The Church and the Dissenters Compared, as to Persecution.

by Edmund Calamy



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THE

CHURCH

AND THE

DISSENTERS

Compar'd, as to

PERSECUTION.

IN

Some Remarks on Dr. Walker's

Attempt to recover the Names and Sufferings of the Clergy that were Sequestred, &c. between 1640, and 1660.

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Y Account of the Ministers, Lecturers. Masters, and Fellows of Colleges, and Schoolmasters, who were Ejected or Silenc'd after the Restauration in 1660, by or before the Act for Uniformity; design'd for preserving to Posterity, the Memory of their

Names, Characters, Writings and Sufferings; (which of a single Chapter in my Abridgment of the Life of Mr. Richard Baxter, was at length improv'd into a Volume by itself) came out in 1713. În my Preface to it, I intimated to the World, That I should have been glad if the Account of former Sufferings on the other Side, between 1640, and 1660, which it was generally said was design'd to be publish'd, had seen the Light, before this, which was my Second Edition came out: And that the rather, because finding by the Queries which were sent about the Diocese of Exon, that they that were concern'd in it, would be willing to take all Opportunities of exposing those who suffer'd for their Nonconformity, I should have reckon'd it an Happiness if from their Searches, I might have receiv'd Light to help me to rectify Mistakes, as well as upon another Account, which I there express. This coming to the

Sight of Mr. Lewis of Margate, with whom I had some Acquaintance, he sent me a Letter wherein he freely expostulated with me for censuring the Work of his Chumm, Mr. (since Dr.) Walker, before I had seen it; and intimated, That he could not imagine he would be warm or severe; but hop'd he would write with that Temper, that I should wish any Hints of that Nature had been forborn. I should have been glad to have been mistaken in my Apprehensions: And that Mr. Lewis had found his Friend, either so careful of himself to govern his Temper, or so ready to listen to the Advice of others, which was fairly given him from different Quarters, as that I should have had Reason to have own'd my Surmises altogether groundless. But that Gentleman hath since with great Frankness, not only let the Doctor and me, but the World know, how sensible he was of his Mistake. However, I believe, most Men would have been of my Mind, that had seen the Exeter Queries, which were sent round the County, in order to the picking up Materials for the intended History, in Opposition to my Abridgment, and the annex'd Account of the Ejected and Silenc'd Nonconformists. I shall here subjoyn a Copy of them, for the Gratification of the Curious, and to introduce my intended Remarks with the more Advantage. These celebrated Queries were put into the Form of a Circular Letter, to rhe Ministers of the several Parishes in the Diocese, in the Words following,

Reverend Sir.

"You are humbly requeued to make the fol-

"lowing Queries in your Parish:

"Whether in the Times of Rebellion and "Confusion, your rightful Episcopal Predecessor "was formally turn'd out of his Benefice; or so "much harrass'd, that he was forc'd to leave it?" "Or forc'd to compound for it? Or with much "Trouble and Difficulty kept it? Or was turn'd "out for some Time, and recover'd it again by the "Restoration?"

"If he were so:

"What his Name was? As a I so the Name of his; "Parish? And what his Character, either for Mo-"rals

"rals or Learning? And what his Degree in the

"University?

"How he was turn'd out? that is, Either for not "taking the Covenant, or by the Committee of Com-"missioners, or Triers of Ministers, or by any o-

"ther more arbitrary and violent Way?

"What Causes or Crimes were alledg'd against "him? How they were prov'd, and by what Evi-"dence? In general, Whar Hardships and ill Treat-"ment he lay under? Particularly, What was his "Usage by the Commissioners, if turn'd our by "them? What Accounts you have current among "you of his Examination before them? What

"Rudeness was offer'd him there? &c.

"What Treatment he had from the Soldiers, or "the Mob? And whether his Temporals were not "seiz'd as well as his Spirituals? His House plun-"der'd, his Person (or Family) insulted, or injur'd? "Particularly, in the Time of Divine-Service, &c. "As also, Whether there were not Indecencies com-"mitted in or toward the Church in thoae Times? "And whether he preach'd at all after he was turn'd "out of his Place? And suffer'd not for it?

"Whether the succeeding irregular Minister of "those Times, laid any Hardships upon him? Or

"had any hand in countenancing his ill Usage?

"What Family he had at that Time? What him-"self and they did after, for a Subsistance? What "became of him and them? And what his worldly "Circumstances at that Time were?

"Whether the Allowance of a fifth, order'd by "Parliament, was paid him? Whether the Parish "on his Ejectment, continu'd not some time with-

"out any Minister at all?

"Whether his Life or any Funeral Sermon be "printed? Whether he publish'd any Thing him-"self? Or hath any Papers remaining, which re-"late to his Sequestration? &c.

"Whether he liv'd to the Restoration, and came "into his Place again? And if so; Whether imme-"diately on the Restoration, or at Bartholomew-Day "1662?

"Whether he hath any Relations or Friends li-"ving, thar can give a fuller Account of this Mat-"ter? And where they may be writ to?

"Secondly,

"What the Name of the irregular and illegal Mi-"nister, (who in thole Times immediately succeeded "him, at his being turn'd-out?) And (if there were "more than one before the Restoration) what his or "their Names also?

"How he or they got Possession of the Place? "Whether by Appointment of the Commissi-

"oners, Usurpation? Or what other Way?

"Whether your Predecessor at Bartholomew-tide "1662, was one of those turn'd out by the Act of "Uniformity? And (if the Place had been a se-"questred one) whether he was the Person who "had immediately succeeded the ejected, rightful, "Episcopal Clergyman in those Times, or there "had been one or more between them?

"And concerning both the one and the "other of these;

"What their several Characters were? Either for "Morals, or Learning? Whether they had ever "been at any University? Or were Tradesmen? "And did not return to their Trades again, when "they were silenc'd?

"Whether they were ever in Epilcopal Orders?"
"Or in any Orders at all? And how long they mi"nistred (especially either of the Sacraments) be-

"fore they were so?

"What Opinions they were of? As, Presbyterians, "Independents, Anabaptists, Brownists, Fifth-Monarchy-"men? &c. As also, what Heterodoxies they held "or broach'd?

"What Accounts there are among you of their "Ignorance? Of their ridiculous Praying or Preach-"ing, Canting? Formal or immoral Practises? "What factious, or furious and violent Things "they either laid or did, against Monarchy, Epis-"copacy, the Church, the King, the Bishops, the "Clergy, the Liturgy, the Lord's-Prayer, the Ce-"remonies, or the Royalists?

"How often the Sacraments us'd to be admini-

"stred in their Time?

"Whether they continu'd not to preach privately, "after they had been silenc'd at Bartholomew-tide "1662 "1662? Whether they after conform'd, either as "Laymen, or Clergymen? Constantly or occasi-"onally?

"What Countrymen they were? Of what Uni-"versity, if of any? Who of them dead? When

"they died? And what their Age?

"What kind Treatment your Predecessor (if he "were turn'd out at Bartholomew-tide) had from the "Church Minister who succeeded him? And what "was the Character of that your Episcopal Prede-"cessor?

"If your Predecessor was not "ejedied at St. Bartholomew's,

"Whether he had not come into his Place by "some irregular Way or other, in the late Times "of Confusion? And was continu'd in it only for "Conforming?

"What Person can give any fuller and more per-

"fect Account of them?

"What the Names of those Commissioners who "ejected your rightful Episcopal Predecessor were? "As also their Character, for Learning and Mo-"rals, Estate and Condition?

"Whether any of their Papers, Proceedings, Jour-"nals, are to be had? And where any of their

"Relations also live?

"These several Queries, 'tis presum'd, ancient Peo"ple of your Parish, the Relations or Descendants of
"such as were concern'd in those Times, (especially
"any Relations or Descendants of their own, or their
"intimate Acquaintance or Friends) (any Learned
"Gentlemen of your Parish) and your own Parish
"Records, (particularly your Wardens Accounts
"subscrib'd by them) will enable you to satisfy.

"Besides which,

"Any Accounts of Books, Pamphlets, or "Parts of Books and Histories, which treat of the "Sufferings of the Clergy in those Times; or any "Books or Pamphlets which may help towards "the giving an Account but of any one single Per-"son, (whether of the Suffering Episcopal, or any "of the irregular illegal Ministers) in those Times; "or any other Notice relating to those Matters, "shall be most thankfully receiv'd,

"The fuller you are the better. But if you can on-"ly learn the Names of your injur'd Episcopal Pre-"decessors, or of your Predecessor that was turn'd out "at Bartholomew-tide 1662: Or, if you are sure your "Predecessors respectively were either sequestred, or "ejected in 62, without knowing their Names, or "if you know (or have heard) of any other Ministers, "in any other Parish besides your own, which lost "their Place, (either the one Way or the other) or on-"ly as before) the bare Names of the Parishes them-"selves (the Ministers of which respectively, you "are sure were either sequestred on the one Hand, "or outed at St. Bartholomew's on the Other) you "are requested to send even that little Information: "And for this latter Purpose to enquire of any Re-"lations of any sequestred Ministers, (besides your "own Predecessor) living in Your Parish, who may "inform you in this Matter.

"You are desir'd to let down the Names or "Quality of the Person, from whom you have "your Relations; as from a Son, a Brother, or "Friend, of the Minister himself; or whatever "else the Relation or Condition may be, that ren"ders his Testimony creditable: And to send no"thing but what you have Grounds to' believe is true.
"You are desir'd farther, to lay these Queries
"before you, whilst you are enquiring of any one
"for Intelligence; because several of them may
"orherwise be omitted by you: Some of which be"ing design'd for peculiar Purposes, the Omission

"would be very Prejudicial.

"The Design intended to be prosecuted by these "Queries, hath been humbly laid before the Right "Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of this "Diocese, and the Reverend the Arch-Deacons, "who have been pleased not only to approve of it, "but also to permit that it be recommended in their "Names to you, for the Assistance that is hereby "humbly requested of you.

"Be pleass'd to send the Answer to these Queries "to Mr. Francis Cook, Right Reverend the Bi"shop's Register; or Mr. Nicholas Webber, the Ro
"verend the Archdeacons Register, in Exon, or ro
"Mr. John Atherton, the Reverend the Archdeacons
Register

"Register in Totnes: Or to Mr. Joshua Tucker, the "Reverend the Archdeacons Register in Barnstable,

"with all convenient Speed.

I got a Copy of these leading Queries by meer Accident. They were sent me by a Friend from the West of England, and he inform'd me that he obtain'd 'em in this Manner. A certain Parish Minister that was willing to serve the Cause, comes with his Paper to a good Old Christian, whose Father had been a Sufferer between 1640 and 60, and was of the Loyal Party, and tells her that if she would but rub up her Memory, and help him to a Number of Particulars, of the Sufferings of her Father, and Others of the same Side, and of the Extravagancies and Madness of those that came in their Room, she might have a fairer Prospect than she ever could have expected, of some Reparation for the Losses her Family had sustain'd, &c. The Poor Woman was surpriz'd with trhe Motion; and signified to the Maker of it, that if she could but get safely and quietly to Heaven 'twas as much as she desir'd: But that as for past Matters, they might remain in perpetual Oblivion for her: She had no Inclination to revive them. The Parson chid her for her Simplicity; and told her he hop'd she would be wiser than to let slip such an Opportunity; and presently falls to asking her Questions out of his Paper, concerning her Father. She told him her Father been had long in his Grave, and she knew of no good End it would answer to drag him thence, and revive what in her Apprehension were better forgotten. By this Time the Examiner began to be in a Passion, and insisted on it, That he must and would know, what it was that her Father was charg'd with, when his Living was sequestred. She told him he had better let that Matter alone, for it would not answer his End. And when he would take no Denial, she gave him such an Account of the Particulars laid to his Charge, and the Evidence that supported 'em, as was not at all to his Gust. He diverts therefore, and asks other Questions about the Person that succeeded her Father, upon whom he reflected with great Freedom. She told him, that as much as he despis'd that Minister, who came in her Fathers Room, if she ever got to Heaven, she should have Reason to bless God for him, as an Instrument in his Hands, to help her thither. The Inquirer was wofully disappointed, and storm'd and rag'd to no Purpose; for he could not help himself. At last he retir'd, and thro' the Slipperiness of his Memory, (tho' some ascribe it to another Cause) he left his Paper behind him, which was carry'd to one that took a Copy of it, and return'd it. By next Morning he recollected himself, and fetch'd his Paper in mighty Haste, and with no small Concern, and seem'd glad he had found it, and return'd no more.

But it was not in this Diocese only that Queries were sent about to fetch in Materials for the grand Work design'd. Some were also dispers'd in the Diocese of Canterbury, and I have obtain'd a Copy of them by the Favour of a Friend. They were

in the Words that follow.

Reverend Sir,

"Mr. Calamy (in his late Abridgment of Mr. "Baxter's Life) hath published a List of those who "were ejected at St. Bartholomews-Day 1662, for "Nonconformity: And hath lain many heavy and "grievous Imputations upon the Act of Uniformity, "on that Account. As one Part of an Answer to "which, it is proposed to advance an Account of "the Royal and Episcopal Clergy, which suffered "in the late Times of the grand Rebellion. For "this Purpose you are humbly desired to enquire "in Your Parish, whether your then Predecessor "might not be one of those very many Sufferers, "who were at that Time either formally seque-"stred from their Livings, or at least so much "harrassed and threatned, that they were forc'd to "Resign or Quit them. And if you find, he was "so, to bring or transmit his Name and Degree, "(together with the Name and Value of the Place, "and County in which it lies; as also whether "a Rectory or Vicaridge,) either to the Archdea-"con, &c.

"If there were any Thing peculiar In his Suf-"ferings, or Character, as likewise in the Chara-"cter of the Person who succeeded in his Place at "that Time: And you can gee them from good "Hands; or if you hear of any Papers relating to "these Matters; be pleased to send an Account of "either the one, or the other, &c.

I have some Reason to believe that Letters of the same Nature were sent through most other Dioceses in the Kingdom: And therefore I am so far from wondring that the Accounts transmitted are so particular, that I rather wonder they are not much more exact.

Upon the dispersing of these Letters, Dr. Walker had I suppose Advices from different Quarters with Relation to his Conduct. Among the rest, an Old Friend of his, advis'd him Carefully to avoid saying any Thing to blacken the Dissenters, or render them Odious, of which an ill Use would be made by common Adversaries. And about the same Time the very same Gentleman wrote me word, that he hop'd I should find that the Personal Characters of the Nonconformists were very favourably treated: And he would not allow me the least Suspicion of the contrary, notwithstanding what I knew of Dr. Walter's Conduct at Exon, to which I believe he was pretty much a stranger.

At Length in 1714 Out comes the celebrated long expected Work, in a Folio, in a small Print, with the Title of, An Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, &c. who were sequestred, harrass'd, &c. in the late Times of the grand Rebellion: Occasion'd by the Ninth Chapter, (now the Second Volume) of Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Mr. Baxter, together with an Examination of that Chapter. The World was at first amus'd with so large a Work, but by Degrees began to speak freely of it in Conversation, where it has had the Fate of other Performances.

One Learned Doctor was pleas'd to bring it into the pulpit, and call it a late Book of Martyro-

logy, and represent it as a Record which ought to be kept in every Sanctuary *: But, says Mr. Lewis who has taken him to Task for it, what is it less, than to defile that sacred Place, to bring such a Farrago of false and senseless Legends into it †. Which was as mortifying to the Author, as the other was elevaring. This Mr. Lewis being a particular Friend of the Author's, it may not be amiss to add what follows presently after. When (says he) 1 first read Mr. Walker's Circular Letter to the Archdeacons, I fancied he intended to give us an Account of those worthy Men, who in the Time of the Civil War and Usurpation, were persecuted for Righteousness Sake, and lost all that they could not keep with a good Confidence, for the Sake of their Duty to God and the King, And this I really thought a good Work: For that such Righteous Men ought to be in everlasting Remembrance. But after about Ten Tears going with this Work, and that the Time of its Birth was come, and I had the Opportunity of of seeing the Production, I soon found it to be a perfect changeling. Instead of what I expended it to be, I saw an huge Heap of the most heterogeneous Characters, and like the Popish Bead-roll of their Saints and Martyrs, a great many of them much more deserving to have their Names blotted out, than their Memory to be preserv d, &c. And he that thus freely passes his Censure, happens to be the very Person, that was displeas'd with me not long before, for not expecting Judgment, Candor, and Moderation in the Performance. But I really tho't, when such a Sett of Queries, was to run through the Hands of the Clergy in all Parts, in Order to Returns, which when made, were to be under the Management of one of Dr. Walker's Warmth and Zeal, it was no difficult Matter to form a Conjecture, what the Result would prove. And I must say, whoever was disappointed, my Expectations were exactly answer'd.

When the Work had been out some Time, Mr. Withers of Exon, Printing a Reply to Two Pamphlets of Mr. Agate's, added an Appendix containing a few

^{*} Dr Tho. Bisse's Sermon before the Sons of the Clergy. Dec. 6. 1716. p. 19. †See Mr. Lewis's Remarks on the said Sermon. p. 51.

few Remarks, on Dr. Walker's Preface to his Attempt; which Appendix, met with a favourable Reception from the Generality of those who would give it the Reading. Mr. Withers there deals pretty free-ly with the Doctor, about his Unchristian Railing and ill Language; his scurrilous and base Reflections upon the Memory of King William; the Indecency and Rudeness with which he treats his Superiours; the frequent Occasions he takes to ridicule serious Godliness; his notorious Falshoods and Untruths, of which he gives several Instances; the vain Effort he makes to prejudice King George against His best Friends; and the Opportunity he has given of turning all those railing Accusations, which he hath falsly brought against the Whigs and Dissenters, against his own Patrons, the Tories and High-Fliers, and that with a great deal of Truth: And upon the whole he concludes this Preface of the Doctors, to be one of the most scurrilous Libels, that ever yet appear'd in Folio.

But the whole Work being level'd against me, and what I had publish'd, it has been generally expected that I should take some Notice of it, and I have been accordingly call'd upon; And tho' some have declared it their Opinion, that it would be but a throwing away of Time and Pains, to meddle with an Heap of Stuff which so few would regard, yet others have thought, that Truth would suffer, and the Doctor triumph too much, if I should let such voluminous Scandals lie wholly neglected,

which were raked together upon my Account.

I have therefore submitted to the Penance of giving the whole a Second Reading, making some Remarks as I went along, which I here communicate, not expecting to make much Impression upon the Dr, whom I take to be too much confirm'd in his Way to be open to Conviction, but leaving it to the World to judge between ns.

I am too much concerned in his *Preface*, wholly to overlook it; tho' more has been said to that already, than he can be able easily to digest, or to answer in hast. The Doctor there declares that this Bulky Work of his, was wholly occasion'd by my *Abridgment*; which instead of creating the least

Uneasiness, would have been a Pleasure to me, had he kept within any Bounds of Truth and Decency. However, he seems very desirous, the World should think he had as good Grounds for his Undertaking, as I for mine: About which 'tis hardly worth while to contend. The Church was most certainly at Liberty to preserve the History of her Sufferings: Nay it was but fit she should do it. And yet had the Dissenters themselves, (with all their ill Nature) been left to choose an Undertaker, 'tis the Opinion of some, that they would have been hard put to it, to have pitch'd upon one that should have managed more to their Advantage, than the Present Historian: Though even that would have been more comfortable, if our common Christianity, had been no Way expos'd in the Management. If the Church has no Reason to be ashamed of such an History, now it has appear'd, I think verily there is no great Cause of boasting of it. We Dissenters it is true, are therein expos'd with a Vengeance, and dealt with most unmercifully: But for my Part I can't perceive, that there is any very great Danger, either of our throwing off all Shame, or holding down our Heads for ever, upon this doughty Champion's signalizing himself so wonderfully, with his mighty Feats. I suppose he has done his best against us: But I can't perceive but we have some Life still left; and where there is Life, there is Hope.

He with great Positiveness asserts. That the Numbers, the Sufferings, and the Excellent Characters of the Loyalists, do far exceed those of the Nonconformists: Which is much more easily affirm'd, than prov'd. But supposing it granted him, I yet cannot perceive that it either follows from thence that he has acted fairly in representing the poor Nonconformists universally as such despicable Creatures; or that those of the Established Church, are at all to be justify'd, in retaliating upon others, the Sufferings which they themselves had met with; without clearing which, the Doctor seems to have taken Abundance of Pains to but little Purpose. Were these Nonconformists its true, such a wretched People as he makes them, it cannot be deny'd but that the Severities used against them, might be fairly enough Apologiz'd

p. iii.

p. vi.

Apologiz'd for. For he tells us, Their Conduct has been one continu'd Attempt upon the Constitution: That p. vii. in King James's Reign they fell in with his Measures for the Ruin of the Church; and that afterwards they debauched both the Civil and Religious Principles of the Nobility and Gentry. But as long as the Body of the Nation, as well as our own Consciences know these Assertions to be most abominably false, and destitute of any Support; and as long as the Legislature itself, has thought fit to clear us from such Charges; his repeating them ever so often over and over again, carries no Proof in it, that we have not been hardly dealt with, and most shamefully abus'd; nay, is an Evidence of nothing, but that our Author is resolv'd Right or Wrong to run us down, as far as his Influence will reach. And as for his Insinuations. That some Dissenting Preachers, were by the Advice of Persons in the highest Posts in the Kingdom, re- p. viii, commended to a certain University, (he might as well ix. have said Universities, since more than one was concern'd) for the Degrees of Doctors in Divinity; and that their Darling the Prince of Mindelheim (from whom he'd be hard put to it to prove they ever receiv'd any Favour, abstracting from the great Service he did to his Country, for which they cannot but highly honour him) was to be General for Life: That they endeavour'd the Ruin of the Nation's Commerce; stir'd the Houses of Ambassadors sent hither; and murder'd those that were to be sent Abroad; and hir'd Persons to tear up the very Foundations, not of Christianity only, but of all Religion and Government; which are all of a piece, they are so ridiculous as well as malicious, that any one that should regard them, would be a real Object of Pity. This is a Flight not easily to be match'd, in any Ancient or Modern Rhetorick. One would imagine (as Mr. Lewis * has happily enough express'd it) that when the Author wrote it, he was in Flamstead's dark Room, where he shews People Objects all revers'd; Men and Women walking

* Remarks oa a late Sermon preach'd before the Sons of the Clergy, by Dr. Biss. p. 53.

walking with their Feet upward, and Ships sailing, with

their Maps and Sails turn'd topsy-turvy.

What follows next, about Loyalty, I suppose was intended for the last Reign, rather than the present, and may therefore be pass'd over, because of the Change which has happen'd since, which our Author, I suppose, did not foresee: But when he says, That as much as Ignorance and Hypocrisy are more deform'd than the most excellent Learning and true Piety, Coblers and Mechanicks than Persons of the first Rank for Esteem and Eminence, the Desolations of Jerusalem than the Beauties of Holiness; so much more monstrous is the Face of Things that he produces, than that which I expose; it is perfect Rant and Bluster, and I can be content that the Judgment be left with the Readers,

upon a fair Companion.

When I drew up the Preface to the Account of our Ministers who were ejected after the Restoration, I frankly declar'd. That I was pleas'd, instead of being disturb'd, at the Attempt that was intended to transmit to Posterity, the former Sufferings on the other Side; and I often said the same in Conversation: But this he will have to be a Virtue produe'd by Necessity, and a seeming, rather than a real, Approbation of what was not in my Power to prevent. But if for once he'll take my Word, I can assure him, If it had been intirely in my Power to have prevented the drawing up such an History, I should not have attempted it: And yet must own. That could I have done any thing to prevent the so grossly breaking in upon Truth, Justice, and Decency, as is done by the Historian, I should have thought my Time and Pains well bestow'd. And since I have seen the Performance. I am far from being surpriz'd that the Reverend Prelate to whom he refers, should discover an Uneasiness, that such a Work was in no better Hands. That Bishop knew Mankind better than our Author, and may very well be allow'd to be sensible, that the misguided Zeal, and injudicious Bigotry, which would run through his Work, would in such an Age as ours, be far from doing the Church any real Service. Nor can I forbear adding. That he that can with so much Assurance, give such an Account both of

p. xii.

p. x, xi.

the Occasion of my Journey to Sarum, in which I had the Honour of his Lordship's free Conversation, and of that Converiation itself, which is intirely false, could not by any means be a fit Person to be a Church Historian.

His Recriminating, had there been any Tincture of Modesty in the Management of it, might have pass'd uncensur'd, because it might have had a good Tendency to make all Sides for the future asham'd of Rigor and Severity; but he has been so very outragious, that I find his own Friends are at a Loss how to frame an Apology for him. Perhaps their Upbraidings may more effectually promote Conviction, than the Animadversions of others.

I can easily believe, his Pains in collecting and transcribing Materials, &c. has not been small; And since he had such Assistance from several Persons of p.xxiii. Worth and Eminence, 'tis to be lamented, he made no better use of it. He inlarges with Freedom upon his Method of Management, with which if his own subscribers and Benefactors were but satisfy'd, he'd have the less Reason to value the Thoughts of others. The Excuses which he adds, are needful enough; and some of their may I think easily be allow'd.

But after all, he seems apprehensive of sudden and precipitated Answers; from which Fear, he may I suppose by this time be pretty well recover'd. For so far has every Week been from producing a Pamphlet against him, that I find scarce any that have thought it worth their while to take Notice of him, except those whom I have mention'd before. If therefore he really was in Earnest in what he wrote, he seems bound, according to his positive Promise, to be contented to be thought to have misrepresented the Party, as well in the Work itself, as in his Preface. This cannot reasonably be reckon'd an Hardship upon him, seeing it is his own Proposal. However, I can assure him, whether he be contented with it or not, he is not only thought, but known, to have most grossly misrepresented the Party, against whom he so much inveighs, with as little Wit as Judgment. And I am of Opinion) and am well assur'd I am not singular) that he may very safely, notwithstanding the Threatning he has added, let atone the Morals of those men-

tion'd in the Abridgment; though the best of it is,

we there require but common Justice.

However, since he is so dispos'd to applaud himself in his Performance, while others, are so little inclin'd to concur with him, he has Reason enough to be contented that he has been so quiet. I think verily the Party he has so violently assaulted, has had as much Patience, as he reasonably could desire. If any of them would willingly have seen the Sheets of his Work as they were printed off, I don't perceive it could have been the least Damage to him. Had he made a Motion of that kind with respect to the Second Edition of my Abridgment, he should have been gratify'd. It would have been a real Pleasure to me, to have had any Hints from him, towards the rectifying unwilling Mistakes and Errors. But he it seems was so far of another Mind, that he would not give my Second Edition the Reading, † tho' it was publish'd some Time before his Work came out of the Press, for fear he should find any Occasion for Alterations. But since his great Work hath seen the Light, it has been answer'd with as profound a Silence, as the Author of it could well threaten his Answerer with. Except his old Friend, and Mr. Withers. People have kept their Refentments to themselves. Not so much as a Curr hath barked at him, to hinder him in his Advance towards his Journey's End. The Twenty Reams of Paper he has already spent, and that at a Time when it bears so great a Price, has turn'd to so little Account, that People thought it Pity to provoke him to waste any more. Full Liberty has been left him, for his closest Application to the more immediate Business of his Function, (for the Neglect of which he elsewhere prays God to be merciful to him,) which most Men think will yield him much

p. xlix.

p. xlv.

р. I. p. 3.

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[†] Hence it appears manifestly unreasonable, for him to reflect on me for Mistakes, which that Second Edition of mine had rectify'd (and that before his Book came out, and for any thing that appears, before it went to the Press) as he does about Mr. Bowbier. Part II. p. 197.

more Comfort, than any farther Attempts to act the Part of an Historian, for which Nature never sleems

to have design'd him.

No sooner is the Preface over, than we are entertain'd with an Alphabetical List of the Names of such as encouraged this great Work by Subscription, the like to which could never be produc'd by any Dissenter, and I very much Question whether the Doctor himself with all his Interest, will be able to compass such another for the Second Part of his Work, now the World has seen the First. These Subscribers are in Number above Thriteen Hundred, to the no small Comfort of the Booksellers, who I doubt had otherwise been in Danger, of having a great many Copies lie upon their Hands. There is Room enough for a Suspicion of this Nature, because so few have been sold that were not subscrib'd for, and so many of the Subscribers were so ready to part with their Property afterwards, at a Race not very Honourable to the Author. However, the Names make a great show, and are apt to draw forth Observation, not only upon Account of their Numbers, but also because of their Rank, Quality and Figure, and the vast Variety of their Circumstances. There are Archbishops and Bishops, Deans, Prebendaries, Archdeacons, Cannons, Doctors, Rectors. Vicars and Curates: Heads of Houdes, Fellows of Colleges, Schoolmadters and Chanters: Together with Dukes and Dutchesses, Earls, Viscounts, Lords and Ladies, Baronets, Knights, Esquires, Members of Parliament, Gentlemen, Attorneys at Law, and Merchants in Abundance. And that it might not be thought that Persons of a Lower Rank had less Zeal for the Church, or less Respect for its Champion than their Superiors, there are Booksellers, and some of most other Trades: As a Baymaker and Dyer, Apothecaries, Vintners and Fullers; a Brasier, Grocer, Haberdasher, Surgeon, Brewer, Bookbinder, Mercer, Druggist, Shipwright, Linnen-Draper, and Upholsterer; and even as low as a Currier, a Plaisterer, and a Barber: So forward were all Sorts to encourage this mighty Work, and Hand it into the World. And if the Author would but in his nest give us a fair Account, how many C 2

of these never call'd for the Books which they had subscribed for, and how many discover'd their Sorrow afterwards, for being drawn in, it would gratify the Curiosity of many, and be a Satisfaction in part to some that complain of their being hardly used, and a Caution to others for the Future, to prevent Forwardness to encourage the Publication of they know not what. However, when the Work so swell'd upon our Author's Hands, as to be Matter of Complaint to himself and others, and when the Price was like to rise so high, it is the Opinion of many, that this Ornament of such a Medley of Names had better been spar'd, than that he should have spent Three Sheets and an half of Paper upon it, at the Cost of his Buyers.

The Attempt itself has Two Parts. The first is an Historical Introduction, to usher his Sufferers in upon the Stage with the more Advantage: And the Second, a Particular Lift of Sufferers on the Church side, with all the Encomiums, that their Friends from all Parts of the Kingdom were able to give them, I shall bestow a few Remarks upon

each.

His Historical Introduction to the whole, is as confus'd an Heap of Scandal as the Press has been deliver'd of for many Years: And tho' it is large, and in some Parts of it very particular, yet is there not as far I can perceive, either Order or Method, or any Thing to recommend it but Heat and Bigottry, with their usual Attendants. It is usher'd in with a Furious Invective against my unhappy Abridgment, which I cannot but own would be very justifiable, if there really were any such dreadful Designs as the Author apprehends in View, when it was drawn up. But as I am not sensible of any Thing of that Nature, he seems to me to fight with the Air, out of Fear of his own Shadow. Without being at the Pains to produce any Thing that might look like Proof, he gives it as his Sense that the publishing to the World an Account of the Peaceable Behaviour of the Nonconforming Ministers, their Meekness under Sufferings, the Holiness of their Lives, and the many Perfections they underwent, would do much damage to the Church, by encouraging the Separation

p. I.

Separation. And therefore by Way of Opposition, he undertakes to shew, That the Little-Finger of these Men, was heavier than the Loins of the Church. Of this he declares himself so very Confident, That he would gladly put the whole Issue of the Cause betwixt the Church and Dissenters, upon this single poirit of Persecution. But in this, I am afraid he'll find in the Sequel, he has gone a little too far, and was not well advis'd. He owns however, that tho' the Accusation of Persecution, could not only be retorted upon the Dissenters, but be return'd likewise sevenfold into their Bosoms, yet it will not follow, that the Church herself is wholly free from it. And in return for his Frankness (which I confess I should be not a little pleas'd with, if he would but stand to, and pursue it) I on the other Hand, am very free to acknowledge, that tho' the Charge of Persecution could not only be fully prov'd true on the Church Side, but carried much higher than I ever pretended, yet I am far from supposing that that would justify any that adher'd to the Principles now own'd by Dissenters, for using Rigor and Severity in Matters of Conference, when they had Power in their Hands; or Warrant all the Proceeding between 41 and 60. And yet if as he proposes, the Issue of the Cause betwixt the Church and the Dissenters, be put upon this single Point of Persecution, I'm afraid the Church will be no great Gainer, unless it be in common with her Neighbours, in learning for the Future to detest using Rigour in Matters of Religion, and to be more careful of doing as she would be done unto; The promoting which, was one grand Aim of the Abridgment, whatever it was as to the *Attempt*.

Our Author thinks fit to make a Division of his Work; and first undertakes to give an Account of the Numbers, Sufferings, &c. on the Church Side; and then to examine the Account given on the Side of the Dissenters. 'Tis the former Part of his Task only, that he has as yet been able to compass: And as to the latter, in which we that arc Dissenters arc most concern'd, we must with Patience wait his Leisure as well as we can; tho' he gives us such Tokens of his great good-will as he goes along, as may be abundantly sufficient to stay our Stomachs.

He seems to me to have inferred as many ill-natur'd Reflections on the Sufferers on our side, in this single Part of his Attempt, as in the Opinion of a Man of any Mercy and Moderation might have been fully sufficient for a great many Volumes, and is ever and anon Threatning us with what he has more in Reserve; and yet he appears, Poor Man, to be not a little at a Loss, in what manner he was to proceed, in the remaining Part of his Task: Nay he goes so far as to declare, he should be very glad, if he could be so fortunate, as to find out an Expedient to evade it. For my Part, I cannot see, why the little Acceptance which the great Pains he has already taken has met with, together with the Changes that have since happened which he I suppose little expected, may not be allowed to furnish him with the Expedient he so much desires. I can't tell why he should seek for one more plausible. I think verily, his Attempt has happen'd to be publish'd at a Season, when there is as little Prospect of an encouraging Opportunity to make the Search that is needful, or to make publicly the Result of it, as any that he could well have pitch'd upon. But if he thinks otherwise, may he go on and prosper. I desire not to be his Hindrance. I cannot venture t'other Folio without the least fear it will deprive me of a Nights rest, occasion me an uneasy Hour, or cause any one Friend I have in the World, to look less pleasantly upon me than before. Who knows but when he has produced those shameful Things he speaks of, he may have a Dignity added to his Doctorate. What indeed will constrain him is hard to say. I believe most that know him, or that will take the Pains to read over what is come from him, will be of Opinion that he is so far from needing to be constrain'd to make the Sufferers on our Side as Black as is possible, that it won't be easy to restrain him from it, if he can but pick up suitable Materials. And when he has done his worst, I am not without hope by a fair Comparison between one side and t'other, to do somewhat towards the promoting a Future Abhorrence of that Rigor, which without distinguishing men by their real Crimes, exposes the Innocent equally with the Guilty, on the Account of their differing from those that are Uppermost, and have

p. 3.

the Power in their Hands. For whomever they are to whose Lot this falls, they can't fail of being in

the Wrong, let it be how it will.

Well then, the Motion of comparing the Church and Dissenters together in the Point of Persecution, is freely agreed to. I the rather give in to it, hoping it may be of Use. I am content to pursue it as far as the Doctor pleases, and shall not be asham'd to yield, wheresoever he'll lay a Foundation for Conviction. I am free to declare against any thing that looks like Persecution, whoever are, the Parties concern'd. I am far from thinking they that are now call'd Dissenters, have been free from Blame. But if their Guilt prove upon a Companion, equal to that of the Churchmen, it will, I confess, a little surprize me. The Doctor is very positive in his general Judgment, before he comes to Particulars. He says, That if the latter bear any tolerable Proportion whether in Number, Degrees, or Circumstances to the former, he will gladly be deem'd not only to have lost all his Labour, but to have reviv'd a great and unanswerable Scandal, (which else might in great Measure have lain asleep) on the Cause he has undertaken to defend. If he can bear it, after he has given his own Opinion so decisively. I'll give him the Sense of Two worthy Persons of his own Church. The first is the Author of the * Conformists Pleas for the Nonconformists, who when the Sufferings of the Royal Party were objected to him, makes this Return: Who can answer for the Violence and Injustice of Actions in a Civil War? Those Sufferings were in a Time of general Calamity; but these were ejected, not only in a Time of Peace, but a Time of Joy to all the Land, and after an Act of Oblivion, when all pretended to be reconcil'd, and to be made Friends, and to whose common Rejoycing these suffering Ministers had contributed their earnest Prayers, and great Endeavours, &c. The other is one yet living, and one whom he values, and correfponds with too, whose Judgment I have under his own Hand, in these very Words: I must own, (says he) that in my Judgment however, both Sides have heen

^{*} Conformists first Plea. p. 13.

been excessively to blame; yet that the Severities us'd by the Church. to the Dissenters, are less excusable, than those us'd By the Dissenters to the Church, My Reason isy That the former were us'd in Times of Peace, and a settled Government; whereas the latter were inflicted in a Time of Tumult and Confusion. So that the Plundering and Ravaging endur'd by the Church Ministers, were owing (many of them at least) to the Rudeness of the Soldiers, and the Chances of War. They were plunder'd, not because they were Conformists, but Cavaliers, and of the Kings party. The Allowance of the sequestred Ministers a first Part of their Livings, was a Christian Act, and what, I confess, I should have been glad to have seen imitated at the Restoration. &c. But Dr. Walker declaring himself of a quite different Mind, I shall be at the Pains to follow him.

He begins with letting the Reader know, that he intends wholy to confine himself within the Times of the fatal Parliament, and not to meddle with any of the preparatory Discontents and Factions in the foregoing Years. And for this Reason, I think it is very evident, he begins too low to give his Reader a just and fair Account of Matters, or such as is necessary to the passing a just comparative Judgment, between the Church and the Dissenters, upon the Point of Persecution. When I said, That the former out-did the latter (at which the Doctor discovers himself so uneasy) I took in all the Times that pass'd before; and referred to the Severities us'd towards those call'd Puritans from the first Reformation, and the Hardships they met with in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James and King Charles I, before the Confusions began. The Nonconformists were all along miserably harass'd, ejected, and silenc'd, and met with such hard Usage as was often complain'd of in Parliament: And when at length Bishop Laud got the Ascendant, they were so teaz'd and worry'd, in the High-Comission and Star-Chamber Courts, as not a little exasperared the Sufferers, and provok'd to those Returns after the Beginning of the Long Parliament, as I am far from justifying. These Things the Doctor declares he's not for meddling with. But it so falls our, that they must be meddled with, and consider'd too, by One that would pass a fair

and equitable Judgment, which of the two Sides has exceeded the other in Persecution. He himself has own'd, That we that complain so much of persecution, never had it in our Power but once: Whereas the Church-Party has had Power in their Hands all P.I. along, a few Years only excepted. They began, and let the Pattern; and tho' others did ill in following it, yet when the Church-Party so much complain'd of them for doing so, they were certainly the more inexcusable, in returning. to it again themselves, with so much Rancour and Bitterness, after the Restoration. Now comes Dr. Walker, the High-Church. Advocate, and is for quite omitting the first Pattern and Sampler that was see by Parker, and Whitgift, and Bancroft, and Laud, and Wren, and others of the same Stamp, and for Beginning just with the Parliamentary Severities in 1641, and afrerwards, and comparing them with the Rigors after 1660, and thence concluding, that they have much out-done their Neighbours: Whereas if he would have drawn any such Conclusion fairly, he ought to have trac'd Things from the Beginning. This to me appears much the same, as if when an Enquiry was made, Whether John or Thomas was the greater Cheat? (which may be fairly enough debated without justifying either of them for Cheating) it should be asserted. That Thomas much exceeded John; for that John cheated Thomas but of a bare Thousand Pound, whereas Thomas cheated John of full Fifteen hundred. But still if John cheated Thomas of Two thousand Pounds, take first and last together; tho' Thomas did cheat John of Fifteen hundreed between the Two thousand; yet John was the greater Cheat, and Thomas was the greater Sufferer. In such a Case as this, to pretend not to meddle with the first Thousand of which John cheated Thomas, and to confine the Regard to the Fifteen hundred only, and the latter Thousand, is only to confound, and not give Light, nor help rightly to determine the Question propos'd.

I must needs say, I take Persecution to be one of the greatest Impositions and Cheats upon Man kind, that can be imagin'd or thought of; and whoever is guilty, be it in a smaller or greater Degree,

gree, shall so far have my Vote against him: But when there is a Comparison propos'd, if the Church was first guilty, and that to a Degree that cannot fairly be deny'd to have been very considerable, and return'd to it when she recover'd her former Power, to a Degree that was in some Respects greater than before, I am inclinable to think most Men will be apt readily to conclude her to be under the greatest Guilt, notwithstanding that they that were no Friends to the Ecclesiastical Constitution or Hierarchy, did a great many Things in an Heat, between these two Periods, which they that are most dispos'd to be their Advocates, are not able to justify. Methinks this Comparison ought to be pursu'd both Ways, by any One that will pretend positively to affirm, That the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, were a thousand times greater of the Two. That is, I confess, a round Assertion: But the Proof had need be very strong, that shall con-

vincingly make it out.

'Tis not my Business here, to give an Account of the Severities us'd against the Good Old Puritans by the Prelates and Ecclesiastical Courts from time to time, till the Opening of the Fatal Parliament, as the Doctor calls it, the Particulars of which will I hope be e'er long publish'd to the World by an Impartial Hand. Perhaps, Dr. Walker may have the Sight of them, (if he is so dispos'd) before his other Part will be finish'd; and then I hope he will think it concerns him to look farther back, in order to the making a just Comparison. Or if he should not, I believe most Men that are not for justifying of Rigor, because it is of their own Side, will be of Opinion, That what went before the Civil Wars, is as necessary to be consider'd, by such as would be able to judge rightly which Side out-did the other in Persecution and Severity, as what pass'd in the Times of Confusion, or follow'd after them. But since the Doctor has taken another Method, I have nothing to do but to follow him.

He begins his Tragical Narrative which he reckons the most proper Introduction to his grand Design, with petitions to the Parliament against the Church.

Pref p. xiii.

p. 4.

Church; for which there most certainly was sufficient Occasion: And then he proceeds to the restoring of Pryn, Burton and Bastwick, and the revoking the Sentences against Smart and Leighton, &c. in the High Commission, and Star-Chamber, and Ecclesistical Courts. He warmly inveighs against these Persons (whom I have nothing to do to attempt to justify) and then sorrowfully complains that the Church was wounded by their Indemnity. But had the Church been more moderate in her Temper and p.6. Proceedings, the Wound in this Case would not have been great, or t'would have been heal'd with Ease. He says, the Hierarchy was revil'd, but considers not what Provocation was given by past Proceedings. The Church was affected in her Civil Rights; which might have been complain'd of with much the more Decency, had she not before indangered the Civil Rights of the Body of the Nation, which was so loudly and generally complain'd of. Her inherent Legislative Rights, it should seem, were also assulted: For the New Canons were condemned, &c. And how she came by an inherent Right to make such Canons, would be hard to say. I here leave the Doctor to the Lawyers; tho' considering him as a Divine, if he had been too much in haste to have given Proof of any such Legislative Rights of the Church of Christ's authorizing, it yet might not (I should have thought) have been at all unbecoming, for him in his Margin to have pointed us to some Author, which he reckon'd had given Proof of it. For tho' he thinks fit to wish, that these Canons, or others like them were still in the Ecclesiastical Constitution, P.7. yet he cannot I think be insensible, that in that he has a number of Worthy Divines, as well as the Generality of Lawyers and Statesmen intirely against him: And I hope they are in no Danger of changing their Mind

But the poor Church being disarm'd of her Executive and Legislative Power, 'tis complained that she was p.8. thence forward at the Mercy of every Ruffian who was minded to assault her. Whereas others are of Opinion, she had still all the Power Christ had left her, and was no more expos'd than in the first and purest Ages of Christianity. The Government of the D2 Church

Church by Archbishops, Deans, &c. was complain'd of, and petition'd against. And who can wonder at it, that does but consider how grievous they by their Management had made that Sort of Government to the People? If undue Methods were really taken, to get such Petitions, it was certainly very justly blameable: But our Author might have observ'd, had he thought fit, that the Dislikers of the Hierarchy are not the only Persons that are chargeable with such Practices. The Mob assembled, and cry'd no Bishops, no Bishops. For my part I am no great Admirer of Mob Reformations: And yet I think it should not be quire forgotten, that the Mob can upon Occasion be stirr'd up and fir'd on the Church Side too, and then applauded, as giving the Sense of the Nation; of which we have had an Instance in our own Times. A Bill was at length brought in, for the utter Eradication of Bishops, Deans, &c. Which it is the Opinion of Dr. Thomas Fuller + (Churchman enough in all Confidence) would have been prevented, could but the Divines that sate in the Jerusalem-Chamber, have been listen'd to. Members of Parliament, were made Ecclesiastical Commissioners, &c. Bishops Lands, were sold: Deans and Chapters also were condemned; and Cathedrals fell; and vast Sums of Money were rais'd out of their Revenues, to satisfy the publicly Debts. But it would be hard indeed, if our present Dissenters must be forc'd to answer for all the Proceedings of that Parliament, the Members of which were universally in Communion with the Church of England a very few only being excepted, which is a Thing that cannot be deny'd.

Oaths and Subfcriptions were voted, down: And I think it would have been no small Addition to our Happiness, and would not a little have promoted our Peace, had they never been restor'd again. Nor can I apprehend it much for the Credit of the Church, to have since revived 'em, and particularly to have forc'd Persons to come under any Ties of this Nature, in the Course of their Education, in their younger Years, before, they can be suppos'd

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р. 10.

p. 11.

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p. 15.

^{*} Eccles. Hist. Book II. p. 175.

competent Judges of the Things to which they are design'd to be oblig'd. But it should seem, that there were some Ministers that promoted these Things; and the Lecturers help'd to render their several Hearers disaffected to the Church Government and p. 16. Ceremonies: At which our Author exclaims most vehemently, and says, that the Clergy administred Fuel and blow'd up the Coals, &c. And for any thing I know, there may be a great deal of Truth in't: And yet I think the other Part of the Clergy, than had strain'd the Perogative of the Crown, and the Power of the Church to that Height, that they had almost preach'd Liberty and Property out of Doors, (of some of whom the Doctor in his succeeding List, gives very pompous Characters) should not in such a Case, have been wholly overlook-

The High Commission Court was taken away. And tho' the Friends of the Church have since that Time p. 21. had fair Scope enough, to do any thing which they apprehended might be for their Interest, yet can I not hear of any Attempt to revive it, except in the Reign of King James II, which with me goes for a convincing Proof, that it was a general Grievance. And as for the Ex Officio Oath, and the Court of the Star-Chamber, we may very well suppose that after 1660, when so much Zeal was stirring, they could not have fail'd of being restor'd, had either Chancellor Hyde, or the other States-Men that were in the Secret after the Restoration, judged them to be proper Expedients to strengthen and advance the Church.

The Parliament made a Protestation to maintain and defend with their Lives and Estates, the true Reformed P. 22. Protestant Religion, express'd in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery, and Popish Innovations: And afterwards agreed, That these Words were not to he extended to the maintaing of any Form of of Worpship, Discipline, or Government, nor of any Rites or Ceremonies of the said Church of England. This shew'd they had more of a Catholick Spirit among them, than can ordinarily be met with among those that come after them: The more's the Pity! And yet this is cry'd out upon as a great Piece of Wickedness.

Wickedness. But it would be hard to say, how it could be a wicked Thing, suppose the Majority of the Members that were for this Protestation, notwithstanding their Satisfaction as to the Doctrine of the Church of England, were yet convinc'd of the Necessity of a farther Reformation in Worship, and Discipline, or Government. This is all that as far as I can perceive, can be from hence concluded: And what wickedness could there be in making such a Declaration, if this were their real Sense!

p. 23.

p. 24.

But Ceremonies were abolish'd too: And tho' they have been re-established, yet 'tis more than I know, that it has ever been prov'd to this Day, that Divine Worship would be at all the less acceptable to God, or less profitable to Men, if it were wholly freed from them. The Communion Table was remov'd into the Middle of the Church. And what of that! Might not People as effectually reach the Divine Blessing in the Middle of the Church, as at the East End of it, provided they did but attend with due Devotion! Images, Altars and Crucifixes, &c. were ordered to be taken away out of all Churches and Chappels: And I heartily wish that neither they that had the Ascendant in those Times, nor they that came after them, had done any worse Things; and then I can't say there would have been any great ground for Complaint. There was a Sub-committee employ'd to Reform Innovations in Discipline: And it has been the Apprehension of many that it had been happy for the Church both at that Time and since, had their Advice been follow'd. The Book for tolerating Sports on the Lords-Day, for the not Reading of which so many worthy Ministers had been silenc'd, was ordered to be burnt. And it was a great Shame that it ever came out; or that it was not burnt as a detestable Piece of Profaneness long before! May-poles were ordered to be taken down. And have May-Poles then any Thing of Religion in 'em? What Occasion was there for mentioning such Things as these, when a particular Account was given how the Church was ruin'd? Copes, Surplices, &c. were ordered to be sold; and Roods, Fonts and Organs defaced. And therefore to be sure the Church could not

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p. 25.

p. 26.

stand long after, A Fast was appointed on Christmas-Day, and so that Festival was buried; and yet it would be no easy Matter to give any thing of a Reason, why Persons after this, might not be as good Christians as they were before. The Divines in the Jerusalem-Chamber had the Regulation of the Common-Prayer-Book under Consideration: And it's Pity their Regulation was not regarded. Singing of Psalms was in St. Margaret's Church prefer'd to the Second Service: And had it been so every where else, it had been much the better. And in Conclusion, the whole Service of the Church was taken away, and the Directory succeeded in the Room of it: And whatever Minister omitted the use of it, was to forfeit Forty Shillings; and he that depraved it, was to be fin'd, at the Discretion of those before whom they were convicted, provided not under Five Pounds: And if any one used the Common-Prayer in publicly or Private, he was for the first Offence to forfeit Five Pounds, for the Second Ten Pounds, and for the Third to suffer a Years Imprisonment. This was very severe: And tho' the Church had set the Pattern, yet should she not have been herein followed, by those who had complain'd so much of this Sort of Management. The Doctor observes, That this Ordinance went beyond the Act of Uniformity, of which we so much complain; and I can't say but that in some Respects it did: And yet if he had but been dispos'd to have done me Justice, he might have taken Notice, that so far was I from vindicating or pleading for this Ordinance, that I upon Occasion of it, had added * a Marginal Note, in these very Words: This is I confess an Evidence, of what is too plain to be deny'd; that all Parties when they have been uppermost, have been too 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 was given to mercenary Informers: And the Instances of Persons dealt with according to this Ordinance were very few. I wish 1 could say the same with respect to the Act of Uniformity, the Five Mile

^{*} Abridg, Vol. I. p. 155.

Mile Act, and the Act against Conventicles, which were put against the Nonconformists after the Restoration. This he overlooked: But whether designedly or not, he knows best.

He takes, particular Notice, That the Act of Uniformity, past Seventeen Years after, on the very same Day that this Ordinance passd Seventeen Years before. Which to me seems not very Material, or to deserve any great stress. Let it be the same Day and the same Hour of the Day, and the same, Moment of the Hour, either Seventeen or Seven and twenty Years afterwards, I don't see we have any Reason to conclude any thing from thence: Neither the former Ordinance, nor the following Act, are a Jot the better or the worse upon this Account, as far as I can perceive. But some People please themselves, and think to entertain their Readers, with such pretty observations. Thus have I read in an Historian that came out since Dr. Walker, * That when the Covenant pass'd in the General Assembly in Scotland, and was to be sent into England, the Lord Maitland, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, made a Speech, and declar'd. How upon the Seventeenth of August, Four Years ago, an Act pass'd for throwing Episcopacy out of the Church of Scotland; and now upon the Seventeenth of August, also an Act was passing for the Extirpation of it out of the Church of England; and that Providence having order'd so, as both to happen on one Day, he thought there was much in it; and that Men might thereupon warrantably expect, glorious Conferences to follow, even further off than England, before all was done. The Historian observes, That this was a Conceit that some reckon'd ingenious, and others ridiculous. I doubt those Men have but poor Understandings, that can relish such Entertainment. But if such Things as these are argu'd from on one Side, why mayn't they on the other? Perhaps they'l be as convictive as any Thing that could be mention'd. And therefore I shall add, That if the pas-

[†] See Echard's Hist. Vol. II. p. 446.

sing of the Act of Uniformity, which restor'd the Common-Prayer, Seventeen Years after, on the very same Day that the Ordinance pass'd for abolishing the Common-Prayer Seventeen Years before, be admitted as an Argument on the Church Side, of God's owning the Justice and Righteousness of their Cause; I cannot see but the Death of a great Lady on August 1. 1714, which was the very Day when the Schism-Act was to take place, may be us'd on the Side of the Dissenters, as an Argument of the Injustice of chat Act, for a yet more plausible Reason. Tho' I am one that usually am not affected with Observations of this Nature; yet I can't help asking, Why might not a Low-Church Man, be allow'd to say in this, as Dr. Walker does in another Case, viz. That it pleas'd Him, who giveth a King (or Queen) in his Anger, and taketh him (or her) away in his Wrath, by so timing of a Death that was but little expected to have been so hidden, to frustrate the fair Hopes of some, for a Time: Nay, I hope they are ever frustrated.

But to return from this Digression. We are told, That thus at length, the Church of England, was utterly dissolv'd as an Establishment: Which it is pleaded, is a Demonstration, That some Mens pretended Reformation, is never other than an intended Extirpation. But this Demonstration would have been quite overthrown, could the Committee of Divines that sate in the Jerusalem-Chamber have been listen'd too; or the Commissioners at the Savoy have been regarded; or King Charles's Declaration for Ecclestiastical Affairs, been allow'd to pass into a Law. Any of these Three Schemes follow'd, would have satisfy'd the most that were aggriev'd, and produc'd a Reformation, without an Extirpation. And therefore the Charge insinuated, is only a groundless Slander.

The Doctor next comes to the Assembly of Divines, Whom he calls an Extraordinary Juncto. Had he thereby p. 39. meant a Number of very Valuable Men, met together for Consultation, he would have had both Reason and Truth of his Side: But tho' I know he had another View in giving them that Title; yet I doubt he'd be a little put to it, to pitch upon a Meeting of Divines, that came together in an ordinary

p. 30.

ordinary Way, at any Time since, that have done more real Service to the Church of God than they did, after all the Contempt that has been pour'd upon them, either formerly or lately. He says, They were not chosen by the Clergy, but the House of Commons nominated them. And why, I pray, should they be less fit to be consulted about Ecclesiastical Matters, when chosen by Gentlemen, than if chosen by the Intrigues of the Clergy, who are generally for giving the Preference, to such as run highest for Church-Power? The House added others at Pleasure. And why not? Supposing, (which may be easily allow'd,) that as some that were nominated refus'd to appear, so others offer'd afterwards, that were of considerable Worth, that either were not thought of at the first, or not mention'd, for Fear their Number should be too great? They had Laymen amongst them. And as they are a Part of the Church of Christ, as well as Ministers; so methinks 'tis but fit they should have some to represent 'em, in all Ecclesiastical Meetings, and especially where Matters fall under Consideration, that are of Concernment to the one, as well as the other. Such as were Episcopal in their Judgment, would not fit amongst them. Which was a Thing that was not in their Power to help. Several such were publickly invited, and press'd in private, to give their Presence. And their Refusal to joyn in amicable Debates, in order to an happy Settlement, I am inclin'd to think, was no great Service to their Cause or Interest. However, several of them that did meet, and continue Sitting all the While, were really Episcopal in their Judgment. The Doctor charges them with Ignorance, &c. But their Characters and Works are better known to the World, than that such Accusations should easily obtain Belief. They were in Coates and Cloak; and therefore in as scriptural a Garb as any they could have worn: And I can't see how this could detract either from their Learning or real Worth. They met with Obstructions from Mr. Selden, &c. And if the Dr. thinks they'd have met with less Obstruction from that learned Gentleman, supposing they had been a regular Convocation of Episcopal Jure Divino Men, I am of Opinion,

p. 31.

Opinion, he is much mistaken. They had Five Dissenting Brethren amongst them. And some Convocations since, have had a far greater Number that have dissented from the Majority. And is the Church presently undone, if those that meet about her Affairs, are not all of one Mind? The Presbyterian Divines made loud Out-cries against Toleration. And our Author says, That if ever they argu'd strenuously, 'twas upon this Subject. But this is a Point in which the Learned are divided. Some of the Lower-House of Convocation, have in their Writings of, late Years, made loud and vehement Out-cries against the Bishops, for excluding them from a coordinate Power in Ecclesiastical Determinations: And some have thought. That if ever they argu'd strenuously, 'twas upon this Subject; and yet for all this. Matters continue as they were; unless that some have alter'd their Notions, upon their altering their Stations; or at least are grown silent, comparatively to what they were before, since they have been advanc'd from the Lower House of Convocation, to the Upper. They had Erastians among them. And have not the Ecclesiastical Assemblies that come p. 32. together in our own Times, some of the same Stamp also among them? But their very Constitution was Erastian. And it has been the Opinion of a Number of great and good Men among us. That it must be the same as to any Assembly, that will bring Things to an happy Settlement. The Parliament kept a strict Hand over them, and never permitted them to assume co~ercive Power, in Matters of Church-Government. And had the State always, and at all Times done so, by those who without any Warrant from Scripture, have been very fond of confining the Name of rhe Church to themselves, as far as I can judge, it had been best for both. 'Tis said, That this Assembly had an Hand in ravaging, and ruining the Loyal Clergy, and plundering of Churches: But p. 33. that they had any such Intention, when they were for proceeding against blind Guides, and scandalous Ministers, is what I should have thought, hardly any Man would have suppos'd, that was not bent upon condemning them, Right or Wrong. They recommended the Covenant, and so drew the whole Na-P.34. E 2 tion

tion into a solemn Confederacy, for Extirpation of the Ecclesiastical Government: Whereas it is well known that many of them were Episcopal in their Judgment, and it was declar'd by Mr. Baxter, (and from him inferred in my Abridgment) That a Parenthesis was added for the Satisfaction of such Persons, and that Mr. Coleman gave the Covenant to the Lords, with this Explication, That by Prelacy, all Episcopacy was not meant; but only the Form describ'd.

He farther observes, that this Assembly drew up a System of Calvin's Principles, which they called a Catechism, which when shorten'd was drawn out to a length that as much exceeds the Memory of Children, as many of the Doctrines in it do their other Capacities. This fling at the Assemblies-Catechism, is a plain Proof that our Author was for letting nothing slip him, that he thought gave him matter of Reflection, whether it tended to prove his Point as to Perfection, Yea, or No. But besides that this Catechism is not desir'd to be regarded by any, farther than it is found prov'd by Scripture; it is well-known that we have many Children of Four and Five Years of Age among us, (not to say younger,) whose Memories retain it most exactly, as well as grown Persons, that have found Cause heartily to bless God, that they had a Form of sound Words, so agreeable to the sacred Scriptures, furnishing them with Matter for their Thoughts to work upon, with Advantage, after they were advanc'd in Years, and found their Understandings ripen'd. I should therefore have thought, that this Reflection might have been spar'd. 'Tis added, to close the Whole, That they at last sunk away, the Contempt and Derision of their own Makers, and Scandal of that, and Abhorrence of future Ages. Whereas their Memory is like to be had in Honour, while such as rail at them, will either be forgotten, or not remembred without Ignominy and Contempt.

Our Author next comes to Tithes, for touching which, as great a Man as Mr. Selden fell under the Displeasure of the Clergy, to that Degree, that they have scarce been able to forgive him to this Day. These were not abolish'd and put down, in the

Davs

p. 35.

p. 36.

Days the Doctor is speaking of, because It was found difficult to provide another Maintenance for the Ministry: But could that have been fix'd to Satisfaction, and so as that the End might have been answer'd, I cannot see where the Damage had been, had there been here also an Alteration,

as well as in other Things.

It is farther a Matter of Complaint, that when the Ecclesiastical Constitution was pull'd down, nothing was P. 37. set up in its Room; but Discipline was neglected, and Licentiousness overspread the Kingdom: But of this, Complaint might have been made, with somewhat a better Grace, had there been in this Respect any great Amendment, when Things at 1660 return'd into the Old Channel, 'Tis on all Hands agreed. that never did so miserable a Deluge of Licenciouiness overspread the Land, as at the Restoration. But he that can venture with an Air of Seriousness, as if he believ'd himself, to say, That tho' many that inveigh'd against the Church in former Times seem'd to be in earnest, yet they who for many Years past have undertaken the Patronage of the Dissenting Cause, have little less than openly professed and declared themselves Atheists, &c. He may even say just what he pleases, with Reference to any Thing, either formerly or more lately. Ecclesiastical Inforcements, have not hitherto prov'd sufficient to check Licentiousness; nor are they likely to prove of more Significance hereafter. If the main Ordinance of Parliament for Presbyterian Discipline was rather a P. 39. Permission than an Inforcement of it, in my Mind, it was so much the better, and the less liable to be complain'd of. The Doctor gives us a Taste of that Discipline, in the Proceedings of the Second Class in Lancashire, an Account of which having fallen into his Hands, he gives some Extracts out of it, for the Entertainment of the Curious: But 'tis hard to pass a Judgment upon what he relates, unless We had the whole before us. And therefore I must leave him the Satisfaction he enjoys in his own witty Observations, without Molestation,

At length returning from his Digressions, which are foreign enough to his own Purposse because they make no Discovery, how much the Dissenters out-

p. 41, 42.

p. 43.

did the Church in Persecution, which was the Thing he undertook to make out; he sees himself to shew what Treatment the Clergy met with in those Times, and how their Ruin was compass'd. An Attempt he tells us, was first made on their Credit and Imputation, which must be own'd is so very tender a things that if once it be lost or impair'd, 'tis seldom if ever that it is again recover'd. Great Numbers of them, he says, were Persons of Excellent Lives and Learning: which is not at all question'd; and yet at the same Time many of 'em were of a very different Character, and he himself owns as much, more than once in his List that succeeds. The Bishops were treated with great Disrespect; which cannot be deny'd: And some of them, as Bishop Hall, Morton, Prideaux, &c. were Men of that Worth, that it is much to be lamented that they were thus treated: But as for others of them they might read their Sin in their Punishment. The Inferior Clergy were loaded with all the Crimes they could well think of: And if they wore free from Guilt, there are none but what it must be confessed if it had been their own Case would count it hard. They were inveighed against in Parliament: But he that would judge whether justly or not, must enquire into Particulars. This I know, that Dr. Thomas Fuller, who wrote the Church-History, speaking of the sequestred Clergy, * says. That some of their Offences were so foul, that it is a Shame to report them, crying to Justice for Punishment. And when Dr. Peter Heylin afterwards fell foul on him for this his frank Acknowledgment, he owns. That he did acknowledge what indeed could not be concealed, and what in Truth must be confessed; viz, that some of the Ejected, were guilty of foul Offences † Our Doctor observes, That Mr. White said that Eight Thousand deserv'd to be cast out, as unworthy and scandalous: Which Passage is repeated a great many Times over throughout his Work, because no small stress is laid upon it. And the Truth on't is, this Mr. White was as likely to know as any Man, tho' perhaps as liable to be prejudiced

^{*} Church-History, Book. p. 207.

[†] Appeal of injur'd Innocence, p. 57.

prejudic'd on one Hand, as my Lord Clarendon and Dr. Nelson on the other. He tells us. The Votes, Orders, and Resolves of the House continually reflected on P. 44. the Clergy. And this is the less to be wondred at, because they continually opposed them with all their Might. Such as Dr. Pocklington, Dr. Bray, Dr. Heylin, Dr. Cosins, and Dr. Heywood, were prosecuted before the Parliament: And there's no judging whether with or without Reason, unless the Charges and their Proof be consider'd and weigh'd. Committees were appointed to enquire into the Lives and Practices of the Clergy: And had the Body of them been such as our Author a little before describes them from my Lord Clarendon, this would have been to their Honour in the Issue: They would but have shin'd the brighter. Had only a few been found tardy, in so great a Number as they amounted to, 'twould have been no great Matter of Reflection. However it was not at this Time only that the Clergy were much complain'd of. A Bill was brought in against scandalous Ministers, at the very beginning of King Charles's II. Parliament, * An. 1625.6. But was forc'd to be dropp'd, as well as a great many other Things that were design'd for the Publick Good. But 'tis complain'd. That the Committee for Scandalous Ministers was a Stage for Clergy P. 45. baiting; that whoever were brought before them, were for that only Reason, thence forward deem'd either scandalous or insufficient, or same other way unworthy: And factious Lecturers were appointed in the Pulpits of many of them. They were commonly revil'd in Petitions to the House, and in the Weekly Papers, and Occasional Libels. And here Mr. White's first Century, is represented as the most comprehensive Undertaking of the P. 46, Kind: Upon Occasion of mentioning which, an Account is given of this Mr. White, who is said to have been. The most active and implacable Enemy the Clergy had. In his Preface, he charg'd the whole Body of them with Infamy and Scandal. And speaking of a Second Cen- p. 48. tury, our Author quotes my Abridgment, which says, They were both fill'd with abominable Particularities. But then he breaks off with an &c. without taking

any

^{*} Echard's History of England, Vol. II, p. 42.

any Notice, of the Words that immediately followed, which would hardly have slip'd him, had he thought them to his Purpose. I had said of Mr. White's Century, That concealing the abominable Particularities it contained, had been a much greater Service to Religion, than their Publication; which was but making Sport for Atheists, Papists, and Profane. And had he but added this Censure, it would have been seen and known, how little we are for such Methods: But it better suited his Design, that we should pass for Approvers of Mr. White's exposing the Clergy; And therefore in Prudence he

waves what was said concerning it.

He next complains, of the divesting the Clergy of all Temporal Power and Jurisdiction; which many to this Day think to be no small Incumbrance, to those whose Office is properly of a Spiritual Nature. And then comes to the Attempts and Practises upon their Persons and Estates. He tells us, That the House received and countenanced Accusations and Informations against them, exhibited in Petitions. The Bishops were committed to the Tower, and their Estates, as well Real as Personal, were sequestred. The inferiour Clergy were cited before the Parliament as Delinquents, and imprison'd, or put into the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, to their great Charge and Trouble. The Bishops Houses in London, were often made the Place of their Restraint, &c. And if there was no Cause for it, 'twas really very hard. And then he adds, They were confin'd in Ships, which were floating prisons, upon the River of Thames, where their Hardships were unspeakable: And some of them were threatened to be sent to Algiers, and sold for Slaves to the Turks. Those also that suffer'd by Land, had the Misery of long Confinement, excessive Fees, noisome Rooms, &c. without being able to obtain a Tryal. Few were imprison'd but what were sequestred; These Barbarities were encouraged and promoted by the Clergy, that had gone over to the Faction. The Rabble also insulted the Clergy, and contributed not a little to their Ruin. The Account our Author gives of some of these Particulars is very tragical, and affecting, and would move any Man, if there were but the needful Circumstance of truth; which many are tempted to call in

question,

p. 49.

p. 51. p. 52.

p. 54. &c.

p. 57.

p. 58.

p. 59. p. 60.

question, by what he immediately subjoins, viz. That the late Proceedings of a like Nature, against a Regular Clergyman, of known Zeal and Affection to the p. 61. Establishment, could yield but a melancholy Prospect to such as knew and consider'd these Circumstances of History. By which Addition, he has spoil'd all. For if the-Proceedings against the Clergy, which he so bitterly complains of, were but of a like Nature with those against the famous Doctor more lately, I believe most People will be of Opinion, there is no great Occasion for such mighty Out-cries, but they might well enough have been spar'd. If there was as much Ground for the Pretences of Popery and Superstition formerly, as there was for Sedition and Faction more lately. Few will think 'em so ridiculous as Our Author seems to imagine; and it will abate the Companion which he takes so much Pains to excite, and at the same time diminish the Credit of his History. If there be no more Truth in what he relates before, of some Clergymens being sold to Slavery in Turkey, than in what he insinuates of an Oath more than talked of lately, to damn or starve the Clergy, if the Impeachment had gone down as glibly with the People, as it was expelled; I am afraid it will generally meet with more Contempt than Credit, and turn to but a very poor Account to his Sufferers, for whom he appears so much concern'd. And therefore should this Part of his Attempt (whatever becomes of the other) ever come to a second Impression, which I believe, neither his Booksellers nor Subscribers much expect, I would advise him or them to take Care, that this Passage may be wholly expung'd.

The Doctor next undertakes to consider the several Committees that dealt with the Clergy. The grand Committee for Religion, he says, bore very hard p. 61. upon 'em. He intimates the same as to the Sub-Committee, or the Committee of scandalous Ministers, p. 63. and the other less Committees into which it was divided. Petitions against the Clergy were presented to these Committees, in the Name of their several p. 65. Parishes, altho' they came not from the tenth, or even the twentieth Part of the Inhabitants. The Subject of the numerous Accusations brought against them, was

p. 66.

р. 67. &с.

p. 72.

p. 73.

p. 74.

p. 75. p. 79.

p. 80.

either shamefully trifling, or else plain Matter of Duty, and Obedience to the Orders of the Church. Their inhumane Judges often insulted them, with great Scorn and Contempt, and with open Revilings and Reproaches. And he instances in some of the first and most early Sufferers that came before 'em; as, Mr. Symmons of Rayne in Essex, Mr. Squire of Shoreditch, and Mr. Finch of Christ Church, who vindicated themselves from the Accusations brought against them; tho' as to the latter of the Three, he owns himself not very well satisfy'd as to his Character. And to make sure Work on't, that their Sufferings might not be forgotten, they are many of 'em again repeated in the succeeding List, under their several Names. However, upon Occasion of his, saying, That Mr. Finch in hss Defence did not acquit himself from having been a Man of an ill Life, he takes Occasion to own, That there were in those Times some among the Clergy, that were Men of wicked Lives, and even a Reproach and Scandal to their Function, which he, intimates he, acknowledges, that he might not he thought to defend, that which of all other Things he the most abhorred, viz. the Vices of the Clergy. But whether some Parts of his Attempt discover that Abhorrence of the Vices of the Clergy, that might justly be expected from him, and that particularly from this Declaration, which is handsomely and strongly enough express'd, will be consider'd in the Sequel.

He then proceeds, to the Committee for plunder'd, Ministers, who he says were a standing Tribunal, for the Ruin of the Regular Clergy, and were therefore called, the Committee for plundering Ministers. These were the main Engine, made use of by the Parliament, for the Ruin of the Clergy. He mentions some particular Persons that suffer'd by this Committee: As Dr. Hamel Featley, and Mr. Raynolds of Devon. And then he observes. That the Prosecutors before these Committees, were often the meanest, and basest, and most ignorant persons in the Parish, and yet they encouraged them. Very unfair Methods were used to get Hands to these Petitions. No regard was had to the Truth or Falshood of the Articles inserted; And the Judges themselves were Solicitors and Agents. They were accus'd of that which was plain Mattter of unquestionable Duty, which

was interspers'd with Allegations of Popery, and Immorality; and malignancy against the Parliament was still p. 82. the Burthen of the Song: And when by numberless Barbarities and Vexations they were driven from their Houses and Parishes, Absence and deserting their Cures was frequently made an Article of the Charge against them. The Judges also were malicious and ignorant. The Parties condemned had no Legal Trial. Things many Years p. 83. before buried in Oblivion, were enquir'd after, and admitted as Charges. The lightest and most groundless Suspicions were allow'd of as part of a Charge. The bare Word of Accusers was taken without an Oath. Many p. 84. were condemn'd without being heard, or so much as ever fearing that they were, accus'd: And when they had a Hearing, it was generally manag'd with shameful Artifices and Contrivances: Nay, sometimes their Living was first put under Sequestration, and an Hearing was given p. 86. afterwards. These are Things no Man will pretend to plead for. The only Question is. Whether the Facts are true?

There were Committees also in the Country, that were inferiour Courts of Inquisition, who referr'd Matters to the Committee for plunder'd Ministers. And the Miseries of the Clergy in general were very much increas'd, by the erecting of these Committees in the several Parts of the Kingdom. Our Author gives some Account of them in Hereford, and in Northamptonshire, &c. where the same Observations are repeated, as were before made as to the London Committee; And he particularly instances in the Case and Treatment of Dr. Peterson.

He complains. That after these Committees had at P. 94. Pleasure ejected these Incumbents, they shamefully neglected their Parishes, and fill'd their Pulpits with more shameful Successors, of which he gives some Instances: And I can't pretend to say, but that in such a Number as was necessary to fill the vacant Livings, there might be some such as he mentions: And yet it does not therefore follow, but that the Generality of those that succeeded the Ministers that were sequestred, might be Men of clearer Characters, and such as did set themselves laboriously to seek the saving of Souls; which Expression I am not asham'd to repeat, notwithstanding his insulting Banter.

And

And that he mayn't be able to say, he has but my bare Word for it, I'll give him the Words of a certain aged and pious Clergyman of the *Church of England*, yet living, and not more generally known than respected, who having perus'd this Doctor's

performance, makes this Remark among others:

"This Author (says he) frequently falls foul upon "the Memory of those Ministers, who were put in-"to the sequestred Livings, and tells strange Sto-"ries of many, to make them infamous, which I "cannot give any Credit to. Tho' I knew but Few "of the sequestred Clergy, yet I knew several of "their immediate Successors, some in Lincolnshire, "and more in Leicestershire, all which were valu-"able for their Education, Ministerial Abilities, "and prudent Conduct. Its well if those Parishes "now have such faithful Pastors, which I much "doubt." The same Person also gives me to under-"stand, That he knew some Ministers whose Qualifications for their Office were very mean, who were loose in their Lives, and disaffected to the Parliament's Cause and Proceedings, and yet kept in their Livings in all those Times, and were never sequestred or ejected, tho' their Livings were of good Value.

Our Author does not omit to take Notice, that the Parliamentary Committees were impowerd to allow Fifths, to the Wives and Children of such as were sequestred, which I had represented as an Act of Clemency: But the Doctor now intimates, it was a great Addition to the Miseries of the Clergy, tho' at best, he say's, 'twas rare that this Allowance of Fifths was ever paid. He observes as to this Allowance, That it began but late, that the Delinquent himself was starv'd, while Wife and Children were a little supported by it: That the Ordinance till 1654. did not oblige to pay a Fifth, but only allow'd of it: That it was difficultly recovered and was to cease at the Death of the Person sequestred.

He farther adds, That Bishop's, Deans and Chapters, and ejected Fellows of Colleges, had. not the Benefit.

p. 99.

р. 100, &с.

Benefit of this Allowance *: And many Qualifications were added by the Ordinance. And after all, these Fifths were sometimes deny'd by the Committees; and more frequently by the usurping Intruders. And in the very few Instances where they were paid, he says, 'twas at a very low Rate. He declares himself sarisfy'd, That taking the whole Body of the sequestred Clergy together, scarce One in Ten in the whole Number ever had them † without Trouble, and to the full Value. I conceive it no easy Thing to make a Calculation in the Case. However, he has taken notice of several that receiv'd Fifths, and I of several that paid them. And we need not doubt but there were many more than we are able to recover. And supposing it to have been paid ever so indifferently, it was most certainly better Provision than was made by the Act of Uniformity, for those that were ejected and Isilenc'd. It was such as many of them would have rejoyc'd in, and been very thankful for.

The solenm League and Covenant, next comes in for a Share in our Author's Invectives. This was Order'd to be taken by all Ministers, Lecturers p. 195. and Curates: And the Doctor intimates, That

* And yet he himself afterwards p. III. says. That Provision was made by the Parliament, that the Earl of Manchester, might allow a Fifth to the Wives and Children of those ejected in the University of Cambridge.

[†] He himself gives several Instances in his succeeding List. Thus he owns, P. II, p. 4. that Mr. Newham constantly paid Fifths to Dr. Nicholas for the Living of Dean: And p. 389. that Mr. Ventris paid Fifths to Mr. Vaughan in Northamptonshire; and that the Wife of Mr. Edwards (who was but Lesturer at Tulberney in Pembrokeshire) receiv'd 17 l. per An. Fifths, which was a pretty fair Allowance, p. 415. He says. That Mr. Mikepher Alphery had his Fifths duly paid him by his Successor Mr. B—. Page 183. He mentions another, p. 210. and another Mr. Thomas Carter, p. 227. and Mr. Edw. Davies, p. 235. nay, Mr. Francis Davies had a Fourth, Ibid. Mr. Forbes also had Fifths, p. 241. and Mr. Tho. Forster, Ibid, and Mr. George Miles, p. 312. &c.

р. 108.

p. 108.

more suffer'd by this, than by any other Engine of the Times besides. He afterwards proceeds to the Regulation of the University of Cambridge, Where, he says, that first and last, could, not. be less than 5 or 600 ejected. Then he bestows some Remarks upon the Commissioners of the Associated. Counties of Lincoln, Huntingdon, Essex, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridge; and so comes to the Oxford Visitation, for which he has farther Remarks to spare, with which his beloved Author Anthony a Wood most plentifully: furnishes him. He observes, That besides the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors, the Victors dismiss'd about Ten of the Professors and Publicly Readers, and spar'd no single Head of any College, except Lincoln and Queens. They ejected some Hundreds of Fellows, &c. And so general was the Riddance made, that at C.C.C. of Forty-six Members, including Chaplains, they left but Four or Five: And at University-College, but one single Person of the whole Foundation. The original Register of this Visitation, he says, is yet preserv'd in the Bodleian Library; but that he had neither Time nor Opportunity to confute it *; and perhaps, for some Reasons, he had no great Inclination to it neither. Tho' I should have thought it more material to consult and publish the Original, than Scraps from Wood, or any such canker'd, partial Author.

p. 138.

р. 144, &с.

р. 146.

p. 147.

He farther takes Notice of the Petitions of the sequestred Clergy to his Majesty, and to Sir Thomas Fairfax; and of the Consequences of the Ingagement, for the not taking of which many were cast out. And then comes to the Sufferings of the Clergy in Wales, on whom the Parliament at last turn'd their Eyes, making them sadly compensate for the Delay of their Sufferings. Here he freely inveighs against Hugh Peters, and

^{*} Notwithstanding this Decalartion here, I find the Doctor, P. II. p. 99. advertsing the Reader, That the List of those ejected in the University of Oxon, was taken out of the original Registet of the Visitors.

Vavasor Powel, * whom I might well enough pass by, because not in my List. He observes that the grand Design of the Propagators of the Gospel in Wales, was utterly to abolish the Institution of Parish Ministers, and to get into their own Hands the whole Ecclesiastical Revenue of that Part of the Kingdom, and

† I don't know, that the first of these has least any. Thing behind him, for the Justification of himself from the Things laid to his Charge: But the second of them, publish'd a Duodecimo in 1651, Intitul'd, The Bird in the Cage Chirping: To which is prefix'd, A brief Narrative of the former Propagation, and late Restriction of the Gospel (and the Godly Preachers and Professors thereof) in Wales. In which he takes notice of his being charg'd with Extirpating, instead of Propagating, the Gospel in that Country, and converting the Profits of the Tithes to his own Use. He gives an Account, That in 1641, a Petition was presented to King and Parliament, in which it was declar'd, That there were not so many Conscientious and constant Preachers, as there were Counties in Wales; And that these were either silenc'd, or much persecuted: And that by Virtue of an Act of Parliament in 1649, many were ejected for Ignorance and Scandal; but not all, as some reported. For that in Montgomeryshire, there were Eleven or Twelve never ejected, and several in other Parts. And tho' after this there were great Complaints, That the People were turning Papists and Heathens for Want of the Word of God, there were a great Number of Preachers came from other Parts. And that particularly in Montgomeryshire, there were at least Sixteen Preachers, whereof Ten were University Men, some of, the meanest of which were after the Restoration approv'd by the Bishops, and settled in Parishes. That as for the Tithes, they (according to the Act) were divided into Six Parts; One of which went to the unejected Ministers; a second to other settled and itinerant Ministers; a Third to maintain Free-Schools, of some of which the ejected Ministers and their Sons were Masters; a fourth to the Widows and Children of the ejected Ministers; a fifth to Under-Officers, as Treasurers, and Solicitors, Sequestrators, &c. And a sixth to the Widows of Miniand to supply the Churches with a few Occasional and stipendiary Preachers: And then, after no small Pains in ballancing Accounts, in a Way that is confus'd enough, be computes that there were between Three and Four Hundred Ministers sequestred in the Six Counties of South Wales, and the County of Monmouth; and says chat if North-Wales be taken in, the Number of the ejected must have been upward of Five, and not much shortof Six Hundred. And then, after another as confused Computation of the Worth and Yearly Value of their Livings, &c. He adds, That the whole of the Revenues and Estates of the Church and Clergy, that was seiz'd by those then in Power, appears on the most modest Computation, to have amounted to above 345000 l. Sterling. He shews how the growing Profits were dispos'd of, and takes Notice of the Petitions to the Parliament about the Matter, and with great Freedom inveighs against Preachers in those Parts as illiterate Tradesmen, &c. And yet as bad a Condition as the Welsh

sters deceas'd. He adds, That the Tithes were forc'd to be set low, because some would not take them to farm, others would not pay, and the Country was poor after the Wars, &c. He declares, he meddled not after 1653. And that he never receiv'd for his Preaching in Wales, by Salary, or any other Way, but between 6 and 700 l. at most. That he never had any Thing from the Tithes, and defies any one to prove it. And whereas 'twas said, that he had purchased some Thousands yearly of the King's Rents and Lands, he declares that what he had purchasd', amounted but to 70 l. Yearly, of which he never receiv'd above 60 l. 10 s. in any Year; which return'd to the King again upon his Restoration. And he refers to a Book he had publish'd before, Intitaled, Examen, & Purgamen Vavasoris, Printed in 1653; therein he is by Authentick Certificates, sign'd by Persons of good Credit, and many of them Gentlemen of good Estacee, clear'd from the Charges that were bro't against him in the Hue and Cry. And yet has the Doctor copy'd out a Abundance of Stories out of this Hue and Cry without the least Notice there ever was any Reply publish'd.

Welsh Counties were in at that Time, Commissioner Whitlock, in his Memorials * gives an Account that in September 1653 there were a Hundred and Fifty good Preachers in the thirteen Welsh Counties. and most of them preach'd three or four Times a Week: And that in every Market Town was plac'd one Schoolmaster; and in most grear Towns, Two Schoolmasters, Able, Learned, and University Men. Which is so good Authority in the Case, that I believe most Men will think, that our Author here also, as well as in other Places, has overdone out of the Abundance of his Zeal.

From Whales, the Doctor returns back into England, and gives some farther Account of the Proceedings of the Commissioners there: And then enters upon an Account of the Triers, without whose Approbation none could be admitted into Livings; and their Determination was absolute. He freely charges these Gentlemen with such Partialttes and Corruptions in so high a Trust, as were hardly ever so much as charg'd on any Bishop by the work of his Enemies, He says, They approv'd of several. most illiterate Persons, and even unordained Me- p. 172. chanicks, and others of the meanest Education; and were very Tyrannical. And whereas in my Abridgment I had from Mr. Baxter signify'd, That these Triers did some good in the midst of all their Faults, which he was as sensible of as any Man, he discovers himself not a little displeas'd: And instances in the Treatment which Dr. Sadler, Mr. Camplin, Mr. Broad, Mr. Clutterbuck, Mr. Trosse, and Mr. Duncomb p. 174. met with from them; and yet I am perswaded the Doctor does not imagine that we approve of their having such Usage, any more than he does. However, when he had been so particular about these Gentlemen here, I can't see the least Occasion for his much inlarging upon them again, when they come in his Way in his List. This to me appears not very easy to be reconcil'd, what that Concern to avoid Repetitions which he sometimes discovers.

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^{*} See Whitlock's Memoirs p. 2[[?????]]

р. 178.

p. 194.

p. 195.

p. 200.

p. 120.p. 204.

He afterwards passes to a New Ordinance for the ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insuffcient Ministers and Schoolmasters, in 1654; and gives Mr. Gatford's Reflections upon it; and adds an Account of the Execution of it upon Mr. Bushnel (whose Case alone takes up above three Sheets of Paper) and then mentions the Protestors Declaration in 1655, which hunted the sequestred Clergy out of the Private Families of such as were willing to entertain them for Chaplains or Tutors, to the starving them and their Families; by which, he says, their Miseries were compleated. And yet in the very next Page, he ascribes the compleating their Ruin, to another Declaration in 1656, by which all former Sequestrations were confirm'd. And after some light Touches upon such Instances of their Sufferings as were before omitted, he proceeds to compute the Number of the Suffering Clergy, which he reckons not to fall much short of Ten Thousand, tho' with all his Pains, (as we shall see presently) he can give no good Reason to believe, that they reach'd Half Way. He gives several Reasons why his List should be so scanty and defective, after all the Care he had taken to make it more compleat; and so draws to the Close of his Introductory Account, which cannot easily be match'd, for Tediousness, and Immethodicalness, and frequent Repetition of the same Things again and again, notwithstanding that he owns he had glutted his Reader as well as himself with it. He is resolv'd. That be his List, more or less perfect, he'll detain his Reader no longer from it: But I'll venture to give him this friendly Caution beforehand, That if he comes to it with any raised Expectations, his Disappointment will be but so much the greater.

And thus at length I can congratulate myself in being got through the Author's Preface and Introduction, which contains as furious an Invective as has of late Years appear'd against the People call'd Presbyterians. And I shall close my Remarks upon them with the Words of Mr. Lewis of Margate; the very Words with which he closes his Remarks

on Dr. Biss. * 'Tis too plain, says he, what is the Reason if all this Wrath and Clamour against the Presbyterians. They who exercise it, can't but be sensible that they are an impotent Body of Men, compar'd with those of the Church. But are all faithful to the Protestant Succession, and will neither by Persuasion, nor Threats and ill-Usage he brought off from being so. Ec hinc illæ Lachrymæ. This makes them worse than Hereticks and Idolaters, and to be unworthy to be us'd even with common Humanity.

Next follows the long expedited List; and that consists of several Articles. For the Doctor first gives an Account of the Cathedral Clergy, and adds to them such as suffer'd in the Chappel Royal, and in the Colleges of Eaton, Manchester, Rippon, Southwell, Westminster, Windsor and Wolverhampton; from p. 1.

to p. 97.

Then come the Sufferers in the Two Universi-

ties of Oxford and Cambridge; from p. 97, to p. 164.

To them succeed the London Clergy, with those within the Bills of Mortality, and Parts adjacent; from p. 164, to p. 181.

Then follows a List of the suffering Parochial Clergy, all through the Kingdom; from p. 181, to

. 412.

To which is subjoyn'd an appendix, containing an Account of some Few of the School-Masters, Lecturers, Curates, &c. who were turn'd out; from p. 412, to p. 425.

And the whole of this Part of the Attempt is clos'd with Two Alphabetical Indexes; One of the Names of the Clergy that were sequestred; and an-

other of the Livings mention'd in the List foregoing.

To prevent Tediousness, (with which One would be tempted to think the Doctor had study'd to tire his Readers) I shall content myself with a Few General Remarks on the whole List as it stands: And then shall add some Particular Remarks on on each Part of it; and on the two Indexes at the End. And when I have subjoyn'd a brief Return to such Reflections on my Abridgment, and the Sufferers added to it, as the

^{*} See Mr. Lewis's Remarks, p. 37.

Doctor has scatter'd up and down in his Preface, Introduction, and Historical List, I shall wait with Patience for the Remainder of his undertaken Work; and if it pleases God I live to see it compleated, I shall venture to run it over, let it be ever so angry, or ever so bulky, endeavouring to make the best Use of it I am able, for the Benefit of present and succeeding Times.

My General Remarks on the Doctor's whole

List as it stands, are these:

I. There is much more of Shew in it, than there is of Substance. He is plainly very desirous it should seem large, whatever it was in Reality: But when a Distinction is made between real and imaginary Sufferers, there will be Room for a considerable Defalcation. Among his Cathedral Clergy, besides the Persons who he has Reason to believe were Sufferers, he reckons up a Variety of prebends and Canonries, and other Dignities, in which he takes it for granted, there were some Sufferers, tho' he has no Evidence of it; nay, sometimes does not know (as he frankly acknowledges) whether there were any such Dignities, for any Sufferers to possess, or be ejected from. And of this Sort of Sufferers, who are mark'd with Two Scratches after this Manner, — — there are in the Diocese of Asaph Fourteen, in Bangor Ten, in Canterbury Twelve, in Carlisle Eight, Chester Six, Chichester Five, St. David's Twenty, Hereford Ten, Landaff Eleven, Lincoln Forty-five, London Eight, Norwich Two, Peterborough Nine, Rochester Seven, Wells Eleven, Winchester One, Worcester Two, York Eight; in the Chappel Royal Fourteen, in Mancheste-College Four, in Rippon-College Two, and in Wolverhampton Eight; in all, above Two hundred; besides; many others that are dubious. Its a Sign the Doctor had a good Will and strong Inclination to multiply the Number of his Sufferers to the utmost, that he should rake this Method. But how does he know, but that many of these Dignities (supposing them to be real, and not imaginary) might be entirely vacant, when the Revenues of the Cathedrals were seiz'd? or but that several of 'em might be posfess'd

fess'd by one Person? Or, but that the Sufferers in those Dignities (if such there were) may be mention'd in other Places, where they had Livings, which he himself owns to have been no uncommon Thing? Upon these Accounts, this Flourish might well enough have been spar'd, unless he had had more Light. These must stand for waste Paper, when we come to a Commutation. Nor is this the only Proof he is for making all the Shew that is possible. He is for producing one and the same Man over and over in his List, as if the Number of his Sufferers would increase and rise, in Proportion to the Number of the Preferments they lost. Thus for Instance, Part II. p. 48, we meet with Richard Stuart, LL. D. Deanry of Paul's, Prebendary of St. Pancras, and Penitentiary, Deanry at Westminster; and Prebend of the third Stall there; Deanry of the Royal Chappel, Provostship of Eaton-College, and Prebend of North-Alton in the Church of Salisbury, I should have thought that when all this had been mention'd, and an Account and a Character of him had been added, we had had enough in all Confidence of this one Sufferer. But it seems the Doctor thought otherwise: And therefore we have him again, p. 65. in the Cathedral Church of Sarum, and again, at the Chappel Royal, p. 87; and again in the very same Page at Eaton-College; and again with a new Pomp, and farther Account of him, at Westminster, p. 91. This looks as if he design'd to pelt us with Dignities. And yet after all this Parade and Shew, the poor Doctor is help'd but to one single Name in his Index. Many such Instances as these may easily be observ'd. This looks as if he was afraid he should not spend Paper enough in pursuing his Undertaking; and is far from discovering his Sorrow to be so great at the Bulk of his Book, as he would make us believe; or that the bulkiness of it was so unavoidable as he represents it *.

After all the great Pains the Doctor has taken, the List he has produc'd, does not seem to me

^{*} Part II. p. 181.

to answer his End: For it neither proves that the Number of Sufferers on the Church Side was so much greater, as he pretends, than on the Side of the Dissenters; nor that their Sufferings were in themselves, so much more heavy and severe, as he insinuates. The Two Things which in his Introduction he proposes to prove, and make undeniably evident, are these: That, our Ministers ejected Five Times greater Numbers of the Episcopal Clergy, and oppress'd them in a Thousand Times greater Degrees, than ever their own Friends suffer'd from the Establishment *. If then neither of these Things are clear'd, it must be own'd, the poor Doctor has lost his Labour, which is uncomfortable in any Case; but peculiarly so, where so much Pains has been taken, and so much Time spent, to the acknowledg'd Neglect of the more imediate Business of his Function †. And that he really has not by his List made either of these Things out, as far as I can judge, admits of plain and easy Proof.

I. His List does not give sufficient Proof, That the Number of the Sufferers on the Church Side, was so much greater, than on the Side of the Dissenters, as he pretends it was. He says indeed again and again. That there were Ten thousand Sufferers on the Church side, and reckons it modest to fall to eight thousand: # But Mr. Withers * has shew'd this to be impossible; (especially in the Year 1644, which is the Time refer'd to) because the Parliament had not at that Time so many Clergymen under their Jurisdiction. The Doctor owns indeed †, that he was frequently obligd to supply the Want of more particular Intelligence by the Help of Guesses: (And it is plain enough he did so, and that he sometimes guess'd very much at Random too) but to guess there must be eight or ten thousand Sufferers on his Side, when, after all his Blustering, his List makes out little more than a fifth Part of them, is Unconscionable, and beyond all Bounds, and therefore cannot by any means be allow'd-

* Pref. p. 19. † Part I. p. 3. ‡ Part I. p. 199.

^{*} See his appendix to his Reply to Mr. Agate. p. xxiv, xxv. † Pref: p. xxxiii.

Mr. White's Saying in the House of Commons, (which he so oft refers to) "That Eight thousand deserv'd to be cast out; is nothing of a Proof, that near so many, actually were sequestred: And yet, as far as I can perceive, this is his main Evidence. The Doctor cannot particularly reckon up above Two thousand four hundred, which is about the Number of Parishes in his Index, from whence Clergymen were ejected. 'Tis plain, the Number of Sufferers in these Parishes, must fall considerably short of the Number of Parishes in which they fuffer'd, because a good many of them had Two or Three Parishes apiece. And if it be pleaded. That the Cathedral Clergy, and the Sufferers in the Two Universities will require an Allowance of a greater Number; it is easily reply d, That so many of them had Parochial Preferments as he himself is forc'd to own, † That the Addition that is procur'd that Way, will scarce over-ballance the Number of Pluralists, among his Parochial Sufferers. Mr. Withers * has made a Computation as to three of the Associated Counties, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire, in which there were One thousand three hundred ninety-eight Parishes, and Two hundred fifty-three Sequestrations. So that a Fifth Part of the Livings were not sequestred. And taking these Three Counties as a Standard by which to measure the whole Kingdom, the Number of Sufferers will be less than Two thousand, supposing of the Nine thousand two hundred eighty-four Parishes in England, there were less than a fifth Part sequestred. The same Gentleman has also made another Computation from the County of Devon, in which there was likely to be as great a Number of Sufferers as any where, and in which the Doctor seems to have been most exact. In this County there are Three hundred ninety-four Parishes, and according to the Doctor's Account about One-hundred thirty-nine Sequestrations; out of which Number of One-hundred thirty-nine. Thirty-nine must be deduced, as either

[†] Pref. p. 49. * See his appendix to his Reply to mr. Agate, p. xxvii, xxviii.

either Uncertain, or Pluralists, or Persons official ting again, either in their own or other Livings. And if One-hundred Thirty-nine gives a Discount of Thirty-nine, then by the Rule of Proportion Two-Thousand Three-hundred Ninety-nine (which is the Number of Parishes in the Index to the Attempt) will give a Discount of Six-hundred Seventy-three; which being substracted from Two-thousand Threehundred ninty nine, there will remain about One thousand seven hundred twenty six, to about which Number the Sufferers on the Church side will be reduc'd; and either Way they'l fall short of the Number that suffer'd by the Act of Uniformity, instead of so vastly exceeding it, as is oft asserted. Nay if I should allow him Five-hundred Persons over and above for Mistakes, Persons forgotten, and Sufferers in the Universities or Cathedrals, that had no Livings, (which I think is a very fair Allowance) yet still his suffering Friends, wont for Number, much exceed those that suffer'd for their Nonconformity after the Restoration.

I hardly can apprehend that more of the Clergy, suffer'd in the Parliament Times, than there suffer'd of the Married Clergy in the Reign of Queen Mary. Bishop Burnet † gives a Tragical Account of their Treatment from Dr. Parker, that was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Some Men, (says he) have been deprived, never convict, no nor never called: Some called, that were fast locked in prison; and yet they were nevertheless depriv'd immediately. Some were deprived without the Case of Marriage after their Order: Some induc'd to resign, upon promise of Pension, and the promise as yet never performed. Some so deprived, that they were spoiled of their Wages, for the which they Serv'd the Half Year before; and not ten Days before the Receipt, sequestred from it: Some prevented from the half Years Receipt after Charges and Tenths of Subsidies paid, and yet not depriv'd Six Weeks after. Some depriv'd of their Receipt somewhat before the Day, with the which their Fruits to the Queen's Majesty should be contented; and some yet in the like Case chargeable hereafter, if the Queens

^{*} History of the Reformation Vol. III. p. 225, 226.

Queen's merciful Grace be not informd thereof, by the Mediation of some charitable Solicitor. There were deprived or driven away, Twelve of Sixteen Thousand, as some Writer maketh Account. This seems much such a Calculation as Dr. Walker's; made at Random and by Guess. Several endeavour'd to rectify it; and among the rest Dr. Tanner (the Bishop informs us) offer'd this Suggestion: That the Diocese of Norwich is almost an Eighth of all England. Now there, there were only Three hundred thirty five depriv'd on that Account. And by this the whole Number will fall short of Three thousand. This (says the Bishop) if true, is but a Conjecture; yet it is a very probable one. And the other Account is no way credible. And according to this Calculation, there being about Two hundred and twenty on the Church side sequestred in this Diocese of Norwich, there cannot have been Two thousand that suffer'd in all. And tho' this is but a Conjecture, yet it it a much more probable one than his: And I may as truly say as Bishop Burnet. That the other Account (I mean Dr. Walkers) is no way credible. I should think therefore his Boast upon this Head, might very well have been spar'd. Whatever way we take to calculate rationally, there's no Evidence of the Truth of what he asserts, * That our Side ejected five times greater Numbers of the Episcopal Clergy, than their Side did of Ours. If their Number was equal, it could not very far exceed. Neither,

2. Does the List give sufficient Proof, that the Sufferings on the Church side, were in themselves so much more heavy and severe than those on our Side, as he would insinuate. 'Tis true I cannot say that any of our Sufferers, lost their Teeth with poison'd Sauce, as he would have us believe (if he could persuade us to it,) some of his Sufferers did, * for which he is so deservedly banter'd by Mr. Withers:† But that Mr. Hughes of Plymouth, and many others, lost their Health by their Confinement, and that Mr Jenkins, Mr. Ralphson, Mr. Field, and many others died in Heison,

^{*} Pref. p. 19. † Att. Part. II. p. 333. * See his Appendix. p. xxx.

Prison, is too well known to be call'd in question. We don't know that any of our Sufferers were confin'd in Ships and that under Deck; but we have had some sent to very unhealthful Prisons, and some cast into Dungeons, which is almost as bad. We pretend not that any on our Side, were threaten'd with being sold as Slaves to the Turks; but several of them were actually so treated, that a Turkish Slavery would have been almost as eligible. As to Insults by rude Language, hard Names, Affronts in open Court, rigorous Constructions of Words and Actions, and merciless Treatment under Confinement, I can't see any great Inequality. But then there is this Difference very discernable; that the Severities which the Doctor most complains of, were the Effects of Civil Discords; whereas the Sufferings on our Side were mostly upon a religious Account which made them the more cutting. The Parliament dealt severely with many of the Clergy 'tis true, but then they did it not so much because they were Episcopalians in their Judgments, as because they oppos'd them in their Practices, and assisted their bitter Enemies. But still, many that shewed a Disposition to live peaceably, remain'd unmolested. Many went on using the Liturgy and Ceremonies, notwithstanding the Rigor of the Times, Dr. Walker himself owns that Dr. Peter Gunning * held a constant Congregation in the Chappel at Exeter House, where by his Reading the English Liturgy, Preaching &c. he asserted the Cause of the Church of England, with great Pains and Courage, when the Parliament was most predominant. And Dr. Tho. Fuller whom he makes so great a Sufferer, owns his being permitted Preaching, and the Peaceable enjoying of a Parsonage †: And he adds, that he never was formally sequestred, but went before he was driven away from his Living. And tho' he afterwards had Liberty, to preach, yet he solemnly assures the World, That he never had either by his Pen or Practise done any Thing to the betraying

^{*} Part II. p. 142. † See his Appeal of injur'd Innocence, against Dr. Heylin. Part I. p. 13, 14.

traying the Interest of the Church of England. And he intimates. That others might, have had like Liberty with himself, if they would have forborn Printing, and Preaching Satyrs on the Times! I wish the poor Nonconformists in King Charles's Reign, could have been able to say the same. And if Men at any Time will thrust themselves into Sufferings, when by but living quietly, they may easily avoid 'em, they are most certainly the less to be pity'd. Such Things as these make it evident, that the former Hardships and Severities, were nor so much beyond the latter, as is pretended. And therefore when I find Dr. Walker assert so positively. That the Sufferings on the Church Side were a Thousand-fold greater than those on our Side, 'tis to me much like the Rhodomontade of Dr. Bisse in his Sermon to the Sons of the Clergy, who very roundly asserts. That there are Thousands of Cures in England, of different Titles and Tenures, the yearly Maintenance whereof are far inferiour to the usual Hire or Support of the meanest Domesticks: And that our Clergy are become the worst provided for, of any in the Christian World. And that every one knows that there are Hundreds yea, Thousands of Secular Offices, the Revenue whereof Equals that annex'd to most of our Bishopricks: And that there are some, which in Value would ballance them all, when put in the Scale together, I find these two Doctors much alike. And indeed 'tis natural for High-Fliers, to love strong Figures: But then they must be interpreted accordingly, when a Man would speak strictly. Thus when our Doctor says. That the former Sufferings were a thousandfold greater than the latter, all that is meant is. That they, were very great, as well as the Latter. This is all that his List proves. And this is all that can be granted him. But as for the Comparison, and the Thousandfold, we wait for the Proof of that till hereafter.

III. The Doctor's List is full of nauseous Repetitions. Tho' all Readers are far from having Capacities alike, yet it is ungenteel and a little uncivil in any Author, to represent his Readers as so dull,

as not to be capable of taking the Items he gives, unless he repeats 'em at every other Leaf almost. And yet this is the Doctor's Way. He comes with the same Things over and over, till he perfectly Cloyes and Surfeits us. We have the very same Stories in his List as we had before in his Introduction, to the needless wasting many Sheets of Paper, and the useless tiring the Reader into the Bargain. He pretends to be not a little concern'd to avoid unnecessary Repetition, But I should think he forgat this, when he brings in the same Persons, and repeats the same Stories and Admonitions again and again, till they grow perfectly nauseous. How often when he takes Notice of an Hardship of any of his Sufferers, does he say, This is not the only Instance of the Kind! And how often does he interpose with his dull Cautions against Moderation, as if he could not sufficiently inveigh against it! Now a Man may bear once to hear a Tale of a Tub; but if it comes up at every Turn, there's no Mortal but must be tir'd. Had the Doctor duly consider'd this, I should think for his own Sake, and the Credit of his Work, he'd have been more careful. Methinks when Stories were told once, with Particulars and at Large, it might have been enough to refer to them afterwards, without bringing them in again, and again: But the Doctor seems to have thought that some Sort of Things that were severe could never come up too often; and that this would be the Way to make the Impression the Deeper: Without considering how Few would be able to bear it. I can't at all wonder therefore, that no one sets himself to read this Book over, without being wretchedly weary and tir'd.

IV. The Doctor's List has several things in it that are perfectly ridiculous. I might herein mention again the poison'd Sauce, which is much more worthy of Laughter than Credit; and many other Things that occur: But I'll fasyen particularly on the Account he gives of Mr. Geast, † who he says

^{*} Part II. p. 99. † Part II. p. 256.

was a very worthy Man: And of whom he tells us, That he counted the Words of the Covenant, and found them exactly Six hundred sixty six, the Number of the Beast He adds, That being imprison'd for his Loyalty, he had little else to do. I'm glad the Sufferers I have given an Account of, were neither idle, nor to foolishly employ'd. However, tho' there is what I have now transcrib'd, in the Text, yet in the Margin there is a Note added, in these Words, How he counted them I know not; All the Words exceed Twice that Number. Can any Thing be more ridiculous? I must however do Dr. Walker the Justice to own, that his Sufferer was not the only Person that gave into this Fancy. For Dr: Fuller having mention'd it in his Church-History, * Dr. Heylin takes Notice of it in his Animadversions †, and says. That the Number of Six hundred sixty six Words, neither more nor less, which are found in the Covenant, tho' they conclude nothing, yet they signify something. But when the Number of Words in the Covenant, (even tho' Preface and Conclusion are left out) are many more than Six hundred sixty six, it would be strange indeed, if an Observation that is not true in Fact should signify any Thing! Dr. Heylin adds, That whoever he was that made this Observation upon the Covenant, he deserves more to be commended for his Wit, than condemned for his Idleness. Whereas if Dr. Walker's Account be true, there was Idleness enough. For the Poor Man had little else to do, as he acknowledges. And tho' he was at that Time confin'd, he yet was thus far to be condemned, that he might most certainly have employ'd his Time much better. But after all, 'tis hard to say, where was the wit of this Observation, when it has nothing of Truth in it. But all the Mystery of the Matter is this; he was willing there should be just Six hundred sixty six Words in the Covenant, neither more nor less, that he might have Occasion for the Observation; and therefore he took some Way and Method, so to reduce the Words of the Covenant, as that there might at length be just so many left. Which

^{*} Book II. p. 203. † p. 253.

Which brings to my Mind the Way taken by a Zealot for Church Power, before the Reformation, to find the Number of the Beast, in the Name of Sir John Oldcastle. Out of the Name JOHN OLDCASTEL, he in Numerals makes the Number of DCCI. From thence he subtracts the Years of his Age, wherein he fell in with the Lollards, and was condemn'd for Heresy, which were Thirty five; and then there remain'd just Six hundred sixty six, which was the exact Number of the Beast. But it will be long enough, before such Wit as this, will do any Cause in the World the least Service.

V. The Doctor in his List, represents some Things as certain, which are certainly known to be false. Thus he tells us, * This is certain, that on the Restoration, Mr. Todd was in Possession of the Vicaridge of Leeds. Whereas on the Restoration he was Minister of the New Church which Mr. Harrison built, and is neither Parsonage, nor Vicaridge, but a Donative, endow'd with the Rents of a short Street, which that great Benefactor, built for that Purpose. Mr. Stiles was Vicar at the Restoration, and did not die till some Time after. And Mr. Lewis furnishes me with another Instance, with Relation to Southwell College. The Doctor speaking of it, expresses himself thus. I know not any Thing else of it, save that it was plunder'd of all its Records in the Time of the Rebellion †. He seems to intimate this was a Thing about which there could be no Doubt and Hesitation; and that nothing could be more certain. Whereas in Reality there's nothing can be more certainly false, as Mr. Lewis tells us he is assur'd by a Letter from one of the Prebendaries of that Collegiate Church ‡. His Words are, Our Register tells me, (whose Father was Register before him) that very little Damage was done to our Registeries: We have some very fair and Ancient Books, which contain

^{*} Att Part II. p.374. † Ibid. p. 91, alias 89.

[†] See Mr. Lewis's Remarks on Four Sermons lately Preach'd by Dr. Thomas Bisse, p. 51.

contain the Original Records of our pretends. Churches Grams, Deeds, &c. One of which Booths bears Date III6. The Doctor signifies his Hopes that I won't turn short upon him for his Mistakes. I have as little Reason to do it as any Man, because I have unhappily fallen into a Variety of Mistakes myself, being ingag'd in a Work of such Variety, as needed more Informations, than I had Opportunity of getting: * And yet we ought with Care to distinguish between Things certain and meer Uncertainties, if we would not impose upon such as think they may; rely upon us.

VI. The Doctor's List has in it several Untruths. Mr. Withers * mentions some such. As the Character he gives of Mr. Collins †, whom he represents as a very poor, despicable, canting dull Fellow: Tho' his Pulpit Performances were so acceptable, that many from the neighbouring Parishes were his usual Auditors: And his Account of Mr. Standish, \$\pm\$ a Priest Vicar of Wells, who he says was imprison'd with such Circumstances of Severity, for burying the murder'd Dean with the Common-Prayer, that he died in Jail *; when as the Truth on't is, he liv'd above Twenty Years afterwards. By which says Mr. Withers, we may guess what Credit we are to give to those other Instances of Barbarity, which are recorded in the Attempt. Which is indeed a Reflection that is very natural. He also in the very same Page takes Notice of a very false Account of Mr. Edmund Tucker, which I shall have Occasion to animadvert on, in my farther Account of the Ejected and Silence Ministers, which I intend in a little Time for the Press. And I shall here add some other Instances.

The Doctor mentions one Dr. Luddington † Arch-deacon

^{*} Appendix p. x. † Att. Part II. p. 191. ‡ See Withers's Appendix p. xxxiii. xxxii. * Att. Part II. p. 71, 76. * Dr. Walker Queries whether this was the same Timothy Luddington, sequestred from East-Bedford in Nottinghamshire? To which I answer, no, he was not; For this Gentleman's Name was Stephen Luddington.

deacon of Stow and says, That he was cruelly persecuted *: Whereas a Friend of mine, and he one of the Church of England too, that liv'd in his Neighbourhood, and knew him well, gives me an Account under his Hand, That he never heard he yeas persecuted at all. And he adds, that to the best of his Remembrance, he was in Possession of the Rectory of Carlton, worth 130 or 140 l, per An. before 1660. And if he did suffer any Thing, he reckons he had an Ample Compensation. For after the Restoration, he had Two Rectories, and Two Dignities, besides his Wife's Jointure; and Three Daughters were all his Charge. His Hospitality consisted in keeping Humming-Ale, which he call'd Roger, of which he was no Niggard. But says my Author, he died a very Beggar, to my Know-

ledge.

He calls one C—, the Minister of Allington, a zealous Covenanter * : Whereas I am inform'd by One that was his intimate Friend, That Mr. Robert Clark, then Minister of Allington, (as he had been many Years before, and continu'd so till his Death in 1655,) was a Person of as meek, peaceable, and moderate a Temper and Spirit, as any he ever knew. He was as far from Bigotry, and as neutral in his whole Deportment in the Quarrel between King and Parliament, as any Minister of Note in those Parts. He was of the Puritan Stamp, and a Parliamentarian in his Heart, but was so cautious and reserv'd in those Times, that the Cavalier, Episcopal Gentry, that hared all the Clergy that were zealous for the Parliament's Cause, yet had a Respect for him, and spake honourably of him upon all Occasions. He was Prebendary of Lincoln at the Dissolution of Cathedrals, which had our Author known, I suppose he would not only have wav'd this Reflection upon him, but given him a very different Character. Upon this my Informer cries out, and I don't see who can blame him, What Credit can I give to this Author's Chambers?

In

^{*} Att. Part II. p. 45. † Att. Part II. p. 105. Col. 1.

In another Place *, he says, That Mr. Sherwin made 300 l. of the Living of Wallington. This also a Worthy Clergyman of the Church of England informs me, cannot be, since it is not worth above 160 l. per. An. But (says he) our Author overvalues other Livings that were sequestred.

But there would be no End on't, if I should pretend to number all the Untruths that might be ga-

ther'd out of his Performance.

I shall add but one more general Reflection on the Doctor's List, and that is such an one as can hardly escape any Man that runs it over ever so lightly, and that must, I think, raise the Refinement of all Lovers of Sobriety. 'Tis well-known, and he himself neither was, nor could insensible, that a Number of his Sufferers were charg'd with such Immoralities, as were scandalous to their Function, which he often ridicules, and makes a Jest of; than which hardly any Thing could be more unbecoming. Thus he calls Drunkenness and swearing Hackney Imputations, in his Account of Mr. Fothersby †, without so much as giving the least Intimation of his Innocence. And in the Case of Mr. Hancock \$\pm\$, he mentions the Hackney Accusation of Tripling and Swearing. And in the Case of Mr, Finch of Christ-Church, he takes Notice of the Hackney Accusation of Tavern haunting and Drunkenness *. Now such Crimes as these were either well proved or not: If not well prov'd, the Doctor, when he had mention'd 'em, should have endeavoured to have disprov'd 'em. But if they were well prov'd, their Sequestration was so well deserv'd, that they ought not to have been represented as Sufferers, or under an Hardship: And the making a Jest of their Crimes, is most certainly, a Thing very unbecoming a Divine; and especially one that had recommended the Sufferers of whom he gave an Account, As persons of such Dives, as scarce any Church since the first Times of Christianity was ever bless'd with †.

It is indeed a Thing that is not easily to be forgiven,

† Part I. p. 3.

^{*} Part II. p. 201. † Part II. p. 244. ‡ Part II. p. 165.‡ * Part I. p. 70, &c.

given, that our Author says no more in Vindication of his Sufferers from such Charges. Often does he mention what is objected against them in White's Centuries, and particularly upon the Head of Incontinency, without either offering any Thing to clear their Innocence, or making any Acknowledgement of their Guilt. And in the Case of Mr. Paul Clapham, * who he says was charg'd with Adultery, and several Instances of Bastardy, he has a very odd Reflection; viz. That he questions whether this would have brought him under the Displeasure of the Party, had he not called the Parliament Rebels and Traitors, and fled to the King's Army. But to make it appear, That he had the least Shadow of Right or Reason to question this, he ought to have produc'd some Instances of Persons whom they favour'd, that were known to be guilty of such Crimes. Often also does he mention their being charg'd with encouraging Sports and Pastimes on the Lord's-Day, and Reading publickly the Book for that Purpose, in such a Way as if he thought they were rather to be commended than blam'd on this Account. All which Things put together, appear to me very unbecoming one that is a Clergyman, and that professes. That the Vices of the Clergy, are what be of all Things the most abhorreth †.

I have now done with General Remarks on the Doctor's List as it stands; and shall go on to some that are more Particular, on the several Parts of which it is made up. He begins with the Cathedral Clergy, which he says, may perhaps be the compleatest part of the List ‡. But as compleat as it is, I think it chargeable with very great De-

fects.

I readily acknowledge many of his Sufferers mention'd here, to have been Men of great Worth and Eminence. I'm sincerely sorry they met with such Usage; and can as heartily as any Man lament: the rigorous Treatment of such Excellent Persons, as Bishop Morton, Bishop Hall, Bishop Prideaux, Bishop

^{*} Part II. p. 226. † Introd. p. 73. Part II. p. 203.

Bishop Brownrigg, &c. I han'r the leift Word to say in Vindication of it. Bishop Halls hard Measure, written by himself, added to his Account of the Specialities of his Life, and dated May 29, 1647. would make any Man's Heart bleed that reads it. And yet.

Many of our Author's Sufferers of this Rank are but imaginary, as has before been hinted. He does but make Scratches in this Manner, ———— and supposes Sufferers where he has no Proof. And sometimes he complains. That he cannot so much as guess how much they suffer'd. As in the Case of Mr. Andrew Topham a. And he guesses Mr. Giles Thorn suffer'd as Archdeacon of Bucks b, and that Mr. Thomas Marler, was a Sufferer as Archdeacon of Sarum & Etc.

He in so many Words owns himself altogether, uncertain, whether some of them suffer'd at all. As in the Case of Dean Eglionby, p. 6. Mr. John Castilione, p. 7. Mr. Rees Pritchard, p. 16. and Mr. Anthony Maxton, p. 21; and many others. And yet both in the List, and the Index of Names at the End of it, they stand upon a Level with the greatest Sufferers, as if he had had the fullest Certainty.

He makes some of them Sufferers that its plain were not Sufferers. Thus he brings in Bishop Davenant as one of his Sufferers d, saying, That he had a Tast of the Miseries and Sufferings which were then coming in fuller Measure upon the Church; and accordingly his Name stands in the Index, (to make up the Number,) without the least Difference that can be discern'd, between him, and the greatest Sufferers in all the Book: And yet Dr. Fuller e, assures us, that he died before his Order died: And Archdeacon Echard f, that he ended his Days in Peace and Honour. Bishop Montague of Norwich, also, is brought in by our Doctor as another of his Sufferers tho' he is said by Archdeacon Echard,

^a Page 23. ^b p. 44. ^c p. 63. ^d p. 62. ^e Worthies of England, p. 270. ^f History of England, Vol. II. p. 277. ^g p. 55.

to have seen none of the Miseries of the Civil War. h However he stands in the Index, to help make up the Number, in common with the greatest Sufferers. And Dr. Westfield, also Bishop of Bristol, is mentioned as another Sufferer, tho' he was not disposess'd of his Bishoprick, and had the Profits of it restor'd him, after they had been a little Time withheld *. At this Rate, its a very easy Thing to make the Number of Sufferers increase and

multiply.

But our List affords us divers other Instances of this Kind. Thus the Doctor mentions Mr. John Fairclough alias Featly +, as Suffering the Loss of a Prebend in the Cathedral of Lincoln: Whereas I have it from a Clergyman that knew him well, and was very conversant with him, that he was not Prebendary of Lincoln till the Reftoration in 1660, and therefore to be sure could not lose it before. And whereas the Doctor says that this Gentleman return'd from the Indies into England after the Rebellion was over; My Friend assures me. That to his certain Knowledge, he was in Possession of the Rectory of Langhor in Nottinghamshire, Six Miles from Nottingham, in the Years, 56, 7, 8, 9, and 60, and had been so some Years before, tho' he cannot positively remember how many: And this Living was valu'd at 160 l. per An. The same Person adds, that he was very conformable to those Times, and that tho' he would frequently make sad Complaints, and tell long Stories of great Abuses and Affronts he met with from one of his Parishioners, Steward of the Lord of that Manor, viz. Mr. How of Gloucestershire, yet he never heard him complain of any Sufferings from the Government. There are some in this Part of his List, who perhaps upon search would be found more on our Side, than for the Church, notwithstanding the Dignities conferred upon 'em, that were designed to bribe 'em, to be on the Doctors Side. I take this to have been the Case of Dr. Peter du Moulin k, and also of the Famous M. Gerard Vossius 1, who

h Echard's Hist. of England, Vol. II. 277. p. 3. † Part II. p. 46, 47. k p. 7. l p. 8.

were both of them made Prebendaries of Canterbury. And there are also some, whom he has here brought in as Sufferers, that more properly belong to my List than his. As Mr. Francis Bampfield, and Dr. George Kendal, mentioned by him in Exeter Cathedral m; tho' as far as they did suffer, they suffer'd for their Nonconformity. And yet they make as great, a Figure in his List, and the Index at the End on't, as if they had suffer'd ever so readily, for their Zeal for the Hierarchy or Ceremonies. And yet so little Care has he taken to be confident with himself, that when he elsewhere n, does but guess they might he Presbyterians, de declares, He cannot Claim a place for them, in his List. I think verily, either the one should have been omitted or the others inserted. If he would guess, he should have done it alike for both.

Many of these Cathedral Dignitaries that did suffer were great Pluralists, as sufficiently appears from the Inspection of them as they stand in the List. There are few of them but what had a Living, besides their Dignity: And some had Two or Three.

Some of his Sufferers of this Sort met with no small Favour, according to his own Acknowledgment. Thus the Learned Dr. James Usher, who is here mention'd as the suffering Bishop of Carlisle o, had not only a Pension allow'd him in common with other Bishops, but he owns he was a Preacher at Lincoln's-Inn; And tho' he met with some Hardships and Troubles in the common Confusion, yet all Sorts treated him with great Respect; and that was the Reward of his Moderation too, tho' the Doctor has so little Respect for that sneaking Vertue, that he thought fit to overlook it, and insult at his usual Rate. This good Man was as much and as generally respected as any one of the Age: And Cromwell was at the Charge of a Publick Funeral for him.

The

^m Page 31. ⁿ Part II. p. 143. ^o p. 9.

The Doctor himself also owns P. That Dr. John Wall enjoy'd his Canonry of Christ-Church, through the whole Course of the Usurpation: And that Dr. Christopher Potter q, tho' he lost his Deanry, continu'd in his Provostship of Queens, and died in his College. And tho' Dr. William Hodges r, lost his Archdeaconry of Worcester, yet he was allow'd to keep the Living of Ripple in that County throughout the whole Usurpation. And Dr. Lancelot Dawes s, tho' he lost his Prebend of Carlisle, yet kept the Livings of Barton and Ashby, in Westmorland, till his Death in 1654. Tho' Dr. Robert Hall lost his Treasurership and Canonry in the Cathedral of Exeter, he is yet own'd to have kept the Rectory of Clystheydon in Devon all the Time of the Usurpation; and there to have continu'd a great Patron and Supporter of the sequestred Clergy. Tho' Dr. Skinner lost the Bishoprick of Oxford, he yet was permitted to keep the Rectory of Launton, v in that County, during the whole Usurpation. And tho' Mr. William Bisse, w lost his Prebend of Wells, yet he dept his Living of Quantocks Head, by the Interest of a great Man of the Times. Tho' Dr. Henry Fairfax y, lost his Prebend of York, he yet was allow'd to keep the Rectory of Bolton Piercy during all the Troubles.

There were others also among them that were no great Sufferers, tho' the Doctor takes no Notice of it. Thus tho' Dr. Topham lost his Deanry of Lincoln, yet I am inform'd by a very good Hand, that he continu'd to enjoy the rich Living of Claworth in Nottinghamshire till his Death in 1657, when Mr. Cromwel (whom I mention in my Abridgment) succeeded him. Our Doctor therefore, instead of saying, he could not well guess how much he suffer'd may (if he should come again to the Press) rather say, he could easily guess that he was no great Sufferer. And yet he's as much inferred in the Index as if he had had nothing left him to subsist on.

And

And to all this it may be added, That several of them that did suffer, were scandalous for betraying Liberty and Property, Dr. Robert Sibthorp Prebendary of Peterborough a, was one of this Stamp. Mr. Collier b, himself says of him. That he deliver'd such Doctrine as pursu'd through its Consequences, would make Magna Charta, and the other Laws for securing Property signify little. Dr. Roger Manwaring the suffering Bishop of St. David's c was another of the same Complexion: And of him the same Mr. Collier says d, That his Divinity was extravagant, subversive of the Constitution, and directly against a great part: of the Statute Book. Dr. William Laud is also mention'd e as the suffering Archbishop of Canterbury, who had as great an Hand as any one Man whatever, in bringing on the Publick Confusion. These all afterwards in the Index stand on a Level, with the most innocent Persons that met with the greatest Hardships: Tho' it is the Opinion of many, that what they suffer'd they richly deserv'd, and the two first of them a great deal more.

Nor can I forbear observing, that Dr. Godfrey Goodman, That celebrated Popish Bishop of a Protestant Church, is here brought in both in List and Index as the suffering Bishop of Gloucester and mention'd a Second Time at Windsor g, I must confess I cannot look upon the adding him and Dr. Stephen Gosse h and Mr. Richard Mileson i, and Mr. Thomas Bayly k, and Mr. Thomas Gawen l, and Mr. Hugh Cressy m, (and others of the same Stamp) as any great Credit to the rest of the Company. I am sorry that in order to the swelling his List of Sufferers for the Church of England, he should either be under a Necessity, or think it advisable or expedient, to bring in known and avow'd Romanists. If he would take Notice of them, I should have thought, he had better have alloted them a Place by them-

selves.

Next

a Page 60. b Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain, P. II. p. 740. c Att. Part. II. p. 16. d Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain, Part II. p. 741. e Att. P. II. p. 5. f p. 32. g p. 94. h p. 15. i p. 57. k p. 73. l p. 77. m p. 95.

Next follow the Sufferers in the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge: And as to them it may be observed:

That many who are brought in as Suffering for their Loyalty, and Zeal for the Church, did in Reality suffer for their Immoralities, and so deserv'd all they suffer'd. A Cantabrigian that liv'd in those Times, and that yet survives, and is a Man of great Worth, informs me, That he knows this to have been the Case at Cambridge; and perhaps it might have been very plain that it was so at Oxford too, had the Doctor consulted and publish'd the Particulars charged on those that were turn'd out by the Visiors there, from that Register of their Visitation, which he tells us is yet preserv'd in the Bodleian Library, which he had neither Time nor Opportunity to consult a. However the Doctor owns as to several of his Ejected Fellows that they were return'd scandalous b, and therefore I think if that was given as the Reason of their Ejectment, he should either have vindicated, or omitted them

Some of the Sufferers in this Class, belong more properly to my List than the Doctor's. As Mr. John Berry, Mr. John Mauduit, and Mr. Soreton, mention'd as cast out of Exeter College in Oxon d, and Mr. Josias Banger, and Mr. Daniel Capel, cast out of Magdalen College in the same University d. And it is not unlikely, but there would have appear'd a considerable Number of this Sort, had not the Doctor omitted those that lost their Headships and Fellowships in the several Colleges of Cambridge, for refusing the Ingagement, as he himself owns that several did, that were Presbyterians e; tho' he declares that for that Reason, he could not allow them a Place in his List. But if it would have been any real Honour to them, I cannot see why they might not have had as good a Claim to it, as their Brethren at Oxford.

The Doctor seems to contradict himself in the Account

^a Part I. p. 138. ^b Part II. p. 130. ^c Part II. p. 116. ^d Part II. p. 124. ^e Part II. p. 143.

Account he gives of Dr. Samuel Collins: Representing him as dispossess'd of his Professorship, and yet continu'd in it a. Whereas in Reality, he actually continu'd Professor (as I am inform'd by one that knew him) to the Time of his Death. Dr. Fuller says b, that tho' he lost his Church, yet he kept his Chair, wherein he dy'd about the Year, 1651. And Archdeacon Echard says c, That he continu'd in the Professors Chair to the Day of his Death. Tho' I know by Experience such Mistakes are easy when a Man is in hast, yet they may be prevented or rectify'd with a little Care.

Some of the Doctors University Men, can scarce be said to be Sufferers. What does it signify that Mr. Thomas Careless, lost his Fellowship of Baliol d, when 'tis own'd he became Rector of Barnsley and Vicar of Cirencester, and so was preferr'd; after his Ejectment? And what tho' Mr. Bernard Gilard lost his Fellowship of Exeter College, yet as long as he had the Rectory of Romansleigh in Devon e, he was not very hardly dealt with. Tho' Mr. William Creed, lost his Fellowship of St. Johns, he yet got and was permitted to enjoy the Living of East-Codeford in Wiltshire f. And Mr. Thomas Pierce, tho' he lost his Fellowship of Magdalen-College, he yet obtained, and afterwards enjoy'd, the Rectory of Brington in Northamptonshire g. And were that good Man yet Living, I'm persuaded it would have troubled him, to see his Name brought in, to the inflaming of the Reckoning.

I shall only add that some of the University Sufferers turn'd Papists: As Mr. John Betts h, Mr. John Goad i, Mr. Abraham Woodhead k, Mr. Obadiah Walker¹, Mr. Richard Crashaw^m, and Dr. Henry Johnson n: And the Doctor himself owns, that Mr. Richard Slerlock was reckon'd a Papist in Masquerade o. And perhaps there were many more such, had he

^a Part II. p. 150. compar'd with p. 215.

b Worthies of England, p. 133. C History of

England, Vol. II. p. 732. d Part II. p. 100. e Part II. p. 116. f Part II. p. 120. g Part II. p. 122. h part II. p. 113. i p. 118. k p. 135. l Ibid. m p. 152. n p. 99. o p. 130, 131.

thought fit to take Notice of them. But methinks 'tis a little hard, that either open or secret Papists should be brought in, to fill up the Number of the Doctor's Sufferers.

The Sufferers among the London Clergy are the next in Order: And they are a little above a Hundred in Number. Many of them, (I may say near a Fifth Part of the whole Number) were mentioned before among the Cathedral Sufferers, and therefore might very safely, have been omitted here; unless it could be thought that mentioning them over again added to their Number. Several of them were Pluralists; and several were charg'd with Immoralities; and there are some of them that the Doctor is not able to vindicate, notwithstanding that from Mercurius Rusticus, (an Author whose Credit with many runs but very low) he tells us, That for a more Pious, Learned, and laborious Ministry, no People ever enjoy'd it; even their Enemies themselves being *Iudges* P.

But after all, the main Bulk of the Doctors List, is made up of the Parochial Clergy, in all Parts of England and Wales. And it cannot be deny'd, but that many of these, were great Sufferers in the Time of the Civil War, meerly for adhering to the King, and refusing the Covenant, which instead of being pleaded for, is to be lamented. Nor do I at all doubt, but that the Parliaments Committees were too severe in ejecting a Number, that did more good than hurt in their respective Places, as the Protectors Commissioners were afterwards. And I doubt there is too much Truth in what our Author relates of the Barbarities committed by the Parliament Soldiers, in some Parts, in those dismal Times. But tho' some of them were really Men of great Worth, yet some of them were such abominable Creatures, that any Party may well be ashamed of them, and think it a Disgrace to them, to have their Names perpetuated.

The Dr. mentions as a Sufferer, one Mr. Belton of Mexbrough q. He has indeed his Name only: But being

P Part II. p. 180. 9 p. 212.

being mention'd among such Company, a Man might be tempted to think, that he was a Person that was undeservedly born hard upon. Whereas one that knew him very well, gives me this Account of him. That his Living was reckon'd but at 101. per An. besides a Dinner on the Lord's-Day, which yet was too much for him, unless he had been better. For he was infamous for his Impudence and Impiety, and promoting Prophaneness among the loose Gentry. About Fifteen of them entred into a Fraternity, and chose him for their ghostly Father; and being a single Man, he spent most of his Time at their Houses, making them Sport with his scurrilous prophane Wit. He was such a Rake, that the whole Country rang of him and his mad Pranks. Now can it be any great Credit to have such a Man of One's Side?

In another Place r, the Doctor mentions the Living of Staunton in Nottinghamshire, as a Sequestration, tho' he could not recover the Name of the Sufferer. I am inform'd, by a certain Clergyman of the Church of England that also knew him, and thinks his Name was Francis, that he well remembers he was a drunken, profane Wretch, of which he gives me this Instance: That one Saturday in the Evening, in the Summer-Season, he called at the House of a certain Baronet in his Return from Grantham Market ro Staunton. He happen'd to come in when the Servants were at Supper in the Hall. They desir'd him to sit down with them, which he did. When Supper was ended, they desir'd him also to return Thanks; which he did in these Words:

The Lord be bless'd for all his Gifts: The Devil be bang'd with all his Shifts.

Methinks a Number of such Worthies as these, would not much have recommended any Cause in Christendom.

I am inform'd from the County of Devon, where his

^r p. 369.

this Author pretends to be most exact, and where it may well enough be expected that he should be so, that many of the sequestred Parish Ministers there, were Men of very ill Lives. Mr. Ven of Otterton, who is commended by the Doctor as so worthy a Man s, I am inform'd (and that by one I can depend upon) was made to pay a Crown for Drunkenness by Sir John Tonge. And so bitter an Enemy was he to the Parliament and their Cause, and any that he apprehended favour'd it in the lead Degree, that when Mr. Duke attended to receive the Sacrament, tho' he was his Patron, yet without any Warning or Exception before, he told him at the Table, He could not administer the Sacrament to a Rebel; And yet his House was a Garison for the King, and he was a very pious and peaceable Gentleman, that medled little with the Affairs of those Times. It is not I think verily much to be wondred at, nor with any great vehemence to be complain'd of, that such a Man as this should be us'd with Severity, by those that had Power in their Hands

Mr. Charles Churchill also of Feniton, who is represented by the Doctor as a Pious, as well as a Learned and Loyal Person t, was a Man of a lying Tongue, that was continually telling of Jocular Lies, to ridicule Religion, and Religious Men. In so much that his own Wife would often lay, you must not believe my Husband; for he uses to tell Lies to make Gentlemen laugh. He was much addicted to profane Jeerings, and mocking at holy Things. Once when he was Riding along by a Puritan's Door, and found he was at Family Prayer, he said, he pray'd so heartily that he was in bodily Fear, his Horse would have fallen down on his-Knees. And he was so much given to Drunkenness, that he had debauch'd the greatest: Part of the Gentlemen and Farmers in the Parish, who had the greatest Deliverance in the World when he was turn'd our, and succeeded by so Excellent a Person, and so good and exemplary a Christian, as Mr. Hieron. These

^s Att. Part II. p. 386, 387. ^t p. 216.

These few Instances may help to shew, what Sort of Men, many of Dr. Walker's Parochial Sufferers were.

I find there are comparatively but few among them, to whom even the Doctor himself in the midst of their other Commendations, can find in his Heart to give the Character of an unblameable Conversation. I meet with it indeed, in the Case of Mr. Thomas Foster v, and Mr. John Falder x, is said to have been a Man of an unblameable Life: And Mr. Francis Nation y, is said to have been a Man of great Piety: And Mr. Thompson of Hedly 2, is said to have been one of an Exemplary Life; and there are some few others commended in that Way: But this is far from being common. Several of them are own'd to have been scandalous. This is acknowledg'd, as to Mr. John Peckham. He is one that is charg'd home in White's Century, and the Doctor says. He has been inform'd, he was really a very scandalous Fellow a. And therefore he adds. That he could have been very willing to have shut him out of his List, if the Faithfulness and Integrity of an Historian would permit him. This I grant is fair. It is own'd also as to Mr. Nicholson of Churchstow in Devon, That he was a Man of a very scandalous Life b, and as to Mr. Thomas Sheppard of Grafham in Huntingdonshire c, That he was turn'd out for his scandalous Life. But there is one of his Sufferers, and that is Mr. Louis of Branston d, whom I wonder he is not asham'd to mention. He was tried before Serjeant Godcold and condemn'd, and executed as a Wizard at Bury in Suffolk: And therefore methinks no fit Companion for those that are brought in as Sufferers for their Principles of Religion and Loyalty. Many others indeed of his Sufferers, whose Names he has taken such Care to preserve to Posterity, were as Mr. Lewis of Margate has observ'd, famous for nothing but Vice and Wickedness, and a Scandal to that Religion which they profess'd c. And therefore I can't per-

Sons of the Clergy, p. 51.

^v Page 241. ^x p. 215. ^y p. 320. ^z p. 383. ^a p. 335. ^b p. 318. ^c p. 366. ^d p. 299. ^e See his Remarks on Dr *Bisse*'s Sermon before the

perceive he has any great Cause to boast of the Service he has done. For what real Service can it be to Religion, for a Man to take a great deal of Pains, and make a Stir all over the Nation, in picking up Materials, in Order to a distinect. Account, of such as were deservedly put out for their scandalous Immoralities; Men who would have taken any Covenants, subscrib'd any Engagements, could they but have held their Preferments. Of these the Doctor mentions a few, and yet there were more of this Character than he is willing to allow. f

Besides, several of the Persons in the Doctor's List, suffer'd upon the Ordinance against Pluralities, which was most certainly very justifiable. This Ordinance was so far from being a Persecution, that it was really the redressing of a gross Abuse, inveigh'd against by Divines abroad, and complain'd of at home from the very Time of the Reformation. I can't see why a Man that has four or five Livings, should be represented as suffering an Hardship, if all but one are taken from him. Pluralities may sometimes rise to a very shameful Pitch, and actually did so in Popish Times. I have read of one Bogo de Clare, Rector of St. Peters in the East, Oxon, who was presented by the Earl of Gloucester, to the Church of Wyston in the County of Northampton, and obtain'd Leave to hold it, with one Church in Ireland, and fourteen other Churches in England. g But Persons may be very blameable Pluralists, without reaching his Number of Livings, or near it. The Two Houses of Parliament in their Petition to King Charles, An. 1625, about Religion, among other Things desir'd, That Pluralities might be moderated. The King in his Answer tells them. That Pluralities were so moderated. that no Dispensation for them was granted: And that no Man was allow'd above two Benefices, and those not above thirty Miles distant. Notwithstanding which Answer of his Majesty to the Complaint of his Parliament, we find by Dr. Walker, that several

f See his Remarks on Dr. Bisses's sermon before the Sons of the Clergy, p. 52. g Kennet's Parochial Antiquities. p. 292.

veral had three Livings; as Mr, John Sheading h, Dr. Isaac Bastierc i, Mr. Humphrey Sydenham k, Mr. Hugh Barcroft l, and many others. And in the Treaty of Uxbridge, 'twas one of the Proposals of the King's own Commissioners, upon the Head of Religion, that no Man should be capable of two Parsonages or Vicaridges with Cure of Souls. m I should think indeed one such Benefice enough for one Man: And he that has one, that can afford him a Maintenance, shall not with me pass for a Sufferer, though he hath two or three others taken from him; unless we account him a Sufferer of what he deserved: And the Church of Christ and the Souls of Men must suffer

if he should be spar'd.

Now we learn from the Doctor himself, that tho' Mr. Richard Pretty n did upon the Ordinance against Pluralities, lose the Living of Hampton in Arden in Warwickshire, he yet was permitted to keep his other Living of Aldridge in Staffordshire, And though Dr. Hitch o was by the same Ordinance forc'd to resign a lesser Living, yet he kept the rich Parsonage of Guisly all those Times. Dr. Walker indeed queries whether he was not turn'd out of that too? But from one that knew him well, I can assure him, he kept it all along, and never was in any Danger of being disturb'd, except by the Cavaliers in the Time of the War. So that he cannot pass for any very great Sufferer. And he himself owns, as to Mr. Samuel Peryam P, that though he was dispossessed of Ninehead, by Vertue of the Ordinance against Pluralities, yet he was not only permitted to keep his other Living of Rowington, but he was such a Favourer of the Times, that it is with some Regret that he is brought into the List of Sufferers. There were a great many others also of the Parochial Clergy, that had much Favour shewn them. Thus for Instance, the Learned Dr. Sanderson, though he met with some Trouble at his Living of Boothby Panel in Lincoln-

h p. 8 i p. 19. k p. 76. l p. 204. m Echard's History of England, Vol. II. p. 517. n p. 336. o p. 277. p p. 333.

shire, yet after a short Confinement at Lincoln, he being exchang'd for Mr. Clark of Allington, (who was Prisoner at Newark) Matters were so compromis'd between them two, (the one being by Agreement a Security for the other) that the Doctor continu'd afterwards to live quietly, in the Exercise of

his Ministry there, 'till the Restoration.

Dr. Walker indeed says q, That the Doctor was several Times plunder'd, and once wounded in no less than three Places. That he was reduc'd to great Poverty, and in 1658, was in a very pitiful Condition: But a certain worthy Clergyman of the Church of England, to whom that Doctor was well known, gives me an Account, (and I'll add his own Words) That to his Knowledge, the Doctor was far from being reduc'd to any Poverty in those Times; nor was he in a pitiful Condition in 1658. He liv'd in as much Plenty, as the better Sort of Clergy did, upon his Rectory, and maintain'd his Children fashionably. His Living was valu'd at 130 or 1401. per An. and he had Money besides, which did not lie dead. For though he did not put it out to Interest in the Ordinary Way, which he had written against, yet did he dispose of it in a Way really more advantagious to the Lender, and sometimes to the Borrower. For he would give an 100 l. for 20 l. for Seven Years. This he thought lawful, but not the Common Way, which occasion'd Reflections from several on his Casuistical Skill. This he says was the Common Report; and one that was his Agent in disposing of the Money assur'd him of the Truth of it. He adds. That he knew that after he was made Bishop of Lincoln, and before he had receiv'd any Profits, he was forc'd to borrow an 100 l. to defray extraordinary Charges, which was all the strait he was reduc'd to. This Person liv'd near him, and convers'd much with his Admirers, but never heard before, thas he was plunder'd, or had any Violence offer'd to his Person; And declares he is morally certain that what is said by Dr. Walker of his

q p. 105.

being wounded, is utterly false. He liv'd unmolested after the Wars, tho' he conniv'd at the Parishoners following their Sports on the Lord's-Day, as formerly, when they had a wicked License for it. The same Person also tells me, he was present in 1656, when the Doctor married a Couple by the Common-Prayer-Book, and read the Confession, and Absolution, &c. many of the Gentry being Present. Nor can I forbear adding one Particular, which I had from the same Worthy Person; That being with this Bishop Sanderson, on the Evening after the King had pass'd the Act of Uniformity, he among other Things told him, that more was impos'd on Ministers than he wish'd had been.

I dare venture to say, that as much severer as Dr. Walker represents the Treatment the Church Party met with formerly, than that which the Dissenters have met with since, he'd find a difficult Task on't to shew any Favour like that which Dr. Sanderson met with, shewn to any of the Nonconformists, of ever so great Worth or Note, or even them that were ever so helpful to promote the Re-

storation, after King Charles's Return.

Nor was he the only Instance of this Kind by many. For the Doctor himself owns, That Mr. Anthony Gregory, tho' cast out of the Living of Petrockstow, in the County of Devon, yet afterwards p. 250. got the Living of Charles, and was permitted to keep it. And in the very same County, Mr. John Parsons, tho' driven from Kentisbierre, was allowed to officiate at Mary-Down till the Restoration: p. 327. And Mr. William Saterly after his Living of Ide was sequestred, was not only suffer'd to reach a p. 353. School at a Village call'd Coldridge, in the Parish of Stokenham, but also to serve a small Place called Sherford, an Appendix to it. Mr. Towgood also of Bristol, tho' he suffer'd much, yet after several Years Silence, he continu'd the Exercise of his Mi- p. 4, 5. nistry at Kingswood Chappel, near Wotton under Edge, and was presented to the Living of Tortworth, where he continu'd till the Restoration.

Often does the Doctor mention little Places which the Ministers that were sequestred formerly, P. 293. allow'd to keep. Tho' Mr. Simon Lynch,

L was

p. 320.

p. 211.

p. 382.

p. 306.

was turn'd out of the Living of Runwel in Essex, he yet was afterwards permitted to keep the poor Curacy of Blackmore. Mr. Francis Nation, had several Livings successively, and at length got the small Vicaridge, of Lawannack. in Cornwal, which he was permitted to keep until the Restoration. Mr, George Buchanan, in the little Vicaridge of Royston, read the Service, and administred the other Offices of the Church of England, till the Restoration. Mr. John Tarlton, after his Sufferings, got the small Living of Wembworthy in Devon, and made a Shift to keep it until the Restoration. And Mr. Nicolas Monk, was suffer'd to keep a small Cure through all the Time of the Usurpation, and toward the Close of it, had the rich Living of Kilkhampton, in Cornwall.

One would be apt to think the Doctor quite forgat such Favours as these that are not to be parell'd in the Treatment of the Nonconformists from the Church Party, when he represents the Sufferings of the Latter as so much exceeding those of the Former.

This is what many others have confirm'd; tho' I can't here forbear again citing the worthy Author of the Conformists Plea for the Nonconformists, who seems to have been the direct reverse of Dr. Walker, both in Principle and Temper. That Gentleman mentions several of the Episcopal Clergy that enjoy'd Liberty and Freedom between 1640 and 60. I could (says he) reckon up many that had Livings in the City, and preached in Churches without any Let. As Dr. Hall, afterwards Bishop of Chester, Dr. Ball, Dr. Wild, (afterwards a Bishop in Ireland) Dr. Hardy, Dr. Griffyth, Dr, Pierson (after Bishop of Chester) Dr. Mossome, Mr. Faringdon, with many more, besides Abundance in every County. 'Tis true Oliver Cromwel and his Officers did once upon some Provocation of a pretended Plot against him, by a Proclamation prohibit their Preaching, keeping Schools, &c. But by the Intercession of that Excellent Man Archbishop Usher, they had their Liberty again, and preach'd and enjoy'd their Places all the Tune of the Usurpation. And therefore such tragical Out-cries as are sometimes made by Dr. Walker. Walker, might very well have been spar'd. There's no Occasion for them, especially when according to

his own Proposal, we were pursuing a Companion.

There are some of the Doctor's Parochial Sufferers that gain'd more than they lost, and had better Livings given them than were taken from them: and could be no great Sufferers. This was the Case of Mr. John Lee, Dr. Busby, and Mr. William Scot, who tho' his Living of Morebath in Devon was se-p. II. questred, got that of Withypoole in Somersetshire, p. 74. which was better. And Mr. Joseph Nicholson also in Cumberland had a better Living in the Room of a worse. And these were certainly no great Hard- p. 316. ships, or were sufficiently made up to those concerned in them, and will be Arguments on our Side, rather rhan the Doctors in the Comparison, unless he can give any Evidence, that the Treatment the Dissenters met with from the Church Party since the Restoration, had any Thing of this Kind intermix'd with it.

There are withal, several in the Doctor's Parochial List, that were as chargeable with the very Things, for which he so warmly inveighs against his Opposites, as the most, if not any, of them could be said to be. Thus Mr. G. Coliere was thrust upon the Parish of Blackley after Mr. George P. 234. Durants Removal by Sequestration, and he became adtive in dispossessing others of the Loyal Clergy, tho' he conform'd and kept the Living upon the Restoration. If his Guilt must be charg'd upon the Dissenters, the Doctor evidently throws more upon them than they deserve.

Others in the Doctor's Parochial List, might for any Thing he appears to know, be so far from suffering for such Principles as he adheres to, as that they might suffer upon Principles that were widely different. Thus he owns in a Marginal Note, that Mr. Nash of Warsley in Huntingdonshire, who was imprison'd for refusing the Ingagement, might for p. 319. any Thing he knew, be a Presbyterian: And yet is his reckon'd in the Index among the sequestred Livings; which shews that the Doctor, right or wrong, was for taking all possible Methods, to greaten the Number of his Sufferers.

L₂ And

And finally some of those in this Parochial List, were Papists, as well as several in the University List, and several in the List of Dignitaries, as has been before observ'd. This is what our Author endeavours to apologize for r. He seems rather to wonder, (all Things consider'd) that there were no more, than that there were so many, of this Sort. He will have it that they that were so, were scandaliz'd into Popery, by the vile and detestable Practises, of those who engross'd to themselves the Name of Protestants. I agree with him in wondring there were no more, when the Transition from High-Church to Popery, is so very easy: But as to the occasion why there was so many, I differ from him. This I suppose may be ascrib'd to the taking Nature of Church Power and Pageantry to some Dispositions, and to the diligent Endeavours of popish Agents and Emissaries to seduce all that would listen to them wherever they came, as well as to the unbecoming Practices of any Sort of Protestants. But if it be consider'd how much of Imposition and Persecution, (which is the true Spirit of Popery let it be found where it will) has remain'd, and how much it has been cherish'd in the Church; and how visible a receding there has been in a great Party that have been for engrossing the Name of the Church to themselves, from the true Principles of the Reformation; and what a Fondness that Party shew'd for the next Heir in the Reign of King Charles II, to the visible hazarding a Return back to Rome, we may well enough wonder, and must I think ascribe it purely to the infinite Goodness of Almighty God, that Popery has not quite overrun us, and that we have any left, to value and honour the Protestant Name and Principles. .

When these Parochial Clergy are over, our Author follows them, with an Account of some few of the Schoolmasters, Lecturers, Curates, &c. who were turn'd out. But these are but few in Number, and much like those mention'd in the List foregoing. I cannot perceive this Appendix has any Thing in it

p. 412.

^r Page 33. in the Margin,

that is very remarkable; tho' by the Text he cites, he seems to count them valuable *Fragments*. I envy him not his Satisfaction.

There are added in the Close of all. Two Alphabetical Indexes; the one of the Names of the Sequestred Clergy, and the other of the Livings mention'd in the List foregoing. These may serve for a two-fold Use: To help to find a Person or Living that was sequestred, mention'd in the preceding Work; and also to prove that the Number of our Author's Sufferers falls far short of what he pretends. He appears to have been more sensible that these Indexes might be apply'd to this latter Use, than willing they should be so: And therefore seems designedly to have laid in against it. For he says. That the comparing of these two Alphabets together, will not by any means help the Reader to make an exact Computation of the true Number of Sequestrations mention'd in the List. But I believe there are Few will reckon his Reasons convincing. If the Number of sequestred Places is much greater than that of the Persons who were sequestred from them, (as he himself acknowledges,) then cannot the Number of his Sufferers in all, rise much higher, than the Number of the Parishes which his Index mentions. Tho' some of his Cathedral Dignitaries are not to be met with in his Index of Persons, (and I don't know how they all should, since some of 'em are but imaginary ones) and some of the Parishes of his Parochial Sufferers are not to be met with in his Index of Places, because he was altogether in uncertainty about 'em; yet if it be consider'd, how many of his Cathedral and University Sufferers, by reason of their having Livings, (and some of 'em more than one,) come in his Parochial List, and how many Parishes are to be met with in his Index of Places, the Names of the Sufferers in which are not to be met with in his Index of Persons, upon balancing Accounts fairly, it cannot be, that the Number of his Sufferers should be much greater, than the Number of Parishes mention'd in his Index. I am apt to think this will be the Judgment of most, as Things now stand: And as for any other Reasons to the contrary, that may have been reserv'd, I can't see how it can be expected we should be affected

with 'em, seeing the Doctor himself has freely own'd,

that they are not worth mentioning particularly.

But the Doctor by what he has as yet publish'd to the World, seems to have done but half his Work. For according to his Promise in his Introduction s, we are yet to expect a second Appendix, of the horrid Sacrilege and Profanations committed on the Cathedrals, and other Churches of the Kingdom: Together with a Vindication of the established Clergy, from the Calumnies they were charg'd with; and an Account of the miserable State of Religion, which was the genuine and immediate Confluence of the abolishing of Episcopacy, and the Destruction of the Clergy. And all this is to be accompany'd, or follow'd with Remarks on my Account of those who suffer'd under the Act of Uniformity. In which it is to be enquir'd, How, and in what Manner the Two thousand Persons mention'd, were ejected; and whether the Encomiums which I have bestow'd on this Body of Men in general, and the particular Characters with which I have adorn'd the Accounts of many of 'em, are as consistent with Truth and Justice, as with the Design that probably was in view, &c.

But it being altogether uncertain when this second Volume may see the Light; and our Author having in this his first Volume brought a good many Charges against me; and interspers'd here and there, several Reflections on the Sufferers mention'd in my Account, as well as threaten'd me with a great deal more, and what is much worse, hereafter; I think it may not be amiss, before I conclude, to make some Returns to his Insinuations, Charges, and Reflections, as I took Notice of them when I was run-

ning over his Performance.

He often makes a woful Stir about the Words ejected and silenc'd, the meaning of which I think is obvious enough, to any Man that is not willing to confound 'em. I had given Intimation, that several that were not strictely ejected, were yet silenc'd by the Act of Uniformity. This the Dr. either could not, or would not understand. And therefore he says, that

⁸ Part I. p. 2, 3.

that a great number of the Ministers, of whom I give an Account, were ejected, just as Mr. Baxter was; that is, not at all. a A pleasant Fancy! not ejected, because the former Incumbents were yet living, which was the Reason of their being cast out, that Way might be made for their Re-entrance! And were they not silenced neither, for the same Reason! Unless that also be disprov'd, it as much serves my Purpose, as if they had ever so formally or wrongfully been ejected. However, where I was able, I distinguish'd the ejected, from such as were only silenc'd: And yet when I do declare Persons to have been cast out in 1660, (and so only silenc'd in 1662, unless they before that, were legally fixt in other Livings, which was the Case of some) he will have it that I represent them as ejected in 62. Thus tho' I had said of Mr. Samuel Hieron, b That he was ejected, soon after the Restoration, he being in a sequester'd place, and the former Incumbent being still alive: He yet will have it. That he is recorded in the Abridgment, as ejected from this Living in 1662. C Methinks 'tis hard to know how to deal with such an Adversary, or what Way to take to make him easy!

He charges me with diminishing the Number of the suffering Clergy of the Church of England d; and he's presently after, at it again: But if I have diminish'd it, I think verily he has magnify'd it enough; and so I hope has made sufficient Amends. But though I have no Desire to diminish it, yet I can't see there is any Occasion for making it, four or five Times as

great as it was.

He says, That whereas there was about 2000 ejected after the Restoration, they that gave up again to the right Owners, or those Curates, &c. who were only silenc'd, and prevented from having any Preferment for the future, made considerably more than one half of them e: And that not fifty of the Remainder of 'em (nay he goes so far as to say that he did not remember he had met with an instance of more than one single person)

^a Part II. p. 234. ^b Abridgment Vol. II. p. 254. ^c Attempt, Part II. p. 216. col. 1. ^d Pref. p. 3. and 6. ^e Ibid. 14.

had any other Title, (antecedent to the urgent Necessity of the Act of 1660) to the places from which they were remov'd, than what Sequestration, Plunder, Usurpation, and Rebellion had given them. And a little after, he says, that one half of the ejected Ministers had no Free-

holds to be driven from f

I reply; that of, the 2000 Ministers that were cast out after the Restoration, there was a number that resign'd to the right Owners, is freely acknowledg'd: As also that several of 'em were Curates, and only silenc'd, and prevented from having any preferment for the future: But that these made considerably more than one half of 'em, is what he can never prove to the World's End. Of above 120 that were silenc'd for their Nonconformity in Devon, which is the Dr's own County, about 22 gave up their sequestred Livings to the surviving Incumbents; which is so far from being considerably more than an half, that it falls short of being a fifth Part of 'em. The Livings of the rest of 'em, were as much their Freeholds as the Law could make 'em so. If he is able to remember but one single Person, that had any other Title antecedent to the Law in 1660, to the Places from which they were remov'd, than what they got in the Ways which he mentions, I pity the Slipperiness of his Memory. For as Mr. Withers observes g, there were two at least in his own City of Exon, who had a fairer Title than what he talks of: viz. Mr. Nichols who was settled there before the Wars began, and Mr. Atkins who was chosen at St. John's after they were ended, and when both Monarchy and Episcopacy had been restor'd. And that Dr. himself has told us, that Mr. Walrond was presented to the Recctory of Wolfardishworthy in the County by the rightful Patron h; and that Mr. Trescot took out a Broad Seal for the rich Parsonage of Shodbrook. And he mentions a Number in other Counties, that had as good Titles as any were at all. Newcourt also in his Repertorium Ecclesiasticum will help

 $[\]mbox{f} \mbox{Ibid.} \mbox{p.} \mbox{15.} \mbox{g} \mbox{Appendix,} \mbox{p.} \mbox{23.} \mbox{h} \mbox{Attempt}$ Part II. p. 264.

help him to a great many more, in the City of London, and in Essex and Hertfordshire. I am not willing now to enter upon an Enumeration, but will undertake that by that Time he has publish'd his Proof of this his wild Assertion. I shall have the Name of a great many more at his Service, with full and sufficient Evidence, that by this Suggestion of his he has basely wrong'd them. But suppose there were several of them that came not in upon the Title of the rightful Patrons, but only, they upon Vacancies (one Way or another occasion'd) supply'd the Places, with the Consent, and at the Request of the Parishioners, I am perfectly at a Loss to discover, how this can be made a just matter of Reflection upon them.

He says also, that the whole Epilogue to the ninth Chapter of my Abridgment is spent in throwing the most odious imputations on the Church, and heightning them with the utmost Aggravations j; which is much about as true, as the Character he gives of the Dissenters in general, that their conduct has been one continu'd Attempt upon the Constitution: That they have debauch'd both the Civil and the Religious principles of the Nobility and Gentry: That they endeavour'd the Ruin of the Nation's Commerce; fir'd the Houses of Embassadors sent hither; and murther'd those that were to be sent abroad; and hir'd persons to tear up the very Foundations, not of

Christianity only, but of all Religion and Government.

He adds, that he might as well have mention'd St. Peter and St. Paul, Ignatius and Polycarp, and all the ancient Fathers of the primitive Church in his List, as I have mention'd some that are taken Notice of in mine k. He grafts this upon my bringing in some that dy'd a little before the Act of Uniformity took place, tho' after it was pass'd into a Law. But I suppose he would have spar'd this Reflection, had he but consider'd, that he himself owns his. mentioning some as Sufferers in his List, who he knew dy'd before the general Confusion. This has been

^j Pref. p. 16. ^k Pref. p. 31.

already observ'd as to Dr. Davenant Bishop of Sarum, and Bishop Montague of Norwich, &c. Nay, he freely owns as to his Cathedral Clergy, that it is possible some of the Members might die, before the Cathedrals were put down, and might not be Sufferers; and that this may perhaps have caused some Mistakes 1. There are others of whom he himself declares, that he only guesses they were Sufferers; which is the Case of Mr. Thomas Marler $^{\rm m}$; and others that he did not know whether they liv'd to suffer, as Mr. Thomas Ely n, &c. And yet the Names of these Persons are as much inferred in the Index as those of whom he had the greatest Certainty. Now I think one that takes such Methods as these, can scarce be allow'd to keep within any Bounds of Decency, in saying, he might as well have brought in St. Peter and St. Paul, &c. among his Sufferers, as I might produce some that I have nam'd, because among above 2000 mention'd, there may perhaps be half a dozen, that died before the Act of Uniformity took place, or within a few Days of it; who yet endur'd it by Anticipation, and were well known to be determin'd to endure the utmost Sufferings, rather than comply with the Terms of Conformity prescrib'd

He complains also, that I have augmented my List, with some that have been bred at least to the Ministry, (if not born) since the Ejectments of Bartholomew-dayo. And if I have, their being kept out of the Church when qualified for good Service in it, is most certainly to be charg'd on the Act for Uniformity; and therefore I see no Reason but they may be allow'd to pass for Sufferers by that Act, which was all that I intended to intimate by mentioning them. However there are not many of this Sort produc'd. And if more such had been mention'd than had been strictly justifiable, I think verily a Charge against me upon this Account, don't well become one who as Mr. Lewis P has observ'd, has so far in this Respect

¹ Pref. p. xl. ^m Attempt. Part II. p. 63. ⁿ Attempt, Part II. p. 67. ^o Pref. p. xxxi.

P Remarks on Dr. Bisse's Sermon, p. 50.

spect exceeded all Bounds, as to add to the Number of Sufferers on his own Side, and increase his Heap, by adding Fellows of Colleges, who were not in Orders, nay, descending to mention Scholars, Claris, and Choristers.

Another Complaint he makes is. That I han't given an Index of Parishes q; One Reason of which Omission was because: of the Difficulty of it as to Spelling: As to which I was by a Friend referred, to the Valor Beneficiorum, and Adams Index Villaris: But then I found upon a little Trial, that any Exactness in such an Index would have taken up so much Time, that I could employ to some better Purpose,

that I could not think it worth my while.

He intimates, That he has some Reason to doubt, whether I have not conceal'd the ill Characters of some of my Sufferers, of which I had Notice r. I cannot say what Reason he may have, or think he has, for his Doubt in this Case: But can assure him that from the Beginning of my Undertaking, it appear'd to me more proper I should myself take Notice of any moral Irregulariies I knew to be chargeable on any Persons I mention'd, than expose myself to censure, as concealing Faults: And I have acted accordingly. And cannot upon the strictest Recollection say, that I have heard any thing scandalous of any one of the silenc'd Ministers, that I have not taken some Notice of, except in the Case of Mr. Leonard Scurr of Beeston in Yorkshire's, who was murder'd in his own House, of whom I was once told by a grave Person, that he was but an ill Man. However I took no Notice of it, both because I heard nothing of it from any one else and also because I did not know but the distinguishing Calamity that came upon him, might be the Thing that might have led some People to suspect some uncommon Guilt, and that this Suspiciom might have given rise to the Report. And tho' in this Case I won't say by the Doctor as he M 2 does

 $^{^{\}rm q}$ Pref. p. xxix. $^{\rm r}$ Ibid. $^{\rm s}$ Abridgm, Vol. II. p. 800.

does by me, that I have some Reason to doubt whether he has not taken the Method which he mentions, yet I don't know whether others mayn't be inclin'd to such a Doubt, unless he hereafter takes Occasion to use the same Frankness as I have done as to this Matter.

He farther complains, there are a great Number of Partial Characters in the Abridgment t But this I can safely say, that if there are, 'tis more than I know of. It has been my endeavour to keep within Compass, and rather to fall short, than exceed: Of which I could give some flagrant Proof, if I thought it at all needful. Far be it from me, to pretend to say, where so many are concern'd, that I have in no Case been impos'd on, so as to give a Character, beyond what was deserved. 'Tis not to be suppos'd I should be able to deliver so many Characters to Posterity, upon my own Personal Knowledge; I must be assisted by others. I have been free to own it. And as far as I can judge by the Report of others, the Characters given are very just; and I have in that Respect endeavour'd all along to use due Caution, and stand upon my Guard.

He adds, Thar I have: brought in, a vast Number of Curates, and even Persons occasionally Resident only within the Parishes or Places mention'd v. And if I sometimes have done so, where's the Damage? For what does it signify, whether the Persons mention'd were Parsons, Vicars or Curates; and whether they were statedly or occasionally only, Resident in the Places where they are mention'd. If they were silenc'd by the Act of Uniformity, it answers my Purpose to take Notice of 'em. And I have for the most Part done it at those Places where they were Preaching, (be it in one Capacity or another) at that Time when the Law stopp'd their Mouths, which I thought most proper. 'Tis true I have sometimes by Mistake done otherwise,

 $^{\ ^{}t}$ Pref. p. xxxii. $\ ^{v}$ Pref. p. xxxv. in the Margin.

and did not think it necessary to make an Alteration afterwards, which I suppose may easily be forgiven. But when he says. That if he guesses Right, more than one half of my Sufferers is made up of Curates, Chaplains, Persons not fixed, and Persons not in any Orders x; I can assure him if he is so fond of guessing, he must e'en guess again. But who can wonder at the grossest Blunders, when a Man writes so much by guess. Let him begin when he will in his own County of Devon, I believe he'll

find himself wofully out.

He often reflects upon our Ministers, for succecding those who were cast out by the Authority of Parliament, when yet it is no more than many of his own Church did, and that, as far as I can perceive, without Scruple. Thus Mr. Torway y succeeded Dr. Hutcheson in his Living of Cheriton, and conformed at the Restoration, and kept Possession. And Dr. Hugh Robinson z also, accepted a sequestred Living. And so did Mr. Scudamore a, and Dr. Barten Holyday b, and many others. I'm sensible he represents these Persons as blameable for so doing, and seldom brings them in without a Flurt: But I wou'd fain know, what he would have had the People have done at that Time, in Parishes where the Ministers were sequestred. Would he have had them liv'd, without any Go-spel Ordinances, in a Christian Country? If not, must they not chuse another to officiate, when the legal Incumbent was depriv'd? For my Part I cannot see why a Person thus chosen, by the People whom he was to preach to, had not a sufficient Warrant (if he was qualify'd for the Ministerial Work and Service, and ordain'd to it) to justify him. But any thing will be reckon'd enough to justify an Accusation, where a Man is warmly dispos'd to find fault. And that I do the Doctor no Wrong in supposing this to be his Case, is

 $[\]overset{X}{}$ Part I. p. 200. $\overset{Y}{}$ Part II. p. 27. $\overset{Z}{}$ part II. p. 33. $\overset{B}{}$ Part II. p. 58. $\overset{C}{}$ Pref. p. xlii.

plain from hence. That I cannot find he upon any Occasion has given tolerable Characters of any of

the poor silenc'd Nonconformists.

He insinuates, that my Account, abounds with Misrepresentations, occasion'd by the Zeal of some who have been ready to aggravate and inflame a Story, beyond the Hounds of Truth and Honesty. I cannot say I am at all sensible of this, because I have endeavoured to drop any Thing that I thought could be justly liable to be so interpreted; on which Account, if there should be any Thing of that Nature remaining, I should think it might the more easily be forgiven; and that the rather, since he is so free as to own there may be some such on his Side. In this Case, I can leave it to the Reader to judge between us, without any Anxiety or Concern about the Issue.

He farther insinuates, That those of the ejected Ministers whom I have pass'd ever in Silence, (their Names only excepted) were Persons of such Characters, as Partiality itself could not recommend d. So that it seems he's resolv'd to have me one way, or other. If a tolerable Character be given of any of those silenc'd Ministers, 'tis partial: And if (for want of Intelligence) their Names only be mention'd, it was because none durst venture to say, they had any thing commendable in 'em, or belonging to 'em. But as to this latter Surmise of his, he'll now in a little Time be the better able to, judge how well it was grounded, by the Characters which through farther Informaon he'll find I have been able to give of a good Number, of whom before I could only give the Names. And perhaps, by that time he has digested these additional ones, I may have more at his Service.

He reflects also on several I had mention'd as suffering on our Side, for their Concern and Activity in the Wars: Not considering (I suppose) that several on his own Side, were in this respect in the same Condition. Thus he himself tells us of one *Thomas*

Mason

^c Pref. p. xlii. ^d Part I. p. 3.

Mason e, that he took up Arms for his Majesty, and commanded an indepedent Company at Belvoire-Castle. And I have heard of one Stiles, another Belvoire Captain, (whom he I think has ommitted) who had, a Troop of Horse, that was famous for Fighting and Plundering the Country: Who after the Restoration, took Possession of the Vicaridge of Cropland, and kept it without a Title to his Dying-day. He was celebrated for fuddling and fighting with his drunken Companions. Archdeacon Echard f also, mentions one Dr. Michael Hudson, one of the King's Chaplains, who was no less remarkable for his Valour, and Martial Enterprises,

than for his Schollarship and Divinity.

Often also does the Doctor intermix with his Account of his Sufferers, Reflections upon their Successors, hoping, I suppose, to make his Narratives pass off the more pleasantly with his Readers: But as far as I can judge, those Reflections are for the most part undeserv'd; and many times are as void of Breeding or Good-humour, as they are of Truth. But I say in this, as Bishop Burnet in another Case, The Author of a Train of Defamation is sufficiently disprov'd, when it is apparent that some part of his Relation must certainly be false g. The Bishop brings this in, with respect to Sanders, who had taken much the same Pains to vilify the English Reformation from Popery, and the main Agents in it, as Dr. Walker has done to reproach the Protestant Dissenters, and expose them to general Contempt.

When he can fasten nothing on the Persons or Conduct of those of our Friends that were the Successors of his Sufferers, the Doctor often takes a Liberty to disparage and vilify their Parentage, which to me seems not to have much of the Gentleman in it. And in Reality, if a Man himself be fit for the Work he undertakes, and behaves himself worthily

^c Part II. p. 310. ^f History of *England*, Vol. II. p. 624.

g See his Appendix, at the End of Vol. III. of his History of the Reformation, p. 397.

in his Post and Station, I can't see what it fignifies to reified: onthose from whom .he is defcended. Supposing they might have nothing to diftinguish them nay, supposing them to have been mean in their Circumstances, it deserves. the more Notice, that any of their ushering into the World, should deserve Respect on Account of their Usefulness, in such an Office as that of the sacred Ministry. We can't, it must be own'd, on our Side, boast of so noble, and so genteel a Descent, as some have had in the Doctor's Side: And what Wonder, when we have no Dignities or great Emoluments to intice and incourage: But still to be meanly descended, is not in my Apprehension, a greater Objection against the Sufferers on one Side, than it is against those on the other Side. And I think verily, there are none on our Side so mean in this Respect, but there are those to be found in the Doctor's Book that will equal them

But sometimes he mentions a mean Descent, in in order to Disparagement, where there is no real Ground for it: And then I confess, I hardly know what Name to give to the Practise. Thus he tells us, h That one H- was Dr. Whitford's second Successor at Walgrave, and that he was the Son of a Taylor in Northamptonshire. And had this been true, I cannot see what of an Argument it carries in it, that he was not a Valuable and Useful Man: But when 'tis false, I believe all Mankind will agree without demur, that it is abominable, and to be detested. Now I am inform'd, and that by a Worthy Minister of the establish'd Church, whom none would refuse to credit if I should but name him, (and I have it under his Hand too) that this H was no other than Dr. Jeremy Holled, and that his Father was a Gentleman in Lincolnshire, Steward to Theophilus Earl of Lincoln, who committed the Management of his whole Estate to him, which thriv'd considerably under his Care, tho' it miserably decay'd afterwards. And he had another Brother

^h Part II. p. 402. Col. 1.

ther in the Ministry, viz. Dr. Jonathan Holled, who was benefited at Eston in Northamptonshire, which mas a good Parsonage as well as Walgrave. This Passage would shrewdly tempt a Man to suspect the Doctor was miserably impos'd upon by his Correspondents. And who can tell, but that when he says, that Mr. Robert Rogers, B. D. was the Son of a Miller i, and that others had such or such mean and despicable Persons for their Parents, it might upon Inquiry be found to have no more Truth in it, than that Dr. Jeremy Holled was the Son of a Taylor.

World, to ridicule or inveigh against any Person, Party or Principles that can be mention'd, when Persons will give them selves leave to vent any thing that comes next, without any Distinction between what is true or false, probable or unlikely. The Sacred Scriptures themselves with the Penmen of them, and the most Eminent Persons of whom they give us an Account, have met with such sort of Treatment from profane Scoffers. The Reformation of the Church of England from Popery, (with as much Caution as it was carry'd on) has been to the full as severely inveigh'd against and derided, in Four Canto's in a burlesque Stile, by one Mr. Thomas Ward, as the Protestant Dissenters have been in Dr. Walker's Attempt in Folio. The latter Gentleman hath not discover'd more Concern to make those that are out of the Establish'd Church both odious and ridiculous, than the former has done by those that are in it. There is this Difference indeed between the two Attempts, That the former, as Bishop Burnet observes, k tho' it is full of impious Abuse, is yet put in a Strain apt enough to take with those who are dispos'd to divert themselves with a Shew of Wit and Humour: Whereas the latter, tho' he sometimes affects to be thought witty, yet often comes off so dully, and in his whole Performance,

¹ Part II. p. 404. ^k Pref. to his Third Volume of the History of the Reformation.

is so wretchedly insipid, as well as insufferably tedious, that there is no great Danger of his much taking with any, but such as love Venom and Ill-nature, Fury and Bigotry, for their own Sakes, in any Shape or Dress without Distinction. And to such I am content to leave him, till any farther Efforts of his, give Occasion for farther Animadversions.

FINIS.

Adver-



Advertisement.

HEREAS it is my Intention (if Providence favours me) soon after Christmass to send to the Press, A Continuation of my Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges, and Schoolmasters, who were ejected and silenced, after the Restoration in 1660, by or before the Act for Uniformity; in which several Mistakes in what I have already published will be rectify'd, and farther Characters of many of the Silenc'd Ministers added, (together with a farther Account of their Works) and a Vindication of a Number of them, from the Reflections of Dr. Walker, in his Attempt &c. in Folio.

I take this Opportunity of making it my earnest Request to any Persons, in or about the City, or in any Part of the Country, that are able to give any farther Light towards rectifying Mistakes, or to add any farther Characters of the silenc'd Ministers, or to wipe off Dr. Walker's Aspersions upon them, or to furnish with any well attested Notices concerning them, that they would be so kind, as with what Speed they can, to transmit them to Mr. John Clark, at the Bible and Crown in the Poultry near Cheapside, directing the Papers or Packets they send to me, who with great Thankfulness, will make the best use of them I can, towards preserving the Memory, and clearing the Reputation, of Persons who deserv'd so well, of the ungrateful Age wherein they liv'd.

Witness my Hand

December 4, 1719.

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