1 Cor. 15. 55.

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death; That he may find that death hath lost his sting, and Triumph over it by Faith in him, through whom we are made more than Conquerers. That by Faith and love, his soul may ascend with Christ, that ascended unto his Father and our Father, and to his God and our God, and is gone to prepare a place for us, and hath promised, that where he is, there his servants shall be also: That they may behold the glory which though hast given him. Magnifie thyself in his Body whether by life or death, and safely bring him into thy glorious presence, where is fulness of Joy, and Everlasting pleasures, through Jesus Christ our Life and Righteousness. Amen.

Rom. 8. 37. Col. 3. 1. Joh. 20. 17, & 14, 23, & 17, 26. & 17. 24. Phil. 1. 2. Psal. 16. 11.

**A Prayer for Women drawing near the time of  
Child-bearing.**

**M**ost merciful Father, who hast justly Sentenced Woman, that was first in the Transgression, to great and multiplied sorrows, and particularly in sorrow to bring forth Children; yet grantest preservation and relief, for the propagation of Mankind. Be merciful to this thy servant, be near her with thy present help, in the needful time of trouble, and though in Travel she hath sorrow, give her strength to bring forth. Being delivered, let her remember no more the Anguish, for joy that a Child is born in the World. Bless her in the fruit of her body, and being safely delivered, let her return thee hearty thanks, and devote it and the rest of her life to thy service, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

1 Tim. 2. 14. Gen. 3. 16. 1 Tim. 2. 15. Psal. 46. 1. Isa. 37. 3. Joh. 16. 12. Deut. 28. 4. 2. Cor. 1. 10, 11. 1 Sam. 2. & 1. 28.

**A Thanksgiving for those that are restored, from  
Dangerous Sickness.**

**W**e thank thee, O most Gracious God, that thou hast heard us when we cryed unto thee, for thy servant in his weakness and distress, that thou hast not turned away our Prayer nor thy mercy from him: we cryed to thee, and thou hast delivered and healed him, thou hast brought him from the grave, thou hast kept him alive, that he should not go down into the Pit, thou hast forgiven

his

Psal. 30. 2. & 3. 4. & 66. 20. & 30. 3. & 103. 3, 4. Isa. 38. 10, 12. Jer. 26. 3, 13. Psal. 103. 5.

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his iniquity, and healed his diseases, thou hast re-deemed his life from destruction, and hast crowned him with loving kindness and tender mercies, thou hast not deprived him of the residue of his years, thou hast repented the of the Evil: His Age is not

departed; Thou hast renewed his youth, and given him to see man, with the Inhabitants of the World; And to see the Goodness of the Lord, in the land of the living. Day and night thy hand was heavy upon him, but thou hast turned away thy wrath, and hast forgiven the iniquity of his sin; for this every one that is godly shall pray unto thee in a time of trouble. Thou art a hiding place, thou preservest us from trouble: When our Flesh and our Heart faileth us, thou art the strength of our heart, and our Portion for ever; indeed Lord thou art good unto thine Israel; Even to such as are clean of heart; many are the afflictions of the Righteous, but thou deliverest them out of all; Though all the day long they be afflicted, and chastened every Morning, yet are they continually with thee; Thou holdest them by thy right hand, thou art a present help in trouble, when all the help of man is vain. Let thy servant love thee, because thou hast heard his voice and supplication, Let him offer unto thee, the sacrifice of thanksgiving; and pay his Vows to the most high; and take the Cup of Salvation, and call upon thee all his days: let him be wholly devoted to thy praise, and glorify thee in Soul and Body, as being Thine, and seasonably depart in peace unto thy Glory: through Jesus Christ our life and righteousness. Amen.

Isa. 38. 11. Psal. 27. 13. Psal. 32. 4, 5. & 106. 23. & 32. 6, 7. & 73. 26. & 73. 1. & 34. 19 & 73. 19, 23. Psal. 60. 11. & 46. 1. Psal. 116. 1, 12, 18, 13, 14. Isa. 38. 20. 1 Cor. 6. 20. Luke 1. 29. 1 Cor. 1. 30.

*A Thanksgiving, for the deliverance of  
Women, in Child-bearing.*

**WE** return thee thanks Most Gracious God, That thou hast heard our Prayers for this thy hand-maid; and hast been her help in the time of her necessity and delivered her from her fears and sorrows: death and life are in thy power, thou killest

and thou makest alive, thou bringest down to the grave, and thou bringest up; Thou makest the barren to keep house, and to be a joyful Mother and Chil-

dren.

Psal. 34. 3. 4. Rev. 1. 18. 1 Sam. 2. 6. Psal. 113. 9. & 127. 3. & 42. 4. & 110. 4. & 145. 9, 10, 14.

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dren. We thank thee, that thou hast given thy servant, to see the fruit of her Womb, and that thou hast brought her again to thy Holy Assembly, to go with the multitude of thy House, and worship thee with the voice of joy and praise, that she may enter into thy gates with thanksgiving, and into thy Court with praise, and we may all be thankful to thee on her behalf, and speak good of thy Name; Thou art good, O Lord, to all, and thy tender mercies are over all thy works, thou preservest them that love thee; thou raisest up them that are bowed down; thou fulfillest the desire of them that fear thee, thou also dost hear thy cry, and save them, command thy blessing yet upon thy servant and her off-spring; Let her not forget thee and thy mercies, but let her devote the life which thou hast given her to thy service, and educate her off-spring as a holy seed, in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and as thou hast said, that thy curse is in the house of the wicked, but thou blessest the habitation of the just; let her, and her house serve thee, and let holiness to the Lord be written upon all wherewith thou blessest her; Let her make thee her refuge and habitation; Give her the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which in thy sight is of great price, let her not love the world, nor mind Earthly things, but use the World as not abusing of it: Seeing the time is short, and the fashion of this world passeth away: Restore her Soul, and lead her in the paths of righteousness; though she must walk through the valley of the shadow of death, let her fear no evil; Let thy



goodness and mercy follow her all the days of her life, and let her dwell for ever in the Glorious presence; Through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

If the Child be dead, those passages which imply it's living must be omitted, and if the Woman be such as the Church hath Cause to judge ungodly, the Thanksgiving must be in Words more agreeable to her Condition, if any be used.

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Of

19. Deut. 28. 8. Psal. 13. 3. Isa. 44. 3. Deut. 8. 11,14. Psal. 116. Isa. 83. 10. Mal. 2. 15. 1 Cor. 7. 14. Eph. 6. 4. Deut. 6. 6. Prov. 6. 33. Josh. 24. 15. Zech. 14. 20, 21. Psal. 91. 4. 1 John 2. 15. Phil. 3. 1, 18. 1 Cor. 7. 11, 29, 30. Psal. 23. 3, 4, 6. Jude 24.

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*Of Pastoral Discipline, Publick Confession, Absolution, and Exclusion from the Holy Communion of the Church.*

**T**HE Recital of the Curses are said in the Book of Common Prayer, to be instead of the godly Discipline of the primitive Church, till it can be restored again, which is much to be wished, which is the putting of notorious Sinners to open Penitence: His Majesty's Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, determineth that all publick diligence be used for the Instruction and Reformation of scandalous Offenders, whom the Minister shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's Table, until they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented and amended their former naughty lives, provided there be place for due Appeals to Superiour Powers.

And the Law of Christ commandeth, if thy Brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his faults between him and thee alone, if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy Brother, but if he will not hear thee, then take to thee one or two more, that in the Mouth of two or three Witnesses, every Word may be established, and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church, but if he shall neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen man,

or as a Publican. *March.* 18. 15, 16, 17. And it is the Office of the Pastors of the several Congregations, not only to teach the People in General, and guide them in the Celebration of the publick Worship, but also to oversee them, and watch over each Member of their Flock particularly to preserve them from Errors, Heresies, Divisions, and other Sins, defending the Truth, confuting Gain-sayers and Seducers, instructing the Ignorant, exciting the Negligent, encouraging the Despondent, comforting the Afflicted, confirming the Weak, rebuking and admonishing the Disorderly and Scandalous, and directing all according to their needs in the matters of their Salvation, and the People in such needs should have ordinary recourse to them, as the Officers of

Christ,

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Christ, for Guidance, and Resoluuon of their Doubts, and for Assistance in making their Salvation sure; and in proving, maintaining, or restoring the Peace of their Consciences, and spiritual Comfort.

If therefore any Member of the Church be a scandalous Sinner, and the Crime be either notorious or fully proved, let the Pastor admonish him, and set before him the particular Command of God which he transgresseth, the Supream Authority of God which he despiseth, the Promises and Mercies which he treadeth under foot, and the Curse and dreadful Condemnation, which he draweth upon himself, let this be done with great Compassion and tender Love to the Offenders Soul, and with gravity, reverent and serious importunity, as beseemeth Men employed on the behalf of God, for the saving of a Soul, and yet with Judgment, and cautelous Prudence, not taking that for Sin which is no Sin, nor that for a gross and scandalous Sin, which is but an ordinary humane frauty, nor dealing as unreverently with a Superiour as with an Inferiour, not making that

publick which should be concealed, nor reproving before others when it should be done more secretly, nor unseasonably speaking to those who through Drink or Passion are incapable of the benefit, nor yet offending by bashfulness, or the fear of man, or lukewarmness, negligence, or sleighting over great Offences, on the other extream.

Prudence also requireth them to be cautelous of over-medling, where the Magistrates honour, or concernment, or the Churches unity, or peace, or the reputation of others, or the interest of their Ministry requireth them to forbear.

These Cautions observed, If the scandalous Offender continue impenitent, or unreformed, after due Admonitions and Patience, let the Pastor in the Congregation when he is present rebuke him before all, that the Church may sufficiently disown the Crime, and others may see the odiousness and danger of the Sin. But let this also be with the Love, and Prudence, before mentioned.

If the Offender in obstinacy will not be there, the Pastor may open the Crime before the Congregation,

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tion: And present or absent (in case he remain impenitent) if the Case will bear so long delay, it is convenient, that the Pastor publickly pray for his conviction and repentance, that he may be saved.

And this he may do one, or two, or three, or more Days, as the nature of the Case, and Prudence shall direct him.

If during these means for his Recovery (after the Proof of the Crime) there be a Communion of the Church in the Lord's Supper, let the Pastor require him to forbear, and not suffer him to partake of the Lords Table.

If yet the Offender remain impenitent, let the Pastor openly declare him unmeet for the Communion of the Church, and require him to abstain from

it, and require the Church to avoid Communion with him. And let him bind him by the denunciations of the threatenings of God, against the impenitent.

But before this is done; let no necessary Consultation, with other Pastors, or Concurrence of the Church be neglected: And after let there be place for due Appeals, and let Ministers consent to give account when they are accused of Male-administration.

But if after private Admonition (while the offence is such, as requireth not publick Confession) the Sinner be penitent, let the Minister privately apply to his consolation the promises of the Gospel, with such cautelous prudence, as is most suitable to his condition:

And if he repent not till after publick admonition, or that the scandal be so great and notorious, as that a publick Confession is necessary, let him at a seasonable time appointed by the Pastor, with remorse of Conscience, and true contrition, confess his sin before the Congregation, and heartily lament it, and clear the honour of his Christian profession which he had stained, and crave the Prayers of the Church to God for pardon, and reconciliation through Christ, and also crave the Ministerial Absolution and Restauration to the Communion of the Church, and profess his resolution to do so no more; but to live in new Obedience to God, desiring also their

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their prayers for corroborating and preserving grace.

It is only a credible profession of Repentance, that is to be accepted by the Church.

The foregoing Cautions must be carefully observed in such confessions, that they be not made to the injuring of the Magistrate, or of the Church, or of the Reputation of others, or of the Life, Estate, or

Liberty of the Offender, or to any other shame than is necessary to the manifesting of his Repentance, and the clearing of his Profession, and the righting of any that he hath wronged, and the honour and preservation of the Church.

When he hath made a credible profession of Repentance, it is the Pastors duty, Ministerially to declare him pardoned by Christ, but in conditional Terms. [If his Repentance be sincere] And to absolve him from the censure of non-Communion with the Church, if he was under such a censure before his penitence, and to declare him meet for their Communion, and to encourage him to come, and require the Church to entertain him into their Communion with gladness, and not upbraid him with his fall, but rejoice in his recovery, and endeavour his confirmation and preservation for the time to come: And it is his duty accordingly to admit him to Communion, and theirs to have loving Communion with him: All which the penitent person, must believingly, lovingly, and joyfully receive. But if any by Notorious perfidiousness, or frequent Covenant breaking have forfeited the credit of their Words, or have long continued in the sin which they do confess, so that their forsaking it hath no proof; The Church then must have testimony of the actual Reformation of such as these, before they may take their professions and promises as credible; Yet here the difference of Persons and offences is so great; that this is to be much left to the prudence of Pastors that are present, and acquainted with the persons, and Circumstances of the Case. In the transacting of all this, these following Forms, to be varied as the variety of Cases do require, may be made use of.

*A Form of Publick Admonition to the  
Impenitent.*

The sin maybe named and aggravated when it is convenient.

**A** B. you are convict of gross and scandalous sin, you have been admonished and intreated to repent. The promises of mercies to the Penitent; and the threatnings of God against the Impenitent have not been concealed from you; we have waited in hope for your repentance, as having compassion on your Soul, and desiring your Salvation; but we must say with grief, you have hitherto disappointed us; We are certain from the Word of God, that you must be penitent, if ever you will be pardoned, and that except you repent, you shall everlastingly perish, *Luke 13. 3, 5. Acts 5. 31. Luke 12. 47.* To acquaint you publickly with this, and yet here to offer you mercy from the Lord, is the next duty laid upon us for your recovery. O! blame us not, if knowing the Terrors of the Lord, we thus perswade you, and are loth to leave you in the power of Satan, and loth to see you cast out into perdition, and that your blood should be required at our hands, as not having discharged our duty to prevent it.

Be it known unto you therefore, that it is the God of Heaven and Earth, the great, the jealous, and the terrible God, whose Laws you have broken, and whose Authority you despise; you refuse his Government, who is coming with ten thousands of his Saints, to execute Judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly of their ungodly deeds, and speeches, who hath told us that [evil shall not dwell with him.] The Foolish shall not stand in his sight: He hateth all workers of iniquity (*Jude 14, 15. Psalm 5. 4, 5.*) *The ungodly shall not stand in Judgment, nor sinners in the Congregation of the Righteous,* (*Psalm 1. 5, 6.*) God hath not made his Laws in vain. Though the wicked contemn God,

and say in their hearts, he will not require it, (*Psalm* 10. 13.) Yet their damnation slumbereth not, they are reserved to the day of Judgment, to be punished (2 *Pet.* 2. 3, 9.) And he seeth that their day is coming; (*Psalm* 37. 13.) If men cut off the lives

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of those that break their Laws, will God be out-faced by the pride, and stubbornness of sinners? He will not; you shall know he will not; He threatneth not in jest. Who hath hardened himself against him and hath prospered? (*Job* 9. 4.) Are you not as chaff and stubble, and is not our God a consuming fire, (*Psalm* 1. 4. *Isa.* 5. 24. *Heb.* 12. 29.) If Briars and Thorns be set against him in Battle, will he not go through them, and burn them up together, (*Isa.* 27. 4.) Can your heart endure, or your hands be strong in the day when God shall deal with you? It is the Lord that hath spoken it, and he will do it. *Ezek.* 22. 14. What will you do, when you must bear with the pains of Hell from God, that now can scarce endure to be thus openly and plainly warned of it; If we to please you should be silent and betray you, do you think the God of Heaven, will fear, or flatter you, or be unjust to please a worm. *Do you provoke the Lord to Jealousie are you stronger then he?* (1 *Cor.* 10. 22.) O man! for your souls sake, let not Satan abuse your understanding, and sin befool you, must you not die? And doth not Judgment follow, when all Secrets shall be opened, and God will no more entreat you to confess. (*Heb.* 9. 7. *Matth.* 10. 26.) Behold the Judge standeth at the door, (*Jam.* 5. 9.) will sin go then with you for as light a matter as it doth now? Will you then deny it, or will you stand to all the reasonings, or excuses, by which you would now extenuate or cover it? Will you defend it as your friend? And be angry with Ministers and Reprovers as your Enemies. Or will you not mourn at last

(with weeping and gnashing of teeth) *And say; How have I hated Instruction, and my heart despised Reproof? And have not obeyed the voice of my Teachers, nor inclined mine Ear to them that Instructed me.* (Pro. 5. 11, 12, 13. Mat. 13. 42, 50.) *O that you were wise, that you understood this, and that you would consider your latter End.* (Deut. 32. 29.) Believe Gods wrath before you feel it: Be convinced by the word and servants of the Lord, before you are confounded by the dreadfulfulness of his Majesty; yet there is hope, but shortly there will be none, if you neglect it; yet if you confess and forsake your sins, you shall have mercy, but

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if you cover them, you shall not prosper; (*Prov.* 28. 13.) *And if being oft reprov'd, you harden your neck, you shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy.* (*Pro.* 29. 1.) *Be not deceived, God is not mocked. Whatsoever you sow, that shall you also reap.* (*Gal.* 6. 7.) O man! You know not what it is to deal with an offended, and revenging God. Nor what it is to hear Christ say, Depart from me ye workers of Iniquity; I never knew you, depart from me ye wicked into everlasting fire, (*Matth.* 7. 23 and 25. 41.) You know not what it is to be shut out of Heaven, and concluded under utter desperation, and in Hell to look back upon this obstinate Impenitence; and rejecting of the mercy that would have saved you; and there to have Conscience telling you for ever, what it is that you have done; Did you not know what this is, could you think a Penitent confessing and forsaking your sin to be a condition too hard for the preventing of such a doleful Rate? O no! You know not what a case you are casting your immortal soul into. The Lord give you repentance, that you may never know it by experience, To prevent this, is our business with you: We delight not to displease or shame you. But God hath told us, [That if any do err



from the Truth, and one convert him, let him know, that he which converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins, *Jam. 5. 20.*] I do therefore by the Command, and in the name of Jesus Christ, require and beseech you, that you do without any more delay, confess your sins and heartily bewail them; and beg pardon of them, and resolve and promise by the help of God to do so no more. And bids God that you have all advocate with the Father Jesus Christ the righteous, whose blood will cleanse you from your sins; if you penitently confess them, (*1 John 1. 7, 9. and 2. 1, 2.*) and that mercy may be yet had on so easie terms. If you had any sense of your sin and misery, or any sense of the dishonour done to God, or of the wrong that you have done to others, and of the usefulness of your penitent confession, and amendment, to the reparation of all these, you would cast your self in

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the dust, in shame and grief before the Lord, and before the Church: To day therefore, if you will hear his voice, harden not your heart, lest God forsake you, and give you over unto your own hearts lust, to walk in your own counsels, and resolve in his wrath, you shall never enter into his rest, (*Psalm 95. 8, 12. and 81. 11, 12.*) And then God and this Congregation, will be Witnesses that you were warned; and your blood will be upon your own head. But if in penitent Confession, you flie to Christ, and loath yourself for your iniquities, and heartily forsake them, I have Authority to promise you free Forgiveness, and that your Iniquity shall not be your Ruin, (*Luke 24. 4, 7. Ezek. 18. 30, 31, 32.*)

*A Form of Confession, to be made before  
the Congregation.*

**I** do confess before God, and this Congregation, that I have greatly sinned. \* I have offended, and dishonoured God, and wronged the Church, and the Souls of others, I have deserved to be forsaken of the Lord, and cast out of his presence and the communion of Saints, into desperation, and remediless misery in Hell: I am no more worthy to be called thy Son, or to have a name or place among thy Servants. I do here declare mine iniquity, and am sorry for my sins; They are gone over my head as a heavy burden, they are too heavy for me, they take hold upon me, I am ashamed, as unworthy to look up towards Heaven, but my hope is in the blood and grace of Christ, who made his life a sacrifice for sin, and came to seek and save that which was lost; whose grace aboundeth, where sin hath abounded: The Lord be merciful to me a sinner: I humbly beg of the Congregation, that they will earnestly pray, that God will wash me thoroughly from mine Iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin, that he will forgive them, and blot them out, and hide his face from them, and remem-

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\*Here the sin must be named and aggravated, when by the Pastor it is judged requisite.

Jos. 7. 19. Pro. 28. 13. Psal. 32. 5. Exo. 10. 16. Gal. 1. 13. 2 Chro. 15. 2. Gen. 4. 16. Ps. 51. 11. Mat. 27. 5. Luke 15. 21. Ma. 12. 8. Psal. 38. 18, 4 & 40. 12. Luk. 13. 13. 1 Tim. 1. 1. Heb. 9. 26. Luke 19. 10. Rom. 5. 10. Jam. 5. 16. Psal. 51, 2, 1, 9. Heb. 8. 12. Psal. 51. 10, 12. 2 Cor. 2. 7, 10. John 8. 11. Mark 13. 37.

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ber them no more, that he will not cast me away from his Presence, nor forsake me as I have forsaken him, nor deal with me according to my deserts: But that he will create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit in me, and grant me the joy of

his Salvation; and I beg pardon of the Church, and all that I have wronged: and resolve by the grace of God to do so no more; but to walk more watchfully as before the Lord, and I desire all that are ungodly, and they think never the worse of the Laws, or ways, or servants of the Lord for my misdoings; For if I had been ruled by God, and by his servants, I had never done as I have done? There is nothing in Religion that befriendeth sin, there is nothing so contrary to it, as God and his holy Laws, which I should have obeyed. Rather let all take warning by me, and avoid temptations, and live not carelessly, and hearken not to the inclinations, or reasonings of the flesh, nor trust not their weak and sinful hearts, but live in godly fear, and watchfulness, and keep under the flesh, and keep close to God, and hearken to the faithful counsel of his servants, and intreat your Prayers to God, that I may be strengthened by his grace, that I may sin thus no more, lest worse befall me.

*A Form of Prayer for a Sinner Impenitent,  
after Publick Admonition.*

**M**ost gracious God, according to thy command we have warned this sinner, and told him of thy threatenings, and foretold him of thy certain terrible Judgements, that he might fly from the wrath to come, but alas, we perceive not that he repenteth or relenteth, but hardeneth his heart against reproof; as if he were able to contend with thee, and overcome thy power; **O** let us prevail with him for grace, that we may prevail with him for Penitent confession and reformation. **O** pity a miserable sinner! so miserable, as that he layeth not to heart his misery, nor pitieth himself. **O** save him from the gall of Bitterness, and from the Bonds of his Iniquity: Give him repentance unto life; that

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Psal. 73. 1, 15. Eccl. 8: 12. 2 Chro. 20. 20. Jam. 1. 13, 14. Psal. 5. 1 John 3. 4. Gal. 6. 1.

1 Cor. 10. 11, 12. 2 Sam. 11. 2. Gen. 3. 6. Mat. 26. 41, 75. Heb. 12. 28. 1 Cor. 9. 25, 26, 27. 2 Chron. 25. 16. Eph. 3. 16. John 5. 14. 2 Cor. 5. 11. Mat. 3. 7. Prov. 29. 1. 1 Cor. 10. 22. Luke 23. 24. Acts 8. 22, 23. Acts 11. 18.

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he may recover himself out of the snare of the Devil, who is taken captive by him at his Will. Give him not up to a blind mind, to a seared conscience, a heart that is past feeling, not to walk in his own counsels, and after his own lusts; Let him no longer despise the riches of thy goodness, and forbearance and long-suffering, nor with a hardened impenitent heart, treasure up wrath, against the day of wrath, and revelation of thy righteous Judgement, who will render to every man according to his Deeds, even to them that are contentious and obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation, and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil. Let him be sure that the judgement of God according to truth against them that commit such things, and let him not think in his impertinency to escape thy judgement; O suffer him not, when he heareth the threatenings of thy Word, to bless himself in his heart, and say, I shall have peace, though I walk in the Imaginations of my heart, and add sin to sin, lest thy Anger and Jealousie smoke against him, and thou wilt not spare him, but blot out his Name from under Heaven, and all thy curses lie upon him, and thou separate him from Evil, even to the worm that dieth not, and to the fire that is not quenched. O save him from his sins, from his Impertinency, and the Pride and stubbornness of his heart; O save him from the Everlasting Flames, and from thy wrath, which he is the more in danger of; because he feeleth not, and feareth not his danger; Let him know how hard it is for him to kick against the Pricks, and how woful to strive against the maker, lay him at thy footstool in sackcloth and ashes, in tears and lamentation, crying out, Wo unto me

that I have sinned, and humbling his soul in true contrition, and loathing himself, and begging thy pardoning and healing grace, and begging the Prayers and Communion of thy Church, and resolving to sin wilfully no more, but to live before thee in uprightness and obedience all his days: O let us prevail with thee for the Conversion of this Impenitent sinner, and so for the saving of his soul from death, and the hiding, and pardoning of his sins; that he that is lost may be found, and he that is dead may be alive, and the Angels of Heaven, and we thy unworthy servants here on Earth may rejoice at his

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2 Tim. 2. 25, 26. John 11. 40. 1 Tim 4. 2. Eph. 4. 19. Psal. 81. 12. Rom. 2. 4. & 5. 6. 8. 9. 2. 3. Deut. 29. 29. 20, 21. Mark 9. 24. Mat. 1. 21. Deut. 9. 17. 2 Cor. 6. 2. Luke 19. 41, 42. Prov. 28. 14. Acts 9. 5. Isa. 45. 9. Joel 2. 1, 2, 3. Lam. 5. 16. Psal. 51. Jam. 5. 20. Luke 32. 10. Gal. 6. 1. Luke 15. 27.

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repenting, let us see him restored by thy grace that we may joyfully receive him into our Communion, and thou mayest receive him at last into thy heavenly Kingdom, and Satan may be disappointed of his Prey; for thy mercy sake, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. Amen.

Ezek. 33. 14, 16. 2 Tim. 3. 16.

*A Form of Rejection from the Communion  
of the Church.*

**J**ESUS Christ, the King and Lawgiver of the Church hath commanded that [If a Brother treapass against us, we go and tell him his fault between him and us alone, and if he will not hear us, we shall then take with us, one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three Witnesses, every word may be Established; And if he shall neglect to bear them, that he tell it to the Church, and if he neglect to hear the Church, that he be to us as a Heathen Man, and a Publican. Matth. 18. 15, 16, 17.] And that we keep no company; if any that is called a Brother, be a Fornicator, or Covetous, or an Idolater, or a Railer,

or a Drunkard, or an Extortioner, with such a one, no not to eat. 1 Cor. 5. 11. And that we withdraw our selves from every Brother, that walketh disorderly, and note him, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed: 2. Thess. 3. 6, 14. According to these Laws of Christ, we have admonished this offending Brother, who hath greatly sinned against God, and grieved and injured the Church, we have earnestly prayed, and patiently waited for his repentance, but we have not prevailed. But after all, he continueth impenitent, and will not be perswaded to confess and forsake his sin: We do therefore according to these Laws of Christ, *declare him unmeet* for the Communion of the Church, and reject him from it; Requiring him to forbear it, and requiring you to avoid him, and we leave him bound to the Judgment of the Lord unless his true Repentance shall prevent it.

Luke 19. 27. Mic. 4. 2. Mat. 18. 15, 16, 1 Cor. 5. 11. Tit. 3. 10. 2 Thes. 3. 6. 14, 15. 2 Sam. 12. 14. Acts 8. 24. 2 Tim. 2. 25, 26. 1 Cor. 5. 13. Mat. 18. 18.

### *A Form of Absolution, and Reception of the Penitent.*

**TH**ough you have greatly sinned against the Lord, and against his Church, and your own Soul, yet seeing you humble your self before him, and Penitently flie to Christ for mercy, resolving to do so no more: Hear now the glad tidings of Salvation, which I am commanded to declare unto you. 1 John 2. 1, 2. *If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the Propitiation for our sins,* 1 John 1. 9. *If we confess our sins, he is faithful, to forgive us our sin, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.* Isa. 55. 6, 7. *Seek the Lord while he may be found, Call upon him while he is near: Let the Wicked forsake his Way, and the unrighteous Man his Thoughts, and let him return unto the*

*Lord, and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon. Prov. 28. 13. He that covereth his Sins shall not prosper, but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy. Gal. 6. 1. Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness, considering thy self lest thou also be tempted.* According to this word of Grace.

[\* I do loose the bonds here laid upon you and receive you again into the Communion of the Church] requiring them to receive you, and not upbraid you with your sin, but rejoice in your recovery. And I do declare to you the pardon of all your Sins in the Blood of Christ, if your Repentance be sincere. And I exhort and charge you, that you believingly and thankfully accept this great, unspeakable Mercy, and that you watch more carefully for the time to come, and avoid temptations, and subdue the Flesh, and accept Reproofs, and see that you return not to your vomit, or to wallow again in the mire, when you are washed; but obey the Spirit and keep close to God in the means of your preservation.

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\* This must be omitted if the person was not first Rejected.

2. Sam. 12. 13. 2. Chro. 33. 12, 13. Rom. 10. 15. 1 Joh. 2. 1, 2. 1 John 1. 9. Isa. 55. 6, 7. Prov. 28. 13. Gal. 6. 1. Mat. 18. 8. Luke 15. 2 Cor. 2. 7, 10. Acts 13. 38. Acts 8. 8. Luke 15. 25, 27. Mat. 26. 41. Psal. 85. 8. 1 Cor. 9. 25, 26, 27. Psal. 141. 5. 2 Pet. 2. 22.

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*A Form of Thanksgiving, or Prayer,  
for the Restored Penitent.*

**O** Most merciful Father, We thank thee, that Thou hast brought us under so gracious a Covenant, as not only to pardon the sins of our unregenerate state; but also upon our Penitent confession, and return, to cleanse us, from all our unrighteousness, and pardon our falls by the blood of Christ, and to restore our souls, and lead us again in the

Paths of Righteousness, and command thy Ser-  
 vants to receive us. We thank that thou hast  
 thus restored this thy Servant, giving him repen-  
 tance and remission of sin. [\* and re-  
 turning him to the Communion of  
 the Church] We beseech thee com-  
 fort him, with the believing Appre-  
 hensions of thy forgiveness and reconciliation through  
 Jesus Christ. Restore unto him the joy of thy sal-  
 vation, and uphold him by thy free spirit; stablish,  
 strengthen, settle him, that with full purpose of  
 heart, he may cleave unto thee, and now thou hast  
 spoken peace to him he may not return again to fol-  
 ly, as he nameth the Name of Christ, let him depart  
 from Iniquity, and never more dishonour Thee,  
 thy Church or truth, nor his holy profession, but  
 save him from Temptation. Let him watch and  
 stand fast, and sin no more, lest worse befall him.  
 Let him not receive this grace in vain, nor turn it  
 into Wantonness, nor continue in sin, that grace  
 may abound. But let his old man be crucified with  
 Christ, and the Body of sin be destroyed; that hence-  
 forth he may no more serve sin, remembering what  
 fruit he had in those things, whereof he is now a-  
 shamed, and that the end and wages of sin is death,  
 and let us all take warning by the falls of others,  
 and be not high minded but fear; And let him that  
 thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall. Let us  
 watch and pray that we enter not into Temptation,  
 remembering that the flesh is weak. And our Adver-  
 sary the Devil walketh about, seeking whom he may  
 devour. And let none of us hate our Brother in  
 our hearts, but in any wise rebuke our neighbour,  
 and not suffer sin upon him, and confirm us un-  
 to the end, that we may be blameless, in the Day  
 of

\* Leave out this if he was not Rejected.

Rom. 3. 25. 1 Joh. 1. 5. & 2. 1, 2. Psal. 23. & 103. 3. Mat. 9. 2. Rom. 5. 1, 2, 3. Psal. 51.  
 12. 1 Pet. 5. 10. Acts 11. 23. Psal. 85. 8. 2 Tim. 2. 19. Rom. 2. 23. Mat. 6. 13. 1 Cor. 16. 13.  
 John 5. 14. 1 Cor. 6. 1. Jude 4.



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of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with thee, O Father! and thy Holy Spirit, be Kingdom, and Power, and Glory for ever. Amen.

## APPENDIX.

*A larger Letany or general Prayer, to be used at Discretion.*

**O** Most Holy, Blessed, and Glorious Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons, and one God, Infinite in Power, Wisdom, and Goodness, our Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier; our Owner, Governor and Father; hear our Prayers, and have mercy upon us, Miserable sinners.

O Lord our Saviour, whose Incarnation, Nativity, Subjection, Fasting, Temptation, Poverty, Reproaches, Agony, and Bloody sweat, Scourging, Desertion, Crucifying, Death, and Burial, were all undergone to take away the Sins of the World: Who being risen, ascended, and glorified, art the great Priest, and Prophet, and King of the universal Church, for which thou makest Intercession, which thou dost gather, teach, and guide by thy Spirit, Word, and Ministers, which thou dost justify and wilt glorify with thy self, who wilt come again, and raise the Dead, and judge the World in righteousness; We beseech thee hear us Miserable Sinners: Cast us not out that come unto thee: Make sure to us our Calling and Election, our unfeigned Faith and Repentance, that being justified, and made the Sons of God, we may have peace with him as our Reconciled God and Father.

Let our hearts be right with thee our God, and stedfast in thy Covenant, cause us to deny our selves, and give up our selves entirely unto thee, our Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, as being not our own,

but thine.

Let thy Holy spirit dwell in us, and sanctifie us  
throughout, that we may be new Creatures, and holy  
as

Mat. 28. 19. 1 Joh. 5. 7. 1 Cor. 8. 4. 6. 1 Tim. 1. 17. Psal. 139. 7. 8. 9. & 14. 7. 4. Isa. 40. 17. Neh. 9. Rev. 4. 8. & 15. Eze. 18. 4. Ps. 47. 7. & 119. 68. & 147. 9. Mal. 2. 10. Deut. 32. 6. Luke 11. 2. Act. 7. 59. 60. Heb. 2. 11. Phil. 2. 7. 8. 9. Luke 2. 51. Mat. 4. 1. 2. 2 Cor. 8. 9. Mar. 12. 24. Luke 22. 24. Mat. 27. 26. 28. 30. Mark 14. 50. & 15. 34. 1 Cor. 15. 3. 4. Joh. 1. 29. Heb. 1. 3. & 2. 9. & 3. 1. & 4. 14. Act. 3. 22. 23. Heb. 7. 25. Joh. 12. 32. Mat. 28. 19. 20. 1 Cor. 12. Eph. 4. & 5. 26. 27. Joh. 17. 4. 1 Thes. 4. 14. 15. 16. Joh. 5. 22. Act. 17. 31. Joh. 6. 37. 2 Pet. 1. 10. 1 Tim. 1. 5. Acts 5. 31. Joh. 1. 12. Rom. 5. 10. 2 Cor. 16. 18. Ps. 78. 37. Mat. 8. 34. 1 Cor. 8. 5. 1 Cor. 6. 19. 20.

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as thou art Holy; let it be in us the spirit of Adop-  
tion and supplication, and the seal and earnest of  
our Glorious Inheritance, and let us know that we  
are thine, and thou abidest in us by the spirit which  
thou hast given us.

As thy Name, O Lord is Holy, and thy glory  
covereth the Heavens so let the Earth be filled with  
thy praises: Let our Souls ever Magnifie thee O  
Lord! and our tongues extol thee. Let us speak  
of the glorious honour of thy Maiesty, of the Great-  
ness, thy Power, thy glorious Kingdom, thy Wis-  
dom, Holiness, Truth and Righteousness, thy  
Goodness, thy Mercy, and thy wondrous Works?  
Let all Flesh bless thy Holy Name.

Let the desire of our Souls be to thy Name: Cause  
us to love thee with all our hearts to fear thee trust  
in thee, and to delight in thee, and be satisfied in thee  
as our Portion, and what ever we do to do it to thy  
glory.

Keep us from Inordinate self love, from Pride,  
and vain Glory, and self seeking, and from dishonour-  
ing thee, thy Word, or Service in the World.

Let the World acknowledge thee the Universal  
King. Give thy Son the Heathen for his Inheri-  
tance, and the utmost parts of the Earth for his  
Possession: Let thy Kingdoms of the World become  
his Kingdoms: Convert the Atheistical, Idolatrous,  
Infidel, Mahometan and ungodly Nations of the

Earth, that every Knee may bow to Christ, and every Tongue confess him the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, To the Glory of God the Father.

Let the Word of thy Kingdom and Salvation be preached to all the World, let it have free course and be glorified; and by the Power of the Spirit convert many unto Christ, and let him be thy Salvation to the Ends of the Earth. Send forth more Labourers into the Harvest which is great, and fit them for so great a work; and deliver them from unreasonable and wicked men that to fill up their sins) forbid them to speak to the People, that they might be saved.

Deliver the Churches that are oppressed by Idolaters, Mahometans, or other Infidels and Enemies. Give all thy Servants, Prudence, Patience, and Innocency, that suffering as Christians, and not as Evil Doers, they may not be ashamed, but may glorifie thee, and wait for thy Salvation, committing the keeping of their Souls unto thee, in hope of a Reward in Heaven.

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Rom. 8. 9. 1 Thes. 5. 23. 1 Cor. 5. 17. 1 Pet. 1. 16. Rom. 8. 16. Zech. 12. 10. Eph. 1. 13, 14. 1 Joh. 3. 24. Luke 1. 49. Hab. 1. 3. Luke 1. 46. Psal. 66. 17. & 145. 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, &c. 21. Isa. 26. 8. Deut. 11. 22. & 10. 12, 20, 21. Psal. 4. 5. & 37. 4. & 16. 5. & 63. 5. 1 Cor. 10. 31. 2 Tim. 3. 2, 4. Phil. 2. 3, 21. Rom. 2. 23, 24. Mat. 5. 16. Psal. 47. 2, 7. & 2. 8. 12. Rev. 11. 15. 1 Tim. 2. 1, 4. Joh. 11. 52. & 12. 32. Phil. 2. 20, 11. Mat. 24. 14. 2 Thes. 3. 1. Dan. 12. 3. Isa. 49. 6. Mar. 9. 38. Eph. 6. 19. 2 Thes. 3. 2. 1 Thes. 2. 16. Luke 18. 7. Mat. 10. 16. Luke 21. 19. 1 Pet. 2. 15. & 3. 14. 17 & 4. 15, 16, 19. Micah 7. 7. Mat. 5. 11, 12. @Page Number:75

Deliver the Church from the Roman Papal Usurpations and Corruptions, dispel the deceits of Heresies, and false Worship, by the light of thy prevailing Truth; Unite all Christians in Christ Jesus, the true and only Universal Head: That by the true Christian Catholick Faith and Love, they may grow up in him, and may keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace; the strong receiving and bearing of Infirmities of the weak; Heal the divisions that are among Believers; let nothing be done through strife or vainglory, but in lowliness of mind; let each esteem other better than himself, and let all men know that we are Christs Disciples, by our fervent love to one another.

Let us be heartily and entirely thy Subjects, believing that thou art just, and the Rewarder of them that diligently seek thee. Keep us from Atheism, Idolatry, and Disobedience; from Infidelity, Ungodliness, and Sensuality; from Security, Presumption, and despair.

Let us not please our selves or other men against thee, nor be led by the wisdom or desires of the World, and Flesh, nor regard lying vanities, nor through carelessness, rashness or presumption, offend thee.

As all Nations must be judged of thee, let them be ruled by thy Laws, and not make them void by mens Traditions, nor worship thee in vain, teaching for Doctrine the Commandments of men. But what ever thou commandest, let them take heed to do! Let them add nothing thereto, nor take ought therefrom.

Let us not take thy holy Name in vain, but use it in truth and reverence. Keep us from all Blasphemy, Perjury, Profane swearing, from lying before the God of Truth, and from contempt and forgetfulness of thy presence, from false, unworthy, unreverent thoughts or speeches of God, and holy things, and from neglecting or abusing thy holy Word and Worship.

Help us to keep holy thy Day, in remembrance of the blessed work of our Redemption, and reverently to attend thee in publick Worship; and obediently to receive thy Word, and fervently to call upon thy Name, and to delight ourselves in Thanksgiving and joyful praises to thy Holiness in the Communion of the Saints; and

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Psal. 119. 114. Mat. 15. 9, 13. Rev. 12. & 19. 3. Joh. 5. 10. Luke 22. 25, 26. 2 Pet. 2. Jude. 2 Tim. 3. 9. Eph. 4. 15, 16. & 3. 5. Rom. 14. 1. & 15. 1. Jer. 22. 39. 1 Cor. 1. 10. Phil. 2. 3. Joh. 13. 35. Eph. 5. 2, 4. Rom. 3. 16. Heb. 12. 6. Eph. 2. 2, 3. 2 Thes. 2. 12. Rom. 8. 13. Psal. 19. 13. Rom. 8. 24. Col. 1. 10. Heb. 8. 10. Psal. 40. 8. Isa. 8. 20. Acts 28. 32. 2 tim. 3. 15. 2 Thes. 2. 10. Joh. 5. 39. Luke 24. 45. Psal. 1. 2. Rom. 15. 1, 2. Gal. 1. 10. 1 Cor. 3. 19. 2 Cor. 1. 12. Rom. 8. 13. Joh. 2. 8. Psal. 19. 11, 12, 13. Rom. 2. 16. Micah 4. 2. Mat. 15. 3, 6, 9, 11. Deut. 31. Exod. 20. 7. Psal. 89. 7. Jer. 4. 2. Mat. 15. 19. Jam. 5. 12. Rev. 22. 15. Jer. 5. 22. Act. 5. 3. & 8. 20. Mal. 1. 6, 7, 12. & 2. 2, 7, 8, 9. Rev. 1. 10. Act. 20. 7. 1 Cor. 16. 2. Isa. 58. 13. Heb. 10. 25. 1 Cor. 14. Act. 3. 42, 46.

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let us carefully see that our Housholds, and all within our gates do serve thee, and not abuse thy holy Day.

Have mercy on the Kings and Rulers of the Earth, that they may escape the Temptations of Worldly Greatness, Honours, and prosperity, which would captivate them to the flesh, and draw their hearts from thee, thy Laws and Ways, and would engage them against thee, and thy Servants: And as they are thy Ministers, and Magistracy is thine Ordinance, sanctifie and dispose them to be Nursing Fathers to thy Church, to own thy Interest, and Rule for thee.

Especially have mercy on thy Servant Charles our King: Illuminate and sanctifie him by thy holy Spirit, that above all things he may seek thy Glory, the increase of Faith and the Obedience to thy Laws, and may rule us as being thy Minister for good, not to be a terror to good Works, but to Evil, that under him we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.

Have mercy upon all the royal Family, the Lords of the Council, and all the Nobility, the Judges, and Magistrates of these Lands. Cause them to fear thee, and to be eminent in Sobriety, Righteousness, and Godliness, to protect the Innocent, and be a terror to the Wicked, hating Injustice, Covetousness and Pride.

Let every soul be subject to the Higher Powers, and not resist. Let them obey the King, and all that are in Authority under him, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake, as knowing that they rule by thee, and for thee.

Give all the Churches able, holy, faithful Pastors, and cause them to laboriously to preach, and rightly to divide the Word of truth, to feed thy People with Knowledge, and lead them in the way of Faith and Love, of Holiness and Peace, and to watch for their souls as those that must give account; over-seeing and ruling them, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind, not as being Lords over thy Heritage; but as the Servants of all, and Examples to the Flock: That when the chief Pastor shall appear, they may receive a Crown of glory.

Let the Congregations know those that have the ruling of them, and are over them in the Lord, that la-

hour among them, preaching to them the Word of God. Let them submissively, and obediently hear, and esteem them very highly in love for their works sake, and account them worthy of double honour.

Let Parents bring up their Children in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord, diligently teaching them

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Psal. 98 & 149. 1. Josh. 24. 15. Exod. 10. 10. 1 Tim. 2. 2. Psal. 2. Jer. 5. 5, 6. Luke 18. 24, 25. 1 Cor. 1. 26. Luke 25. 12. John 7. 48. Ezra 4. 12, &c. Rom. 13. 2, 4. Isa. 49. 23. 2 Chron. 19. 6. Lam. 4. 20. 1 Kin. 3. 19, 11. Psal. 51. 10. 1 Sam. 10. 9. 1 Kings 18. 3, 4, 6. Rom. 13. 4, 5. 1 Tim. 2. 2. Psal. 72. 1. Pro. 8. 16. Exod. 18. 17. Job 29. Isa. 17. 23. Luke 1. 51, 52, 53. Rom. 13. 1, 6. 1 Pet. 2. 13. 1 Tim. 2. 2. 2 Cor. 3. 6. 1 Tim. 5. 17. 2 Tim. 5. 15. Jer. 3. 15. 2 Tim. 4. 2, 8. 2. 22. & 1. 13. Heb. 13. 17. 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3, 4. 1 Thes. 1. 12, 23. Heb. 13. 17. 1 Tim. 5. 17. Eph. 6. 4.

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thy Word, talking of it when they are in their house, and when they walk by the way, when they lye down, and when they rise up, that they may know their Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier in the days of their youth: And cause Children to hear, love, honour, and obey their Parents, that they may have the blessing of thine especial Promise unto such.

Let Husbands love their Wives, and prudently guide them in knowledge and holiness; And let Wives love, honour, and obey their Husbands, as meet helpers to them.

Let Masters rule their Servants in Holiness and Mercy, remembring they have a Master in Heaven, and let Servants reverently, singly, and willingly be obedient, and do service to their Masters as to the Lord, from him expecting their reward.

Keep us from Murder, Violence, and all injury to our neighbor's life, or health, from malice, cursing, reviling, and unadvised Anger: Let us not resist evil for evil, but forbear one another, and not give place to wrath.

Keep us from Adultery, Fornication and all uncleanness, and the occasions and appearances thereof. Let us take care as becometh saints, that they be not immodestly named among us; and that no Corrupt Communication, proceed out of our Mouths. Keep us from Chambering and wantonness, from lustful thoughts,

and all immodest attire, behaviour, looks and actions.

Keep us from Theft and Oppression and any way wronging our Neighbour in his Property and Estate.

Keep us from false witness-bearing, lying, and deceiving; from slandering, backbiting, unjust, uncharitable censuring or reproaching, from all perverting of justice, and wronging the reputation of our Neighbour, and from all consent or desire of such wrongs.

Keep us from envy, and from coveting any thing that is our Neighbours. to his wrong, and from seeking our own, and drawing to ourselves, to the injury of his welfare; but let us love our Neighbours as our selves, and do to others as we would they should do to us.

Teach us to love Christ and his holy Image in his Members, with a dear and special love, and to love our Enemies, and pray for them that hate and persecute us, and to good to all as we are able, but especially to them of the household of Faith.

Cause us with patience to submit to all the Disposals of thy Will, and wait thy End, and to love the

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Deut. 6. 7. Eccl. 12. 1. Eph. 6. 1, 2, 3. Eph. 5. 25, 22. 1 Pet. 3. 1, 7. Gen. 2. 22. Eph. 6. 9, 5. 1 Joh. 3. 15. Luke 3. 14. 2 Cor. 7. 2. Mat. 5. 22, 39. Rom. 12. 17. Eph. 4. 2. Rom. 12. 19. Mat. 5. 27, 28. 1 Cor. 6. 9. Rom. 13. 13. 1 Thes. 5. 22. Eph. 5. 3. & 4. 29. 1 Pet. 3. 2, 3. Job 31. 1. Eph. 4. 28. Psal. 62. 10. & 73. 8. 1 Thes. 4. 6. Prov. 19. 5. and 12. 17 & 10. 10. Mat. 7. 1, 2. Psal. 15. 3. & 82. 2. Lev. 19. 17. Prov. 23. Gal. 5. 21, 26. Exod. 20. 17. Phil. 2. 21. Mat. 22. 39. & 7. 12. Mat. 15. 40. 1 Pet. 1. 27. Mat. 5. 44, 45, 46. Gal. 6. 10. Psal. 39. 9. Mat. 26. 30.

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demonstrations of thy Holiness, and Justice, though grievous to the Flesh, and keep us from impatient Murmurings, and discontent, and arrogant reasoning against thy Will.

Give us our daily bread, our necessary sustentation, and provision for thy service, and let us use it for thee, and not to satisfy the flesh; let us depend on thee, and trust thee for it in the lawful use of the means; and bless thou our labours, and give us the fruits of the Earth in season, and such temperate weather as tendeth thereunto.

Deliver us and all thy Servants from such wants, distresses, griefs and sickness, as will unseasonably take us off thy service, and from untimely death: And teach us to value and redeem our time, and work while it is day.

Keep us from Gluttony, Drunkenness, and all intemperance; from sloth and idleness, from inordinate desires and pleasures, or abundance; but having Food and Raiment let us therewith be contented.

Of thy abundant mercy, through the sacrifice and merits of thy Son according to thy promise, forgive us all our sins, and save us from thy deserved wrath and condemnation. Remember not O Lord our offences, nor the offences of our fore-Fathers; but though our Iniquities testify against us, spare us and save us for thy mercy sake! O let not our sin deprive us of thy spirit, or of access unto thee, or Communion with thee, or of thy favour or comfort, or the light of thy Countenance, or of everlasting life.

Cause us to forgive from our hearts, the Injuries done against us, as we expect to be forgiven by thee the greatest debt. Keep us from all revengeful desires and attempts. And do thou convert and pardon our Enemies slanderers oppressors, Persecutors, and others that have done us wrong.

Keep us from running upon Temptations, suffer not the tempter by subtilty or importunity to corrupt our Judgements, Wills, Affections, or Conversations. Cause us to maintain a diligent and constant watch over our thoughts and hearts, our senses and appetites, our words and actions; and as faithful Souldiers, by the conduct and strength of the Captain of our Salvation with the whole Armour of God, so resist and overcome the World, the Devil, and the Flesh unto the End.

Acts 21. 14. Jam. 5. 7, 8. 11. 1 Kin. 20. 19. Mal. 3. 13. 14. Luke 11. 13. Deut. 28. 45. Rom. 13. 14. Luke 12. 20. Eph. 5. 16. Joh. 9. 4. Deut. 28. 6, 8. &c. Phil. 2. 27. Psal. 102. 24. Luke 12. 20. Eph. 5. 16. Joh. 9. 4. Rom. 13. 13. 1 Cor. 9. 25. & 1 Tim. 5. 6, 13. Eph. 4. 28. Pro. 21. 17. & 23. 4. 1 Tim. 6. 8, 9. Psal. 51. 1. 1 Joh. 1. 2. Heb. 8. 12. Dan. 9. 6, 16. Jer. 14. 7. Psal. 31. 16. Psal. 51. 11, 12, 19. Rom. 8. 1. Mat. 6. 2, 14, 15. Rom. 12. 19. Luke 6. 28, 29. Luke 24. Act. 7. 60. Mat. 26. 41. Jam. 4. 7. Pro. 4. 23. Job 31. 1. Mat. 12. 36. Heb. 2. 10. 2



Tim. 2. 3. 1 Joh. 2. 13. & 5. 4. Rom. 8.13. 2 Tim. 1. 8.

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Save us from the Temptations of Prosperity, and Adversity, let us not be drawn from thee to sin by the pleasures, profits or honours of the World; strengthen us for sufferings, let us not forsake thee, or fall in time of trial, help us to deny our selves, and take up our Cross and follow Christ, accounting the sufferings of this present time, unworthy to be compared with the glory to be revealed.

Deliver us from the Enmity and Rage of Satan, and his Instruments and give not up thy Servants, and Souls or Bodies; their Peace or Liberties, Estates or Names, to their malicious Wills: But save us and preserve us to thy Heavenly Kingdom.

We ask all this of thee, O Lord! For thou art the universal King, holy and just, to whom it belongeth in righteousness to judge the World, and save thy People; All power is thine to execute wrath upon thine Enemies, and to deliver and glorifie thy flock; and none is able to resist thee: Of thee and through Thee, and to Thee, are all things, and the glory shall be Thine, for ever. Amen.

Prov. 30. 8, 9. 1 Joh. 2. 15, 16. Rom. 8. 17. Mat. 13. 21, 22. Mat 8. 24. Rom. 8. 18. Mat. 6. 13. Rom. 16. 20. Psal. 140. 1, 2, 3. & 31. 8. & 17. 2, 12. 1 Tim. 4. 18. 1 Tim. 1. 17. Psal. 145. 17. Acts 17. 31. Psal. 72. 4. 13. Jude 14. 15. 2. Thes. 1. 10. Psal. 62. 1. & 147. 5. Job 9. 4. Rom. 11.36.

*The Churches Praise for our Redemption,  
to be used at Discretion.*

**O**ur Souls do magnifie thee, O Lord! our spirits rejoice in God our Saviour, who remembered us in our low and lost Estates for his mercy endureth for ever. By one man sin entred into the world, and death by sin: we kept not the Covenant of God, and refused to walk in his Law: For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God, and Judgement came upon all men to condemnation. But blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that hath visited and re-

deemed his people, and hath raised up a mighty salvation for us in the house of his servant David: As he spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets, which have been since the world began: A Virgin hath conceived and brought forth: The Holy Ghost did come upon her, the power of the Highest did over-shadow her, therefore the holy One that is born of her, is called, the Son of God: His Name is call'd Jesus, for he saveth his people from their sins: To

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Luke 1. 46. Psal. 136. 23. Rom. 5. 12. Psal. 78. 10. Rom. 3. 23. & 5. 18. Luke 1. 68, 69, 70. Isa. 7. 14. Luke 1. 35. Mat. 1. 21. Luke 2. 12.

So

us is born a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord: He is the Image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature, for by him all things are created that are in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible, whether Thrones or Dominions, or Principalities or Powers, all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things do consist. He is the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God; the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the World: The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and Men beheld his Glory as the Glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, for it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell. When the fulness of time was come, God sent his Son made of a Woman, made under the Law, to redeem them that are under the Law. This is the beloved Son in whom the Father is well-pleased. For such a High-Priest became us, who is Holy, Harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, he did no sin, neither was there any guile found in his mouth, when he was reviled, he reviled not again, leaving us an Ensamble: Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the Tree: for God laid on him the iniquity of us all, and by his stripes we are healed. When we were without strength, in due time Christ died for the un-

godly, the just for the unjust: In this was manifest the love of God towards us, that God sent his only begotten Son into the World, that we might live by him. Forasmuch as the Children were Partakers of flesh and blood, he himself likewise took part with them, that he might destroy through death, him that had the power of death, that is the Devil; and might deliever them, who through fear of Death, were all their life time subject to bondage. Having spoiled Principalities and Powers, he made show of them openly, triumphing over them in his Cross. He was buried and rose again the third day according to the Scriptures, for God raised him, having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it, he hath abolished death, and brought Life and Immortality to light by the Gospel. O Death! Where is thy Sting? O Grave! where is thy Victory?

All Power is given in Heaven and Earth; when he ascended on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts to men: And he gave some Apostles, and

Col. 1. 15, 16, 17. 1 Cor. 1. 24. John 1. 9. 14. Col. 1. 19. Gal. 4. 4. Mat. 17. 5. Heb. 7. 26. 1 Pet. 2. 22, 23. 24. Isa. 53. 5, 6. Rom. 5. 6. 1 Pet. 1. 18. 1 Joh. 4. 4. Heb. 2. 14, 15. Col. 2. 15. 1 Cor. 15. 4. Acts 2. 24. 2 Tim. 1. 10. 1 Cor. 15. 55. Matt. 18. 18.

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and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors, and some Teachers, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the Edifying of the Body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God to a perfect man; he is set at Gods right hand in the Celestials, far above all Principalities, and Powers, and Might, and Dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this World, but in that to come. God hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the Church, which is his Body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.

Without controversie great is the Mystery of Godliness: God manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of Angels, preached to the Gentiles, believed on in the World, received up into Glory. This is the Record, that God hath given us eternal life, and this life is in his Son; He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life. He was in the World, and the World was made by him, and the World knew him not; He came to his own and his own received him not. This is the Condemnation that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their Deeds are evil. But as many as receive him, to them gives he Power to become the Sons of God, even to them that believe in his Name. There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit. He forgiveth our iniquities, and will remember our sins no more. Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's Elect? It is God that justifieth; who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died; Yea, rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God who also maketh intercession for us. Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity and purifie to himself a peculiar people zealous of good works. If any man have not the spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. He that nameth the Name of Christ must depart from Iniquity. If we regard Iniquity in our hearts, God will not hear our Prayers. But we are washed, we are sanctified, we are justified in the Name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God. Not by works of Righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us by the

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wash-

Eph. 4. 8, 11, 12, 13. Eph. 1. 20, 21, 22, 23. 1 Tim. 3. 16. 1 John 5. 11. John 1. 10, 11. John 3. 19. John 1. 11. Rom. 8. 1. Psal. 103. 3. Heb. 8. 12. Rom. 8. 33, 34. Tit. 2. 11, 14. Rom. 8. 9. 2. Tim. 2. 19. Psalm 66. 18. 1 Cor. 6. 11.

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washing of Regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost. And being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom also we have Access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in the hope of the glory of God; and hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy ghost which is given to us. For if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life? He that spared not his own Son, but gave him up for us All, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things? He that is gone to prepare a place for us, will come again and receive us to himself, that where he is, there we may be also. It is his Will that they that the Father hath given him be with him where he is, that they may behold the Glory that is given him. Because he liveth we shall live also; for we are dead, and our life is hid with Christ in God: When Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall we also appear with him in glory; when he shall come to be glorified in his Saints, and to be admired in all them that do believe. Then shall men discern between the Righteous and the Wicked, between those that serve God, and those that serve him not. Then shall the Righteous shine forth as the Sun in the Kingdom of their Father. He that overcometh shall inherit all things. He shall enter into the joy of his Lord. He shall be a Pillar in the Temple of God, and shall go out no more. Christ will grant him to sit with him in his Throne even as he overcame and is set down with his Father on the Throne, he will rejoice over us with joy, he will rest in his love: Even in the holy City, the new Jerusalem, prepared as a Bride adorned for her husband, where the Tabernacle of God will be with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, their God, and shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, nor sorrow, nor crying,

nor pain, for the former things are passed away. And the City needeth not the Sun, or the Moon to shine in it, for the Glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lamb is the Light thereof. The Throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it, and his Servants shall serve him, and shall see his face, who is the Blessed and only Potentate, the King of Kings, the Lord of Lords: of him, Through him, and to him are all things: To him be glory for ever. Amen.

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