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The gift of
Louis Nye
CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Life and Death,
of
The most Reverend and Renowned Prelate
WILLIAM
By Divine Providence,
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all
ENGLAND, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the
Universities of Oxon. and Dublin, and one of the
Lords of the Privy Council to His late most
Sacred Majesty
King CHARLES the First,
Second Monarch of Great Britain.
CONTAINING ALSO
The Ecclesiastical History of the Three Kingdoms
of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND,
from His first rising till His Death.
By T. Heylyn D.D. and Chaplain to Charles the First
and Charles the Second, Monarchs of Great Britain.

ECCLUS. 44. VERS. 1, 3.
1. Let us now praise Famous Men and our Fathers that begat Us.
3. Such as did bear Rule in their Kingdoms, Men Renowned for their Power,
giving Counsel by their Understanding, and Declaring Prophefies.

LONDON,
Printed by J. M. for A. Seile, and are to be Sold by George Sawbridge, J. Martyu,
T. Williams, J. Place, E. Brewster, J. Starky, T. Basset, R. Horne, H. Brome,
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To the Honourable

Sir JOHN ROBINSON Baronet,

HIS MAJESTIES

Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

SIR,

YOU have here before you the History of an Eminent Prelate and Patriot, a Person who lived the honour, and died a Martyr of the English Church and State, for it was his sad Fate to be crucipt betwixt Popery and Schism; and having (against both) defended the Protestant Cause with his Pen, he after cheerfully proceeded to Seal that Faith with his Blood. Together with the Story of this Great Man, you have likewise that of the Age he lived in, especially so far as concerned the Church wherein you will find recorded, many notable Agitations and Contrivances, which it were pity should be lost in silence, and pass away unregarded. These Considerations towards a Gentleman of your Worth, Curiosity, and Loyalty, are warrant enough to justify me in this Dedication. And yet I must not conceal, that it belongs to you by another right; that is to say, the Care of recommending this Work to the Publick, was committed to a Gentleman, who himself had presented it to your hand, if God had not taken him away, just upon the point of putting his purpose in execution. So
The Epistle Dedicatory.

that it seems in me, as well matter of Conscience, as of
Respect, to deliver it wholly up to your Patronage
and Protection; since in exposing it to the world, I do
but perform the will of my dead Father; and in ad-
ressing it to your self, together with mine own, I also
gratifie that of my deceased Friend. The value of
the Work itself I do not pretend to judge of, my duty
and interest for the Author forbids it, but for the In-
dustry, Integrity, and good meaning of the Historian,
I dare become answerable; And in truth, I hope well of
the rest: without which I should not have made bold
with Sir John Robinson's Name in the Front of it;
who being so nearly related both in blood and affection
to that Incomparable and Zealous Minister of God,
and his Prince, cannot besides a Natural, but upon an
Honourable Impression, concern himself in the glories
or blemishes of this Character, defective in nothing, but
that it could not be as ample as his worth. And now
having discharged my trust, and duty; as I could do no
less, so I have little more to add for my self, but that
I am

SIR,

Your most humble and

obedient Servant

HENRY HEYLYN.
A Necessary

INTRODUCTION

To the following

HISTORY.

BEFORE we come unto the History of this Famous Prelate, it will not be amiss to see upon what Principles, and Positions, the Reformation of this Church did first proceed; that so we may the better judge of those Innovations which afterwards were thrust upon her, and those Endeavours which were used in the latter times to bring her back again to her first Condition.

1. Know therefore, that King Henry VIII. having obtained of the Bishops and Clergie, in their Convocation, Anno 1530, to be acknowledg'd the Supream Head on Earth of the Church of England, did about three years after, in the 26. of his Reign, confirm the said Supremacy to Himself, his Heirs and Successors, with all the Priviledges and Pre-heminencies thereunto belonging, by Act of Parliament. And having procured the said Bishops and Clergie, in another of their Convocations, held in the year 1532. to promise in verbo Sacerdotii, not to assemble from thenceforth in any Convocations, or Synodical Meetings, but as they should be called by his Majesties Writ; nor to make any Canons or Constitutions, Synodal or Provincial, without his Leave and Licence thereunto obtained; nor, finally, to put the same in Execution, till they were Ratified and Confirmed under the Great Seal of England; Procured also an Act of Parliament to bind the Clergie to their promise. Which Act, called commonly, The Act of the Submission of the Clergie, doth bear this name in Pulton's Abridgment, viz. That the Clergie in their Convocation, should Enact no Constitutions without the Kings assent, Anno 25. Henry viii. c. 19. Which Grounds so laid, he caus'd this Question to be debated in both Universities, and all the Famous Monasteries of the Kingdom: viz. An aliquid authoritatis in hoc Regno Angliae, Pontifici Romano de jure competat, plus quam alii viccnum Episcopo extero. Which Question being concluded in the Negative, and
A Necessary Introdution

II. The Exclusion of the Popes, and the Pretensions of the Bishops, in their power of making Canons, Confidants, and other Synodical Acts, not in the power of the King, nor in the power of the Arch-bishops, or Bishops, or in the free exercise of that Ecclesiastical Authority which ancienly belonged to them. For in the Act of Supremacy before-mentioned, there is not a word by which the King for that end and purpose: which would have been the effect of the said Act of Supremacy, in so far as it was not to make the King the sure and direct ruler of the realm, and to bind him to observe the laws and statutes of the realm. But the Act of Supremacy, before-mentioned, there is not a word by which the King for that end and purpose. Which would have been the effect of the said Act of Supremacy, in so far as it was not to make the King the sure and direct ruler of the realm, and to bind him to observe the laws and statutes of the realm. But the Act of Supremacy, before-mentioned, there is not a word by which the King for that end and purpose. Which would have been the effect of the said Act of Supremacy, in so far as it was not to make the King the sure and direct ruler of the realm, and to bind him to observe the laws and statutes of the realm. But the Act of Supremacy, before-mentioned, there is not a word by which the King for that end and purpose.
to the following History.

so that, as to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Consecration, there was no alteration made at all. Those which were Consecrated after the passing of this Statute, were generally acknowledged for true and lawful Bishops, by the Papists themselves; or otherwise Dr. Thomas Thorley, Bishop of Westminster, had never been admitted to have been one of those who assisted at the Consecrating of Cardinal Pole, when he was made Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, on the death of Cranmer. All which recited Statutes with every thing depending on them, being abrogated by Act of Parliament in the time of Queen Mary, were revived in the first Year of Queen Elizabeth, and so still continue. But so it was not with another alteration made in the form of exercising their jurisdiction by King Edw. VI. In the first Parliament of whose Reign, it was enacted, that all process out of the Ecclesiastical Courts should from thenceforth be issued in the Kings Name only, and under the Kings Seal of Arms, contrary to the usage of the former times. Which Statute being repealed by Queen Mary, and not revived by Queen Elizabeth, the Bishops and their subordinate Ministers have ever since exercised all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in their own Names, and under the different Seals of their several Offices.

4. In Doctrinals and Forms of Worship, there was no alteration made in the Reign of King Henry VIII. though there were many preparations and previous dispositions to it; the edge of Ecclesiastical Affairs being somewhat blunted, and the people indulged a greater Liberty in consulting with the Holy Scriptures, and reading many Books of Evangelical Piety, then they had been formerly: which having left the way more open to Arch-Bishop Cranmer, and divers other learned and Religious Prelates in King Edwards time (seconded by the Lord Protector, and other great ones of the Court, who had their ends apart by themselves) they proceeded carefully and vigorously to a Reformation. In the managing of which great business, they took the Scripture for their ground, according to the general explication of the ancient Fathers; the practice of the Primitive times for their Rule and Pattern, as it was expressed to them in approved Authors: No regard had to Luther or Calvin, in the procedure of their work, but only to the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles, Christ Jesus being the Corner-stone of that excellent Structure. Melanchthon coming was expected (Regis Literis in Anglican vocatus, as he affirms in an Epistle to Camerarius) but he came not over. And Calvin made an offer of his service to Arch-Bishop Cranmer, (Si quis melius effet, if any use might be made of him to promote the work,) but the Arch-Bishop knew the man, and refused the other; so that it cannot be affirmed, that the Reformation of this Church, was either Lutheran or Calvinian in its first original. And yet it cannot be denied, but that the first Reformers of it did look with more respectful eyes upon the Doctrinals, Government, and Forms of Worship in the Lutheran Churches, then upon those of Calvins platform; because the Lutherans in their Doctrines, Government, and Forms of Worship, approach't more near the Primitive Patterns than the other did: and working according to this rule, they retained many of those ancient Rites and Ceremonies, which had been practised; and almost all the
the Holy Days or Annual Feasts which had been generally observed in
the Church of Rome. Nothing that was Apostolick, or accounted Primi-
tive did fare the worse for being Popish; I mean for having been made use of in times of Popery: it being none of their designs to create
a new Church, but reform the old. Such Superfitions and Corrup-
tions as had been contracted in that Church, by long tract of time, being
paved away, that which was good and commendable did remain as
formerly: It was not their intent to dig up a foundation of such precious
stones, because some superstructures of Straw and Stubble had been
raised upon it. A moderation much applauded by King James, in the
Conference at Hampton-Court, whose golden Aphorism it was, That no
Church ought further to separate it self from the Church of Rome, either
in Doctrine or Ceremonies, then she had departed from herself, when she was in
her flourishing and best estate, p. 77.

5. The Succession of Bishops continued as it did before, but fitted in
the form and manner of their Consecrations, according to the Rules laid
down with the fourth Council of Carthage, celebrated Anno 407. or
thereabouts, and generally received in all the Provinces of the Western
Church, as appears by the Book of Consecrating Arch-Bishops and
Bishops, &c. Approved first by the Book of Articles, and confirmed in
Parliament, Anno 5. 6. Edward VI. as afterwards justified by the Articles
of Religion agreed upon in Convocation in Queen Elizabeth's time,
Anno 1562. And by an Act of Parliament in the 8th. Year of her Reign,
accounted of as part of our Publick Liturgies. And by that Book it will
appear, that Bishops were then looked upon as a Diftant Order of them-
selves, and not as a different degree only amongst the rest of the Presby-
ters; For in the Preface to that Book, it is said expressly, That it is evident to all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture, and Ancient Authors,
that from the Apostles time there have been these Orders of Ministers in
the Church of Christ, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: Not long after which,
it followeth thus, viz. And therefore to the intent these Orders should be
continued, and reverently used and esteem'd in the Church of England, it
is requisite, that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, or Dea-
corn) shall execute any of them, except he be called, Tried and Examined,
according to the form hereafter following. But becaue perhaps it will be
said that the Preface is no part of the Book, which stands approved by
the Articles of the Church, and established by the Laws of the Land,
let us next look into the Body of the Book itself, where, in the Form
of Consecrating of Arch-Bishops, or Bishops, we find a prayer in these
words, viz. Almighty God, giver of all good things, who hast appointed
divers Orders of Ministers in thy Church, Mercifully behold this thy Ser-
vant, now called to the Work and Ministry of a Bishop, and replenish him
so with the truth of Doctrine, and Innocency of Life, that both by word
and deed he may faithfully serve thee in this Office, &c. Here we have
three Orders of Ministers, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; the Bishop dif-
fering as much in Order from the Priest, as the Priest differs in Order
from the Deacon; which might be further made apparent in the different
Forms used in Ordering of the Priests and Deacons, and the form pre-
scribed for the Consecration of an Arch-Bishop, or Bishops, were not this
sufficient.

6. But
6. But though the Presbyters or Priests, were both in Order and Degree beneath the Bishops, and conseqently not enabled to exercise any publick Jurisdi&ion in Fora judicis, in the Courts of Judicature: yet they retained their native and original power in Fora Conscientiæ, in the Court of Conscience, by hearing the confession of a sorrowful and afflicted Penitent, and giving him the comfort of Absolution, a power conferred upon them in their Ordination; in the Form whereof, it is prescribed that the Bishop, and the affilting Presbyters, shall lay their Hands upon the Head of the Party who is to be Ordained Priest, the Bishop only saying these words, viz. Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained; In the Name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Which words had been impertinently, and un insignificantly used, if the Priest received not thereby power to Absolve a Sinner, upon the sense of his sincere and true repentance, manifested in Confeffion, or in any other way whatsoever. And this appears yet further by the direction of the Church, in point of Practice: For first, it is advised in the end of the Secord Exhortation before the receiving of the Communion, that if any of the people cannot otherwise quiet his own Confeffion, he should repair unto his Curate, or some other discreet and learned Minister of God's Word, and open his Grief, that he may receive such Ghostly counsel, and advice, and comforts, as his Confeffion may be relieved, and that by the Miniftry of God's Word, he may receive comfort, and the benefit of Absolution, to the quieting of his Confeffion, and avoiding all scruple and doubftfulness. Agreeable whereunto is that memorable saying of S. Augufline, viz. Qui confiderint se gratiam, quærat fasciculum. Secondly, It is prescribed in the Visitation of the Sick, That the Sick person shall make a special Confeffion, if he feel his Confeffion troubled with any weighty matter, and that the Priest shall thenupon Absolve him in this manner following: Our Lord Jefus Chrifl, who hath left power to his Church to Absolve all Sinners which truly repent and believe in him, of his great Mercy forgive thee thy Offences; and by his Authority committed to me, I Absolve thee from all thy Sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoft, Amen. Which form of Absolution, is plainly Authoritative, and not Declaration only, (such as that is which follows the General Confeffion, in the beginning of the Morning and Evening Prayer) as some men would have it. 

7. Now that the Penitent, as well in the time of Health, as in extremity of Sicknefs, may pour his Sins into the Bofom of the Priest, with the more security; it is especially provided, by the 113. Canon of the Year 1603. That if any man Confefs his Secret and hidden Sins to the Minifter, for the unburthening of his Confeffion, and to receive the spiritual Confolation and eafe of Mind from him, we do not any way bind the said Minifter by this our Confifition: but do streightly charge and admonifh him that he do not at any time reveal and make known to any person whatsoever any Crime or Offence so committed to his Secret, (except they be fuch Crimes as by the Laws of this Realm his own Life may be called in quifition for concealing the fame) under the pain of Irregularity. And by incurring the condi-
tion of Irregularity, the party offending doth not only forfeit all the Ecclesiastical Preferments which he hath at the present, but renders himself uncapable of receiving any other for the time to come. Confession made upon such security will be as saving to the Fame of the Penitent, as the Absolution to his Soul. In which respect it was neither untruly nor unfitly said by a learned Writer, Dominus sequitur sertonam, &c. Heaven (faith he) waits and expects the Priests Sentence here on Earth; for the Priest sits Judge on Earth, the Lord follows the Servant: and what the Servant binds or looseth here on Earth (Clave non errante) that the Lord confirms in Heaven.

8. The like Authority is vested in the Priest or Presbyter at his Ordination for officiating the Divine Service of the Church, offering the Peoples Prayers to God, Preaching the Word, and Ministring the Holy Sacraments in the Congregation: Which Offices, though they may be performed by the Bishops, as well as the Presbyters: yet they perform them not as Bishops, but as Presbyters only. And this appears plainly by the Form of their Ordination, in which it is precribed, that the Bishops putting the Bible into their hands, shall pronounce these words, Take thou authority to preach the Word, and minifier the Holy Sacraments in the Congregation where thou shalt be so appointed. In the officiating of which Acts of Gods Divine Service, the Priest, or Presbyter is enjoyned to wear a surplice of white Linen Cloth, to testifie the purity of Doctrine, and innocency of Life and Conversation, which ought to be in one of that Holy Profession. And this St. Jerome tells us in the general, Religionem Divinam alterum habitan habere in ministerio, alterum in usu vitique communi: that is to say, that in the Act of Ministration, they used a different habit, from what they used to wear at ordinary times. And what this different habit was, he tells us more particularly in his reply against Pelagius, who it seems dislik'd it; and askt him what offence he thought it could be to God, that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, or those of any inferior Order, in Administration sacrificiorum candidae vestae procer/sient, did in the ministration of the Sacraments bestirthemselves in a white Vesture; so he answer'd Felag Lib. 2. with which compare St. Chrysostom in his 83. Homily on St. Matthew's Gospel, for the Eastern Churches: And henceto the Cope was added in some principal Churches, especially in the Celebration of the Blessed Eucharist. Both which appear molt evidently by the first Liturgie of King Edward VI. compar'd with one of the last clauses of the Act of Parliament. 1. Elizabeth c. 2. in which it is provided, that such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers shall be retained and be in use, as were in the Church of England by Authority of Parliament in the second year of the Reign of King Edward VI. But this Vesture having been discontinued (I know not by what fatal negligence) many years together, it pleas'd the Bishops and Clergy in the Convocation, Anno 1603. to pass a Canon to this purpose, viz. That in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches the Holy Communion shall be adinistr'd upon principal Feasts days, sometimes by the Bishops &c. and that the principal Minisiter using a decent Cope, &c.

Canon 24.

9. In that part of Divine Service which concerns the offering of the peoples
people's Prayers to Almighty God, it was required of the Priest or Presbyter; first, that in all the days and times appointed, he used the Prayers preferred in the publick Liturgie, according to the Act of Parliament, Eliz. c. 2, and many subsequent Canons and Constitutions, made in that behalf. Secondly, "That he conformed himself to those Rites and Ceremonies, which were prescribed in that Book, and unto such as should be afterwards ordained by the Queens Majesty, with the advice of her Commissioners appointed, and authorized under the Great Seal of England, for causes Ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realm, as may be most for the advancement of Gods Glory, the edifying of his Church, and the due reverence of Christ's Holy Mysteries and Sacraments. And thirdly, and more particularly, "That in his reading of the Prayers and Psalms, he return his face towards the East, and toward the People in the reading of the Lessons or Chapters, as appears plainly by the Rubrick which directs him thus, "That after the reading of the Psalms, the Priest shall read two Lessons distinctly, that the people may hear; the Priest that reads the two Lessons standing, and turning himself so as he may best be heard of all such as be present. The Psalms or Hymns to be indifferently said or sung at the will of the Minifter; but the Hymns for the most part sung with Organs, and sometimes with other Musical Instruments; both in the Royal Chappels and Cathedral Churches. Fourthly, "That he makes use of no other Prayers in the Congregation; (and therefore neither before nor after Sermon) then those which are prescribed in the said Book of Common Prayer: it being specially provided in the Act aforefaid, that no Priest, nor Minifter shall use any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, Form, or manner of Celebrating the Lords Supper openly, or privately, or Mattens, Evening Song, Administration of the Sacraments, or other open Prayers (that is to say, such Prayers as are meant for others to come unto or hear, either in common Churches, or private Chappels, &c.) then is mentioned or set forth in the same Book. Fifthly, "That all Priests and Deacons shall be bound to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, except they be lett by Preaching, studying of Divinity, or some other urgent caufe. And sixly, "That the Curate that miniftreth in every Parish Church, or Chappel, being at home and not being otherwise reasonably letted, shall say the same in the Parish Church or Chappel where he miniftreth, and shall toll a Bell thereto at convenient time, before he begin, that such as are disposed, may come to hear Gods Word, and pray with him; so as in some cases it may be said of the Priest, as the Father doth of Christ, that he is, Os ipsum per quod logosimus. The very mouth by which we speak unto our Father which is in Heaven. And though it be intended in the Act of Parliament, and express in the Articles of Religion, that the Prayers are to be made in such a tongue as may be understood of the common people; yet it is not meant as is declared in the Preface to the Book it self, but that when men say Morning and Evening Prayers privately, they may say the same in any language that they themselves understand. Nor was it meant but that the Morning
ning and Evening Service might be used in the Colleges and Halls of either University in the Latine tongue, where all may be supposed to understand it; as appears clearly by the constant and continual practice of Christ-Church in Oxon, in which the first Morning Prayers commonly read about six of the Clock, were in Latine: the Morning and Evening Service, with the Psalms of David, being Printed in Latine by themselves for that end and purpose.

10. As for the Preaching of the Word, that belongs properly and originally (as the performance of all other Divine Offices did of old) to the Bishops themselves, as being the ordinary Pastors of the several and respective Diocesses; and to the Priests no otherwise than by delegation, as Curates, and substitutes to the Bishops, as may be proved out of the Instrument of their Institution. For when a Clerk is to be admitted into any Benefice, he puts himself upon his knees; and the Bishop laying one Hand upon his Head, and having the Instrument in the other, repeats these words, viz. Te N. ad Reclitorium de N. Ritē & Canonice instituimus, curam & regimen animarum Parochianorum ibidem tibi in Domino committentes, & commissimus per presentes; that is to say, that he doth institute him into the said Benefice, according to the Laws and Canons; committing to him these presents, the care and Government of the Souls of all the Parishioners therein: And therefore it concerns the Bishop not to Licence any man to Preach to the Congregation, of whose good affections to the Publick, abilities in Learning, sobriety of Life and Conversation, and conformity to the Government, Discipline, and Form of Worship here by Law established, he hath not very good assurance. For though the Priest or Presbyter by his Ordination hath Authority to preach the word of God in the Congregation, yet it is with this clause of Limitation, If he shall be so appointed; that is to say, sufficiently Licensed thereunto, and not otherwise. And none were Licensed heretofore, as was expressly ordered in the injunctions of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, but either by the Bishop of the Diocess, who is to answer by the Law (for every Minister he admits into the same) for that Diocess only: or by the Metropolitan of the Province, for that Province alone: or finally by either of the Universities (upon the well performing of some publick exercise) over all the Kingdom. Considering therefore that every man that could pronounce well, was not found able to indite, and every man that could indite, not being to be trusted in a business of such weight and moment; it seemed good in the Widom of the first Reformers to compile some good and profitable Sermons (called by the name of Homilies) to be read carefully and distinctly on the Sundays and Holy days for the instruction of the people.

11. Such course was taken for the peace and edification of the Church by the first Reformers, not only in the choice of the men to whom they gave Licence to preach, but in supplying the defect and want of such preaching by the Book of Homilies: and they had as great a care too for the keeping of the people in good stomach, not cloying them with continual Preaching, or Homilizing: but limiting them to once a day, as appears by the Rubrick after the Nicene (or rather the Constantinopolitan
to the following History.

One Sermon on Homily in the mornings of Sundays and other Holy days, for the edification of the elders; and Catechizing by way of question and answer in the afternoon, for the instruction of the younger, was esteemed sufficient. Lectures upon the week-days were not raised upon this foundation, but were brought in afterwards, borrowed by Traders and the rest, towards the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, from the new fashions of Geneva; the Lecturer being super-added to the Parson, or Vicar, as the Doctor was unto the Pastor in some foreign Churches. Nor were they raised so much out of care and conscience, for training up the people in the ways of Faith and Piety, as to advance a Faction, and to alienate the peoples minds from the Government and Forms of Worship here by Law established. For these Lecturers having no dependence upon the Bishops, nor taking the Oath of Canonical Obedience to them, nor subscribing to the Doctrine and establish Ceremonies, made it their work to please those Patrons, on whose arbitrary maintenance they were planted, and consequently to carry on the Puritan interest, which their Patron drove at. A generation of men neither Lay, nor Clergy, having no place at all in the Prayers of the Church, where we find mention only of Bishops, Pastors, and Curates; nor being taken notice of in the terms of Law, as being neither Parson, nor Vicar: or, to speak them in the vulgar proverb, neither flesh, nor fih, nor good red herring: No creature in the world so like them as the Bats, or Reremice: being neither Birds nor Beasts, and yet both together. Had these men been looked upon in time, before their numbers were increased, and their power grown formidable, before the people went a madding after new inventions, most of the mifchiefs which have thence ensued might have been prevented. And had there been more reading of Homilies, in which the Reader speaks the fence of the Church; and not so much of Sermonizing, in which the Preacher many times speaks his own fainious and erroneous fence; the people might have been trained up in no fels knowledge, but in much more obedience then they have been in these latter times.

Of the dangers which arose from the Institution.

As for the Sacraments which were advanced to the number of seven in the Church of Rome, this Church hath brought them back to two (as generally necessary to salvation) Baptism, and the Holy Supper: Four of the rest, that is to say, Marriage, Orders, Confirmation, and the Visitation (though not the Extrem Unction) of the Sick being retained under the name of Sacraments in our publick Liturgie: Of which the Book of Consecrating Arch-Bishops and Bishops, &c. is by the Act of Parliament and Eliz. c. 1. affirmed to be a Supplement, or Additional only (added, put to, and annexed, as the words do vary) to the said Book of Common-Prayer. And of these four, two are referred unto the Bishop, that is to say, Confirmation, and the giving of Orders; the other two, viz. Marriage and the Visitation of the Sick, being common to both alike, though executed in the most part by the Presbyter only. Of these referred unto the Bishop, the one is referred ad necessitatem operis, because it cannot be done without him; the other ad honorem sacerdotii (as the Schools distinguish) because it cannot be well done but by him. Touching the first, we have the general consent of all ancient Writers,
No Orders to be given but by Bishops only, and Confirmation reckoned for one of their peculiar.

Writers, and the example of Columbus, who took upon him the ordaining of Presbyters, contrary to the Rules of the Church, and the Canons of the most famous Councils. But when the business came to be examined, his ordinations were declared to be null and void, because he was a Presbyter only, and not a Bishop; as is affirmed by Athanasius in Apol. 2. The other grounded on the 8th. Chapter of the Acts, as St. Cyprian in his 73. Epistle tells us, where Peter and John are said to have laid hands on them in Samaria, which had been before Baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus, that they might receive the Holy Ghost, and that by laying on of their hands they did receive the Holy Ghost accordingly, verse 16, 17. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, &c. "Which is also done, faith St. Cyprian (and Cyprian flourished in the middle of the third Century) amongst ourselves, when they which are already Baptized, are brought unto the Prelates of the Church (Prepositis Ecclesiae effunt) that by our Prayer and Imposition of our hands they may receive the Holy Ghost, and be strengthened by the Seal of the Lord. Upon which grounds (besides the great antiquity of it) it was retained by the first Reformers, as in the Rubrick before Confirmation, in the Common-Prayer-Book. And had it been as diligently practised by the Bishops in the declining times of this Church, as it was piously and religiously retained by them, it would have much conduced to their fast standing in the Church, and procured a greater veneration to their Persons also. The other two, viz. Marriage, and the Visitation of the Sick, together with the Burial of the Dead, and the Churching of Women after Child-birth, are left to the officiating of the Priest, or Parochial Minister, unless the Bishop please to take that work upon himself in some certain cases.

13. But as for Penance (one of the seven Sacraments in the Church of Rome) we must look upon in a double capacity. First, as it was solemnly performed on Ash Wednesday, as a preparative to the approaching Feast of Easter; the people humbling themselves before the Lord in Sackcloth and Ashes, whence it had the name. And secondly, as imposed on such particular persons, as lay under the censures of the Church. Touching the first, it is related in the beginning of the Communion, that in the Primitive Church there was a godly Discipline, "That at the beginning of Lent, such persons as were notorious sinners were put to open Penance, and punished in this world, that their Souls might be saved in the day of the Lord, and that others admonished by their example might be the more afraid to offend. The Restitution of which godly Discipline, though they much desired; yet finding that the times were not like to bear it, they contented themselves with prescribing a form of Communion, to be observed upon that day, containing a recital of Gods Curfew; thundred out against impenitent Sinners, to be publicly read out of the Pulpit, by the Priest or Presbyter, subjoining thereunto one of the Penitential Psalms, with certain Prayers which had been used in the Formularies of the times foregoing; and then proceeding to the Epistle and Gospel (with the rest of the Communion Service) appointed for the first day of Lent in the publick Liturgy. As for the other sort of Penance, there was not any thing more
more frequent in the practice of the Church, and the dispensation of the Keys, than the imposing of it by the Bishops and their Officers, upon Adulterers, Fornicators, and such as otherwise have given scandal by their irregular course of life, or by their obstinate inconformity to the Rites and Ceremonies here by Law establish'd: upon performance of which Penance in the face of the Church, or in the way of Commutation, for the use of the poor, they were to have the benefit of Absolution, and consequently be restored to the peace and bosom of the Church. And though there be no form prescribed in our Liturgie, for the reconciling of a Penitent after the performance of his Penance, which I have many times wondered at; yet so much care was taken in the Convocation of the year 1640. that no Absolution should be given, but by the Bishop himself in person, or by some other in Holy Orders, having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, or by some grave Minister, (being a Master of Arts at the least,) and Beneficed within the Diocese, to be appointed by the Bishop, the times to be performed in the open Convistory, or some Church or Chappel, the Penitent humbly craving, and taking it upon his knees, Can. 13. Which was as much as could be done in that point of time.

14. Such being the duty of the Priest, we shall next look upon the place and times in which they are to be performed; the place of publick Worship they call generally (according to the style of the ancient Fathers) by the name of the Church. For consecrating or setting apart whereof to Religious uses, I find so great authority in the Primitive times, as will sufficiently free it from the guilt of Popery: Witness the testimony which Pope Pius gives of his Sister Entorepia in an Epistle to Julius Vienimenis, Anno 158. or thereabouts, for setting apart her own House for the use and service of the Church: Witness the testimony which Metaphrases gives of Felix the first, touching his Consecrating of the house of Cecilia, about the year 272. And that which Damusius gives unto Marcellinus, who succeeded Felix, for consecrating the house of Lucinia for Religious uses: witness the famous consecration of the Temple of the Holy Martyrs in Jerusalem, founded by Constantine the Great, at which almost all the Bishops in the Eastern parts were summoned, and called together by the Emperors Writ: and finally (not to descend to the following times) witness the 89th. Sermon of St. Ambrose, entitled De Dedicacione Basilice, Preached at the Dedication of a Church built by Vitalians and Majanus, and the invitation of Paulinus, another Bishop of that Age, made by Sulpius Severus his especial Friend, Ad Basilicam que pro rex erat, in nomine Domini consummabitur, dedicandum, to be present at the Dedication of a Church of his foundation: which Dedications, as they were solemniz'd with Feastings, for entertainment of the company which resorted to them; so were those Feasts perpetuated in succeeding Ages by an annual Repetition, or Remembrance of them: such annual Dedication-Feasts being called in England, Wakes, or Revels, and in some places only Feasts, according to the style and phrase of their several Countries. I must confess that there occurs no form of such Consecration in our English Liturgies: those times were more inclined to the pulling down of old Churches, then building of new; witness the demolition of so many...
Hospitalls, Chanteries, and Free Chappells in the unfortunate minority of King Edward VI. But when the times were better settled, and that new Churches began to be erected, and the old ones to be repaired, some Bishops made a Form of Consecrating to be used by themselves on such occasions. And others followed a Form composed by Bishop Andrews; a man as much averse as any, from the Corruptions and Superstitions of the Church of Rome. But if the Convocation of the Year 1640. had not been so precipitated to a speedy conclusion by the tumults of unruly people, it is probable, if not certain, that a Canon had been passed for digesting an uniform order of such Consecrations, as there was made a body of Visitation-Articles for the publick use of all that exercised Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which every Bishop and Arch-Dearcon had before fashioned for themselves.

15. Next to the Consecration of Churches, follows in course the necessary repair and adorning of them; not only required by several Canons and Injunctions of Queen Elizabethes time, the Canons of the Year 1603, and some Rubricks in the Book of Common-Prayer; but also by some Homilies which were made of purpose to excite the people thereunto: that is to say, the Homilies of the right use of the Church, for repairing and keeping clean the Church, and of the time and place of Prayer. The question is, whether the use of painted Images on the Walls or Windows were tolerated or forbidden by the Rule of the Reformation: They which conceive them to have been forbidden by the Rules of the Church, allege for defence of their opinion, the Queens injunction, published in the first year of her Reign, Anno 1559. the Articles of the Regal Visitation following thereupon, and the main scope of the three Homilies against the peril of Idolatry. In the first of which it was ordered, first, "That to the intent that all Superstition, and Hypocrite crept into divers means hearts might vanish away, no Ecclesiastical persons should set forth or extol the Dignity of any Images, Reliques, or Miracles; but declaring the abuse of the same, they shall teach that all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both asked and looked for only of God as the very author and giver of the fame, and of none other, Num. 2. And secondly, That they shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all Shrines, coverings of Shrines, all Tables, Candlesticks, Trindals and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and all other Monuments of feigned Miracles, Pilgrimages, Idolatry, and Superstition; so that there remain no memory of the fame, in Walls, Glas- Windows, or elsewhere, within their Churches and Houses; preferring and repairing nevertheless both the Walls and Glas-Windows: and that they should exhort all their Parishioners to do the like, within their several Houses, Num. 23. For which last there follows afterwards a more special Injunction, Numb. 35. According whereunto this Article was framed to the Visitation, viz. Whether in all Churches, and Chappells, all Images, Shrines, Tables, Candlesticks, Trindals, and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and other Monuments of feigned and false Miracles, Pilgrimages, Idolatry, and Superstition, were removed, abolished, and destroyed, Num. 2. But these objections carried their own answers
in them, it being manifest by the words both of the Articles and Injunctions, that it never was the meaning of the Queen, her Council, or Commissioners, to condemn, abolish, or deface all Images, either of Carith himself, or of any of the Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors and other godly Fathers in the Church of Christ; the abuse whereof is ordered to be reformed by the first Injunction, but only to remove such Pictures of false and feigned Miracles, as had no truth of being, or existence in Nature; and therefore were the more abused to Superstition and Idolatry in the times of Popery. In answer to such passages as are alleged out of the said Homilies, it is replied; first, that it is confessed in the beginning against them; not as intolerable in themselves, but as they might be made in those broken and unsettled times an occasion of falling, before men could be fully instructed in the right use of them; as appears plainly by these passages, viz. Our Images also have been, and be, (and if they be publicly suffered in Churches, and Chapels) ever will be also worshipped, and so Idolatry committed to them, p. 13. So hard is it, and indeed impossible any long time to have Images publicly in Churches and Temples without Idolatry, fol. 33. And finally by the passage which before we touched at, where after much vehemency, not only against Idolatry and Worshipping of Images, but also against Idols and Images themselves, the heats thereof are qualified by this expression, viz. I mean always this herein, in that we be stirred and provoked by them, to worship them; and not as though they were simply forbidden by the New Testament, without such occasion and danger, ibid. fol. 39. And thereupon it is first alleged by those of contrary judgment, that all such as lived in times of Popery, being long since dead, and the people of this last age sufficiently instructed in the unlawfulness of worshipping such painted Images, they may be lawfully used in Churches, without fear of Idolatry, which seems to have been the main inducement for their first defacing. Secondly, Many of the Eastern Churches, which notwithstanding do abominate the Superstitions of the Church of Rome, retained the use of painted Images, though they reject those which were cut, and carved. Thirdly, That Images are still used in the Lutheran Churches, upon which our first Reformers had a special eye; and that Luther much reproved Carolus Stadarius for taking them out of such Churches, where before they had been suffered to stand, letting him know, Ex mentibus hominum potius renovendas, that the worship of Images, was rather to be taken out of mens minds by diligent and painful preaching, then the Images themselves to be so rashly, and un-advisedly
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advisedly cast out of the Churches. That painted Images were not only retained in the Chappels of the Queen, and of many great men of the Realm, in most of the Cathedral Churches, and in some private Churches and Chappels also, without any defacing (witness the curious painted Glass in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, the Parish Church of Fareford in the County of Gloucester, and the Chappel of the Holy Ghost, near Bath) but a rich and mally Crucifix was kept for many years together, on the Table or Altar of the Chappel Royal in Whitehall (as appears by Saunders and Du Chesne) till it was broke in pieces by Fitch, the Queens Fool (when no wiser man could be got to do it) upon the secret instigation of Sir Francis Knollys: and finally, it appears by the Queens Injunctions, that the Priests being commanded not to extoll the dignity of any Image, Reliques, &c. and the people diligently to teach, that all Goodness, Health, and Grace ought to be asked and looked for only at the hands of God, whereby all Superstition might be taken out of their hearts, the Images might lawfully remain as well in publick Churches, as in private Houses, as they had done formerly.

16. As for the times of publick Worship, we must behold them in their Institution, and their Observation. And first, as for their Institution it is agreed on of all hands, that the Annual Feasts, Saints Days, or Holy Days, as now commonly called, do stand on no other ground then the Authority of the Church, which at first ordained them; some in one Age, and some in another, till they grew unto so great a number, that it was thought fit by King Henry VIII. and afterwards by King Edward VI. to abolish such of them as might best be spared. Nor stands the Sunday, or Lords Day (according to the Doctrine of the Church of England) on any other ground then the rest of the Holy days: but in the Homily touching the time and place of Prayer, it is thus doctrinally resolved, viz. "As concerning the time in which God hath appointed his people to assemble together solemnly, it doth appear by the fourth Commandment, &c. Which Example and Commandment of God, the godly Christian people began to follow, after the Ascension of our Lord Christ, and began to chuse them a standing day in the week to come together in; yet not the seventh day, which the Jews kept, but the Lords day, the day of the Lords Resurrection, the day after the seventh day, which is the first day of the week, &c. This makes the matter clear enough, and yet the Statute 5 and 6 of Edw. VI. in which all the Prelates did concur with the other Estates, makes it clearer then the Homily doth, "Forasmuch (faith the Statute) as men be not at all times so mindful to laud and praise God, so ready to refer to hear Gods holy Word, and come to the holy Communion, &c., as their bounden duty doth require; therefore to call men to remembrance of their duty, and to help their infirmities, it hath been wholly provided, that there should be some certain days and times appointed wherein Christians should cease from all kinds of labour, and apply themselves only and wholly unto the aforesaid holy works properly pertaining to true Religion, &c. Neither is it to be thought that there is any certain times or definite number of
of days prescribed in Holy Scripture: but the appointment both of the time, and also of the number of days, is left by the Authority of God's Word, unto the Liberty of Christ's Church to be determined and allotted orderly in every Country by the discretion of the Rulers and Ministers thereof, as they shall judge most expedient to the furthering of God's Glory, and the edification of the people. Now for the number and particularities of those days which were required to be kept holy to the Lord, they are thus specified and enumerated in the Common-Prayer-Book, confirmed by Parliament in that year. These to be kept Holy Days, and no other; that is to say, all Sundays in the Year, the Feast of the Circumcision of our Lord and Saviour, the Feast of the Epiphany, &c. Which specification and enumeration, is made also in the aforesaid Statute.

17. As for the observation of those days, there was no difference made between them by the first Reformers; the same Divine Offices prescribed for both; the diligent attendance of the people required in both; the penalties upon such as wilfully and frequently did absent themselves, were the same for both; and finally the works of necessary labour no more restrained upon the one than upon the other. For first it is declared in the aforesaid Homily, that Christian People are not ext to observe and keep the other Ceremonies of the Sabbath day, as were the Jews, as touching the forbearing of the work and labour in time of great necessity, &c. Secondly, and more particularly in the Statute before-mentioned we find it thus, viz. "That it shall be lawful for every Husband-man, Fisherman, and to all and every other person of persons, of what Estate, Degree, or Condition he or they be, upon the Holy Days aforesaid (of which the Lords Day is there reckoned for one) in Harvest, or at any other times in the Year, when necessity shall so require, to Labour, Ride, Fish, or Work any kind of Work at their own will and pleasure. Thirdly, It is ordered in the Injunctions of the said King Edw. VI. that it shall be lawful for the people in the time of Harvest to labour upon Holy and Festival Days, and save that thing which God hath sent; and that scrupulosity to abstain from working on those days, doth grievously offend God. Fourthly, We find the like in the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, published with the advice of her Council, Anno 1559, being the first year of her Reign, viz. "That all Parsons, Vicars, Curates, shall teach and declare unto their Parishioners, that they may with a safe and quiet conscience after Common-Prayer in the time of Harvest labour upon the Holy and Festival Days, and save that thing which God hath sent. And if for any scrupulosity or grudge of Conscience, men shall superstitiously abstain from working on those days, then they should grievously offend and displease God. And as for the practice of the Court, it was ordered by the said King Edward, "That the Lords of the Council should upon Sunday attend the publick affairs of the Realm, and dispatch answers to Letters for the good order of the State, and make full dispatches of all things concluded in the Week before; Provided, that they be present at Common-Prayers. And that on every Sunday night the King's Secretary should deliver him
him a memorial of such things as were to be debated in the Privy Council the week ensuing. Which course of meeting in the Council on Sunday in the afternoon, hath been continued in the Court, from the time of the said King Edward the VI. to the death of King Charles, without dislike or interruption. If then the Country people in some times and cases were permitted to employ themselves in bodily labour on the Sundays and other Holy days; and if the Lords of the Council did meet together on those days to consult about affairs of State, as we see they did; there is no question to be made but that all manlike exercises, all lawful recreations and honest pastimes were allowed of also.

18. As for the duties of the people in those times and places, it was expected at their hands, that due and lowly reverence should be made at their first entrance into the Church; the place on which they stood, being by Consecration made Holy Ground, and the business which they came about, being holy business. For this there was no Rule nor Rubrick made by the first Reformers, and it was not necessary that there should; the practice of Gods people in that kind being universal, Vi Catholice consuetudinis, by virtue of a general and continual usage, that there was no need of any Canon to enjoin them to it:

Nothing more frequent in the Writings of the ancient Fathers then Adoration toward the East, which drew the Primitive Christians into some suspicion of being Worshippers of the Sun, Inde suscipio, quod invitaret nos versus orientis regionem precari, as Tertullian hath it. And though this pious custom began to be diffused, and was almost discontinued, yet there remains some footsteps of it to this very day. For first, It was observed by the Knights of the most noble Order of the Garter, (who I am sure hate nothing more than Superstitions Vanities) at their approaches toward the Altar in all the solemnities of that Order. Secondly, In the Offerings or Oblations made by the Vice-Chancellor, the Proctor, and all Proceeders in the Arts and Faculties at the Altar at Oxon. And thirdly, By most Country Women, who in the time of my first remembrance, and a long time after, made their obeisance towards the East, before they betook themselves to their Seats; though it was then taken (or mistaken rather) for a Courtesie made unto the Minister; revived more generally in these latter times (especially amongst the Clergy) by the Learned and Reverend Bishop Andrewes, a man as much vert in Primitive Antiquity, and as abhorrent from any thing which was meekely Popish, as the greatest Precisian in the Pack. Which point I find exceedingly well applied, and prest in the Speech made by this Arch-Bishop, at the Century of Dr. Basswicke, Mr. Burton, on June 26. 1637. Who speaking to such of the Lords as were Knights of the Garter, he accosts them thus, "And you (faith he) my Honourable Lords of the Garter, in your great solemnities, you do reverence, and to Almighty God I doubt not: but yet it is versus Altare, toward the Altar, &c. And this your reverence is only when you enter the Chappel, and when you approach nearer to offer, &c. And Idolatry it is not to worship God toward his Holy Table; for if it had been Idolatry, I presume Queen Elizabeth, and King..."
to the following History.

"King James would not have practised it, no not in this great Solemnity. And being not Idolatry, but true Divine Worship, you will I hope give a poor Priest leave to worship God as your selves do. For if it be Gods Worship, I ought to do it as well as you, and if it be Idolatry, you ought not to do it more then I.

19. This duty being performed at their first entrance into the Church, it was next required by the Rubrick, that they should reverently kneel at the reading of the publick Prayers, and in the receiving of the Holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper; that they should stand up at the reading of the Apostles Creed; and consequently at the Athollian and Nicene also, which are as Commentaries on that Text; as also at the frequent Repetitions of the Gloria Patri, which is an Abridgment of the same. And in the next place it was required by the Queens Injunctions, "That whatsoever the Name of Jesus shall be in any Lession, Sermon, or otherwise, in the Church pronounced, that due reverence be made of all persons, young and old, with lowness of courtesy and uncovering the heads of the mankind, as thereunto doth necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been accustomed. In which it is to be observed, that though this Injunction was published in the first year of the Queen, yet then this bowing at the Name of Jesus was looked on as an ancient custom; not only used in Queen Marys Reign, but also in King Edwards time, and in those before. And in this case, and in that before, and in all others of that nature, it is a good and certain rule, that all such Rites as had been practised in the Church of Rome, and not abolished, nor disclaimed by any Doctrine, Law or Canon of the first Reformer, were to continue in the same state in which they found them. But this commendable custom, together with all other outward reverence in Gods publick Service, being every day more and more discontinued, as the Puritan Faction got ground amongst us, it seemed good to the Prelates, and Clergie, assembled in Convocation, Anno 1603, to revive the same with some enlargement, as to the uncovering of the Head in all the acts and parts of publick worship. For thus we have it in the 18. Canon of that year, viz. "No man shall cover his head in the Church or Chappel in time of Divine Service, except he have some Infirmitie; in which case let him wear a night-Cap or Coife. And likewise when the Name of Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed; testifying by this outward Ceremony, and Geiture, their inward Humility, Christian Resolution, and due acknowledgment, that the Lord Jesus Christ the true and eternal Son of God is the only Saviour of the world, in whom all Graces, Mercies, and Promises of Gods love to mankind for this life, and the life to come, are wholly comprised. In which Canon, we have not only the Doctrine, that bowing is to be used to the name of Jesus, but the uses also; and not alone the custom, but the reasons of it: both grounded on that Text of Scripture, Phil. 2. 10. that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, according to such explications as were made there-of by St. Ambrose, and others of the ancient Writers.

20. In matters which were meerly doctrinal, and not practical also,
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The moderate proceedings of the first Reformers, and the first Reformers carried on the work with the same equal temper, as they did those which were either mixt or merely practical. And first, beginning with the Pope, having discharged themselves from the Supremacy, which in the times foregoing he had exercised over them in this Kingdom: I find no Declaration in any publick Monument, or Records of the Church of England, that the Pope was Antichrist, whatsoever some of them might say in their private Writings: some hard expressions there are of him in the Book of Homilies, but none more hard than those in the publick Litany, first published by K. Henry VIII. at his going to Bologna, and afterwards retained in both Liturgies of King Edward VI. In which the people were to pray for their deliverance from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and his detestable enormities, &c. This was conceived to be (as indeed it was) a very great scandal and offence to all those in the Realm of England, who were well affected to the Church of Rome; and therefore in the Liturgie of Queen Elizabeth it was quite left out, the better to allure them to the Divine Service of the Church, as at first it did: And for the Church of Rome it self, they beheld it with no other eyes, then as a member of the visible Church, which had for many hundred years maintained the Fundamentals of the Christian Faith, though both unsound in Doctrine and corrupt in Manners: Just as a mandistempered in his Brain, Diseased in all the parts of his Body, and languishing under many putrified Sores, doth still retain the being of a natural Man as long as he hath sense, and motion, and (in his lucid intervals) some use of Reason. They tell us in the 19. Article, that the Church of Rome hath erred not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but in matters of Faith. But then they look upon her as a Member of the Visible Church, as well as those of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, which are there affirmed to have erred also. Erre then she might, and erre she did indeed too grossly, and yet might notwithstanding serve as a conduit-pipe to convey to us many of those Primitive Truths, and many of those godly Rites and Ceremonies which she had superfluously defiled. In which last place it was a very pious rule, that in the Reformation of a Church, abuses being taken away, the primitive Institution should be left remaining; Tollatnr abusus, maneat usus, as the saying is: and in the first, as piously observed by King James in the Conference at Hampton-Court, that in all Reformations, he would not have any such departure from the Papists in all things, that because we in some points agree with them, therefore we should be accounted to be in an error. Let us then see how near the first Reformers did and might come unto the Papists, and yet not join with them in their Errors to the betraying of the Truth.

XXI. The Pope they deprived of that unlimited Supremacy, and the Church of Rome of that exorbitant power, which they formerly challenged over them; yet did they neither think it fit to leave the Church without her lawful and just Authority; nor safe to put her out of the protection of the Supream Governor. Touching the first, it was resolved in the 20. Article, "That the Church hath power not only to decree Rites and Ceremonies, but also in Controversies of Faith, as the English, Ecclesia habet Ritus & Ceremonias Statuendijus, &c in sedec controversijus Authori-
to the following History.

Authoritatem, as it is in the Latin. And so it stands in the Original Acts of the Convocation, Anno 1562, and published in the self-same words both in Latin and English. Afterwards in the year 1571, by the power and prevalency of some of the Genevian Faction the Articles were reprinted, and this Clause left out. But the times bettering, and the Governors of the Church taking just notice of the danger which lay lurking under that omission, there was care taken that the said Clause should be restored unto its place in all following impressions of that Book, as it hath ever since continued: Nor was this part of the Article a matter of speculation only, and not reducible to practice, or if reducible to practice, not fit to be enforced upon such as gain-said the same. For in the 34. Article it is thus declared, "That whatsoever through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant unto the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like) as he that offends against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the Consciences of the weak Brethren. More power then this, as the See of Rome did never challenge; unless then this, was not reserved unto it self by the Church of England. And as for the Authority of the Church in controversies of Faith, the very Articles by which they declared that power (seconded by the rest of the points which are there determined) is a sufficient Argument, that they used and exercised that power which was there declared. And because some objection had been made both by the Papists, and those of the Genevian party, that a Papal power was granted, as at first to King Henry VIII. under the name of Supreme Head, so afterwards to Queen Elizabeth and her Successors; it was thought expedient by the Church to stop that clamour at the first; and thereupon it was declared in the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergie (who make the representative Body of the Church of England) in the 37. Article of the year 1562. "That whereas they had attributed to the Queens Majesty the chief Government of all the Estates of this Realm, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil in all cases, they did not give unto their Princes, the ministration either of Gods Word, or of the Sacraments, but that only Prerogative which was known to have been given always to all godly Princes, in Holy Scripture by God himself; that is to say, that they should rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and refrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil doers. Less power then this, as good Subjects could not give unto their King; so more then this, hath there not been exercised or desired by the Kings of England. Such power as was by God vouchsafed to the godly Kings and Princes in Holy Scripture, may serve abundantly to satisfy even the unlimited desires of the mightiest Monarch, were they as boundless as the Popes.

22. Next to the point of the Supremacy, esteemed the Principal Article of Religion in the Church of Rome (prinus & pricipus Romanenlis fidei Articulus) as is affirmed in the History of the Council of Trent, the
the most material differences betwixt them and us relate to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and the natural efficacy of good works, in which the differences betwixt them and the first Reformers seem to be at the greatest; though even in those they came as near to them as might stand with Piety. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper they called the Sacrament of the Altar, as appears plainly by the Statute Edward VI. entitled, An Act against such as speak unmercifully against the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the ALTAR: For which consult the Body of the Act itself. Or secondly, by Bishop Ridley (one of the chief Compilers of the Common-Prayer Book) who doth not only call it the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming thus, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, is the natural Body and Blood of Christ. &c. But in his Reply to an Argument of the Bishop of Lincoln’s, taken out of St. Cyril, he doth resolve it thus, viz. "The word "Altar in the Scripture signifieth as well the Altar wherein the Jews were wont to offer there Burnt Sacrifice, as the Table of the Lords Supper; and that St. Cyril meaneth by this word Altar, not the Jewish Altar; but the Table of the Lord, &c. Acts and Mon. part 3. p. 492, and 497. Thirdly, By Bishop Latimer his fellow-Martyr, who plainly grants, "That the Lords Table may be called an Altar, and that the Doctors called it so in many places, though there be no propitiatory Sacrifice, but only Christ, part 2. p. 85. Fourthly, By the several affirmations of John Lambert, and John Philpot, two Learned and Religious men, whereof the one suffered death for Religion under Henry VIII. the other in the fiery time of Queen Mary. This Sacrament being called by both, the Sacrament of the Altar in their several times: for which consult the Acts and Monuments commonly called the Book of Martyrs.

23: And that this Sacrament might the longer preserve that name, and the Lords Supper be administered with the more solemnity, it was ordained in the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, no Altar should be taken down, but by the over-sight of the Curate of the Church, and the Church-Wardens, or one of them at least, and that the Holy Table in every Church be decently made and set up in the place where the Altar stood, and there commonly covered as thereto belongeth. It is besides declared in the Books of Orders, Anno 1561, published about two years after the said Injunction, "That in the place where the Steps were, the Communion Table should stand; and that there shall be fixed on the Wall over the Communion Board, the Tables of Gods Precepts imprinted for the same purpose. The like occurs in the Advertisements published by the Metropolitan, and others the High Commissioners, 1565. In which it is ordered, "That the Parish shall provide a decent Table, standing on a frame for the Communion-Table, which they shall decently cover with a Carpet of Silk, or other decent covering, and with a white Linen Cloth in the time of the administration, and shall set the Ten Commandments upon the East- Wall over the said Table. All which being laid together, amounts to this, that the Communion-Table was to stand above the steps, and under the Commandments; therefore all along the Wall, on which the Ten
Ten Commandments were appointed to be placed, which was directly where the Altar had stood before. Now that the Holy Table in what posture soever it be plac'd, should not be thought unuseful at all other times, but only at the time of the Ministration; it was appointed by the Church in its first Reformation, that the Communion-Service, commonly called the Second Service, upon all Sundays and Holy-days, should be read only at the Holy Table. For first in the first Rubrick before the beginning of that Service, it is ordered, that the Priest standing at the Holy Table shall say the Lords Prayer, with the Collect following, &c. And it is ordered in the first Rubrick after the Communion, "That on the Holy Days (if there be no Communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion until the end of the Holy [-mily], concluding with the general Prayer for Christ's Church Militant here on earth, and one or more of the Collects before rehearsed, as occasion shall serve. No place appointed for the reading of the second Service, but only at the Altar, or Communion-Table.

24. Here then we have the Wood, the Altar; sed ubi est vitjìma holocausti (as Iface laid unto his Father) but where is the Lamb for the burnt-offering? Gen. 22. 7. Assuredly, if the Priest and Altar be so near, the Lamb for the Burnt-offering cannot be far off, even the most blessed Lamb of God; which taketh away the sins of the world, as the Scripture styles him, whose Passion we find commemorated in the Sacrament, called therefore the Sacrifice of the Altar, as before is said: called for the same reason by St. Augustine in his Enchiridion, Sacrificium Altarum, the Sacrifice of the Altar; by the English Liturgie in the Prayer next after the participation, the Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving (Sacrificium laudis) by Chrysofomus, Avrurnum & Oris, the remembrance of a Sacrifice; by many Learned Writers amongst ourselves, a commemorative Sacrifice. For thus faith Bishops Andrews in his answer to Cardinal Bellarmino, c. 8. Tollite de Missa Transubstantiationem vere trans, nec dilin nobifum lis erit de sacrificio, &c. "Take from the Mafs your Transubstantiation, and we will have no difference with you about the Sacrifice. And the King grants (he means the learned Prince, King James) the name of a Sacrifice to have been frequent with the Fathers. Which Sacrifice he sometimes calls Commemorationem Sacrificii, and sometimes Sacrificium Commemorationum, A commemorative Sacrifice. The like we find in Bishop Morton, who in his Book of the Roman Sacrifice, l. 6. c. 5. called the Eucharist, a representative and commemorative Sacrifice, in as plain terms as can be spoken. But what need any thing have been said for the proof hereof, when the most Reverend Archbishops Cranmer, one (and the chief) of the Compilers of the publick Liturgie, and one who suffered death for opposing the Sacrifice of the Mafs, distingiuithed most plainly between the Sacrifice propitiatory, made by Christ himself only, and the Sacrifice commemorative and gratulatory made by Priests and People: for which consult his Defence against Bishop Gardiner, lib. 5. p. 439. And finally the testimony of John Lambert, who suffered for his Conscience in the time of King Henry VIII. whose words are these: "Christ (faith he) being offered up once for all in his own proper person, is yet said to
be offered up, not only every year at Easter, but also every day in the Celebration of the Sacrament; because his Oblations once for all, made it thereby represented, *Adv. Mon.* p. 2. 35. So uniform is the consent of our Liturgie, our Martyrs, and our Learned Writers in the name of sacrifice; so that we may behold the Eucharist or the Lords Supper. First, as it is a sacrifice, or the commemoration of that sacrifice offered unto God; by which both we and the whole Church do obtain remission of our Sins, and all other benefits of Christ's Passion. And secondly, as it is a sacrament, participated by men, by which we hope, that being made partakers of that Holy Communion, we may be fulfilled with his Grace and heavenly Benediction. Both which occur in the next Prayer after the Communion. Look on it as a sacrifice, and then the Lords Board not improperly may be called an altar, as it is properly called the Table in respect of the sacrament.

25. With the like uniform consent we find the Doctrine of a Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper to be maintained and taught in the first Constitution of this Church: and this is first concluded from the words of Distribution, retained in the first Liturgie of King Edward VI., and formerly prescribed in the ancient Missals, viz. The Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy Body or Soul unto life everlasting. The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, &c. Which words being thought by some precie and scrupulous persons to incline too much toward Transubstantiation (and therefore not unfit to justify a Real Presence) were quite omitted in the second Liturgie of that King: the words of Participation, Take and eat this, &c. Take and drink this, &c. being used in the place thereof. Which alteration notwithstanding, it is affirmed by Bishop Ridley (one of the principal Compilers of these two Books) that in the Sacrament of the altar is the natural body and Blood of Christ. And if there be the natural Body, there must needs be a Real Presence in his opinion. When this last Liturgie was reviewed by the command of Queen Elizabeth Anno 1552, the former clause was super-added to the other, which put the business into the same state and condition in which we find it at the first. And when by the Articles of Religion, agreed upon in Convocation, Anno 1562, the sacrifice of the Mass was declared to be a pernicous Imposture, a blasphemous Figment, and that Transubstantiation was declared to be repugnant to the plain words of Holy Scripture, to overthrow the nature of a Sacrament, and to have given occasion to many Superstitions; yet still the Doctrine of a Real Presence was maintained as formerly. Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, was chosen Prolocutor for that Convocation, and therefore as like to know the true intent and meaning of the Church of England in every point which was there concluded, as any other whatsoever; and yet he thought it no contradiction to any of them to maintain and teach a Real Presence. For in his *Catechism* publicly allowed of in all the Grammar Schools of this Realm, he first propounds this question, viz. Cestis pars & abs omni sensu externo longe disjuncta quam est, &c. that is to say, What is the Heavenly, or Spiritual part of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which no sense is able to discover?
To which party Catechized returns this answer, *Corpus & Sanguis Christi, quae fidelibus in cena dominica præsentur, ab illis accipitur, comeduntur, bibuntur, celefi tantum & spirituali modo, verò tiamat atque reipfâ. That is to say, the heavenly or spiritual part is the Body and Blood of Christ which are given to the faithful in the Lords Supper, and are taken, eaten, and drunk by them; though it be only in an heavenly and spiritual manner; yet are they both given and taken truly and really or in very deed. Conform to which we have in brief the Suffrage of the Right Learned Bishop Bilfon, who lived the greatest part of his time with the said Mr. Noble, by whom we are told in his Book of *True Subject*, &c. p. 779. And he tells it with a God forbid, that we deny not, "That the Flesh and Blood of Christ are truly present and truly received of the faithful at the Lords Table.

26. A clear explication of which Doctrine was made in the beginning of the Reign of King James, by whole appointment, with the consent of the Metropolitan, some of the Bishops and other learned men of the Clergie, it was ordered in the Conference at Hampton-Court, that the Doctrine of the Sacraments should be added to the Authorized Catechism of the Church, where before it was not: in which addition to the Catechism, it is said expressly, That the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken of the Faithful in the Lords Supper. Verily and indeed, faith the English Book, *Vere & reipfâ*, or *Vere & realiter*, faith the Latine Translation; by which the Church doth teach us to understand, that Christ is truly and really present (though after a spiritual manner) in that Blessed Sacrament. And that this was the Churches meaning will be made apparent, by the Testimony of some of the most learned men, which have written since; two of which I shall here produce, that out of the mouths of two such Witnesses, the truth hereof may be established. The first of these shall be the most eminent Bishop Andrews, a contemporary of the said Bishop Bilfon, who in his anfwere unto Cardinal Bellarmine, thus declares himself, *Praefentia credimus non minus quam vos veram, deinde presentia nil teneere definitionem*: We acknowledge (faith he) a presence as true and real as you do, but we determine nothing rashly of the manner of it. The second shall be Bishop Morton, as great an enemy to the Errors and Superstitions of the Church of Rome, as any that ever wrote against it, who could not but be sixty years of age at the death of Bishop Andrews; and he affirms expressly, "That the question betwixt us and the *Papifts* is not concerning a Real presence, which the Protestants (as their own Jesuites witnes) do also profess. *Fortunatus*, a Protestant, holding that Christ is in the Sacrament most Really, *Verifimile*, *Realifime*, as his words are. By which it seems it is agreed on both sides (that is to say, the Church of England, and the Church of Rome) that there is a true and real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist; the disagreement being only in the modus presentie.

27. The like Dispute is also raised de modo descenfis, touching the manner and extent of Christs Descending into Hell, which the *Papists* will have to be only partial, and to extend no farther then to the upper
Region of that infernal Habitation, called by them commonly Limbus Patrum. The Calvinists will have it to be only figurative, no descent at all, and they are sub-divided into three opinions. Calvin himself interprets it of our Saviours Sufferings on the Cross, in which he underwent all those torments, even to Desperation, which the damned do endure in Hell. Many of the Calvinian party understand nothing by Christ's Descent into Hell, but his Descending into the Grave, and then his descending into Hell will be the same with his being buried. Which Tautology in such a short summary of the Christian Faith cannot be easily admitted. And therefore the late Lord Primate of Ireland not liking either of their opinions, will find a new way by himself, in which I cannot say what leaders he had, but I am sure he hath had many followers. And he, by Christ's descending into Hell, will have nothing else to be understood but his continuing in the state of Separation between the Body and the Soul, his remaining under the power of death during the time that he lay buried in the Grave, which is no more in effect, though it differ somewhat in the terms, then to say he dyed and was buried, and rose not again till the third day, as the Creed instructs us; and then we are but where we were with the other Calvinists. But on the contrary, the Church of England doth maintain a Local Descent, that is to say, "That the Soul of Christ at such time as his Body lay in the Grave, did Locally Descend into the nethermost parts, in which the Devil and his Angels are reserved in everlasting Chains of Darkness, unto the Judgment of the great and terrible Day. And this appears to be the meaning of the first Reformers, by giving this Article a distinct place by itself, both in the Book of Articles, published in the time of King Edward VI. Anno 1552, and in the Book agreed upon in the Convocation of the 5. of Queen Elizabeth, 1564, in both which it is laid expressly in the self-same words, viz. As Christ dyed for us and was buried, so also is it to be believed that he went down into Hell; which is either to be understood of a Local Descent, or else we are to believe nothing by it, but what explicitly or implicitly is comprehended in the former Article, in which there is particular mention of Christ's Sufferings, Crucifying, Death, and Burial. Now that this is the Churches meaning, cannot be better manifested then in the words of Mr. Alexander Nowell before-mentioned; who for the reasons before remembered, cannot in reason be supposed to be ignorant of the true sense and meaning of the Church in that particular: and he accordingly in his Catechism publickly allowed of, with reference to a Local Descent, doth declare it thus, viz. Ut Christus corporate in terra vixera; ita anima, corporate separata, ad inferos descendit, &c. that is, "As Christ descended in His Body into the bowels of the earth, so in His Soul, separated from that Body, he descended also into Hell; by means whereof the power and efficacy of His Death was not made known only to the dead, but to the Devils themselves: insomuch that both the souls of the unbelievers did sensibly perceive that condemnation, which was most justly due to them for their incredulity: and Satan himself, the Prince of Devils, did as plainly fee, that his tyranny, and all the powers of darkness
darkness were oppressed, ruined, and destroyed. Which Doctrine (when it began to be decryed, and the *Calvinian Clog*, to get ground upon it) was learnedly affirmed by Dr. *Thomas Bilson*, then Bishop of *Winchester*, in his Book, entituled *A Survey of Christ's Sufferings*; in which he hath amass'd together, whatsoever the Fathers, Greek and Latine, or any of the ancient Writers have affirmed of this Article, with all the points and branches which depend upon it.

28. The Sufferings of Christ represented in the Blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, with some of the effects thereof by his descending into Hell, being thus dispatched, we shall next look into that of Baptism, in which we shall consider the necessity first, and afterwards the efficacy of it. And first in reference to the Necessity. The first Reformers did not only allow the administration of this Sacrament in private houses, but permitted it to private persons, even to women also. For it was ordered in the *Rubrick of Private Baptism*, "That when any great need shall compel (as in extremity of weakness) they which are present shall call upon God for his Grace, and say the Lords Prayer if the time will suffer, and then one of them shall name the Child, and dip him in the Water, or pour Water upon him, saying these words, *N. I. Baptizeth thee in the name of the Father, &c.* At which palliage when King *James* seemed to be offended in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, because of the liberty which they gave to *Women and Lacks*. It was answered then by Dr. *Whitgift*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury", "That the administration of Baptism by Women and Lay Persons, was not allowed in the practice of the Church: but enquired of, and censured by the Bishops in their *Visitations*; and that the words in the Book inferred no such meaning. Against which when the King excepted, urging and pressing the words of the Book, that they could not but intend a permission and suffering of Women, and private Persons to Baptize: It was answered by Dr. *Bancroft*, then Bishop of *Worcester", "That indeed the words were doubtfull, and might be pressed to that meaning, but that it seemed by the contrary practice of this Church (censuring Women in this case) That the Compilers of that Book did not so intend them, and yet propounded them ambiguously, because otherwise perhaps the Book would not have then palled in the Parliament. But then stood forth the Bishop of London, (Dr. *Bancroft*) and plainly said, "That it was not the intent of those Learned and Reverend men, who framed the Book of Common-Prayer, by ambiguous terms to deceive any; but did indeed by those words intend a permission of private persons to Baptize in case of Necessity, whereof their Letters were witnesses, some parts whereof he then read; and withal declared, "That the same was agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church, as appeared by the Authority of *Tertullian*, and of St. *Ambrose* on the 4th. of the *Ephebian*, who are plain in that point; laying also open the absurdities and impieties of their opinions who think there is no necessity of Baptism. And though at the motion of that King it was ordered that the words *Lawful Minister* should be put into the *Rubrick*; (First let the *LAWFUL MINISTER*, and then that be present, call upon God*.

The works of Learned Bishop *Bilson*.

**XXVIII.**

The necessity of Baptism maintained by the first Reformers.

Justified in the Conference at Hampton-Court, and

Not gain'd by any alteration in the publick Rush brick.
A Necessary Introduction

God for his Grace, &c. The said LAWFUL MINISTER shall dip it into the Water, &c. yet was the alteration greater in sound then sense, it being the opinion of many great Clerks, that any man in cases of extreme necessity (who can pronounce the words of Baptism) may pass in the account and notion of a lawful Minister. So much for the necessity of Baptism. And as for the efficacy thereof, it is said expressly in the 27. Article, "To be a sign of Regeneration, or New Birth, whereby, as by an Instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly, are grafted into the Church, the promises of forgiveness of Sin, and of our Adoption to be the Sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace is increased by virtue of Prayer unto God: and, as expressly it is said in one of the Rubricks before Confirmation, That it is certain by God's word, that Children being Baptized, have all things necessary for their Salvation, and be undoubtedly saved: that is to say (for so it must be understood,) in case they dye before they fall into the committing of Actual Sins.

29. Touching good Works, and how far they conduce unto our Justification, the breach was wider at the first breakings out of Luther then it hath been since: Luther ascribing Justification unto Faith alone, without relation unto Works; and those of Rome ascribing it to good Works alone, without relation unto Faith, which they reckon only amongst the preparatives unto it. But when the point had been long canvased, and the first heats were somewhat cooled, they began to come more neer unto one another. For when the Papists attributed Justification unto Works alone, they desired to be understood of such good Works as proceeded from a true and lively Faith: and when the Lutherans ascribed it to Faith alone, they desired to be understood of such a Faith as was productive of good Works, and attended by them. The Papists thereupon began to cherish the distinction between the first and the second Justification, ascribing the first unto Faith only; the second (which the Protestants more properly called by the name of Sanctification) to the works of Righteousness. The Protestants on the other side distinguishing between Fides sola, and solidaria, between sola Fides, and Fidesque ejus sola; intending by that nicety, that, though Faith alone doth justify a sinner in the sight of God: yet that is not such a Faith as was alone, but stood accompanied with good Works.

And in this way the Church of England went in her Reformation, declaring in the 11. Article, "That we are accounted righteous before God, only for the Merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our works or desertings. Which Justification by Faith only is further declared to be a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort; for which we are referred to the Book of Holies. And in the Book of Holies we shall also find, "That we may well bear the name of Christian men; but we lack that true Faith which belongeth thereunto: For true Faith doth evermore bring forth good Works, (as St. James speaketh,) Shew me thy Faith by thy Works. Thy Deeds and Works must be an open testimony of thy Faith; otherwise thy Faith being without good Works, is but the Devils.
"Devils faith, the faith of the wicked, a phantastie of Faith, and not a true Christian Faith. And that the people might be trained up in the works of Righteousness, it is declared in the 7th. Article, That no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments, which are called Moral. According whereunto, it is ordered by the publick Liturgie, that the said Commandments shall be openly read in the Congregation upon Sundays and Holy Days (contrary to the usage of all ancient Liturgies) the people humbly praying God, To have mercy upon them for their transgression of those Laws; and no less humbly praying him To incline their hearts to keep the same. So that, though Faith must lead the way to our Justification; yet holiness of life manifested in the works of Charity, and all other acts of godly living, must open the way for us to the Gates of Heaven, and procure our entrance at the same, as is apparent by the 25. of St. Matthew's Gospel, from verse 34. to 41.

30. Which being so, it may be well affirmed without any wrong to Faith, that good Works are necessary to salvation; and not so only: but that they are efficienter necessaria, as was maintained publicly in the Schools of Cambridge, though it was much carpt at by some men that did not rightly and distinctly understand the term. And secondly, It may be said without any wrong to the Free Grace and Merits of Almighty God, that a reward is due for the Works of Righteousness proceeding from a lively Faith, in a man regenerate; not that the Church ascribeth any merit to the works of man, which may derogue eternal life, either ex congruo, or condigno, as the School-men phrase it; for Deus non coronat in nobis merita nostra sed dona sua, as the Father hath it. No reward is due unto good Works, ratione operis, in reference to the work itself; but ratione passi or acceptationis (though Bellarmine be otherwise minded) in respect of God's merciful acceptance, and his most gracious promise to reward the same. It was his grace and goodness only which moved him to encourage our imperfect and weak obedience with the promise of eternal life: yet having made the promise, he became our debtor, Non aliud debitum, sed omnim promissenda, Deus fecit debitorem, as St. Augustine tells us. And most agreeably it is to his heavenly justice, not to be wanting to his promise. Such a Reward as this for the works of Righteousness, as the Scriptures frequently do mention both in the Old Testament and New, Gen. 47, Psalm 19. 11. Mat. 5. 12. and 10. 41, 42. Mark 9. 41. Apoc. 22. 11. fo is the same defended in the Church of England. And this appears first by the Athanasian Creed, incorporated into the body of our publick Liturgie, as a part thereof. In the clofe of which it is affirmed, "That at Christ's coming unto Judgment all men shall rife again with their bodies, and give an account of their own works, that they which have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire. And secondly, It appears as plainly by the Collect for the 25. Sunday after Trinity, where the Church called on the Lord, "To fit up the wills of his faithful people, that they plenteously bring forth the fruits of good works, may of him be plenteously rewarded, through Jesus Christ. In which we have not only..."
only a reward for the fruit of good works, but a plentiful reward into the bargain, according to the quality of the work itself, and the acceptableness of the person in the sight of God.

31. Next look we on the Doctrine of Predestination, and the points depending thereupon, which have given matter of division to the Christian Church in all times and ages, dividing between the general current of the Fathers till St. Augustine time, and the learned men which followed him and his authority; between the Jesuits and Franciscans on the one side, and the Dominicans on the other in the Church of Rome; between the moderate and rigid Lutherans in the Church Protestant; between the Remonstrants, and the Contra-Remonstrants in the Schools of Calvin; and finally between the Sub-lapserians, and the Supra-lapserians, amongst the Contra-Remonstrants themselves. Of these the Sub-lapserian Calvinists (for of the dotages of the other I shall take no notice) the Rigid Lutherans and the Dominican Friars pretend St. Augustine for their Patron: and on the other side, the Remonstrants, (commonly nick-named Arminians) The Moderate or Melancthonian Lutherans, together with the Jesuits and Franciscans, appeal unto the general current of the ancient Fathers, who lived and flourished ante notae certamina Pelagiana, before the startling up of the Pelagian Controversies. And to this general current of the ancient Fathers, the Church of England most inclines; teaching according to their Doctrine, that God from all eternity, intending to demonstrate his power and goodness, designed the Creation of the World, the making of man after his own Image, and leaving him so made, in a perfect liberty to do or not to do what he was commanded; and thatfore-knowing also from all eternity, that man abusing this liberty, would plunge himself and his posterity into a gulph of miseries, he graciously resolved to provide them such a Saviour who should redeem them from their sins; to elect all these to life eternal, who by true Faith laid hold upon him, leaving the rest in the same state in which he found them, for their incredulity. It is reported of Agilmond the second, King of the Lombards, that riding by a Fifth-Pond, he saw seven young Children sprawling in it, whom their unnatural Mothers (as Paulus Diaconus conceived) had thrown into it not long before. Amazed whereat, he put his Hunting Spear amongst them, and stirred them gently up and down, which one of them laying hold of, was drawn to Land, called Lamiflus, from the word Lama; which in the Language of that people signifies a Fifth-Pond, trained up in that Kings Court, and finally made his Successor in the Kingdom. Granting that Agilmond being forewarned in a Vision, that he should find such Children sprawling for life in the midst of that Pond, might thereupon take a resolution within himself to put his Hunting Spear amongst them; and that which of themsoever should lay hold upon it, should be gently drawn out of the water, adopted for his Son, and made Heir of all his Kingdom; no humane Story could afford us the like parallel case to Gods proceeding in the great work of Predestination to eternal life, according to the Doctrine of the Church of England.

32. Now, that such was the Doctrine of the first Reformers, may be made
made evident by the Definition of Predestination, "Predestination un-

to life (faith the 17. Article) is the everlasting purpose of God,

whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath

constantly declared by his Council, secret to us, to deliver from

curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of

c mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting Salvation. In

which Definition there are these things to be observed: First, That
Predestination doth pre-suppose a curse or a state of Damnation, in
which all mankind was predestinated to the fight of God. Secondly, That
it is an act of his from everlasting, because from everlasting he fore-

saw that misery into which wretched man would fall. Thirdly, That
he founded it, and resolved for it in the Man and Mediator Christ Je-

sus, both for the purpose and performance. Fourthly, That it was of
some special ones alone, Elect, called forth, and reserved in Christ, and
not generally extended unto all mankind. Fifthly, That being thus

elected in Christ, they shall be brought by Christ to everlasting sal-
vation. And sixthly, That this Council is secret unto us; for though
there be revealed to us some hopeful signs of our Election and Prede-

finition unto life: yet the certainty thereof is a secret hidden in God, and

in this life unknown to us. Nothing obscure in this Definition but
these words, Whom he hath chosen in Christ? which being the very

words of the Apostle, Eph. 1. 4. are generally interpreted by the an-
cient Fathers, of those who do believe in Christ. For thus St. Ambrose
amongst others, Sic telegit nos in ipso, as he hath chosen us in him;

Prefeius enim Deus omnes se habat credi tempore in Christum. For God
(faith he) by his general Prefcienee did fore-know every man that
would believe in Christ: The life faith Chrysfism on the Text. And
that our first Reformers did conceive fo, it appears by that of Bishop
Latimer in his Sermon on the third Sunday after the Epiphany, "When
(fo) we hear that some be chosen, and some be damned, let us

have good hope, that we be among the chosen, and live after this hope,

that is uprightly and godly; then shall we not be deceived. Think

that God hath chosen those that believe in Christ? and Christ is the

Book of Life: If thou believest in him, then art thou written in the

Book of Life, and shalt be saved. Secondly, The Doctrine of Prede-

fination, as before laid down, may be further proved out of the last
clause of the said 17. Article, where it is said, "That we must receive
God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in ho-

ly Scripture; and that in all our doings, that will of God is to be fol-
lowed, which we have expressly declared to us in the word of God.
Then which nothing can be more repugnant to the Doctrine of Prede-
sfination, delivered by the Contra-Remonstrants (whether Supra-lap-
farian, or Sub-lapfarian, is no great matter) which restrains Prede-
fination unto Life to a few particulars, without respect had to their Faith
in Christ, or to Christ's Sufferings and Death for them: which few par-
ticulars fo predestinated to life eternal, shall (as they teach us) by an
irresistible Grace, be brought to God, and by the infallible conduct
of the Holy Spirit, be preferred from falling away from grace and

favour.

33. Such
33. Such is the Churches Doctrine in the point of Election or Predestination unto life, but in the point of Reprobation or Predestination unto death, she is utterly silent; leaving it to be gathered upon Logical Inferences from that which is delivered by her in the point of Election (for Contrarium contraria est ratio, as Logicians say) though that which is so gathered ought rather to be called, a Dereliction, then a Reprobation. No such absolute irreversible, and irreversible decree of Reprobation taught or maintained in any publick Monument or Record of the Church of England, by which the far greatest part of mankind are pre-ordained (and consequently pre-condemned to the pit of Torments) without respect had unto their sins, as the Supra-lapsarians, or to their credulities, as generally is maintained by the Sub-lapsarians in the Schools of Calvin. Much I am sure there is against it in the Writings of Bishop Hooper, and Bishop Latimer, who took great pains in the first carrying on of the Reformation; and therefore we may judge by them of the Churches meaning in that particular. For in the Preface to a Book written by John Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Glocester, containing an Explication of the Ten Commandments, and published, Anno 1550. we shall find it thus, viz. "That Cain was no more excluded from the promise of Christ, till he excluded himself, than Abel; Saul, then David; Judas, then Peter; Esau, then Jacob: that God is said to have hated Esau, not because he was dis-inherited of eternal Life, but in laying his Mountains and his Heritage waste for the Dragons of the Wilderness, Mal. 1. 3. That the threatenings of God against Esau, (if he had not of his wilfull malice excluded himself from the promise of grace) should no more have hindered his Salvation, than Gods threatenings against Nimize, &c. That it is not a Christian mans part to say, That God hath written fatal Laws, as the Stoick, and with necessity of destiny, violently pulleth the one by the hair into Heaven, and suffreth the other head-long into Hell; that the cause of Rejection, or Damnation is sin in man, which will not hear, neither receive the promise of the Gospel, &c. And in a Sermon on the third Sunday after Epiphany, we find Bishop Latimer speaking thus, viz. "That if the most are damned, the fault is not in God, but in themselves; for Deus salt omnes homines sapienti sierit, God would that all men should be saved, but they themselves procure their own damnation, and despise the Passion of Christ by their wicked and inordinate living. Thus also in his fourth Sermon Preached in Lincolnshire, "That Christ only, and no man else merited Remission, Justification, and eternal felicity, for as many as will believe the same; that Christ shed as much Blood for Judas, as for Peter; that Peter believed it, and therefore was saved; that Judas would not believe, therefore was condemned; the fault being in him only, and no body else. More of which passages might be gathered from the Writings of those godly Martyrs, were not these sufficient. And though the Calvinian fancies in the points of Election and Reprobation got so much ground on this Church, that they began to be obtruded on the people for the Doctrines of it; yet were they vigorously opposed by some of our Confessors in Prison in Queen Marys days,
31. And first the Universal Redemption of all mankind by the death of Christ, hath been so clearly and explicitly delivered by the Church of England, that nothing can be more plain. For in the second Article it is said expressly, "That Christ suffered, was Crucified, Dead, and Buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice not only for Original Guilt, but also for the actual sins of men. Agreeable whereunto, it is declared, Art. 31. That the offering of Christ once made, is the perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual. In both which Articles, as well the Sacrifice, as the effect and fruit thereof, which is the Reconciliation of mankind to God the Father, is delivered in general terms, without any Restriction put upon them. Neither the Sacrifice, nor the Reconciliation are by the Articles either restrained to this man, or that, or unto one part of the World only, (as for example, Intra partem donati) and not to another, but extended to the whole world, faith the 31. Article; to mankind, or to men in general, as it is in the second. A clearer Comment on which Text we cannot possibly have (as to the understanding of the Churches meaning) then that which may be found in the publick Liturgie: For first in the authorized Catechism of the Church of England, the party Catechized being asked what he doth learn in his belief, makes answer as to this particular, that he believes in God the Father, who made him and all the world: And secondly, that he believes in God the Son, who hath redeemed him and all mankind, &c. It may be secondly proved in that clause in the Litany, O God the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy upon us, &c. Thirdly, By the Prayer of Confecration before the Communion, viz. "Almighty God our heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our Redemption, who made there (by his own Oblation, of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice, Satisfaction for the sins of the WHOLE WORLD, &c.

And
A Necessary Introduction

And fourthly, By the Prayer or Thanksgiving, after the Communion, in which we do most humbly beseech the Lord to grant that by the Merits and Death of his Son Jesus Christ, and through Faith in his Blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our Sins, and all other benefits of his Passion. Nor was it without some meaning this way, that She selected those words of our Saviour in St. John's Gospel, viz. God followed the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, &c. to be used in the preparation of the Communion; as She reiterated some others, viz. O Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the World, &c. incorporated into the Gloria in excelsis, at the end thereof. A truth so clear in the delivery of this Church, that there needs no proof of it from the Writings of private men: or if there did, what could be more express than those words of Bishop Hooper, viz. As the sins of Adam without priviledge, or exception, extended and appertain unto all Adam's and every of Adam's Posterity; so did the promis of Grace generally appertain as well to every, and singular of Adam's Posterity, as to Adam himself, as in the Preface above-mentioned: or what can be more positive than that of Bishop Latimer in his first Sermon, preached in Lincolnshire, viz. The promises of Christ our Saviour are general, they pertain to all mankind. He made a general proclamation, saying, Qui credit in me habet vitam eternam, Whosoever believeth in me hath everlasting life, especially being seconded with that which before we had, that Christ did shed as much Blood for Judas, as he did for Peter, which puts the matter high enough without all exception.

XXXV.
The freedom of the Will too much advanced by the Pelagians.

Decryed as much by Luther.

The Contrary Remonstrants.

35. Touching Free-Will, the powers of Nature, and the celestial influences of the Grace of God, in the conversion of a sinner, the Church of England ran after a middle way, between the Rigid Lutherans, and the old Pelagians. It was the Heresie of Pelagians to ascribe so much power to the will of man, in laying hold upon the means of his Salvation, Ut gratiam Dei necessarium non putaret, that he thought the Grace of God to be unnecessary, of no use at all. And Luther on the other side ascribed so little thereunto, that he published a Book, entitled, De servo Arbitrio, touching the servitude of the will; in which he held that there was no such thing as Free-Will; that it was a mere fiction, Et nonem fine re, a thing only titular, but of no existency in nature, that a man is forcibly drawn to heaven, Velut in animatum quidem, No otherwise than a senile flesch, or an unreasonable creature. The like we find to be declared by the Contrary Remonstrants, in the Collatio Hagiacensis, by whom there was no more ascribed to the will of man in the work of his own Regeneration, or in the raising of himself from the death of Sin, to the life of Righteousness, than they did ascribe unto him in his generation to the life of nature, or in his Resurrection from the Dead to life eternal. For thus they say, Sicut ad nativitatem suam nemo de sua quicquam conferit; neque ad sua excitationem ex mortuis nemo quicquam conferit de suo; ita etiam in conversionem suam, nemo homo quicquam conferit; sed est purum putum opus ejus gratie Dei in Christo, quae in nobis operatur, non tantum potentiam credendi, sed etiam fidem ipsam. Which monstrous Paradox of theirs was afterwards inferred
ed in the Canons of the Synod of Dort: against which that divine say-
ing of St. Augustine may be fitly used, "Si non est gratia Dei, quomodo salut mundum? Si non est liberum Arbitrium, quomodo judicat mundum?"

If there be no grace of God (faith he) by what means can he save the world? if there be no Free-Will in man, with what equity can he condemn it? Of the same temper is the Doctrine of the Church of Eng-

land: For first, she thus declares against the Pelagians in the first clause of the 10th Article, "That the condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good Works to Faith and calling upon God. And secondly, she declares thus against Luther in the second clause of that Article, viz. "That without the Grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will and working with us; when we have that good will, we have no power to do good works, which are pleasing and acceptable unto God: and thereupon it must needs follow, that by the freedom of men will, co-operating with grace preventing, and by the subsequent Grace of God co-operating with the will of man, we have a power of doing such works as may be acceptable and pleasing to our heavenly Father: which may be further e-vienced by this Collect after the Communion, viz. "Prevent us O Lord in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued and ended in thee, we may glorifie thy Holy Name, and finally by thy Mercy obtain life everlasting, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

36. Now that both the last clause of the Article, and the whole Col-
lect in the Liturgie are to be understood no otherwise than as it is before laid down, appears by this Gloss of Bishop Hooper on that Text of St. John, viz. No man cometh to me except my Father draw him, chap. 6.44. Many (faith he) understand the words in a wrong sense; as if God required no more in a reasonable man, than in a dead post, and mark not the words which follow, "Every man that heareth and learneth of my Father cometh to me: God draweth with his word, and the Holy Ghost, but men's duty is to hear and learn, that is to say, to receive the grace offered, consent to the promise, and not repugn the God that calleth. The like occurs in Bishop Latimer's Sermon on the Sunday commonly called Septuagesima, in which we find, "That seeing the preaching of the Gospel is universal, it appeareth that God would have all mankind saved; and that the fault is not in him if they be damned: for it is written thus, Deus vult omnes homines salvi faciendi. God would have all men be saved, but we are so wicked of our selves, that we refuse the same, and will not take notice when it is offered to us. It cannot be denied, but that the same Doc-
trine is maintained by the Arminians (as they call them) and that it is the very same with that of the Church of Rome, as appears by the Council of Trent, cap. De fidejusificationis, & merito bonorum operum, Can. 3.4. But then it must be granted also, that it is the Do-
ctrine of the Melanchthonian Divines, or Moderate Lutherans, as was confessed by Andreas Vega, one of the chief sticklers in the Council of Trent, who on the agitating of the point did confess ingenuously that

The temper of St. Augustine in it.

Approved and imitated in the Articles of the Church of ENGL.

Her Publick Liturgie.

XXXVI.

The Churches Doctrine vindicated and explained by Bishop Hooper,

by Bishop Latimer;

as also

by the Luthe-

ran Churches,
there was no difference betwixt the Lutheran and that Church touching that particular. And then it must be granted also, that it was the Doctrine of St. Augustine, according to that divine saying of his, *Sine gratia Dei praevieniente, ut volimus, & sub seuerius non solum nos, sed etiam omnem dei opera nil velimus:* so that if the Church of England must be Arminian, and the Arminians must be Papists, because they agree together in this particular, the Melanchthonian Divines among the Protestants, yet and St. Augustine himself must be Papist also.

37. Such being the freedom of the will, in laying or not laying hold upon those means which are offered by Almighty God for our Salvation; it cannot be denied, but that there is a freedom also of the will, in standing unto Grace received, or departing from it: Certain I am that it is so resolved by the Church of England in the 16th. Article for Confession, in which it is declared, *That after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from Grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives,* which is the same sense with that of the 14th. Article in King Edward's Book of the year 1557, where plainly the Church teacheth a possibility of falling or departing from the grace of the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us; and that our rising again, and the amending of our lives upon such a rising, is a matter of contingency only, and no way necessary on God's part to assure us of. Conform to which we find Bishop Hooper thus discoursing in the said Preface to his exposition of the Ten Commandments, *The cause of Reconciliation or Damnation (faith he) is sin in man, which will not bear, neither receive the promise of the Gospel; or else after he hath received it, by accustomed doing of ill, falleth either into a contempt of the Gospel, and will not study to live thereafter; or else hateth the Gospel, because it condemneth his ungodly life. And we find Bishop Latimer discoursing thus in his eighth Sermon in Lincolnshire, *Those persons (faith he) that be not come yet to Christ, or if they were come to Christ, be fallen again from him, and so left their justification (as there be many of us when we fall willingly into sin against Conscience) we lose the favour of God, our Salvation, and finally the Holy Ghost. And before (c. 6.) thus, But you will say (faith he) How shall I know that I am in the Book of Life? How shall I try my self to be the Elect of God to everlasting life? I answer, First, We may know that we may be one time in the Book, and another time come out again, as it appeareth by David, who was written in the Book of Life: but when he sinned, he at that time was out of the Book of the favour of God, until he repented, and was forry for his faults: so that we may be in the Book one time, and afterwards when we forget God and his Word, and do wickedly, we come out of the Book, that is, out of Christ who is the Book.* Which makes the point so clear and evident on the Churches part, that when it was moved by Doctor Reynolds at Hampton-Court, that the words, *Nec taliter, nec finaliter,* might be added into the Clause of that Article, the motion was generally rejected, and the Article left standing in the same terms, in which it then stood. By which we may the better judge
judge of some strange expressions amongst the most Rigid part of the Contro-Remonstrants, especially of that of Roger Daretlock, by whom it is affirmed, that if it were possible for any one man to commit all the sins over again which have been acted in the world, it would neither frustrate his Election, nor alienate him from the love and favour of Almighty God: for which consult the Appendix to the Piece or Declaration, Sententiae Remonstrantium, printed at Leyden, Anno 1616.

38. Such is the Doctrine of this Church, and such the Judgment of those Reverend Bishops, and right godly Martyrs in the Predestinarian Controversies, before remembred. And though I have insulited on those two alone, yet in theirs I include the Judgment of Cranmer, Ridley, and the rest of those learned men who laboured in the great work of the Reformation. Some difference there had been betwixt Cranmer and Ridley, on the one side, and Hooper only on the other in matter of Ceremonies, in which Hooper at the last submitted to the other two. But in all the Doctrinal truths of their Religion there was a full consent between them: which appears plainly in this passage of a Letter sent from Ridley to Hooper, when they were both prisoners for the same cause, though in several places. But now "my dear Brother (faith he) forasmuch as I understand by your "works, which I have but superficially seen, that we throughly agree, "and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds "and substantial points of our Religion, against which the world do "rave in these our days: Howsoever in times past, in certain by-"matters, and circumstances of Religion, your Wisdom, and my sim-

licity (I grant) have a little jarred; each of us following the "abundance of his own sense and Judgment. Now I say, be you af-
"fured, that even with my whole heart (God is my witnes) in the "Bowels of Christ I love you in truth, and for truths fake, which "abideth in us, and I am periwaved by the Grace of God, shall abide "in us for evermore. Acts and Mon. in Edw. VI. fol. 1366. Now as Bishop Ridley thus declares himself to be of the same Judgment with Bishop Hooper, so Cranmer the Archbishop doth declare himself to be of the same Judgment with Bishop Ridley: for being charged in his examination with thinking otherwise in the point of the Sacrament then he had done about seven or eight years before, he answered, "That he then believed otherwise than he did at that present, and that "he did so till the Lord of London, Dr. Ridley, did confer with him; "and by sundry persuasions and Authorities of other Doctors, drew "him quite from his opinion, with whom he now agreed, ibid. fol. 1702. Which words though spoken only in relation to such points about the Sacrament of the Altar, concerning which he was then examined by the Popes Commissioners; yet do they signify withal that he relied very much on Ridley's Judgment, and that they were as like to be accorded in all other matters of Religion, as they were in that. And though Cranmer exercised his Pen for the most part against the Papists, yet in his Book against Steven Gardiner, Concerning the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, first published in the year 1551, he thus delivereth his opinion in the present Controversies. For speak-
The judgment of Archbishop Cranmer in the point disput.ed.

The authority ascribed to the Works of Erasmus by our first Reformers.

XXXIX.
The Points which still remain in difference between the Churches.

How far with in the possibility of Reconciliation.

A Necessary Introduction

The judgment of the Sacrifice which was made by Christ, he lets us know, "That he took unto himself not only their sins that many years before were dead, and put their trust in him, but also all the sins of those that until his coming again should truly believe his Gospel: so that now we may look for no other Priest, nor Sacrifice to take away our sins, but only him and his Sacrifice: that as he dying once was offered for all, so as much as pertained unto him, he took all men's sins unto himself, fol. 372. Which is as much as could be looked for from a man, who did not purposely apply himself to the points in question. Finally, it was worth the learning to know why the Paraphrases of Erasmus (a man of a known difference in Judgment from Calvin's Doctrines in these points) should be translated into English by the care of our Prelates; and being so translated should be commended both by King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, to the diligent reading of their Subjects of all conditions; which certainly they had not done, if they had not been thereunto persuaded by those Bishops, and other learned men about them, who had a principal hand in the Reformation; which clearly shews how much, as well the Priest as the people were to ascribe unto the Judgment of that learned man, and consequent ly how little unto that of Calvin in the present Controversies.

39. So near this Church comes up unto the Church of Rome in Government, forms of Worship, and some points of Controversie. And some there are in which they totally disagreed, and stood in opposition unto one another, viz. In the Articles touching the sufficiency of the Scripture, Justification, the merit of good Works, Works done before Justification, Works of Supererogation, the Fallibility or Infallibility of the Church of Rome; the Authority of General Councils, Purgatory, Adoration of Images, Invocation of Saints, the Celebrating of Divine Service in the vulgar Tongues; the nature and number of the Sacraments, Transubstantiation, the Communion in both kinds, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the single life of Priests, the power of National Churches in ordaining Ceremonies, and of the Civil Magistrate in matters of Ecclesiastical nature: In many of which it might be found no difficult matter to atone the differences, whensoever it shall please God to commit the managing of them to moderate and prudent men, who prefer truth before opinion, and peace before the prevalency of their several parties. But whether it be so in all, is a harder question, and will remain a question to the end of the world, unless all parties lay aside their private interest, and conscientiously referre to yield as much to one another as may stand with Piety. And then what reason can there be, why the breaches in the walls of Jerusalem should not be made up? and being made up, why Jerusalem should not be restored to its former Honour, of being a City at unity within itself? The hopes of which may be the greater, because there are so many points (to far forth as they stand comprised in the Book of Articles) in which the first Reformers were so far from being at any difference with the Church of Rome, that they did rather join with them, in opposing the common Enemy, Familists, Libertines, Anti-Trinitarians.
And in what points they, join together against the Arabapists and Sectaries.

XL.

Liberty of Opinion left in other Points by the first Reformers.

Their difference in so doing:

Approved and commented on by King James.
the Confession of the Church of England, must have been like that (both in condition and effect) which Mr. Craig composed for the Kirk of Scotland, of which King James tells us, p. 39. that with his, I renounce and I abhor his Detestations and Protestations, he did so amaze the simple people, that they (not able to conceive all those things) utterly gave over all, falling back to Popery, or still remaining in their former ignorance.

41. Such was the Moderation that was used by our first Reformers, and on such Principles and Positions, did they ground this Church. Which I have laid down here at large, that so we may the better judge of those Deviations, which afterwards were made by factious and unquiet men; as also of the Piety of their endeavours, who aimed at the Reduction of her to her first condition. If the great Prelate, whom I write of, did either labour to subvert the Doctrine or innovate any thing, either in the Publick Government, or Forms of Worship, here by Law Established, contrary to the Principles and Positions before expressed; his Adversaries had the better Reason to clamor against him whilst he lived, and to pursue their clamors till the very last. But on the other side, if neither in his own person, or by the diligence and activity of his subservient Ministers, he acted or suffered any thing to be justified in point of Practice, or allowed any thing to be Preached or Prayed, or hindred any thing from being Published or Preached, but what may be made good by the Rules of the Church, and the complexion of the times in which he lived; those foul Reproaches, which so unjustly and uncharitably have been laid upon him, must return back upon the Authors, from whom they came, as stones thrown up against the Heavens, do many times fall upon the heads of those that throw them. But whether side deserved the blame for innovating in the Doctrine, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Anglican Church, according to the first Principles and Positions of it; will best appear by the course of the ensuing History, Relation being had to this Introduction, which I have here placed in the front, as a Lamp or Candle (such as we find commonly in the Porches of Great Menshousès) to light the way to such as are desirous to go into them, that they may enter with delight, converse therein with pleasure, and return with safety.
CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Life and Death
OF
The most Reverend and Renowned Prelate
WILLIAM
By Divine Providence,
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all
ENGLAND, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the
Universities of Oxon. and Dublin, and one of the
Lords of the Privy Council to His late most
SACRED MAJESTY
King CHARLES
Second MONARCH of Great Britain.

PART I.
Containing the History of his Life and Actions from the day of his
Birth, Octob. 7. 1573, to the day of his Nomination to the
See of Canterbury, August 6. 1633.

LONDON,
Printed by J. M. for several Book-sellers in London, 1671.
HISTORY

Life and Death

of William

Charles

First Edition

[Text continues below]
THE LIFE OF
The most Reverend FATHER in GOD
WILLIAM
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

LIB. I.
Extending from the time of his Birth, till his being made Bishop of St. Davids.

O Recommend unto Posterity the Lives and Actions of eminent and famous Persons, hath always been esteemed a work becoming the most able Pens. Nothing so much enobleth Plutarch, as his committing unto memory, the Actions and Achievements of the most renowned Greeks and Romans; or added more unto the fame of Diogenes Laertius, than that which he hath left us of the Lives and Apopthegms of the old Philosophers. Some pains have fortunately been taken in this kind, by Paulus Jovius Bishop of Como, and by Matthew Parker Archbishop of Canterbury, in the days of our Fathers. Nor can we be so little studied in the World, as not G
PART I. to know, that even particular persons (I speak not here of Kings and Princes) have had their own particular and distinct Historians; by whom their Parts and Piety, their Military Exploits, or Civil Prudence, have been transmitted to the knowledge of succeeding Ages. So that adventuring on the Life of this famous Prelate, I cannot be without Examples, though without Encouragements. For what Encouragements can there be to such a work, in which there is an impossibility of pleasing all; more than an ordinary probability of offending many; no expectation of Reward, nor certainty of any thing but misconstructions, and Detractings, if not dangers also. Howsoever I shall give my self the satisfaction, of doing my last duty, to the memory of a man so Famous, of such a Publick Spirit in all his actions, so eminently deserving of the Church of England: With which profession of my Piety, and Ingenuity, I shall not be altogether out of hope, but that my Labours in this Piece may obtain a pardon, if they shall not reach to an Applause.

William Laud Archbifhop of Canterbury, was born on the 7th, day of October, An. 1573. A year remarkable for the bithlings of the Puritan Faction, who before they had served an Apprentiſhip in the Trade of Seditious, began to set up for themselves; and feeling they could not have the countenance of Authority, to justify the advancing of their Holy Discipline, resolved to introduce it by little and little, as opportunity should be given them, which they did accordingly. His Birth-place, Reading, the principal Town of Berks, for Wealth and Beauty; remarkable heretofore for a stately and magnificent Abbey, founded and liberally Endowed by King Henry I., and no less eminent in these last Ages for the Trade of Clothing, the Seminary of some Families of Gentry within that County. And of this Trade his Father was, who kept not only many Looms in his house, but many Weavers, Spinners, and Fullers, at continual work: living in good Esteem and Reputation amongst his Neighbours to the very last. His Mother Lucy Webb, was Sister to Sir William Webb Lord Mayor of London, Ano 1591. the Grand-Father of Sir William Webb not long since deceased: She was first Married to John Robinson a Clothier of the same Town also; but a Man of good Wealth and Credit, that he Married one of his Daughters to Dr. Coteford, and another unto Dr. Layfield, mean of parts and worth; and left his younger Son called William, in so good a way, that he came to be Doctor of Divinity, Prebend of Westminster, and Archdeacon of Nottingham, beside some other preferments which he dyed possess'd of. Having buried her Husband John Robinson, she was re-married unto Land, this Archbishops Father, to whom she brought no other child than this Son alone; as if she had satisfied that duty which was owing to her second Marriage-bed, by bringing forth a Son, who was to be the Patriarch (in a manner) of the British Isles.

He was not born therefore of such Poor and (a) obscure Parents, as the Publisher of his Breviar makes him, much less (b) Exce plebis, of the drags of the People, as both he and all the rest of the Bishops were
were affirmed to be by the late Lord Brook (who of all others had least
Reason to upbraid them with it) in a book of his touching the nature of that Episcopal, which had been exercised in England. A Speech becoming none so ill as him that spake it, whose Father in his best Preferment, was but Keeper of one of Sir Fulke Greville's Parks, though the Son had afterwards the good fortune to succeed that noble Gentleman in his Lands and Honours. But granting that he had been born of as poor and obscure Parents as those Authors make him; yet must it needs add to the commendation of his parts and industry, who from so mean and low a Birth, had raised himself into such an eminent height of Power and Glory, that no Bishop or Archbishop, since the Reformation, had attained the like. The greatest Rivers many times have the smallest Fountains, such as can hardly be found out, and being found out, as hardly the cost of the discovery; and yet by long running and holding on a constant and continual course, they become large, navigable, and of great benefit unto the Publick. Whereas some Families may be compared to the Pyramids of Egypt, which being built on great Foundations, grow narrower and narrower by degrees, until at last they end in a small Conniv, in a point, in nothing. For if we look into the Stories of the Times foregoing, we shall find that poor and obscure Cottages have bred Commanders to the Camp, Judges unto the Seats of Justice, Counsellors to the State, Peers to the Realm, and Kings themselves unto the Throne, as well as Prelates to the Church; when such do pretend to a nobler birth, do many times consume themselves in effeminate Luxuries, and waste their Fortunes in a Prodigal and Libidinous course; which brings into my mind the Answer made by Mr. Pace (one of the Secretaries to King Henry 8.) to a Nobleman about the Court; For when the said Nobleman had told him, in contempt of Learning, That it was enough for Noblemen's Sons to wind their Horn, and carry their Hawk fair, and to leave study and Learning to the Children of mean men; Mr. Pace thereunto replied, Then his Lordship and the rest of the Noblemen must be content to leave unto the Sons of meaner persons the managing of Affairs of Estate, when their own Children please themselves with winding their Horns, and managing their Hawks, and other Follies of the Country.

But yet notwithstanding, such was the envy of the Times, that he was frequently upbraided in the days of his Greatness, as well (in common Speech) as scattered Libels, with the mean condition of his birth. And I remember that I found him once in his Garden at Lambeth, with more than ordinary Trouble in his Countenance; of which not having confidence enough to enquire the Reason, he shewed me a Paper in his hand, and told me it was a printed sheet of a Scandalous Libel which had been stopp'd at the Press, in which he found himself reproach'd with so base a Parentage, as if he had been raked out of the Dunghill, adding withal, that though he had not the good fortune to be born a Gentleman, yet he thank'd God he had been born of honest Parents, who lived in a plentiful condition, employed many poor people in their way, and left a good report behind them. And thereupon beginning to clear up his countenance, I told him as presently as I durst, that...
PART I. that Pope Sextus the Fifth, as stout a Pope as ever wore the Triple
Crown, but a poor man's Son, did use familiarly to say in contempt of
such Libels as frequently were made against him, That he was domo
natus illiiffiri, because the Sun-beams passing through the broken walls
and ragged Roof; illufirated every corner of that homely Cottage in
which he was born; with which facetiousness of that Pope (so applic-
cable to the present occasion) he seemed very well pleased.

But to go forwards with our Story, Having escaped a dangerous
Sickness in his Childhood, he was trained up (as soon as he was fitted
for it) in the Free Grammar-School of Reading; in which he profited
so well, and came on so fast, that before he was sixteen years of age
(which was very early for those times) he was sent to Oxon, and entered
a Commoner in St. John's College, and there committed to the tuition
of Mr. Buckridge, one of the Fellows of that College, and afterwards
the worthy President of it. It proved no ordinary happiness to the
Scholar to be principled under such a Tutor, who knew as well as
any other of his time how to employ the two-edged Sword of holy
Scripture, of which he made good proof in the times succeeding,
brandishing it on the one side against the Papists, and on the other ag-
ainst the Puritans or Non-conformists. In reference to the first it is said
of him in the general by Bishop Godwin, (d) That he endeavoured
most industriously both by preaching and writing to defend and propa-
gate the true Religion, here by Law establisht: Which appears
plainly by his Learned and Laborious Piece entituled, De patefate
Papar in temporalibus, printed at London, Anno 1614, in which he
hath so shaken the foundation of the Papal Monarchy, and the pretended
Superiority of that See over Kings and Princes, that none of the Learn-
ed Men of that party did ever undertake a Reply unto it. With like
success, but with less pains unto himself, he managed the Controver-
sie concerning Kneeling at the Lords Supper, against those of the Pu-
ritan Faction; the piety and antiquity of which Religious posture in
that holy Action, he asserted with such solid Reafons and such clear
Authorities, in a Treatise by him published Anno 1618. that he came
off without the least opposition by that Party also. But before the
publishing of these Books, or either of them, his eminent Abilities
in the Pulpit had brought him into great credit with King James; in-
formuch that he was chosen to be one of the four (Dr. Andrews Bishop
of Chichefter, Dr. Barlow Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. King then
Dean of Christchurch; and not long after Bishop of London, were the
other three) who were appointed to preach before his Majesty at
Hamp ton-court in the Month of September 1606. for the reduction
of the two Melvines, and other Presbyterian Scotts to a right understand-
ing of the Church of England: In the performance of which Service he
took for his Text those words of the Apostle, Let every soul, &c.
Rom. 13. 1. In canvassing whereof he fell upon the point of the Kings
Supremacy incaufes Ecclejialical; which he handled, (e) (as the most
Reverend Archbishop Spavwood (who was present at the Sermon) hath
informed us of him) "both learnedly and soundly, to the satisfaction
"of all the hearers; but that the Scottifh Ministers seemed very much
grieved
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

"grieved to hear the Pope and the Presbytery so often equalled in their..."

"opposition to Sovereign Princes. Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Anno Dom. 1589..."

"Lib. VII. pag. 497. And though the other three, with the like abilities and elocution had discharged their parts, yet gained they nothing on the Scots, who were resolved, like the deaf Adder in the Psalms, not to give ear unto the Charmers, charmed they never so wisely. But whatsoever they loft in the opinion of that proud and refractory Generation, they gained exceedingly on the King, and great Preferments for themselves, Bishops Andrews being not long after removed to the See of Ely, Bishop Barlow unto that of Lincoln, Dr. King preferred to the See of London, and Dr. Buckridge to that of Rochester, where he continued till the year 1627, when by the power and favour of this his present Pupil (then Bishop of Bath and Wells) he was translated to the rich Bishoprick of Ely, in which See he dyed."

Of this man I have spoken the more at large, that finding the temper of the Tutor, we may the better judge of those ingredients which went to the making up of the Scholar. Having spent about a year in his College, there was raised such a good report of him in the Town of Reading, that partly by his own proficiencies, and partly by the good esteem which was had of his Father, he was nominated by the Mayor and others of that Corporation unto a Scholars place in that House, according to the Constitutions of Sir Tho. White, the Honourable and sole Founder of it, who though he had designed the Merchant-Taylors School in London for the Chief Seminary of his College, yet being a man of a more publick Spirit, than to confine himself to any one place, he allowed two Fellowships to the City of Coventry, and as many to Brisol, two also to the Town of Reading, and one to Tunbridge. Admitted a Scholar of the House on this nomination, at the end of three years (according to the Custom of that College) he was made one of the Fellows, taking his Academical Degrees according to that Custom also; by which Custom those of that Society are kept longer from taking their Degrees in the Arts, but are permitted to take their Degrees in Divinity much sooner than in other Housés; so that although he proceeded not Master of Arts till the month of July 1599, yet at the end of five years only he took the Degree of Bachelor in Divinity, without longer stay; during which interval he was first made Deacon, and afterwards was put into the Order of Priesthood by Dr. Young then Bishop of Rochester, the See of Oxon. being vacant, in which vacancy it had continued for the space of 11 years, that is to say, from the death of Bishop Underhill, An. 1592. till the Consecration of Dr. Bridges on the twelfth of February, An. 1603. The Patrimony of that Church being in the mean time much dilapidated and made a prey (for the most part) to the Earl of Essex, to whom it proved as miserably fatal, as the Gold of Tholus did of old to the Soldiers of Cepio.

And now being fallen upon his Studies in Divinity, in the exercise whereof he met with some affronts and oppositions, it will be necessary to take a short view of the then present Estate of that University, that so we may the better discern the Reasons of those affronts and oppositions..."
Know then, that Mr. Laurence Humphrys, one of the Fellows of Magdalen Colledge, being deprived of his Fellowship there in Queen Mary's time, betook himself to the City of Zurich, a City of chiefest note amongst the Swiss, remarkable for the Preachings and Death of Zwinglius; from whence, and from the Correspondence which he had at Geneva, he brought back with him at his returning into England on Queen Mary's death, so much of the Calvinian, both in Doctrine and in Discipline, that the best that could be said of him, by (f) one who commonly speaks favourably of all that Party, is, that he was a moderate and conscientious Non-conformist. Immediately on his return he was by Queen Elizabeth made President of Magdalen Colledge, and found to be the fittest man (as certainly he was a man of very good parts, and the Matter of a pure Latin style) for governing the Divinity Chair, as her Majesties Professor in that Faculty; in which he continued till the year 1596, and for a great part of that time was Vice-chancellor also. By which advantages he did not only stock his Colledge with such a generation of Non-conformists as could not be wormed out in many years after his decease; but fowed in the Divinity Schools such seeds of Calvinism, and laboured to create in the younger Students such a strong hate against the Papiists, as if nothing but Divine Truths were to be found in the one, and nothing but abominations to be seen in the other. And though Dr. John Holland Rector of Exeter Colledge, who succeeded Humphries in the Chair, came to it better principled than his Predecessor, yet did he suffer himself to be born away by the violent current of the times, contrary in some cafes to his own opinion.

And yet as zealous as Doctor Humphries shewed himself against the Papiists (inasmuch as he got the title of a Papish-Maftix) he was not thought, though seconded by the Lady Margarets Professor for that Univercity, to make the distance wide enough betwixt the Churches. A new Lecture therefore must be founded by Sir Francis Wallingham Principal Secretary of Estate, a man of Great Abilities in the Schools of Policy, and extreme hater of the Ropes and Church of Rome, and no less favourable unto thole of the Puritan Faction. The design was to make the Religion of the Church of Rome more odious, and the differences betwixt them and the Protestants to appear more irreconcilable than before they did. And that he might not fail of his purpose in it, the Reading of this Lecture was committed to Doctor John Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi Colledge, a man of infinite Reading, and as vail a Memory; who having lived sometimes in one of our English Seminaries beyond the Seas, declared himself as profest a Papist, and as eager in the pursuit of that way, as any other whatsoever: But being regained unto this Church by his Brother William, who loft himself in the encounter, he thought he could not sufficiently express his detestation of the errors and corruptions in the Church of Rome, but by running to the other extreme, and making himself considerable amongst the Puritans. On which account, as he became very gracious to Sir Francis Wallingham, so was he quickly made the Spiritual Head of the Puritan Faction; in which capacity he managed their business for them
in the Conference at Hampton-Court, Anno 1603, where he appeared L.18. 1.
the principal if not only Speaker, the other three (that is to say, Spark, Anno Dom.
Chaddertone, and Knewshub) serving no otherwise than as Mutes and
Cypthers to make up the mei.

By the power and practices of these men, the disposition of those
times, and the long continuance of the Earl of Leicester (the principal
Patron of that Faction) in the place of Chancellor, the face of that Uni-
versity was so much altered, that there was little to be seen in it of the
Church of England, according to the Principles and Positions upon
which it was at first Reformed. All the Calvinian Rigors in matters of
Presdestination, and the Points depending thereupon, received as
the Established Doctrines of the Church of England; the necessity of
the one Sacrament, the eminent dignity of the other, and the power-
ful efficacy of both unto mansalvation, not only disputed, but denied;
the Article of Christ's local descent into hell, so positively affered
in two Convocations, Anno 1552. and 1562. at first corrupted with
false Glosses, afterwards openly contradicted, and at last totally dis-
claimed, because repugnant to the Fancies of some Foreign Divines,
though they at odds amongst themselves in the meaning of it; Epi-
scopacy maintained by halves, not as a distinct Order from that of the
Presbyters, but only a degree above them, or perhaps not that, for
fear of giving (candal to the Churches of Calvin's Platform; the Church
of Rome inveighed against as the Whore of Babylon, or the Mother of
Abominations; the Pope as publicly maintained to be Antichrist, or
the Man of Sin, and that as positively and magisterially as if it had
been one of the chief Articles of the Christian Faith; and then for
fear of having any good thoughts for either, the visibility of the
Church must be no otherwise maintained, than by looking for it in
the scattered Conventicles of the Berengarians in Italy, the Albigensians
in France, the Hussites in Bohemia, and the Wickliffists among our selves.
Nor was there any greater care taken for the Forms and Orders of this
Church, than there had been for points of Doctrine, the Surplice so
diffused in officiating the Divine Service of the Church, and the Divine
Service of the Church so fluttered over in most of the Colleges,
that the Prelates and Clergie assembled in Convocation, Anno 1603,
were necessitated to frame two Canons, that is to say, Can. 16, 17. to
bring them back again to the ancient practice; particularly, the bowing
at the Name of Jesus, commanded by the Injunctions of Queen
Elizabeth, Anno 1559. and used in most Churches in the Kingdom, so
much neglected and decryed, that Airy (g) Provost of Queens College
writ a Tract against it; the Habits of the Priests, by which they were
to be distinguished from other men, (not only by the Queens Injun-
cions, but also by some following Canons made in Convocation) so
much despised, and laid aside, that Doctor Reynolds had the confi-
dence to appear in the Conference at Hampton-Court in his Turkey Gown,
and therefore may be thought to have worn no other in the University:
And in a word (h) the Books of Calvin made the Rule by which
all men were to square their Writings, his only word (like the ipse
dixit of Pythagoras, admitted for the sole Canon to which they were

(g) Hooker

(h) Storer, Preface
PART I. to frame and conform their Judgments, and in comparison of whom the Ancient Fathers of the Church (men of Renown, and the Glories of their several Times) must be held contemptible; and to offend against this Canon, or to break this Rule, esteemed a more unpardonable Crime, than to violate the Apostles Canons, or dispute the Doctrines and Determinations of any of the four first general Councils; so as it might have proved more fatal for any man, in such a general deviation from the Rules and Decrees of this Church, to have been look’d upon as an Heathen or Publican, than an Anti-Calvinist.

But Land was of a Stronger Metal than to give up himself so tamely, and being forged and hammered on a better Anvil, would not be wrought on by the times, or captivate his Understanding to the Names of Men, how great soever they appeared in the eyes of others. Nor would he run precipitately into common Opinions (for common Opinions many times are but common Errors) as Callernus is reported to have gone to (i) Mafi, because he would not break company with the rest of his friends. His Studies in Divinity he had founded on the Holy Scriptures, according to the Glosses and Interpretations of the ancient Fathers; for doing which he had the countenance and direction of a Canon made in Convocation, Anno 1571, by which it was appointed, That in interpreting the Scriptures, they were to raise no other Doctrines from them than what had been collected thence from the ancient Fathers, and other godly Bishops of the primitive times. (k) And laying to this Line the established doctrines and determinations of the Church of England, it was no hard matter to him to discern how much the Church had deviated from her self, or most men rather from the Church, in those latter times; how palpably the Articles had been wrested from the Literal and Grammatical fence, to fit them to the fence of particular persons; how a different construction had been put upon them, from that which was the true and genuine meaning of the men that framed them, and the Authority which confirmed them; and finally, that it would be a work of much Glory, but of much more merit, to bring her back again to her native Principles. But then withal, it was as easy to discern how desperate an attempt it must needs appear for a single man, unfeconded, and not well befriended, to oppose himself against an Army; how vain a thing to strive against so strong a stream, and cross the current of the times; that the diseas by long neglect was grown so natural and habitual, that more mischief might be feared from the Medicine, than from the Malady; that he must needs expose himself to many Censures and Reproaches, and possibly to some danger also by the undertaking. But these last considerations being weighed in the Scale of the Sanctuary, appeared so light, that he was resolved to try his fortune in the work, and to leave the issue thereof unto God, by whom Paul’s planting and Apollo’s watering do receive increase.

1602. For being thus resolved upon the point, it was not long before he had an opportunity to set it forwards. He had before attained unto an high esteem for Arts and Oratory, and was conceived to have made so good a proficiency in the Studies of Divinity also, that in the year 1602, he
he was admitted to read the Lecture of Mrs. May's Foundation, with L 1 B. I. the general liking of that College. With the like general content and approbation he was chosen out of all the rest of that Society to be a candidate for the Proctorship in the University, into which Office he was chosen on the fourth of May, 1603, which was as soon as he was capable of it by the University Statutes; which Office he discharged with great applause as to himself, and general satisfaction unto others. Doctor George Abbot Master of University College (who afterwards attained to the See of Canterbury) was at that time Vice-chancellor of the University, whom with the rest of the Doctors and Heads of Houses he accompanied to Woodstock Manor, to present themselves and tender their most humble service to the most Mighty Prince King James, succeeding on the 24th. of March before to the Crown of England: And in this year it was (but whether in reading of the Lecture of Mrs. May's Foundation, or some other Chappel Exercise, I am not able to say) he maintained the constant and perpetual visability of the Church of Christ, derived from the Apostles to the Church of Rome, continued in that Church (as in others of the East and South) till the Reformation. Dr. Abbot Master of University College, and Vice-chancellor, was of a different opinion, and could not find any such visability of the Christian Church, but by tracing it as well as he could from the Berengarians to the Albigenses, from the Albigenses to the Wickliffites, from the Wickliffites unto the Hussites, and from the Hussites unto Luther and Calvin; for proof whereof, we may consult a Book of his, entituled, The Visibility of the Church, published in those busy Times when this imperinent Question, viz. Where was your Church before Luther? was as impertinently insifted on by the Priests and Jesuites. This being his opinion also when he lived in Oxon, he thought it a great derogation to his Parts and Credit, that any man should dare to maintain the contrary, and thereupon conceived a strong grudge against him, which no tract of time could either abate or diminish.

In the next year, viz. 1604. he performed his Exercise for Batchelor of Divinity, in which he maintained these two Points: First, The necessity of Baptism: Secondly, That there could be no true Church without Diocesan Bishops: For which last he was shrewdly rated by Doctor Holland above-mentioned, as one that did endeavour to call a bone of Discord betwixt the Church of England, and the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; and for the first it was objected, That he had taken the greatest part of his Supposition out of Bellarmine's Works, as if the Doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God, or any necessary Truths, were to be renounced because they are defended by that Learned Cardinal. But misfortunes seldom come alone, if at the least it may be counted a misfortune to be reproach'd for standing up in defence of truth: For not long after, viz. Anno 1606. he was questioned by Dr. Airy, being Vice-chancellor for that year, for a Sermon preached in St. Mary's Church on the 26th. of October, as containing in it sundry scandalous and Popish passages; the good man taking all things to be matter of Popery, which were not held forth unto H him
PART 1.

him in Calvin's Institutes; conceiving that there was as much Idolatry in bowing at the name of JESUS, as in worshipping the brazen Serpent, and as undoubtedly believing that Antichrist was begotten on the Whore of Babylon, as that Pharaoh and Zara were begotten on the body of Tamar. Which advantage being taken by Doctor Abbot, he so violently persecuted the poor man, and so openly branded him for a Papist, or at least very Popishly inclined, that it was almost made an Heretic (as I have heard from his own mouth) for any one to be seen in his company, and a misprision of Heretic to give him a civil Salutation as he walked the streets. But there will one day come a time, when Doctor Abbot may be made more sensible of these Oppressions, when he shall see this poor despised man standing upon the higher ground, and more above him in respect of power, than beneath in place: So unsafe a thing it is for them that be in Authority to abuse their power, and carry matters on to the last extremities, as if they had Fortune in a string, and could be sure to lead her with them whithersoever they went.

This scandal being raised at Oxon, it was not long before it flew to Cambridge also, at what time Mr. Joseph Hall (who died Bishop of Norwich about the year 1657.) was exercising his Pen in the way of Epistles, in one of which intituled to Mr. W. L. (the two first Letters of his Name) it was generally supposed that he aimed at him, and was this that followeth. "I would (faith ho) I knew where to find you, then I could tell how to take direct aims; whereas now I must pore and conjecture. To day you are in the Tents of the Romans, to morrow in ours; the next day between both, against both. Our Adverfaries think you ours, we theirs; your Conscience finds you with both, and neither. I flatter you not: This of yours is the worst of all tempers: Heat and cold have their uses; Luke-warmness is good for nothing, but to trouble the stomach. Those that are spiritually hot, find acceptance; those that are stark cold, have a lesse reckoning; the mean between both is so much worse, as it comes nearer to good, and attains it not. How long will you halt in this indifferency? Resolve one way, and know at last what you do hold, what you should. Cast off either your wings or your teeth, and loathing this Bat-like Nature, be either a Bird or a Beast. To die wavering and uncertain, your self will grant fearful. If you must settle, when begin you? If you must begin, why not now? It is dangerous deferring that whose want is deadly, and whose opportunity is doubtful. God cryeth with Job, Who is on my side, who? Look at last out of your window to him, and in a resolute courage cast down the Jezebel that hath bewitched you. Is there any impediment which delay will abate? Is there any which a just answer cannot remove? If you had rather waver, who can settle you? But if you love not inconstancy, tell us why you stagger? Be plain, or else you will never be firm, &c.

But notwithstanding these false bruits, and this smart Epistle, Doctor Buckridge who had been his Tutor, and from whom he received his Principles, had better assurance of his unfeigned sincerity in the true Prote-
Lord Archbishops of Canterbury.

Protestant Religion here by Law established, than to be so persuad'd of him: he had not only preferred him to the service of Bishop Neile, or recommended him to the College, as the fittest man to succeed him in the Presidents place, when he himself was at the point of his preferment to the See of Rochester. So also had the whole Body of the University, when they conferred upon him his Degrees in Divinity, which certainly they had never done, if either they had believed to have been a Papist, or at the least so Popishly affected as the Faction made him. Neither could he have taken those Degrees (had it been so with him) without a most pernicious diffillation before God and man; because in taking those Degrees, he must both take the Oath of Supremacy, and subscribe to the three Articles contained in the 36. Canon of the year 1603. In the first of which he was to have abjured the Popes Authority, and in the next to have declared his approbation of the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worship established in the Church of England: Which may sufficiently serve to over-balance the Depositions of Sr. Nath. Brent and Doctor Peatty, the first of which depofed at his Tryal, That whilst the Archbishop remained in Oxon, he was generally reputed to be Popishly affected; the other, Not only that the Archbishop was generally reputed to be Popish when he lived in Oxford, but that both he and others conceived so of him. But both these men were Abbot's Creatures, and had received their Offices and Preferments from him; I need say no more, for had he either been a Papist, or so strongly biased on that side, what should have hindered him from making an open Declaration of it, or stop him from a reconciliation with the Church of Rome? His Fellowship was not so considerable, but that he might presume of a larger Maintenance beyond the Seas: Nor was he of such common parts, but that he might have looked for a better welcome, and far more civil usage there than he found at home. Preferments in the Church he had none at the present, nor any strong presumptions of it for the time to come, which might be temptation to him to continue here against the clear light of his Understanding. And this may be a further Argument, not only of his unfeigned sincerity, but of his conftancy and steadiness in the Religion here established, that he kept his station; that notwithstanding all those claments under which he suffered, he was resolved to ride out the storm, and neither to desert the Barque in which he sailed, nor run her upon any of the Roman Shores. In this of a far better temper than Tertullian was, though as much provoked, of whom it is reported by Beatus Rhenanus, That at first he only seemed to favour Montanus, or at the least not to be displeased with his proceedings: But afterwards being continually tormented by the tongues and pens of the Roman Clergy, (m) he fell off from the obedience of the Church, and became at last a downright Montanist. All which together make it plain, that it was not his design to desert the Church, but to preserve her rather from being deserted, to vindicate her by degrees from those Innovations which by long tract of time, and the cunning practices of some men, had been thrust upon her. And being once resolved on this, the blustering winds which so raged against him, did rather fix him in Tertull. H 2 at

(m) Injuria Clercorum exagritus in Montani partes transt. B. Rhen.
at the root, than either shake his resolution, or force him to defist from his purpose in it: And therefore it was well resolved by Sir Edw. Dering, \(n\) though his greatest enemy, That he was always one and the same man; that beginning with him at Oxon. and so going on to Canterbury, he was unmoved and unalter'd; that he never complied with the times, but kept his own: Stand until the times came up to him, as they after did. Such was the man, and such the purpose of the man, whom his good friends in Oxon. (out of pure zeal no doubt we must take it so) had declared a Papist.

During these Agitations and Concussions in the University, there hapned an accident at Wansleed in the County of Essex, which made as great a noise as his being a Papist; but such a noise as might have freed him from that Accusation, if considered rightly. In the year 1605, he had been made Chaplain to Charles Lord Mountjoy Earl of Devonshire, a man in great favour with King James for his fortunate Victory at Kinjke in Ireland, by which he reduced that Realm to the obedience of this Crown, broke the whole Forces of the Rebels, and brought the Earl of Tir-owen a Prisoner into England with him. For which great Services he was by King James made Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, and one of the Lords of his Privy Council, created Earl of Devonshire, and one of the Knights of the most Noble Order of the Garter. This Gentleman being a younger Brother of William Lord Mountjoy, and known only by the name of Sir Charles Blunt, while his Brother lived, had bore a strong and dear affection to the Lady Penelope Daughter of Walter Earl of Essex, a Lady in whom lodged all attractive Graces of Beauty, Wit, and sweetness of Behaviour, which might render her the absolute Mistress of all Eyes and Hearts. And she so far reciprocated with him in the like affection (being a compleat and gallant man) that some assurances past between them of a future Marriage. But her friends looking on him as a younger Brother, considerable only in his depending at the Court, chose rather to dispose her in Marriage to Robert Lord Rich, a man of an independent Fortune, and a known Estate, but otherwife of an uncourtly disposition, unsociable, austerer, and of no very agreeable conversation to her. Against this Blunt had nothing to plead in Bar, the promises which passed between them being made in private, no Witnesses to attest unto it, and therefore not amounting to a pre-Contraé in due form of Law.

But long she had not lived in the Bed of Rich, when the old flames of her affection unto Blunt began again to kindle in her, and if the Sonnet in the Arcadia (A Neighbour mine not long ago there was, &c.) be not too generally misinterpreted, she made her Husband the sole instrument to acquaint him with it: But whether it were so or not, certain it is, that having first had their private meetings, they afterwards convers'd more openly and familiarly with one another, than might stand with honour unto either; especially when by the death of his elder Brother, the Title of Lord Mountjoy, and the Estate remaining to it, had accrued unto him: As if the alteration of his Fortune could either lessen the offence, or suppress the fame. Finding her, at his coming back from the Wars of Ireland, to be free from Rich, legally freed by a Divorce,
Divorce, and not a voluntary separation only, \*\*\* toro & mensa as they call it; he thought himself obliged to make her some Reparation in point of Honour, by taking her into his Bosom as a Lawful Wife. Besides, he had some Children by her, before she was actually separated from the Bed of Rich (some of which afterwards attained to Titles of Honour) whom he conceived he might have put into a capability of a Legitimation, by his subsequent Marriage, according to the Rule and Practice of the Civil Laws, in which it paffeth for a Maxim, That subsequent Matrimonium legitimat prolem. And to that end he dealt so powerfully with his Chaplain, that he disposed him to perform the Rites of that Solemnization, which was accordingly done at Wanstead, Decemb. 26. being the Festival of St. Steven Anno 1605.

Nor did he want some Reasons to induce him to it (besides the persuasion of his Friends) which might have gained upon a man not so much concerned in it as he was, and may be used for his excuse, if not for his justification also. He found by the averment of the Parties, that some assurances of Marriage had paffed between them, before she was espoused to Rich; which though they could not amount to a pre-Contract in Foro Judicis, in a Court of Judicature; yet he might satisfy himself in the truth thereof in Foro Conscientiae, in the Court of his own private Conscience; And thereupon he might conclude, That being satisfied in the reality and truth of those Assurances, and finding that Rich had quitted his pretensions to her by a formal Sentence of Divorce, he might conceive it lawful for him to perform that Service which was required at his hands. He had found also three Opinions touching the lawfulness or unlawfulness of such Marriages, which are made after a Divorce: The first, That such Marriages are lawful unto neither Party, as long as either of them liveth; which is the Doctrine of the Papists, determined positively in the Council of Trent: The second, That such Marriages are lawful to the Party wronged, but not unto the Guilty also; which Opinion is maintained by some of the Calvinists and divers of the Ancient Writers: The third, That both the innocent and the guilty Party may lawfully marry if they please; which Maldonate (c) makes to be the general Opinions of the Lutherans and Calvinian Ministers, as also of some Catholick Doctors. And then why might he not conceive that course most fit to be followed, in which all Parties did agree, than either of the other two, which was commended to him but by one Party only. And though he followed in this case the worst way of the three, yet may it serve for a sufficient Argument that he was no Papist, nor cordially affected unto that Religion, because he acted so directly against the Doctrines and Determinations of the Church of Rome. If any other considerations of Profit, Preferment, or Compliance, did prevail upon him (as perhaps they might) they may with Charity be looked on as the common incendencies of Humane frailty, from which the holiest and most learned men cannot plead Exemption.

But whatsoever motives either of them had to put a fair colour upon the businesfs, certain it is, that it succeeded well with neither: The Earl found presently such an alteration in the Kings countenance towards
PART I. wards him, and such a lessening of the value which formerly had been set upon him, that he was put to a necessity of writing an Apology to defend his action: But finding how little it edified both in Court and Country, it wrought such a sad impression on him, that he did not much survive the mischief, ending his life before the end of the year next following. Nor did the Chaplain brook it long without such a check of Conscience, as made him turn the Annual Festive of St. Steven into an Anniversary Fast, humbling himself from year to year upon that day before the Father of Mercies, and craving pardon for that Error which by the persuasions of some Friends, and other the temptations of flesh and blood, he had fallen into. And for this purpose he composed this ensuing Prayer.

Behold thy Servant, O my God, and in the bowels of thy mercy have compassion on me. Behold I am become a Reproach to thy holy Name, by serving my Ambition and the sins of others; which though I did by the persuasions of other men, yet my own Conscience did check and upbraid me in it. Lord I beseech thee for the mercies of Jesus Christ, enter not into Judgment with me thy Servant; but hear his blood imploring thy mercies for me: Neither let this Marriage prove a Divorcing of my Soul from thy grace and favour; for much more happy had I been, if being mindful of this day, I had suffered Martyrdom, as did St. Steven the first of Martyrs, denying that which either my lawful friends or lawful friends had pressed upon me. I promised to my self that the darkness would hide me, but that hope soon vanished away: Nor doth the light appear more plainly, than that I have committed that foul offence: Even so, O Lord, it pleased thee of thy infinite mercy to deject me with this heavy Ignorancy, that I might learn to seek thy Name. O Lord how grievous is the remembrance of my sin to this very day, after so many and such reiterated Prayers poured forth unto thee from a sorrowful and afflicted spirit. Be merciful, O Lord, unto me; hearken to the Prayers of thy humble and dejected Servant, and raise me up again O Lord, that I may not die in this my sin, but that I may live in thee hereafter, and living evermore rejoice in thee, through the merits and the mercies of Jesus Christ my Lord and Saviour. Amen.

A brave example of a penitent and afflicted Soul, which many of us may admire, but few will imitate. And though I doubt not but that the Lord in mercy did remit this fault, yet was he not so mercifully dealt with at the hands of men, by whom it was so frequently and reproachfully call'd in the way of his Preferment, that he was fain to make the Duke of Buckingham acquainted with the story of it, and by his means to press King Charles his gracious Master with the truth thereof: So long it was before his Enemies had desisted from pressing this unhappy Error to his disadvantage.

The Earl of Devonshire being dead, he was by Doctor Buckridge his most constant friend (Anno 1608.) commended to the Service of Doctor Richard Neile, then Bishop of Rochester, a man who very well understood the Constitution of the Church of England, though otherwise
not so eminent in all parts of Learning, as some other Bishops of his time: But what he wanted in himself, he made good in the choice of his Servants, having more able men about him from time to time than any other of that Age: Amongst which (not to reckon Laud, of whom now I speak) were Doctor Augustine Linsell Bishop of Hereford, Doctor Thomas Jackson President of Corpus Christi College in Oxon. and Dean of Peterborough, Doctor John Coen Prebend of Durham, and Dean of Peterborough after Jackson, Doctor Benjamin Lucy Master of Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, and Dean of Rochester, Doctor Robert Newell his half Brother, Prebend of Westminster and Durham, and Archdeacon of Buckingham, Doctor Gabriel Clarke Prebend and Archdeacon of Durham, Doctor Eliazer Duncan one of the Prebends of Durham also, Mr. Barlow a right solid man, but not possessed of any Dignity in the Church to my best remembrance; and some others of good note, whose Names and Titles I cannot pretendly call to mind. In the beginning of the Reign of King James (by the power and mediation of Archbishop Bancroft) he was made Clerk of the Closet to that King, that standing continually at his Elbow, he might be ready to perform good offices to the Church and Church-men: And he discharged his trust so well, that though he lost the love of some of the Courtiers, who where too visibly inclined to the Puritan Faction, yet he gained the favour of his Master, by whom he was preferred to the Deanry of Westminster, and afterwards successively to the Bishoprics of Rochester, Litchfield, Lincoln, and Durham, one of the richest in the Kingdom; which he saws that there was in him something more than ordinary, which made that King so bountiful and gracious to him. Nor laid he there, but by the Power and Favour of this his Chaplain, he was promoted in the Reign of King Charles to the See of Winton, and finally exalted to the Metropolitan See of York, where at last he died about the latter end of October 1640. None of his Chaplains received so much into his Counsels as Doctor Laud (to which degree he was admitted in the year 1608.) whom he found both an active and a trusty Servant, as afterwards a most constant and faithful friend upon all occasions.

The first Ecclesiastical Preferment which fell unto him was the Vicarage of Stamford in Northamptonshire: But having put himself into the Service of Bishop Neile, he was by him preferred unto the Rectory of Cuckstone in Kent, toward the latter end of May 1610. On the acceptance thereof he gave over his Fellowship in October following, that so he might more fully apply himself to the Service of his Lord and Patron. But Cuckstone proving an unhealthy place, he exchanged it for another called Norton, a Benefice of less value, but situate in a better and more healthy Air: His Patron in the mean time being transplanted to the See of Litchfield on the end of September, whose Fortunes he was resolved to follow, till God should please to provide otherwise for him: For first the Bishop, before his going off from the Deanry of Westminster, which he held in commendam with his Bishoprick of Rochester, obtained for him of King James, (to whom not otherwise known but by his Recommendation) the Reversion of a Prebend.
PART I. bend in that Church; which though it fell not to him until ten years
after, yet it fell at last, and thereby neighbour'd him to the Court. And
on the other side, his good Friend and Tutor Doctor Buckridge being
nominated Successor unto Neile in the See of Rochester, laid a good
ground for his Succession in the Presidentship of St. John's College,
thereby to render him considerable in the University. But this was
both suspected and feared by Abbot, who being consecrated Bishop of
Coventry and Litchfield on the third of December 1609, and from thence
removed to London in the end of January next ensuing, resolved to
hinder the design with all care and diligence: So natural a thing it is to
hate the man whom we have wronged; to keep him down, whom we
have any cause to fear, when we have him under. To which end he
made great Complaints against him to Thomas Lord Elsner, Lord
Chancellor of England many years before, and newly then made
Chancellor of that University, on the death of the Lord Archbishop
Banerse, intimating to him, That he was at the least a Papist in heart,
and cordially addicted unto Popery; That he kept company with none but
profess and suspected Papists; and, That if he were suffered to have any
place of Government in the University, it would undoubtedly turn to
the great Detriment of Religion, and Dishonour of his Lordship. The Chan-
celloe hereupon makes his Address unto the King, informing him of
all which had been told him concerning Land, which was like to have
destroy'd his hopes to that design (notwithstanding his petition to the
King to believe otherwise of him) if Bishop Neile his constant and un-
moveable Friend, had not acquainted his Majesty with the Abilities
of the man, and the old grudge which Abbot had conceived against
him.

This Bar being thus removed, the design for the Presidentship went
on; in the obtaining whereof, he found a greater difficulty than he
had expected: Rawlinson, once a Fellow of the same House, and af-
wards Principal of St. Edmonds Hall, appearing a Competitor for
it. Each of them having prepared his Party, the Fellows proceeded
to an Election, May 10. Anno 1611. The Scrutiny being made, and the
Election at the point to be declared, one of the Fellows of Rawlinson's
Party, seeing which way the buffoon was like to go, snatch'd up the
Paper, and tore it suddenly in pieces. The Nomination being thus
unhappily frustrated, an Appeal was made unto King James, who
spent three hours in giving Audience to both parties; and upon full
consideration of the Proofs and Allegations on either side (notwith-
standing all the former practices and prejudices to incline him other-
wise) he gave Sentence in behalf of Land; which hapning on the 29th.
of August, being the day of the beheading of St. John Baptist, by whose
Name that College was entituled by the Founder of it, had given an
occasion unto some to look upon it as an Omen or Prognostication, that
this new Head should suffer death by being beheaded, as the other did.
The King having thus passed Judgment for him, he was thereupon
sworn and admitted President; and being so sworn and admitted, he
could not for example fake but inflict some punishment on the party
who had torn the Scrutiny: But knowing him for a man of hopeful
Parts,
Parts, industrious in his Studies, and of a Courage not to be disliked, L I B. I. he not only released him from the Cenfure under which he lay, but *Anno Dom. took him into special Favour, trusted him in all his weighty businesse, made him his Chaplain, and preferred him from one good Benefice to another, married him to his Brothers Daughter, and finally promoted him to the very *Presidentship (which had been the first cause of that breach) and one of the best *Deanries of the Kingdom. To such others of the Fellows as had opposed him in his Election to that place, he always shewed a fair and equal countenance, hoping to gain them by degrees: But if he found any of them to be untractable, not easily to be gained by favours, he would find some hand- som way or other to remove them out of the Colledge, that others not engaged upon either side might succeed in their places. But notwithstanding all this care, the Faction still held up against him, the younger fry inclining to the same side which had been taken by their Tutors.

But whiles these things were in agitation, there hapned a great alteration in the Church of England, by the death of the most Reverend Archbishop Bancroft, who died on the second of November 1610, and with whom died the Uniformity of the Church of England. A man he was of eminent parts, and of a most undaunted spirit; one who well knew his work and did it. When Chaplain only to the Lord Chancellor Hatton, he piece'd himself with Doctor Whitgift, not long after his first coming to the See of Canterbury, to whom he proved a great support in gaining the Lord Chancellor for him, by whose affilience he was enabled to hold out against the over-ruling Power of the Earl of Leicester, the Patron-General of the Faction. In the year 1588, he Preached a Sermon at Saint Paul's Cross, and therein made an open Declaration of those manifold Dangers which the prevalency of that Faction would bring upon the Church and State, if they might be suffered; which blow he followed in a Book entitled, *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings published and practised within this Island of Britain, under pretence of Reformation, and for the Presbyteral Discipline: And in that Book he made such a perfect discovery of their Plots and Practices, and so anatomized them in every part, that he made them odious unto those who before had been their greatest Patrons. In the year 1593, he published another Treatise, entitled, *A Survey of the Pretended holy Discipline, in which he so dissected the whole Body of Calvin's Presbyteral Platform, shewing the incoherencies of it in itself, and the inconsistencies thereof with Monarchical Government, that he took off the edge of many (and those Great ones too) who had not only seemed to like it, but had longed for it: The Plot was so laid down by Whitgift, that at the same time there should come out two other Books, the one written by Doctor Thomas Bilson, Warden of the Colledge near Winton, for proof of the Antiquity and perpetual Government of the Church by Bishops; the other by Doctor Richard Cofins a right Learned Civilian, in justification of the Proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts. By which four Books the Puritan Faction was so
PART I. muzled, that they were notable to park, in a long time after: nor do they want their severall and just Rewards for such good Performances, Bifh. for being first made Bifh. of Worcester, and not long after Bifh. of Winton, Bancroft advanced to the See of London, and Doctor Cosini Vicar-general and Dean of the Arches, within few years after being consecrated Bifh. of London, on the eighth of May 1597. he kept such a watchful eye over it, and held so strict a hand upon it, that from a receptacle and retreat of the Grandees of the Puritan party, it became almost as free from Faction as any other in the Kingdom: And knowing how much the Peace of this Church did depend upon it, he managed a secret Correspondency with King James in Scotland, insinuating unto him the necessity of conforming the Churches of both Kingdoms in Government and Forms of Worship, and laying down a plot for restoring Episcopacy to that Kirk, without noise or trouble: Which counsel being advisedly followed by King James before his coming into England, was afterwards so well purloined (though not without some violent strugling of the Presbyterians of that Kingdom) that on the 21. day of October in the year 1609. the designd Bishops of Glafcow, Brechen, and Gallo-Way received Episcopal Confecration in the Chappel of London-house, by the hands of Doctor George Abbot then Bifh. of London, Doctor Lancelot Andrews Bifh. of Ely, Doctor James Montague Bifh. of Bath and Wells, and Doctor Richard Neile then Bifh. of Rochester; Bancroft himself for bearing to lay hands upon them, for the avoiding of all scruples among the Scots, as if he pretended any Jurisdiction or Authority over them.

In the mean time, Anno 1603. he carried a chief hand in the Convocation at Hampton-Court, and had the sole management of the Convocation of the same year also, in which he passed that excellent body of Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, to serve for a perpetual standing Rule to the Church of England. Succeeding Whitgift in the See of Canterbury, Anno 1604. he resolved to put the Canons into execution, and press'd it with so stout a courage, that few had confidence enough to stand out against him: Some of them did, and those he either depriv'd or silenced, and thereby terrifyed the rest to an open conformity. They saw too plainly that they must not dally with his patience, as they did with Whitgifts; and that he was resolved to break them, if they would not bow: And they did wisely in so bowing; for who could stand against a man of such a spirit, armed with Authority, having the Law on his side, and the King to friend, who had declared publickly in the (p) Conference at Hampton-Court, That if they would not conform, he would either hurry them out of the Kingdom, or else do worse? In the year 1608, he was chosen Chancellor at Oxon, and questionless would have set all things right in that University, if Sickness and the Stroke of Death had not prevented his intentions. But die he must; and being dead, there was a Consultation amongst some of the Bishops and other Great men of the Court, whom to commend unto King James for his Successor in that See. They knew that Montague and Abbot would be venturing
venturing at it, but they had not confidence enough in either of them, both of them being extremely popular, and such as would ingratiate themselves with the Puritan Faction, how dearly ever the Church paid for it: And thereupon it was resolved to fix on Bancroft for the man; a man, as one says very well of him, of Primitive Antiquity, in whom was to be found whatever is desirable in a Bishop, even to admiration; to whom they found the King to be well affected, for taking up the Bucklers for him against Cardinal Bellarmine. The Motion was no sooner made, but it was embraced, and they departed from the King with as good assurance as if the business had been done, and Bancroft fully settled in the Throne of Canterbury. In confidence whereof, some of them retired to their Country Houses, and others lessened their accustomed diligence about the King, and thereby gave an opportunity to the Earl of Dunbar (a powerful Minister of State) to put in for Abbot, who had attended him in some Negotiations which he had with the Scots; and he put in so powerfully in his behalf, that at last he carried it, and had the Kings Hand to the passing of the publick Instruments, before the other Bishops ever heard of the Plot: But when they heard of it, there was no Remedy but Patience; but it was Patience perforce, as the Proverb hath it: For much they feared that Abbot would unravel all the Web which Bancroft with such pains had weaved, and that he was (as the same Author well observs) better qualified with Merit for the Dignity, than with a Spirit answering the Function. Follow his Character to the end, and you shall be told, "That in the exercising of his Function on he was conceived to facill and yielding; His extraordinary Resemblance in not exacting strict Conformity to the prescribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, seemed to resolve those Legal Determinations to their first Principle of Indifferency, and led in such an habit of Inconformity, as the future Reduction of those ten Conscience Men, to long discontinued Obedience, was at the last interpreted an Innovation. If Bancroft had succeeded Bancroft, and Laud followed Bancroft, the Church would have been settled so sure on a Foundation, that it could not easily have been shaken; to the preventing of those deplorable Miseries, which the Remains Government of that Popular Prelate did unfortunately bring both on the Church and State.

But to go forward where we left, Laud was no sooner settled in the Presidantship of his Colleague, but he conceived himself advanced, one step at the left, towards a Precedency in the Church, and therefore thought it was high time to cast an eye upon the Court. His good Friend and Patron Bishop Neile, then being of Rochefort, had procured him a Turn before the King at Theobalds on the 17th. of September 1609, and by the power and favour of the same Man, being then translated unto Litchfield, he was sworn one of his Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary on the third of November, Anno 1611. yet so that he continued his dependencies on his former Lord, to whom he was as dear and necessay as before he was: enjoying freely all the accommodations of his House, whensoever his occasions brought him to London.

I 2

Having
The Life of William

PART I. Having thus set foot within the Court, he promised himself great hopes of some present preferment; but those hopes deceived him. Nothing is more uncertain than Court Preferments: Some have them suddenly at the first, and then continue at a stand without further Additions, as in the case of Doctor Young Dean of Winchester: Some attend long, and get nothing, as in the case of Mr. Arthur Terringham, and many others; and some are in the same case with the Apostles in St. John (x.) when they went a fishing, of whom it is said, That having caught nothing all the night, they cast their net the next morning on the right side of the ship, and then they were not able to draw it for the multitude of fish. And so it was with this new Chaplains: many Preferments fell, but none fell to him. For whenever any opportunity was offered for his Advancement, Arch Bishop Abbot (who had before defamed him to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, and by his mouth unto the King) would be sure to cast somewhat in his dish; sometimes inculcating to him all his actions at Oxon, and sometimes rubbing up the old sore of his unfortunate business with the Earl of Devonshire. These Artifices so estranged the King's Countenance from him, that having waited four years, and seeing his hopes more desperate than at the first, he was upon the point of leaving the Court, and retiring wholly into his College: But first he thought it not amiss to acquaint his dear Friend and Patron Bishop Neile, both with his resolution and the reasons of it. But Neile was not to be told what he knew before; and therefore answered, That he was very sensible of those many neglects which were put upon him, and saw too clearly that he had been too long under a cloud; but howsoever advised him to stay one year longer, and that if he had no better encouragement within that year, he would consent to his retirement. In the mean time to keep him up in heart and spirit, as he had given him the Prebendary of Bugden belonging to the Church of Lincoln (to which See he had been translated Anno 1613.) but the year before; so in the year of his complaint, which was 1615, he conferred upon him also the Archdeaconry of Huntington. It had pleased God to dispose of his Affairs, that before the year of expectation was fully ended, his Majesty began to take him into his better thoughts, and for a testimony thereof bestowed upon him the Deanship of Gloucester, void by the Death of the Reverend Right Learned Doctor Field, whose excellent Works will keep his Name alive to succeeding Ages: A Deanship of no very great value, but such as kept him up in reputation, and made men see he was not to contemptible in the Eyes of the King as it was generally imagined.

But before we follow him to Gloucester, we must take Oxon in our way, in which had happened no small alteration since we left it last: Doctor Henry Holland Rector of Exeter College, and his Majesty's Professor for Divinity, having left his Life in the end of the year 1611., it seemed good to Arch Bishop Abbot to make use of his Power and Favour with King James, for preferring to that place his Elder Brother Doctor Robert Abbot, being then Master of Bawd College, and Rector of Bingham in the County of Nottingham: He had before been Fellow of it, and Doctor Lilly dying to opportunely for the furtherance of his Pre-
Preferment in the University, he succeeded Master in his place March 1 I B. I.
9. 1609, being the next Month after his Brother had been advanced Anne Dom.
to the See of London: A man he was of eminent Learning, as his Works 1615,
declare, and a more moderate Calvinian than either of his Predecessors, which he exprest by countenancing the Sublunarian way of
Presidentions; by means whereof he incurred the high displeasure of
the Supralunarians, who until then had carried all before them, without
gaining anything on those who liked well of neither: But de-
pending altogether on the will of his Brother, he thought he could not
gratify and oblige him more, than in pursuing his old quarrels against
Laud and others, whom he knew to be disdained by him, which he
therefore pursued. It hapned that Laud Preaching on Shrove-Sunday, Anno
1014. insisted on some points which might indifferently be imputed
either to Popery or Arminianism, (as about that time they began to call
it) though in themselves they were no other than the true and genuine
Doctrines of the Church of England: And having occasion in that
Sermon to touch upon the Presbyterians and their Proceedings, he used
some words to this effect, viz. That the Presbyterians were as bad as
the Papists: Which being so directly contrary to the Judgment and
Opinion of this Doctor Abbot, and knowing how much Laud had been
distasted by his Brother when he lived in Oxon, conceived he could not
better satisfie himself, and oblige his Brother the Archbifhop, than by
exposing him (on the next occasion) both to shame and cenfure, which
he did accordingly: For being Vice-chancellor for the year, and
Preaching at St. Peters upon Easter-day in the afternoon, he pointed at
him so directly, that none of the Auditors were so ignorant, as not to
know at whom he aimed. Laud not being present at the first Preach-
ing of the Sermon, was by his friends perfwaded to shew himself
at St. Mary's on the Sunday after, when it should come to be repeated
(according to the ancient Custom of that University) to whole par-
sessions giving an unwilling consent, he heard himself sufficiently ab-
used for almost an hour together, and that so palpably and grossly,
that he was pointed too as he did: Some of the passages of which
Sermon I shall here subjoin, because howsoever they might bring to
him some present and personal disgrace, yet they redounded at the last
to the great good and benefit of the University.

Some (said the Doctor in his Sermon) are partly Romish, partly
English, as occasion served them, that a man might say unto them, No-
fter es, an Adverfariorum? who under pretence of Truth, and Preach-
ing against the Puritan, strike at the heart and root of the Faith and
Religion now established among us, &c. That they cannot plead they
are accounted Papists, because they speak against the Puritan, but because,
being indeed, Papists, they speak nothing against them; If they do at
any time speak against the Papists, they do but beat a little about the
bush, and that but softly too, for fear of waking and disquieting the birds
that are in it; they speak nothing but that wherein one Papist will speak
against another; as against Equivocation, and the Popes Temporal Au-
thority, and the like; and perhaps some of their blasphemous speeches:
But in the Points of Free Will, Justification, Concipisence being a sin after Baptism, Inherent Righteousness, and certainty of Salvation; The Papists beyond the Seas can say they are wholly theirs; and the Recusants at home make their brag of them. And in all things they keep themselves so near the brink, that upon any occasion they may step over to them. Now for this speech, that the Presbyterians are as bad as the Papists, there is a sling in the speech, which I wish had been left out, for there are many Churches beyond the Seas which contend for the Religion established among us, and yet have approved and admitted the Presbytery, &c.

After which, having spoken somewhat in justification of Presbyteries, he proceeded thus:

\[\text{Might not Christ say (faith he) What art thou, ROMISH or ENGLISH? PAPIST or PROTESTANT? Or what art thou? A Mungrel or compound of both: A Protestant by Ordination, a Papist in point of Free Will, Inherent Righteousness, and the like. A Protestant in receiving the Sacrament, a Papist in the Doctrine of the Sacrament? What, do you think there are two Heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place your selves there, for into this where I am ye shall not come.}\]

It is not to be doubted but that he was much troubled at this harsh usage, and might have been more troubled at it had he stood alone; had not some others of eminent note, been handled in as ill a manner not long before: Horsfam, and Corbet, both of Christ-Church, had been Præcursors in this case, to the President of St. John Baptist, the Præcursor of Christ: Of these, the first, being a grave and Reverend person, an ancient Doctor in Divinity, and one of the Canons of the Church, had been Vice-Chancellor of the University, when Laud had but newly taken on him the Order of Priesthood; but none of these could priviledge him from feeling the dint of that mans spirit: For Preaching at St. Maryes in the year 1612. he took occasion to speak of the Geneva Notes on the Bible, accusing them as guilty of misinterpretation touching the Divinity of Christ and his Messiahship, (as my Author \(f\) hath it) as if symbolizing with Arrians and Jews against them both. Whereupon he was suspended by this Dr. Abbot, Propter conciones publicas minus Orthodoxas, & offenionis planas; that is to say, for some publick Sermons being less Orthodox, and fuller of offence than they ought to have been. The other, being a man of great wit and able parts, had been Proctor of the University, in the same year in which Horsfam did incur this Censure: And preaching the Pas-\(f\)tion Sermon at Christ-Church, Anno 1613. insinuated on the Article of Christs descending into Hell, and therein grated upon Calvin’s manifest perverting of the true sense and meaning of it: For which he was so rated up by the Repetitioner, not without Abbot’s setting on (as it was generally conceived) that if he had not been a man of a very great courage, it might have made him ashamed of staying in the University;
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Chapter Churches

Dr. John Bridges in the See of Oxf. from whence translated unto Dur- 

ham, Anno 1627. and left behind him this commendation, (t) that he

was a very learned man, and plentifully endowed with all those ver-

tues which were most proper for a Bishop, as Godwin tells us of him in

his Continuation. Corbet, being made Dean of Christ-church in the year

1620, succeeded Bishop Howson in the See of Oxf. and died Bishop

of Norwich, Anno 1635. And how it did succeed with Laud, the

course of this ensuing History will at large inform us.

For he being very sensible of so great an injury, thought it fit to pre-

vent the same by giving an account of it to the Bishop of Lincoln, 5

which he did on the Morrow after the Repetition, being the eighteenth
day of April, desiring his advice, whether he should sit down by the

wrong, or make Abbot as sensible of it as he was himself. What direc-

tion he received in it I am not able to say, but as it seems he was ad-

vised to sit down with patience, not to exasperate either of the Abbots,

and thereby to provoke more enemies against him than he had al-

ready. And I conceive that this Advice was given unto him, because I

cannot find that he stirred any further in it; the rather in regard that

Abbot was nominated not long after to the Bishopsrick of Salisbury in

the place of Dr. Henry Cotton, who died on the seventh of May next

following. And yet this Bishopsrick was not carried so clearly for him,

notwithstanding his Brothers great power and credit in the Court:

but that a very strong opposition was made against him; which being

overcome at last, he received Episcopal Consecration on the third of

December, leaving the Chair to Dr. John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter

Colledge, who proved a vehement asserter of all the Calvinian rigours

in the matter of Predestination, and the Points depending thereupon;

as appears by his first Lecture, De Absoluto Decreto, and the rest which

followed.

Dr. Abbot being thus removed to an higher sphere, it seemed not good
to Laud to pursue the quarrel, but patiently to attend the year of his

expectation; before the expiring whereof the King bestowed upon

him the Deanry of Gloucester, as before was said. At the bestowing of

which Deanry his Majesty told him, that he had been informed that

there was scarce ever a Church in England so ill governed, and so

much out of order as that was, requiring him in the general to reform

and set in order what he found amiss. Being thus forewarned, and

withal forearmed, he makes haste to Gloucester, where he found the

Church in great decay; many things out of order in it, the Commu-

nion Table standing almost in the middeft of the Quire, contrary to

the posture of it in his Majesties Chappel, and of all the Cathedral

Churches which he had seen. Which being observed, he called a

Chapter of the Prebends, and having acquainted them with his Majes-

ties Instructions, easily obtained their consent to two Chapter Acts:

The one, for the speedy Repairing of the Church where it was most

necessary:
PART 1. necessary: The other, for transposing the Communion Table to the East end of the Quire, and placing it all along the Wall, according to the situation of it in other Cathedral or Mother Churches, which Transposition being made, he recommended to the Prebendaries, the Quire-men, Choristers, and the under-Officers of the Church the making of their humble reverence to Almighty God, not only at their first entrance into the Quire, but at their approaches toward the holy Table; according to the laudable custom of the Primitive times, retained still in the solemnities of the Knights of the Garter at the Act in Oxon, in the Chappels of his Majesty, and divers great persons in the Realm. His Majesties instructions, the Contents of the two Chapter Acts, and how he had proceeded on them, I find certified under his hand into two Letters; The one, to his good Friend the Bishop of Lincoln, bearing date March 3, 1616. The other, unto the Bishop of Gloucester (who had shewed himself offended at his proceedings) bearing date one the twenty seventh of February then next foregoing.

The Bishop of Gloucester at that time was Dr. Miles Smith, once of Brazen-nose Colledge, a great Hebrician, and one that took as much pains as any in the last Translation of the Bible, as a reward for which he received this Bishoprick. But then withal he was a man that spared not to shew himself upon all occasions in favour of the Calvinian party; and more particularly in countenancing the Lecturers within his Diocess against the lawful Minister of the Parith whenever any complaint of their proceedings was made unto him. No sooner had he heard what the new Dean had done about the Communion Table, but he expressed his dislike of it, and opposed it with all the power he had; But finding that he could not prevail according unto his desires, he is said to have protested unto the Dean, and some of the Prebends, that if the Communion Table were removed, or any such Innovations brought into that Cathedral, he would never come more within those Walls; which Promise or Protestation he is said by some to have made good, and not to have come within that Church to his dying day: Which if he did forbear upon that occasion, he must needs shew himself a man of great pertinacity, and one that feared not to give a publick scandal to the Church, and the Court to boot; This transposition being made in the declining of the year 1616, his Palace standing near the walls of that Cathedral, and he not dying till the year 1624, which was eight years after. Seeing how little he prevailed, one White his Chaplain takes upon him in a Letter written to the Chancellor of that Diocess, to acquaint him with the strange Reports which were come unto them touching the situation of the Communion Table in the place where the High Altar stood before, and that low obsequies were made to it, assuring him how much the secret Papists would rejoice, in hope that that which they long looked for was now near at hand; In which Letter he also challenged and upbraided the Prebends, and other Preachers of that City, that they did not offer either by word or deed to resist the Dean in those proceedings; admiring that no man should have any spark of Elia's Spirit to speak a word in God's behalf, that the Preachers should swallow down such things in
in silence; and that the Prebends should be so faint-hearted as to shrink
in the first wetting, especially having the Law on their side against it.
Anno Dom. 1616.

It was not long before this Letter was made a Libel: Either the
Letter itself, or a Copy of it, being cast into the Pulpit at St. Michael's
Church, where Prior the Sub-dean used to preach; to the end that he
and others of the Prebendaries might take notice of it. Found by the
Parish-Clerk, and by him put into the hands of the Curate, by them
communicated unto others, who took Copies of it, and in short time
divulged it over all the City. The City was at that time much per-
fered with the Puritan Faction, which was grown multitudinous and
strong by reason of the small abode which the Dean and Prebendaries
made amongst them, the dull connivance of their Bishop, and the re-
miss Government of their Metropolitan, so that it seemed both safe
and easy to some of the Rabble to make an out-cry in all places, that
Popery was coming in; that the translating of the Communion Table
into an Altar, with the worship and obedience which were done to it,
were Popish superstitions, and the like. Jones, one of the Aldermen
of the City, and a Justice of the Peace withal, caused some of the prin-
cipal dispersers of this Libellous Letter to be brought before him, com-
mitted some of them to prison, and threatened to bind the rest to their
good behaviour. But fearing to use his own power might not be suffi-
cient to crush that Faction which had begun to gather strength by long
connivance, he advised that the business might be referred to the High
Commissioners, as men more able to deal with them. Notice hereof
being given to the new Dean by some Letters thence, bearing date
Feb. 21, he addressed this Letter above-mentioned to the Bishop of Glo-
cester: In which he desired such Favour and Equity at his hands, as
that his Lordship would join to reform such Tongues and Pens as knew
not how to submit to any Law but their own; that of necessity he was to
acquaint his Gracious Majesty, not only with the thing itself, but
with the entertainment which it found among Turbulent Spirits; and
that he doubted not but that his Majesty would be well pleased to hear
how careful his Lordship showed himself in preserving the Order and
Peace of the Church. But fearing that the Bishop, whose Chaplain
was the sole cause of the mischief, would not be very forward to re-
dress it, he dispatched the other Letter, abovementioned, to the Bi-
shop of Lincoln, and in that Letter he directed his Lordship (having first
moved that the High Commission would be pleased to take some
 speedy order in it) to let him have his lawful assistance, to the end that
so long as he did nothing but what was established and practiced in the
Church of England, he might not be brought into contempt by tur-
bulent Spirits, at his first entrance on that place, and so be disinabled to
do that good service which he owed to the Church of Christ; withal
proponding to his Lordship, that if it stood with his good liking,
his Majesty might be acquainted with the first success of his endeav-
ours for reforming such things as he found most amiss in that
Church, &c.

Whilist these things were thus agitated in the Reformation of the
Church of Gloucester, there were other Actions in the Court, touching

K
The Life of William

PART I.

the Reformation of some things in the University of Oxon. Laud had before informed the Bishop of Lincoln concerning the coarse usage which he had from Dr. Abbot, as before was said. Whish being represented to his Majesty, it was withal intimated to him what dangers would proceed by the training up of young Students in the Grounds of Calvinistic, if Some directions were not illused from his Majesty for the course of their studies; that there was no better way to advance the Presbyterian Government in this Kingdom than by suffering young Scholars to be seasoned with Calvinistic Doctrines; that it was very hard to say, whether of the two, either the Puritan, or the Papist were more destructive of Monarchical Government; and finally, that for want of subscription to the three Articles contained in the 36. Canon, not only Leaflers, but divers other Preachers, in and about the University, positively maintained such points of Doctrine, as were not maintained or allowed by the Church of England. Which matter his Majesty having taken into consideration, by the advice of such Bishops and others of the Clergy, as were then about him, upon the eighteenth of January he dispatched these Directions following to the Vice-Chancellor, the Heads of Colleges and Halls, the two Professors, and the two Proctors of the University, to be carefully and speedily put in execution.

JAMES REX.

1. That it was his Majesty's pleasure that he would have all that take any degree in schools, to subscribe to the three Articles in the 36th Canon.

2. That no Preacher be allowed to preach in the Town, but such as are every way conformable both by subscription and every other way.

3. That all students do resort to the Sermons in St. Maries, and be restrained from going to any other Church in the time of St. Maries Sermons; and that provision be made that the Sermons in St. Maries be diligently made and performed, both before noon and after noon.

4. That the ordinary Divinity be constantly kept with three Replicans.

5. That there be a greater restraint of Scholars haunting Town-houses, especially in the night.

6. That all Scholars, both at the Chappels, and at the Schools, keep their Scholastical Habits.

7. That young Students in Divinity be directed to study such books as be most agreeable in Doctrine and Discipline to the Church of England, and invited to bestow their times in the Fathers, and Councils, Schoolmen, Histories, and Controversies, and not to insist too long upon Compendiums and Abbreviations, making them the grounds of their study in Divinity.

8. That no man, either in Pulpit or Schools, be suffered to maintain Dogmatically any point of Doctrine that is not allowed by the Church of England.

9. That Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and the two Professors, or two of the Heads of Houses, do at such time as his Majesty resists into those parts wait upon
This was the first step toward the suppressing of that Reputation which Calvin and his Writings had attained unto in that University; and a good step it might have been, if Dr. Goodwin, Dean of Christ-Church, who was then Vice-Chancellor, had not been Father-in-law to Prideaux, or rather if Prideaux himself had approved the Articles; or that Dr. Benfield of Corpus Christi, the other Professor for Divinity, a grave but fedentary man, had been active in it. But howsoever being published, though it went no farther, it gave such a general Alarm to the Puritan Faction, that the terror of it could not be forgotten in 20 years after: Certain it is, that in the year 1636, it was charged by H. Burton of Friday-street for an Innovation, one of the many Innovations introduced by Laud, and others of the Prelatical party, to subvert Religion. But leaving them to the folly of their own affrightments, let us look back unto the King, who being confident that he had left the University in a ready way for coming to an Unity in matters of Doctrine, prepared for his Journey into Scotland, with a like confidence of effecting an Uniformity in Forms of Worship: A matter of consequence and weight, and therefore to be managed by able Ministers, such as knew how to winde and turn the Presbyterians of that Kingdom, if matters should proceed to a Disputation. The known Abilities of Laud mark'd him out for one; which though it were like to bring a great Charge upon him, yet he preferred the Reputation before the Charge, and cheerfully embrac'd the Service. Nor was it more welcome unto him, than grateful to the Bishop of Lincoln, assured thereby not only of a trusty Friend, but of a sociable Companion, for that tedious Journey. His Majesty having filled up the Lift of his Attendants, on the 14th. day of March began his Journey, accompanied by the Queen and Prince as far as Theobalds; and from thence went forward with his Train before appointed. By the way he called in at the City of Lincoln, where it is not to be doubted but that the Bishop gave him as magnificent an Entertainment as the Place and Country would afford: And from this place it was that he dated his Instructions of the 14th. of April, to the Lord John Digby, then going Embassador into Spain, to Treat upon and Conclude a Marriage between Prince Charles, and the Infanta Maria the Second Daughter of that King; one of which Articles was to this effect, That the Espousals being made in Spain according to the Order of the Council of Trent, the Marriage should be solemnized in England, where there should be such a solemnization as by the Laws of this Realm should make the Marriage valid, and take away all scruple touching the Legitimation of the Issue. Which temperment seems to me to have very much in it of Laud's hand and spirit.
PART I. In the beginning of May 1617, his Majesty was come as far as Berwick, and from thence visiting the West parts of Scotland, came at last to Edinburgh, where he soon found that he might have saved himself a great part of his care, and taken such of his Chaplains with him as came next to hand; the Presbyterian Scots not being to be gained by Reason, as he had supposed: For he was scarce setled in that City, when the Presbyter conceiving that his coming was upon design to work an Uniformity between the Churches of both Kingdoms; set up one Struther to preach against it, who laid so Inthinry about him in the chief Church of Edinburgh, that he not only condemned the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, but prayed God to save Scotland from the same. Land, and the rest of the Chaplains who had heard the Sermon, acquainted his Majesty with those paffages: but there was no remedy: The Scots were Scots, and resolved to go their own way whatsoever came of it. For though the Archbispof of Saint Andrews had forewarned them, that they should not irritate his Majesty, whom they should find a gracious Prince, and one that would hear Reason, and give way unto it; yet this prevailed nothing with them; they were resolvd neither to give Reason to him, nor take any from him, but only to gain them by delays and aritifices; For they knew well, that his Majesty had no resolution to stay long amongst them, and that when he was gone they might do what they lifted: And therefore when his Majesty, in a Speech made to them at St. Andrews, had told them, That it was a Power belonging to all Christian Princes to order matters in the Church; and that he would never regard what they approved or disapproved, except they brought him a Reason which he could not answer; all that they did was to require a little time of Consultation, which being granted, they returned with this Resolution, That if his Majesty would grant them a free Assembly, they would therein satisfy his Majesty in all the Points he had proposed. Patrick Galloway, one of the chiefest amongst them, passing his word for the performance. But when the King was gone, and the day of the Assembly come, those promises vanished into Smokes; so that the King gained nothing by that chargeable Journey, but the neglect of his Commands, and a contempt of his Authority. His Majesty therefore took a better course, than to put the point to Argument and Disputation; which was to beat them by the Belly, and to withdraw those Augmentations which he had formerly allowed them out of his Exchequer: Which Pill so wrought upon this indigent and obstinate People, that the next year, in an Assembly held at Perth, they pas'd an Act for admitting the five Articles for which his Majesty had been courting them for two years together.

But whatsoever the King left by the Journey, I am sure the Bishop of Lincoln got well by it: For James the Bishop of Durham dying during the King's abode in Scotland, his Majesty bestowed upon him that wealthy Bishoprick; one of the wealthy in Revenues, but absolutely the greatest in Power and Priviledges. Into this Bishoprick being canonically confirmed on the ninth of October, he presently set himself on work to repair the Palaces and Houfes belonging to it,
which he had found in great decay; but he so adorned and beautified them in a very short space, that they that saw them could not think that they were the same. Three thousand pounds he is affirmed by Bishop Godwin to have disbursed only upon this account, having laid out before no less than a thousand Marks on the Episcopal Houses of the See of Lincoln, besides a good round Sum on the House of Bromley, the Habitation and Retreat of the Bishops of Rochester. But that which gave him most content was his Palace of Durham-house in the Strand, not only because it afforded him convenient Room for his own Retinue, but because it was large enough to allow sufficient Quarters for Buckridge Bishop of Rochester, and Laud Dean of Glocester, which he enjoyed when he was Bishop of St. David's also; some other Quarters were reserved for his old servant Dr. Linfell, and others for such Learned men of his Acquaintance as came from time to time to attend upon him; insomuch as it passed commonly by the name of Durham Colledge. A man of such a strange composition, that whether he were of a larger and more publick Soul, or of a more uncourtly Conversation, it were hard to say.

But to return again to Laud: Finding his Majesty resolved to pass thorow Lancashire, and other Counties of the North-west of England, in his way to London, he obtained leave to go directly unto Oxon, and on the second of August was inducted into the Rectory of Thiblack in the County of Leicester; a Rectory belonging to the Patronage of the Bishop of Rochester, of whom he had it in exchange for his Kentish Benefices. At his return unto the Colledge, he was joyfully welcomed by his Friends, and cheerfully received after so long an absence by the greatest part of that Society: But that which seemed most agreeable to him at his coming home, was the good News he heard from Glocester, how all things had been quieted there, and that there was no fear or danger of any further opposition to be made against him; for the Rabble being terrified by the severe proceedings of Alderman Jones, and more affrighted at the noise of being brought into the Court of High-Commission, began to grow more sensible of the error which they had committed, the fury of their first heats being abated, and Reason beginning by degrees (as it is ordinary in such cases) to take place of Passion. Nothing else memorable in this year, as in relation to his Story, but some misfortunes which befell the Archbispoh, his perpetual enemy; the greatest whereof (though perhaps not took most to heart) was the death of his Brother the Bishop of Salisbury, which produced great sorrow to his Friends, the rather in regard of the manner and occasion of it: For after his advancement to the See of Sarum, being then near sixty years of Age, he married the Widow of one Doctor Cheynel a Phyfician, who had been one of his Contemporaries in Balliol Colledge; the news whereof being presented (with some circumstances to his disadvantage) to his Brother the Archbispoh of Canterbury, he received from him such a sharp and bitter Letter, so full of Reproaches and Revilings, that not being able to bear the burthen of so great an Infolency, he presently took thought upon it, and as presently died, leaving this life on the second of March, the year almost expiring with him.
The Archbishop had been off the hooks ever since the affront (as he conceived) was put upon him in burning his Chaplain Doctor Mockett's Book, intituled, De Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanae, which had given no small Reputation to the Church of England beyond the Seas; for which severity though many just Reasons were alleged, yet it was generally conceived, that as the Book fared the worse for the Authors fake, so the Author did not speed the better for his Patron the Archbishops fake, betwixt whom, and Doctor James Montague then Bishop of Winchester, there had been some differences, which the rest of the Court Bishops were apt enough to make some use of to his disadavantage.

But having thus fallen upon the burning of this Book, I shall speak something of it here, because of some particulars in it which may conduce unto our Story in the times succeeding. This Dr. Mockett being Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, and Warden of All-Souls College in Oxon. had publish'd in the Latin Tongue the Liturgy of the Church of England, the Publick Catechisms, the 39 Articles, the Book of Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and many Doctrinal Points extracted out of the Book of Homilies; together with Bishop Jewel's Apology, Mr. Noel's Catechism, and his own Book De Politia, &c. A Collection which the good man publish'd in a pious zeal, for gaining Honour to this Church amongst Foreign Nations: But then this Zeal of his was accompanied with so little Knowledge in the Constitution of this Church, or so much bias'd toward those of Calvin's Platform, that it was thought fit not only to call it in, but to expiate the Errors of it in a Publick Flame: For first, his Extracts out of the Book of Homilies were conceived to be rather framed according to his own Judgment, which enclin'd him toward the Calvinian Doctrines, as his Patron did; than squared according to the Rules and Dictates of the Church of England: And possible enough it is, that some just offence might be taken at him, for making the Fast-days appointed in the Liturgy of the Church of England, to be commanded and observe'd ob Politicas solum Rationes, for politick considerations only, as intimated p. 368. whereas those Fast-days were appointed in the first Liturgy of King Edward vizj. Anno 1549. (with reference only to the Primitive Institution of those several Fasts) when no such Politick Considerations were so much as thought on. But that which I conceive to have been the true cause why the Book was burned, was, that in publishing the 2oth Article, concerning the Authority of the Church, he totally left out the first Clause of it, vizj. Habet Ecclesiæ Ritus sine Ceremoniis, statuendi jus; & in controversiis Fidei Authoritatem: By means whereof, the Article was apparently falsified, the Churches Authority disavaowed, and consequently a wide gap opened to dispute her Power in all her Canons and Determinations of what sort soever. I note this here, because of the Relation which it hath to some following Passages in the year 1637. when we shall find Land charged by those of the Puritan Faction, for adding this omitted Clause of that Article.

1618. In the next year (1618.) we find not a little done at home, but...
Lord Arch Bishop of Canterbury.

much more abroad; the Puritan Faction being discomfited here, and the Calvinists encouraged there. The Subbatarian Doctrines by the diligence of Arch-bishop Whitgift, and the severity of Justice, had been crush'd at their first starting out; and afterwards not daring to implore the Countenance of Authority, they got footing again in divers places by the cunning of the Puritan Faction, the ignorant confidence of some of their Lecturers, and the misguided zeal of some publick Ministers of Justice: And they prevailed so far at first, that the Annual Festivals being turned into days of Labour, and the Lords day wholly taken up in Religious Duties, there was no time left for lawful Recreations amongst the People: Which being made known unto King James, as he passed thorough Lancashire the last Summer, he gave some present Order in it, for the safe and comfort of his good Subjects in that Country; and that it might not serve only for the present, but the times to come, he published his Royal Declaration to the same effect, bearing date at Greenwich May 24. of this present year: In which Declaration there are three things to be observed; viz. the Motives, the Liberties, and the Restrictions. First, for the Motives which induced that King to this Declaration, they were chiefly four. 1. The general Complaints of all sorts of People, as he palfed thorough Lancashire, of the Restraint of those innocent and lawful Pastimes on that day, which by the Rigors of some Preachers and Ministers of Justice, had been laid upon them. 2. The hindrance of the Conversion of many Papists, who by this means were made to think, that the Protestant Religion was inconsistent with all harmless and modest Recreations. 3. That by debarring them from all manlike Exercises on those days, on which only they were freed from their daily Labours, they were made unactive, unable, and unfit for Warriors, if either himself or any of his Successors should have such occasion to employ them. 4. That men being hindred from these open Pastimes, betook themselves to Tipling-houses, and there abused themselves with Drunkenness, and cenfured in their Cups his Maje-...
And, 4. That the benefit thereof should redound to none but such as kept themselves in their own Parishes. Such was the substance of his Majesty's Declaration about Lawful Sports, which raised great clamour at the present, but greater when revived in the Reign of King Charles (at what time we shall find Laud charged for the Re-publishing of it) to much the greater, by how much the more the Sabbatian Doctrines had prevailed amongst us.

This being done for the discountenancing of the Calvinian Faction here at home, we must next see what was done abroad on the same account; that which was done abroad in relation to it, being of great concernment to this Church, and therefore necessary to be known in reference to the person of whom I write. The Bishops and conformable Clergy of Scotland had past two Acts in the Assembly held at Aberdeen, Anno 1616. the one, for making one Uniform Order or Form of Worship, to be prepared by some Bishops, and other Learned men amongst them, by them to be presented to the King, and being by the King approved, to be by him commended to the use of that Kirk: The other for consulting the Registry of their former Assemblies, and extracting out of them such Canons, as being ratified by the stamp of Royal Authority, might pass for current in the same. To speed this business, and strike the Iron whilst it was hot, his Majesty made that chargeable journey into Scotland, which before he spake of, with an intent to preside them personally to the receiving of some few of the English Ceremonies, which had been offered to the consideration of the late Assembly, the better to advance his hopes of introducing by degrees the Liturgy of the Church of England: Which Ceremonies being reduced to five Articles, and propounded to them at his being there, found such success, and put the King upon such Counsellors as have been formerly declared. But what he could not compass in the year foregoing, he obtained in this, those Articles being past an Assembly held at Perth in the Month of August, and are these that follow.

1. That for the more reverent Receiving of the Holy Communion, the same should be celebrated to the People thereafter kneeling, and not sitting, as had been the custom since the Reformation of Religion.

2. If any good Christian visited with sickness which was taken to be deadly, should desire to receive the Communion at home in his house, the same should not be denied to him, lawful warning being given to the Minister the night before, and three or four of good Religion and Conversation being present to Communicate with him.

3. That in case of necessity tried and known to the Minister, it should be lawful to Administer Baptism in private Houses, the same being always Ministr'd after the form in which it should have been in the Congregation: A publick Declaration of it to be made the next Sunday after.

4. That the days of the Birth, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Saviour Christ, and of the coming down of the Holy Ghost, in regard of those inestimable Benefits which the Church of God had received on them,
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

them should be publickly Solemnized in the Congregation, the Mi·L.I.B. 1.
mifers making choice of fit Texts of Scripture agreeable to the occa·Anno Dom.
sions, for their several Sermons.

5. That the Minister in every Parish, having Catechized all Children above
eight years of age, according to the short Catechism used in the
Church, and taught them to repeat by heart the Lords Prayer, the Creed,
and the Ten Commandments, should present them to their Bishops in
their Visitations, by them to be blessed with prayers for the increase of
Grace, and continuance of Gods Heavenly Gifts upon them.

And this indeed was a great step to the work of Uniformity so
much desired; which had it been pursued as vigorously by the Bishops
of Scotland, as by the King it had been piously begun, the Service
which was sent into that Kirk almost twenty years after, had been bet-
and all of them before such time as any publick notice had been taken of him; by which it seems, that these Doctrines were of a long standing, and had took deep rooting in these Churches, though they had not gained such a large and general spreading over them as they after did.

For in the year 1603, the Learned Junius, one of the Professors for Divinity in the University of Leyden, being then deceased, the Curators, or Overseers of that University made choice of this Van Harnine, the Pastor, (as they phrafe it) of the Church of Amsterdam, to succeed in his place: But the Inhabitants of that Town, amongst whom he had served in the Ministry for the space of 15 years and more, were so affected to the man, that they would by no means yield unto his departure, till overruled by the intreaties of some, and the power of others: A matter very unpleasing to the Rigid Calvinians informing against him to the State for several Heterodoxies repugnant to the received Doctrine of those Churches. Arminius for six years before, had by exchange of Letters betwixt him and Junius, maintained the Melancthonian Doctrines in those points of Controversie before remembred; which Papers being dispersed abroad in several Copies (but not published till after his death, and then published by the name of Amica Collatio, &c.) gave the Calvinians some fair colour for their information: But the business being heard at the Hague, he was acquitted by his Judges, dispatch'd for Leyden, and there confirmed in his place; towards which, the Testimonial Letters, sent from the Church of Amsterdam, did not help a little; in which Letters he stands recommended for a man of unblamable life, (b) found Doctrine, and fair behaviour, as may be seen at large in the Oration which was made at his Funeral, in the Divinity Schools of Leyden, on the 22. of October, Anno 1609. During his sitting in that Chair, he drew unto him a great part of that University, who by the Piety of the man, his powerful Arguments, his extreme diligence in the place, and the clear light of Reason, which appeared in all his Discourses, were so wedded unto his Opinions, that no time nor trouble could divorce them: For Arminius dying in the year 1609, as before was said, the heats betwixt his Scholars, and those of the contrary persuasion, were rather increased than abated; the more increased, for want of such a prudent Moderator as had before saved and preserved these Churches from a publick Rupture.

The breach between them growing wider, each side thought fit to seek the Countenance of the State, and they did accordingly: For in the year 1610, the Followers of Arminius address their Remonstrance (containing the Antiquity of their Doctrines, and the subsistence of them) to the States of Holland, which was encountered presently by a Contra-Remonstrance, exhibited by those of Calvin's Party. From hence the name of Remonstrants, and Contra-Remonstrants, so frequent in their Books and Writings; till the Remonstrants were condemned in the Synod of Dort, and either forced to yield the cause or quit their Country; each Party in the mean time had the opportunity to disperse their Doctrines, in which the Remonstrants gained exceedingly upon their
Adversaries. For the whole Controversie being reduced to these five Points, viz. the Method of Redefinition, the Efficacy of Chrifts death, the operations of Grace, both before and after a man's Converſiſons, and Perſeverance in the same: the Parties were admitted to a publick Conference at the Hague in the year 1611. in which the Remonſtrants were conceived to have had much the better of the day. But these Tongue-combats did produce a further miſchief then was ſuppected at the firſt: for the Calviniſans hoping to regain by Power what they loſt by Argument, put themselves under the Protection of Maurice van Nassau, Prince of Orange, Commander General of the Forces of the United Provinces, both by Sea and Land. The Remonſtrants on the other part applied themselves unto John Olden Barnewelt, a principal Counſellor of State, and of great Authority in his Country: Who fearing the Greatneſs of the Prince, and having (or thinking that he had) some cauſe to doubt that he aimed at an abſolute Soveraigne over those Eſtates, did cheerfulſly entertain the offer, in hope to form such a Partey by them, as, with the help of some other good Patriots, might make a ſuﬃcient Counter-baſſance against that defign. But Barneweſts projects being discovered, he was first feized on by the Prince, together with Gratius Leidenburgius, and others of his chief Adherents; and that being done, he ſhewed himself with his Forces beforeſuch Towns and Cities as had declared in favour of them; reducing them under his Command, changing their Magiſtrates, and putting new Garrifons into them. Next followed the Arraignment and death of Barnewelt, contrary to the Fundamentall Laws both of his native Country, and the common Union: whole death ocſeioned a general dejection (as well it might) amongst thoſe of the Remonſtrant Party; and their dejection animated the Calviniſans to refer their differences to a National Council, which thereupon was intimated to be held at Dort, one of the principal Towns of Holland.

This Council being thus reſolved on, their next care was to invite to their aſſiſtance some Divines out of all the Churches of Calviniſt Platform, and none else; which did ſuﬃciently declare, that they intended to be both Parties and Judges, as in fine it proved: For unto this Convenſion asſembled the moſt Rigid Calviniſts, not only of the United Provinces, but also of all the Churches of High Germany, and amongſt the Switz, and from the City of Geneva whom it moft concerned. From France came none, because the King, upon good Reaſon of State, had commanded the contrary; and the Scots much complained that they were notſuffered by King James to ſend their Commiſſioners thither with the rest of the Churches: For though King James had nominated Balcanquiel to that employment in the name of the Kirke, yet that could give them no contentment. From England, the King sent Dr. George Carleton Bishop of Landaff, Dr. Jof. Hall Dean of Worceſter, Dr. John Davenent Master of Queenes Colledge and Lady Margarets Professor in Cambridge, and Dr. Sam. Ward Master of Sydneys Colledge in the fame University. And thus he did, that by the countenance of his power, and by the presence of his Divines, he might support the Party of the Prince of Orange, and suppress his Adverſaries. On the third of No-

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December they began the Synod: But things were carried there with such inequality, that such of the Remonstrants as were like to be elected, by their several Classes, were cited, and commanded to appear as Criminals only, and being come, could not be suffered to proceed to a Disputation, unless they would subscribe to such conditions as they conceived to be destructive to their Cause, and their Conscience too: Which being refused, they were expelled the house by Bagotius (who late President there) in a most fierce and bitter Oration, condemned without answering for themselves; and finally, for not subscribing to their own condemnation, compelled to forfake their native Country, with their Wives and Children, and to beg their bread even in desolate places. What influence those quarrels had amongst our selves, and what effects that Synod did produce in the Church of England we shall see hereafter, when the same Points come to be agitated and debated on this side of the Seas.

His Majesty, having thus made himself the Master of his Designs, both at home and abroad, and being recovered from a dangerous sickness which had fallen upon him at New-Market, in the year 1619, resolved on such a work of Magnificent Piety, as might preserve his name and memory to succeeding Ages: To which end upon Midsummer Sunday, Anno 1620, accompanied by the Prince, attended by the Marquefs of Buckingham, the Bishops, Lords, and most of the principal Gentlemen about the Court, he intended to visit St. Paul's. From Temple-bar he was conducted in most solemn manner by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London: and at his entrance into the Church, received under a Canopy by the Dean and Canons, attired in rich Copes, and other Ecclesiastical Habits: Being by them brought into the Quire, he heard with very great reverence and devotion the Divine Service of the day most solemnly performed with Organs, Cornets, and Sagbutts, accompanied and intermingled with such excellent voices that seemed rather to enchant than chant. The Divine Service being done, he went unto a place prepared, where he heard the Sermon at the Cross, preached by the eloquent and religious Prelate, Dr. John King, Lord Bishop of London. The Sermon being ended, the Collation began: His Majesty attended with all the Lords, and the rest of his Train, being entertained by the said Lord Bishop at a sumptuous Banquet, with no less honour to himself than content to his Majesty. But there was more intended by this Visit than Pomp and Ostentation only. For his Majesty having taken a view of the ruinous Estate in which he beheld that goodly Fabrick, issued not long after a Commission for repair thereof: and somewhat was done in it both by Bishop King and Bishop Mountain: But the carrying on of this work was referred to another man; For a breach following not long after between Spain and England, and wars soon following on that breach, a stop was made to all proceedings in that work till the year 1631. At what time Laud, being Bishop of London, obtained a like Commission from the hands of King CHARLES, and set his heart so much upon it, that in few years he had made a mighty Progress in it, of which more hereafter.

And
And here it was once feared, that this present History might have ended without going further; for on the second of April, as he past from London towards Oxon, he took up his Inn at Wickham, where he fell suddenly dead, and was not without much difficulty, and Gods special favour, restored unto his former being. But God reserved him to a life more eminent, and a death more glorious; not suffering him to dye obscurely, like a traveller, in a private Inn, but more conspicuously, like a Martyr, on the publick Theatre; for on the 22. of January he was installed Prebend in the Church of Westminister, after no leas than ten years expectation of it; and on the last of the same month he was as Dean of Gloucester in the Convocation. The Prince Elector Palatine, who married the Kings only Daughter in the year 1612, had the last year most inconderately took upon him the Crown of Bohemia; not taking with him the Kings Counsel in it as he might have done, but giving him an account of it on the Post-Fact only. The Emperor exasperated with this Intrupation (as by him reputed) gave up his Country for a prey, aligning the Electoral Dignity with the upper Palatinate to the Duke of Bavaria, and the lower to the King of Spain, who had possess themselves of divers good Towns and places in it.

For the recovery whereof, and the preservation of the rest, in which his Majesty and his Children were so much concerned; it pleased his Majesty to call a Parliament, to begin on the thirtieth day of January, accompanied with a Convocation (as the custom is) on the morrow after. The business of their Convocation being signified unto them by the King, the Parliament at their first sitting, which ended March 27, bestowed upon his Majesty two Subsidies, but they gave no more; which rather served to stay his stomach than allay his hunger. They had some turns to serve upon him before they would part with any more money, if they did it then. But the Clergy dealt more freely with him in their Convocation, because they had no other ends in it than the expressing of their duty and good affections. In testimony whereof they gave him three entire Subsidies of four shillings in the pound at their first sitting; and would not have been wanting to his Majesty in a further addition, in the second or third, if his Majesty had required it of them. Incouraged with which supplies, and the hopes of greater, he sent some Regiments of old English Soldiers for the defence and preservation of the Lower Palatinate, under the command of that Noble Souldier, Sir Horatio Vere.

When the Commons bestowed upon him the said two Subsidies, he took them only as a bit to stay his stomach, as before was said; giving himself some hopes that at the next Session they would entertain him with a better, and more costly dinner; but then they meant that he should pay the reckoning for it. For at their re-assembling on the 17. of April, instead of granting him the supplies he looked for; they fell to pick quarrels with his Servants, and one of his chief Ministers of State, not only questioning Sir Giles Monpeffon, and Sir Francis Michael, but even the Lord Chancellor Bacon also. These men (supposing them to have been as criminal as their enemies made them) were notwithstanding
standing such as acted under his Commissions, and therefore not to have been punished by his own Authority only. The giving of them over to the power of the Parliament, not only weakened his own Prerogative, but put the House of Commons upon such a Pin, that they would let no Parliament pass (for the times to come) without some such Sacrifice. And so fell Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Verulam, and Viscount of St. Albans; a man of good and bad qualities, equally compounded, one of a most strong brain, and a Chymical head; designing his endeavours to the perfecting of the Works of Nature, or rather improving Nature to the best advantages of life, and the common benefit of mankind. Pity it was he was not entertained with some liberal Salary, abstracted from all affairs both of Court and Judicature, and furnished with sufficiency both of means, and helps for the going on in his design, which had it been, he might have given us such a body of Natural Philosophy, and made it so subservient to the publick good, that neither Aristotle nor Theophrastus amongst the Ancients, nor Paracelsus, or the rest of our later Chymists would have been considerable. In these Agitations held the Parliament till the fourth of June, without doing any thing in order to his Majesties Service, who thereupon adjourned them till the fourteenth of November following, before which time we find Laud mounted one step higher, and ready to take place amongst the Bishops in the House of Peers: And therefore here we will conclude the first Part of our present History.
THE LIFE OF
The most Reverend FATHER in GOD
WILLIAM
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

LIB. II.
Extending from his being made Bishop of St. Davids till his coming to the See of Bath and Wells.

IT is an observation no less old than true, that Patience and Laud. Perseverance overcome all difficulties: And so it hapned unto Laud. He had with most incredible patience endured the baffles and affronts, which were put upon him by the power and practices of his enemies. Nor did he shew less patience in his so long and chargeable attendance at the Court, for which he had so small regard, that he was rather looked upon as the Bishop of Durbans Servant than the Kings. But notwithstanding these cross winds he was resolved to ride it out, neither to shift his fails, nor to tack about, but still to keep his way, and to stem the current till he had gained the Port he aimed at. His Majesty had been made acquainted by long experience with his great abilities, his constancy, courage, and dexterity, for managing affairs of moment. And thereupon entering into speech with him, in the beginning of June he was pleased to take notice of the long and unrewarded service which he had done him, telling him, that he looked on the Deanry of Gloucester but as a Shell without a Kernel. This gave him the first hopes of his growing Fortunes.
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Fortunes. On Sunday the nineteenth of that Month he preached before the King at Wanfleed, that being the first of those Sermons, which are now in Print. And on St. Peter's day next following, there was a general expectation about the Court that he should have been made Dean of Westminster, in the place of Williams; who having been sworn Privy-Counsellor on the tenth of that month, and nominated to the See of Lincoln, was on the tenth of July, honoured with the custody of the great Seal of England upon the Deprivation of the Lord Chancellor St. Albans, which before we sake of: but Williams so prevailed at Court, that when he was made Bishop of Lincoln, he retained this Deanship in Commendam, together with such other Preferments as he held at that time; That is to say, A Prebend and Refidientiary place in the Cathedral Church at Lincoln, and the Rectory of Walsgrave in Northamptonshire, so that he was a perfect Diocesan within himself, as being Bishop, Dean, Prebend, Refidientiary, and Parson; and all these at once. But though Laud could not get the Deanery, yet he left nothing by the example; which he made use of in retaining not only his Prebends place in the same Church of Westminster, and his Benefices in the Country (that being an ordinary indulgence to such as were preferred to the smaller Benefices) but also the Presidenthip of his Colledge in Oxen, which he valued more than all the rest. For that his own expectation might not be made as frustrate, as was that of the Court, his Majesty nominated him the same day to the See of St. Davids, in former times the Metropolitan City of the Welsh or British. But though he was nominated then, he could not receive the Episcopal Character till five months after; the stay was long, but the necessity unavoidable, by reason of a deplorable misfortune which had befallen Archbishops of London, and was briefly this:

The Archbishops had long held a dear and entire Friendship with Edward Lord Zouch, a person of an eminent and known Nobility; on whom he pleased to bestow a visit in his house at Bramhall, invited to see a Deer hunted, that he might take the fresh air, and revive his Spirits; a Crosbow was put into his hand to shoot one of the Deer; but his hand most unhappyly swerving, or the Keeper as unfortunately coming in his way, it pleased God (the disposer of Humane Affairs) that he missed the Beast, and shot the Man. On which sad accident, being utterly incapable of consolation, he retired himself to Guilford, the place of his birth; there to expect the Issue of his woful Fortunes in an Hospital of his own Foundation. The news of this wretched misadventure (as ill news flies far) came the same day to the Lord Keeper Williams; and he as hastily dispatches this Advertisement of it to the Marquess of Buckingham.

My most Noble Lord,

An unfortunate occasion of my Lord's Grace, his killing of a man casually (as it is here constantly reported) is the cause of my seconding of my yesterdays Letter unto your Lordship. His Grace upon this accident is by the Common Law of England to forfeit all his Estate unto his Majesty, and
and by the Canon Law (which it is in force with us) irregular ipso L.I.B. II.

The Archbishop of Canterbury.

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and by the Canon Law (which it is in force with us) irregular ipso L.I.B. II.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

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and by the Canon Law (which it is in force with us) irregular ipso L.I.B. II.

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Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

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and by the Canon Law (which it is in force with us) irregular ipso L.I.B. II.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.
The Life of William

PART I. See made void, Williams being then Lord Keeper, and in great favour with his Majesty and the Marquefs too, would have step'd into it; of whom he knew too much, to venture that great charge and trust of the Church of England to his care and Government; the dangerous Consequences whereof he was able to foretell without the Spirit of Propheſe. Nor was this conjecture of his without very good grounds, Williams declaring in his said Letter to the Marquefs, That his Majesty had promised him upon the relinquishing of the Seal, one of the beft places in this Church. And what place could be more agreeable to his affection than the Chair of Canterbury? Nor was this unfortunate Prelate left befriended in this desperate plunge by Sir Edward Coke, a man of moft profound Learning in the Laws of this Land, who being ask'd the Question, Whether a Bifhop might lawfully hunt in his own or in any other Park? (in which point lay the greatest pinch of the present difficulty,) returned this Answer thereunto; viz. That by the Law a Bifhop at his death was to leave his Pack of Dogs (by the French called Aire de Chiens in some old Records) to be disposed of by the King at his Will and Pleasure. And if the King was to have the Dogs when the Bifhop died, there is no question to be made, but that the Bifhop might make use of them when he was alive.

By reaſon of this intercurrence, the new Elected Bishops could not receive the Episcopal Character till November following; on the eleventh day of which month, the Lord Keeper Williams was Confecrated Bifhop of Lincoln, in the Chappel of King Henry, by vertue of a Commiffion under the Broad Seal, directed to certain other Bishops, according to the Statute of King Henry viii. And on the Sunday following, by vertue of a like Commiffion directed to the Bishops of London, Worſter, Chickeſter, Ely, Landaff, and Oxon. Doctor Laud Lord Eleff of Saint David's, Doctor Davenant Lord Eleff of Saſſbury, and Doctor Cary Lord Eleff of Exeter, received Episcopal Confecration in the Chappel of Lonſon-boufe. The next day after he took his place amongſt the Bishops in the House of Peers, the Parliament having been re-assembled some few days before: But there was little for them to do as the cafe then stood; The Commons were fo far from gratifying the King with fresh Supplies, who before had gratified them in the deſtruction of fuch Minifters as were near unto him, that they entertained him with Petitions and Remonſtrances touching the danger, threatened to our Religion, by the growth of Popery; in which they were fo far transported beyond their bounds, as to propoſe unto the King, the taking of the Sword into his Hands againſt the Spaniard, and the marrying of his dear Son the Prince to a Lady of the Reformed Religion: Of this the King had speedily notice; and in a Letter fent to Sir The. Richarfon, then Speaker of the House of Commons, he lets them know how fenſible he was of their intercounſlings, how bold they had made themselves with the King of Spain; forbidding them to deal hereafter in Affairs of State, or meddle with the Marriage of his Son the Prince: concluding, That if any ſuch Petition or Remonſtrance should be brought unto him, he would neither vouch-
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Commons now Assembled, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry Liberties, Franchises, and Priviledges of Parliament, amongst others here mentioned, do make this Protestation before following: That the Liberties, Franchises, Priviledges, and Jurisdiction of Parliaments, are the ancient and undoubted Birthright and Inheritance of the Subjects of England; and the maintenance and making of Laws, and redresses of Mischiefs and Grievances, which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects and matter of Debate in Parliament; and that in the handling or proceeding of those busineses, every Member of the House of Parliament hath and of right ought to have freedom of Speech, to Propound, Treat, Reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the Commons in Parliament have like freedom and liberty to treat of those matters in such order as to their judgments shall seem fittest; and that every Member of the said House hath like freedom from all Impeachments, Imprisonment, and Molestation (other than by Censure of the House itself) for or concerning any speaking, Reasoning, or Declaring of any Matter or Matters touching the Parliament, or Parliament business; and that if any of the said Members be complained of, or questioned for any thing done or said in Parliament, the same is to be shewed to the King by the Advice and Affent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the King give credence to any private Information.

More was the King startled at the news of this Protestation (whereof he had Intelligence before it came unto the Vote) than the Commons were upon the reading of his Majesties Letters. He saw his Prerogative invaded, his Paternal Right disputed, a popular State growing up in the midst of a Monarchy, and at the present a great Faction formed against him, which if not speedily suppress'd might prove unprofitable. Way he found none to extricate himself out of these troubles, but to proceed vigorously in the Treaty for the Match with Spain, which he conceived to be the only expedient to compoke all Differences, and recover the Patrimony of his Children. For shoul'd he break off with that King, and declare for a present War against him, as had been desired, he was to cast himself entirely on the Love of his People, of whose Affections and Designs their present Actions gave just caufe to be distrustful. He therefore first gives Order on the nineteenth of December (being the very day on which the Protestation was Voted at Westminster) to Adjourn the Parliament to the 8th. of February, under pretence that the Members might retire into the Country, for keeping
The Life of William

PART I. keeping Hospitality, and entertaining their Neighbours in the Christmass Holy-days, according to the laudable custom of the English Nation.

But having thus dismissed them to their several Countries, without noise or trouble, it was not his intent or purpose that they should come together again at the time appointed; according to which resolution he dissolves the Parliament, and by his Proclamation bearing date the ninth of January, discharges the Members of both Houfes from any further attendance.

The dissolving of this Parliament, and the Transactions in the same, administered much variety of Discourse in all parts of the Kingdom. It was observed by some, That his Majesty had broken one of the strongest Ligaments of the Regal Power, by delivering up his Servants and Ministers into the hands of his People in Parliament, which was a thing not used by any of his Predecessors; That neither Wolsey's exorbitant Power, or Cromwell's contempt of the Nobility, under Henry viii. or Leicesters Tyranny and Oppressions under Queen Elizabeth, were ever suffered to be canvased or condemned in Parliament; That the King got nothing by that unhappy condescension, but the laying himself open to all disadvantages which a Prince abandoning his Ministers, or abandoned by them, might have just reason to expect; That when Princes begin to fall so much beneath themselves, as to manage Pen Combate with their Subjects, they put themselves as it were upon equal ground, and stand on the fame Level with their Vassals, and by the loss of their Authority, get nothing but the Reputation of an able Writer. And then the Reason of these his yieldings being brought in Question, they were by some imputed to a natural timidity or want of Courage, which rendred him unable to hold out long, when he encountered those who would put him to it: Others ascribed it to his wants, and his wants unto his prodigality, which made his Exchequer always empty; and Mony must be had, whatever it cost him: But those who thought they came most near unto the mark, discoursed of him as a man that loved not business, and loved no business less than that of Parliament; That it was usual with him, when he called a Parliament, and had given them their Errand, as he thought, to retire to Theobalds, Hampton-Court, or Windfor, and sometimes further off, to Royslon, or New-Market, as his pleasure carried him; That by this means the Commons, not having opportunity of Access to his Person, were forced upon a plausible necellity of making their Address to him by Melliages, Remonstrances, and Petitions; That those Remonstrances and Petitions did beget their Answers, and their Answers did beget Replies which ended commonly in Exasperations on either side.

But nothing was so much admired as the encreasing of the Priviledges of the House of Commons, as well in nature as in number. And thereupon it was observed, that the Commons had notlooked themselves in the very ground on which they built their Proteftation; That the known Priviledges of the Commons were only liberty of speech in Debate and Conference; Freedom from all Arreft for themselves and their Servants, and opportunity of Access to his Majesty's Person,
Persson, as their occasions did require; that even those Priviledges could not be called the undoubted Birth-Right and Inheritance of the Subjects of England, because they were no otherwise exercised and enjoyed than from one Parliament to another, by the grace and goodness of their Kings; That were it otherwise, it must needs be a great impertinency in their Speaker (at the first opening of every Parliament) to put himself upon his knees, and humbly to beseech his Majesty, in behalf of the House of Commons, to indulge them the continuance of those Priviledges which were of right their own before; That they had been as much mistaken in making the House of Commons (by involving both Houses in the name of Parliament) to be of equal Power and Priviledg with the House of Peers, the contrary whereof being so well known; That the Peers and People being summoned to Parliament by several Writs, the Peers were called only ad consilium, to counsel and advise the King, in matters of most concernment to the Church and State; And that the People were called only consilium & faciendum, to give consent, and yield obedience to such things as were ordained in the Great Council of the Peers; that even the Peers themselves had no general warrant to meddle in all Affairs of State, but in such only as his Majesty commands and propounds to them; And therefore that these words in the Writ, super arduis regni negotiis, are not left at large, but limited and restrained by the word quisam, to such particulars, and such only, in which the King required their Counsels.

But nothing seemed so new or strange, as that no Member of the said House should be impeached, imprisoned, and molested, other than by Censure of the House itself, for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the Parliament, or Parliament business. A Priviledge not heard of in Queen Elizabeth's time, when in the 35. of her Reign She imprisoned no less than five of the Members at a clap, not only without their leave, but against their liking, and held them in so strict a durance, that the Commons did not think it safe to move her Majesty to restore them to their former liberty. And therefore that they were to shew under what rust and rubbish of Antiquity this Priviledg had so long been hidden, and how it came to befound out at last, when no body heard of it, or looked after it. The like discoursed also of the following Priviledg, which had been long buried in the same grave, and never came till now to a resurrection. It that the King is to take no private information of any complaint, concerning matters said or done in that House, till it be shewn unto him by the House itself; of which it was affirmed, that it was contrary to the Presidents and Practice of former times as the other was: That when the Queen had laid an Impoision upon Curran, and that this Impoision had been complained of by some Merchants to the House of Commons, she had present notice given her of it by some of her Servants in that House, that shewing her displeasure thereof to Sir Robert Ciceill, principal Secretary of State, he signified the same unto the House, telling them it was Noli me tangere, a point not fit for them to touch at; and that if they desisted not from enter-
The Life of William

PART I. entertaining that complaint, he must acquaint her Majesty with it, as in duty bound. Nor was there any better ground for that other branch, touching their Liberty and Freedom in breaking of all matters which came under their Cognizance in such method and order as to them seemed fittest; but that they did intend to lay it as a foundation for preferring their own busines before the Kings in all times to come.

I had not dwelt so long upon these Discourses, nor on the former passages between his Majesty, and the House of Commons, as being Exotical to my business: but that they were the chief occurrences of this first Parliament, of which our new Bifhop was a Member. And though the sitting was but short, not above a Month, yet it afforded him a liberal prospect into the Humours and Affections, the Counsels and Designs of the House of Commons, of which he was not to be taught how to make such use, as should prove most to the advantage of the Church and State. But that which chiefly did concern him to take notice of, was the interposing and embraces of that House in the cause of Religion; which if it were so much in danger by the extraordinary increas of Popery, as they gave it out, it must be much to the Reproach both of himself and the rest of the Bishops, that none of them had neither perspicacity enough to see it, or Zeal enough to give warning of it. And therefore he must needs conceive, that Religion was made use of only for a blind or curtain to screen some dark design from the publick view, which had not yet attained to so ripe a confidence as to shew it itself abroad in the open light. The Mystery of iniquity had long been working in this Church, not so much in the Popish as the Puritan Faction. Who seeing they had no more prevailed against it by their open batteries than the Roman Emperours had done on the Primitive Church by their persecutions, resolved upon more secret (and consequently more dangerous) practices to attain their ends. In order whereunto they had perpetually alarm'd this King (from his first coming to the Crown) with continual dangers from the Papists; for which the Gunpowder-treason gave them too much ground. Nor would they suffer any Seffion of Parliament pass from that time forward, in which the dangerous practices of priests, Jesuits, &c. did not sound in his ears. And this they did, not so much because they saw any such visible increase of Popery, as was by them pretended from time to time: but that they thought it the best way to carry on their other projects, which they were in hand with. For well they knew, that when the thoughts both of King and People were totally taken up with the apprehension of the dangers which were feared from the Papists, the Puritan party in the mean time might gather strength without being noted or observed. But because these interposing's of the Commons in the cause of Religion, became to be more eagerly pursued in some following Parliaments, we shall refer the further consideration of them to another time.

The Parliament being ended, we must follow our new Bifhop to his Diocefs, whom we will wait upon to St. Davids (a poor City God wot) situate on the Promontory in Pembroke-shire, by the Ancients called
For and yet, the Welsh most feared; but incommodious enough for all the rest of the Clergy to repair unto. Nor did it prove so safe for the Bishop, and other Inhabitants of it, as had been presumed, in respect of sundry other Nations who have often spoilt and defaced it. For standing near the Sea it had been frequently visited and spoiled by the Danes, Norwegians, and other Pirates; insomuch that the Bishops were forced to remove their dwelling to Caermarthen, a fair Market Town, and beautified with a goodly Collegiate Church, not far from which, in a Village called Abergavenny, the Bishop hath his ordinary place of Residence. This brought the City of St. David's, small enough before, to the condition of a Village, there being nothing almost remaining of it but the Church, the ruins of the Bishop's Palace, and some Houses appertaining to the Canons of it. The Church, as now it stands, (if any of it be now left standing) was the work of Bishop Peter the forty eighth Bishop of this Diocese, and by him dedicated by the name of St. Andrew and St. David; though now St. Andrew be left out, and St. David bears the name, (as before it did) in reference to St. David, who first removed the Archbishopsal See from Caerleon thither. The place at that time by the Welsh called Menew, whence the Latins borrow their Menestenis, by which name these Bishops are entitled. From this removal of the See, which happen'd in 519, the Bishops thereof were for some time the Metropolitans, and for a long time the Supreme Ordinary of the Welsh or Britifh. For although Archbishops Samson, the twenty sixth from St. David, in the year 910, or thereabouts, had carried the Archbishopsal Pall (and therewithal the Archbishopsal dignity) to Dol in Bretagne, by reason of an extreme Petulance, then raging amongst the Welsh; yet his Successors, though they lost the name, reserved the power of an Archbishop. Nor did the residue of the Welsh Bishops receive their Consecration from any other hand than his till the Reign of Hen. I. At what time Bernard, the forty sixth Bishop of this See, was forced to submit himself to the Church of Canterbury.

But our Bishops journey into Wales was not so much to visit St. David's, (in which Church he had been before inducted by Proxy) as to below a visitation upon his Diocese, and therein to take order for the rectifying of such things as he found amiss. A Diocese containing the whole Counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, Caermarthen, Radnor, and Brecknock, with some small parts of Monmouth, Hereford, Montgomery, and Glamorgan Shires. For managing whereof the Bishop hath under him four Archdeacons, that is to say, of Cardigan, Caermarthen, Brecknock, and Saint David's, distributing amongst them all the Parishes which belong to this Diocese, amounting to no more (in so great a quantity of ground) than 308. of which 120 are accounted for Improprations. But then we are to understand this number, of Parochial Churches, not taking into the Account such subordinate Chapels as had been built in several Parishes for the ease of the People, which might very much increase the reckoning. And yet he added one more to them of his own foundation, and such a one as for the
PART I. The elegancy of the building, and richness of the Furniture, exceeded all the rest together. Chappels he found none at his Episcopall house of Abergulity, and one he was resolved to bestow upon it, proportionally to such a Family as was fit for a Bishop of St. David's; to have about him; which being finifhed, he provided it of rich Furniture, and costly Utensils, and whatsoever else was neceffary or convenient for the Service of God; the very Plate defign'd for the celebrating of the holy Supper amounting to one hundred fifty five pounds eighteen shillings four pence. Insomuch that if Felix the Proconfil had been still alive, he might have cried out now, as he did in the time of Julian the Apostate, viz. (g) Behold in what rich Veflels they admifler to the Son of Mary. But this unhappy Age hath given us Felix's enough to reckon this amongst his crimes, and so they do his solemn Confecration of it, performed by himself in perfon, according to an order firmly drawn up by the most learned Bishop Andrews, than whom there could not be a greater enemy to the Errours, Superfitions, and Corruptions of the See of Rome. I know it was objected, (h) that neither Gratian, nor the Roman Pontifical, conceive such Confecrations necelfary to a Private Chappel: but then they are to be understood of such Chappels only as are meant for prayer; and in propriety of speech are no more than Oratories; and not of such as are intended for Preaching, Miniftrying the Sacraments, and other acts of Divine Woffhip, as this Chappel was. And this appears so plainly by the Authentick Instrument of the Dedication, that no man who hath feen the fame can make question of it.

I have laid all these things together, from his Confecration in November 1621, till his return toward London on the fifteenth of August 1622, though the building and confecrating of this Chappel was the work of some following years, and that there intervened a busines of another nature betwixt the end of the Parliament and the beginning of his journey. The Treaty for a Match with Spain was conceived to be very forwards, and the Parliament had ended in difguft for declaring againft it, which much encreased the audacioufness of the Papifls, and the difcontents of the Puritan Faction. And though the Lafts of these were not yet ripe enough for a present discovery, yet so it hapned, that one Knight, a young Divine of Broadgates in Oxon. (now better known by the name of Pembroke Colledge) broke out a little before his time into certain expressions as plain enough declared the purpofe of all the reft. For preaching at Saint Peters on Palm-Sunday in the afternoon (being the fourteenth day of April) on those words of the Apostle, viz. Let every foul be fubjeft, &c. Rom. 13. 1. he brought this dangerous Doctrine: viz. That the Inferior Magiftrate had a lawful power to order and correft the King if he did a-mifs. For illustration of which Doctrine he ufed that speech of Tragian unto the Captain of his Guard: Accipe hanc gladium, quam pro me fpondei aperavero dipulgingit; fin minus contra me. That is to say, Receive this Sword, which I would have thee ufe for my defence if I go vern well; but if I rule the Empire ill, to be turned againft me. For this being called in question by Dr. Pierce, one of the Canons of Christ-Church,
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Church, being then Vice-Chancellor, he was commanded to deliver a L.B. II. Copy of his Sermon, which he did accordingly; and Letters present-
ly were dispatch to the Bishop of St. David, as the only Oxford Bishop then about the King, to make his Majesty acquainted with it. It was his Majesty's pleasure, that both the Preacher and the Sermon should be sent to the Court. Where being come, he was very strictly examined about the Doctrine he had Preached, and how came he to fall upon it: He laid the fault of all upon some late Divines of Foreign Churches, by whom he had been so misguided; especially on Pareus a Divine of Heidelberg, who in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans had positively delivered, all which he had vented in his Sermon, even to that very saying of the Emperor Trajan. On this acknowledgment, it pleased the King of his special goodness to remit the error of the Preacher, considering him as a young man, and easily seduced by so grave an Author; but then withal he gave such order in the Point, That the said Book of Pareus should be publickly burnt, not only in both the Universities, but also after the end of the Sermon at St. Paul's Cross London, on some Sunday following; which Sentence was accordingly executed at Oxford in St. Mary's Church-yard, on the sixth of June, in a frequent Assembly of the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, Heads of Houses, Regents, Non-Regents, and many others, whom curiosity or desire of satisfaction did allure unto it. The like done at St. Paul's Cross also on Sunday the 23. of June next following; Mountaine then Bishop of London, Preaching there upon that occasion. The like was done at Cambridge also, but the time I know not.

But yet the business staid not here: The University of Oxford thought themselves concerned to acquit the whole Body from that Censure, which the Error of one Member might have drawn upon it; and thereupon it was thought fit, that the most seditious Maxims and Positions, which in that point had been delivered by Pareus, should be extracted out of that Book; and being so extracted, should be presented to the Vice-chancellor, and by him referred unto the Judgment of the University: Which being done, a Convocation was assembled on the 25th. day of June, in which the said Maxims and Positions were by an unanimous consent condemned as false, seditious, impious, and destructive of all Civil Government. Nor did the University think they had done enough in looking back on Times past only, if they provided not also for the preventing of the like mischief for the time to come; and thereupon it was declared by the said University: First, That according to the Canon of Holy Scripture it was not lawful for the Subject to refile his Sovereign by force of Arms, or to make War against him, either Offensive or Defensive, whether it were for the cause of Religion, or upon any other Pretence whatsoever. Secondly, That all Doctors, Masters of Arts, Batchelors of Law, and Batchelors of Physick, living within the verge of the University, should subscribe to those Censures and Decrees: and Thirdly, That whoever did hereafter take any Degree in any Faculty whatsoever, should first acknowledge the truth and justice of those Censures, by his Subscription to the same; and should withal take his Corporal Oath.
Oath (the form of which Oath was then prescribed.) That he did not only from his heart condemn the said Doctrines of Rome; but that he would neither preach, teach, or maintain the same, or any of them for the future. And for the better avoiding of the like inconveniences which Knight had run himself upon, by that preposterous course of Study which was then generally used in that University, order was given that his Majesty's Instructions of the 18th of June 1616. should be published in all the Chappels of Colleges, and some publick place in every Hall, that all young Students in Divinity might take notice of them: And this produced by little and little such an alteration, that the name of Calvin (which before had carried all before it) began to lessen by degrees; his Reasons more looked upon than his Affirmations, and the Doctrines of the Church of England more closely followed than they had been formerly.

Nor did his Majesty so much neglect his own safety, or the peace and happiness of his People, as not to take such order in it as might prevent the like false, factious, and seditious preachings for the time to come. He found by this example, that divers young Students, by reading of late Writers and ungrounded Divines, might and did broach unprofitable, unfound, seditious, and dangerous Doctrines, to the scandal of this Church, and disquieting of the State and present Government: That the falling off of some to Popery, and of others to Anabaptistry, or to some other kind of separation from the Church, could not so rationally be imputed to any other thing than to the lightness, affectedness, and unprofitableness of that kind of Preaching, which had been of late years too much taken up in Court, University, City, and Country: That too many Preachers were noted to be soaring up in points of Divinity too deep for the capacities of the people; That others ignorantly meddled in Civil matters, as well in the private meetings of several Parishes and Corporations, as in the Publick of the Kingdom, for the venting of their own disaffection, or smoothing up of those idle fancies, which in this blessed time of so long a peace, doth boil in the brains of an unadvised People; That many of their Sermons were full of rude and undecent railings, not only against the Doctrines of the Church of England, but even against the persons of Papists and Puritans: And finally, that the People never being instructed in the Catechism, and fundamental grounds of Religion, for all these airy novellisms which they received from such Preachers, were but like new Table-books, ready to be filled up, either with the Manuals and Catechisms of the Papists, or the Papers and Pamphlets of Anabaptists, Brownists, and other Puritans. His Majesty thereupon taking the Premises into his Princely consideration, which had been represented to him by sundry grave and reverend Prelates of this Church, thought it expedient to cause some certain Limitations and Cautions, concerning preachers and preaching, to be carefully digested and drawn up in writing: which done (so done as Laud appears to have a hand in the doing of it) and being very well approved by the King, he caused them to be directed to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, by them to be communicated to the Bishops of their several Provinces, and by those Bishops to
to be put in execution in their several Dioceses. Which directions 

I. That no Preacher under the degree and calling of a Bishop, or Dean of a Cathedral or Collegiate Church (and they upon the Kings days only, and set Festivals) do take occasion by the Expounding of any Text of Scripture whatsoever, to fall into any set course or common place, otherwise than by opening the coherence and division of his Text, which shall not be comprehended and warranted in essence, substance, effect, or natural inference, within some one of the Articles of Religion set forth 1562. or in some one of the Homilies set forth by Authority in the Church of England, not only for a help of non-preaching, but vital as a pattern, as it were, for the preaching Ministers; and for their further instruction for the performance thereof, that they forthwith read over and peruse diligently the said Book of Articles, and the two Books of Homilies.

II. That no Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, shall preach any Sermon or Collation hereafter, upon Sundays and Holy-days in the Afternoons, in any Cathedral or Parish Church throughout this Kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechisms, or some Text taken out of the Creed, or Commandments, or the Lords Prayer, (Funeral Sermons only excepted) and that those Preachers be most encouraged and approved of, who spend their afternoons exercise in the examination of children in their Catechisms, which is the most ancient and laudable custom of teaching in the Church of England.

III. That no Preacher of what Title soever, under the degree of a Bishop or Dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular Auditory, the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the universality, efficacity, refulbility, or irrefuubility of God's Grace; but rather leave those Themes to be handled by Learned Men, and that modestly and moderately, by Use and Application, rather than by way of positive Doctrine, as being fitter for Schools and Universities, than for Simple Auditories.

IV. That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination soever, shall presume from henceforth in any Auditory within this Kingdom, to declare, limit, or bound out by way of positive Doctrine, in any Lectures or Sermons, the Power, Prerogative, Jurisdiction, Authority, or Duty of Sovereign Princes, or therein meddle with matters of State, and reference between Princes and People, than as they are instructed in the Homily of Obedience, and in the rest of the Homilies and Articles of Religion, set forth (as before is mentioned) by publick Authority: but rather confine themselves wholly to these two Heads of Faith and Good Life, which are all the subject of the ancient Sermons and Homilies.

V. That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination soever, shall carelessly, and without any invitation from the Text, fall into any bitter Invectives, and undecent railing Speeches against the Papists or Puritans:
riprants: but wisely and gravely, when they are occasioned therunto by the Text of Scripture, free both the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church of England from the aspersions of either adversary, especially when the Auditory is suspected to be taint with the one or the other infection.

VI. Lastly, That the Archbishops and Bishops of the Kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for their former remissness) be more wary and choice in Licencing of Preachers, and Verbal Grants made to any Chancellor, Official, or Commissary to pass License in this Kingdom: And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom (a new body severed from the ancient Clergy of England, as being neither Parson, Vicar, or Curate) be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, only upon recommendation of the party from the Bishop of the Diocese under his hand and seal, with a Fiat from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and a confirmation under the Great Seal of England; and that such as transfer any of his directions be suspended by the Bishop of the Diocese, or in his default by the Lord Archbishop of that Province, Ab officlio & beneficio, for a year and a day, until his Majesty by the advice of the next Convocation prescribe for some further punishment.

No sooner were these Instrucions published, but strange it was to hear the several descants and discourses which were made upon them; How much they were mis-reported amongst the people, and mis-interpreted in themselves; those very men who saw no just reason to condemn the Action being howsoever sure to misconstrue the end. For though they were so discreetly ordered, that no good and godly man could otherwise than acknowledge that they tended very much to Edification; Yet such Interpretations were put upon them, as neither could consort with his Majesty's meaning, nor the true sense of the expressions therein used. By some it was given out, that those Instrucions did tend to the restraint of Preaching, at the least as to some necessary and material points; by others, that they did abate the number of Sermons, by which the people were to be instructed in the Christian Faith; by all the Preachers of that Party, that they did but open a gap for Ignorance and Superstition to break in by degrees upon the people. Which coming to his Majesty's Ears, it brought him under the necessity of making an Apology for himself, and his actions in it. And to this end having jumpped up the reasons which induced him to it, he required the Archbishop of Canterbury to communicate them to his Brother of York; by both to be imparted to their several Suffragans, the inferior Clergy, and to all others whatsoever, whom it might concern: which notwithstanding, it lay so heavy on the stomach of H. Burton (at that time a Waifer in the Court, and afterwards beneficed in Friday-street) that it would not down with him for many years. Infomuch that in his seditious Sermon, Entituled, For God and King. Anno 1636, he chargeth it for an Innovation in Religion, that the Bishops then about King James (of which Land was one) procured an order from him to inhibit young Ministers from preaching thofe Doctrines.
Orines (those having Doctrines as he calls them) of Election and Pre-

definition, and that none but Bishops and Deans should handle those

Points; which he is confident to have been done by them for no other

reason, but thereby the more easily to make way for the accomplishing of

their plot, for the introducing of Popery, so long in hammering. So

impossible was it for that King, (and as impossible for his Son and Suc-
cessor) ailed by the gravest and most moderate Councillors, to fix

on any thing conducible to the peace and happiness of the Church,

but what must be traduced, and made odious in the sight of the Peo-

ple by the reports and artifices of those troublesome Spirits.

Now as his Majesty and the Church were exercised on the one side

by the Puritan Faction, so were they no less troubled and disquieted

by the Popish Party on the other. The Priests and Jesuicts, upon the

breaking up of the Parliament, and the Proceedings of the Treaty,
grew to such an height of confidence, that they openly began to prac-
tise on some persons of Honour for seducing them and their depend-

ants to the See of Rome. Amongst whom there was none more

aimed at than the Countess of Buckingham, whom if they could gain

unto their Party, they doubted not but by her means to win the Mar-

ques's, and by his power to obtain a toleration at the least of their Super-

stition. The Lady beginning to stagger in her resolutions, and

Fisher the Jesuite (who had undertaken the task) continually press- 
ing her by fresh arguments to declare herself, it came at last to the Kings

knowledge, who was not wanting to discourse with her for her satisfac-

tion. At that time Dr. Francis White, Rector of Saint Peter in Corn-

hil, was Reader of the Divinity Lecture in the Church of Saint

Paul, by which he had gained an high esteem amongst his Auditors, 

not only for his honest Zeal against the Papists, in those (as they were

then thought) Pendulous times: but for a notable dexterity in the

managing of all points of Controversie. No man thought fitter than

this Doctor to encounter Fisher. And to that end; in the begin-

ning of this year, he was desired by the Marques's to hold a Confer-

ence with the Jesuite, at which his Mother being present, might hear

what answers would be given to such Objections as had been made

against this Church, and the Religion here by Law establisht. One

Conference not being enough to conclude the busines, another fol-

lowed not long after, to which the King himself did vouchsafe his pre-

sence; so great was his desire to free this Honourable Lady from the

Fisher's net. But in that second Conference (consisting altogether of

particular points) there had been nothing said touching an infallible,

visible Church, which was the chief and only point in which the Par-

ty doubting required satisfaction. And that he might have satisfac-

tion in that matter also, it pleased his Majesty to adde a third Confer-
nce to the former on the twenty fourth of May next following; not

to be managed by the same parties, but by our Bishop on the one fide,

and the said Fisher on the other; the Lord Keeper Williams (who put

in a word or two sometimes) and divers other persons of Honour be-

ing also present.
PART I. How well he sped in that encounter, the Printed Conference, which came out about two years after, and the justification of it published in the year 1637. do most clearly evidence, as shall be shewn hereafter in due time and place. Certain I am, that he gained so much by that days work on the Marques of Buckingham, that from that time for-wards he was taken into his especial favour; For he himself telleth us in his Breviate on Whit'sunday, June the eighth, That the Marques was pleased to enter into a nearer respect to him, the particulars whereof were not for paper; That on the fifteenth of that month he had the honour to be made the Marques's Confessor (which was to give him in effect the key of his heart); that on the morrow after; being Trinity Sunday, the Marques having thus prepared himself, received the Sac-rament at Greenwich. Which if he had not forborn for a long time before, this Memorandum in the Breviate must have been imperti-nent; and finally, that on the eleventh of January, the Marques and he were at some private Consultation, in the inner Chamber at Tork-houfe, on which he prays God to bestow his blessing. Nor was the King les pleased with his performance at that time, than the Mar-ques was. On the report whereof, he gave him order to digest the substance of it into Form and Method, to make it ready for his hear-ing in convenient time; and was content to give him access no les than thrice in the Chrismas holy-days, that he might hearken to it with the more attention. That King had never the command of too strong a patience as to hold out against a second or third reading, if he had not found some high contentment in the first. In which con-juncture, it was no hard matter for him to obtain the renewing and enlarging of his Convenium by the addition of the Parishone of Creek in Northamptonshire, into which he was instituted and inducted, in the end of January.

We are now drawing unto a new and strange adventure, greater than which was never undertaken and performed by a Prince of Eng-land. The Treaty for the Match with Spain, beginning in the year 1617. was afterwards more vigorously prosecuted by King James, upon a hope of bringing back the Palatinate with it; But while he fed himself with hopes, the Spaniards and Bavarians, had devou-red the Country, leaving but three Towns (Heidelberg, Frankendale, and Manheime) to keep posseffion for the Prince Eleifor, in the name of the ref. Which the King finding at the last, and seeing that one delay begat another, without promising any end to his expectations; it was by him resolved, without the privy and confent of his Coun-cil, that the Prince himself should go in person into Spain, that he might either speed the business, or break off the Treaty: Nor wanted the Prince strong impulives to induce him to it. He was now past the two and twentieth year of his Age; and was so bent upon the Match, that he began to grow impatient with his Fathers Ministers for not ripening it unto an issue; For it is evident by Digby's Letter unto Calvert (1) dated October 28. 1623. (this last then Secretary of State) not only that King James did infinitely desire the Match, but that the Prince desired it as much as he, and by Calvert's Letter unto

(1) Hidden works of dark P.47;
which Some who Port Maxime and 1^22. and added Spurs to the design. The journey being thus agreed on, was in the very nature of it, to be made a secret; and therefore not communicable to the Lords of the Council for fear of staying him at home, or rendering him obnoxious to the danger of an interception as he past through France; which mischief if it had befaln him, he must either have submitted unto such conditions, or suffered under such restraints as might seem intolerable in themselves, but absolutely destrucrive of his present purpose; which may the rather be believed by reason of the like proceedings of that King with the present Prince Elector Palatine; who posting disguised through France, in hope to get the Command of Duke Bernards Army, was stayed in the middle of his Journey by that Kings command, and kept so long under restraint that he lost the opportunity of effecting that which he desired.

It is not to be thought but that much danger did appear in the undertaking, but Love, which facilitates impossibilities, overcomes all dangers. On the eighteenth day of February, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Endimion Porter, and Mr. Francis Cattington, he took Ship at Dover, and landed safe at Bologne a Port of Picardy. Advanced on his way as far as Paris, his Curiosity carried him to the Court, to see a Masque, at which he had a view of that incomparable Princes, whom he after married. But he was like to have paid dear for his curiosity: For no sooner had he left the City, but the French King upon Advertisement of his being there, dispatched away many of his Servants in pursuance of him, commanding them not only to stay his Journey, but to bring him back unto the Court. But he rides fast who rides upon the wings of Love and Fear, so that the Prince had past Bayonne (the last Town of France) without being overtaken by them; and posting speedily to Madrid he entered the Lord Ambassadors Lodging without being known to any but his Confidrants only. That Danger being thus escaped, he cast himself upon another: For having put himself into the power of the King of Spain, it was at the courtsey of that King whether he should ever return or not; it being a Maxime among Princes, that if any one of them without leave sets foot on the ground of another, he makes himself ipso facto to become his Prisoner. Richard the first of England passing in disguise through some part of the dominions of the Arch-Duke of Austria, was by him took prisoner, and put unto so high a ranfome, that the Arch-Duke is said to have bought the Earldom of Styria, or Stymark, with some part of the money, and to have walled Vienna with the rest. Nor wanted the Spaniards some Examples of a later date, which might have justified his detention there, had they been so minded, and those too borrowed from our selves. Philip the first of Spain, (one of the Predecessors of the King then Reigning) being cast by tempest on the coast of England, was here detained by King Henry the Seventh till he had delivered up the Earl of Suffolk, who had put himself under his pro-
PART I.  

Protection. In like manner Mary Queen of Scots being forced by her Rebellious Subjects to flee into this Realm, was presently seized on as a Prisoner, and so continued till her lamentable and calamitous death. And what could more agree with the rules of Justice, and the old known practice of Retaliation, then that the English should be punished by the rigour of their own severities?

Such were the Dangers which the Princes person was exposed to by this unparallel'd adventure, not otherwise to be commended (in most men's opinions) but by the happy success of his return. And yet there were some fears of a greater danger than any could befall his person by Sea or Land; that is to say, the danger of his being wrought on to alter his Religion, and to make shipwreck of his Faith; and this by some uncharitable persons is made the ground of the design, to the indelible reproach of those who were supposed to have had a hand in the contrivement of the Plot. Amongst those the Marques stands accused by the Earl of Bristol, as appears by the first Article of the Charge which was exhibited against him in the Parliament of the year 1626. And our new Bishop stands reproached for another of them by the Author of the book entituled, *Hidden works of darkness*, &c. (m) But then it cannot be denied, but that his Majesty and the Prince must be the Principals in this Fact, this *Hidden work of darkness*, as that Author calls it; Buckingham and Saint David's being only accessaries, and subservient instruments. But who can think they durst have undertaken so foul a business, which could not be waffit off but by their blood, had not the King commanded, and the Prince consented? Now for the King, there is not any thing more certain than the great care he took that no danger should accrue to the Religion here by Law estabished by the Match with Spain. And this appears so clearly by the Instructions which he gave to Digby at the first opening of this Treaty, as if it had been written with a beam of the Sun: "The matter of Religion (faith he) is to us of most principal consideration; for nothing can be to us dearer than the honour and safety of the Religion we profess; And therefore seeing that this Marriage and Alliance (if it shall take place) is to be with a Lady of a different Religion from us; it becometh us to be tender, as on the one part, to give them all satisfaction convenient; so on the other, to admit nothing that may blemish our Confidence, or detract from the Religion here estabished. And to this point he stood to the very last, not giving way to any alteration in this, or toleration of that Religion; though he was pleased to grant some personal graces to the Recusants of this Kingdom, and to abate somewhat of the Rigour of those Capital Laws which had been formerly enacted against Priests and Jefuites.

Next for the Prince, he had been brought up, for some years then past, at the feet of this most learned and wife Gamaliel; by whom he was so fortified in the true Protestant Religion, estabished by the Laws of this Realm, that he feared not the encounter of the strongest Adverfary; and of this the King was grown so confident, that when Mary and Wren, the Princes Chaplains, were to receive his Majesties Com-
Commands at their going to Spain, there to attend upon their Master. Ed. B. II. he advised them not to put themselves upon any unnecessary Disputations, but to be only on the defensive part, if they should be challenged. And when it was answered, That there could be no reason to engage in such Disputations where no Moderator could be had; The King replied, That Charles should moderate between them and the opposite party. At which when one of them seemed to mimic upon the other, the King proceeded, and assured them, that Charles should manage a point in Controversie with the best studied Divine of them all; and that he had trained up George so far as to hold the Conclusion, though he had not yet made him able to prove the Premisses. By which it seems that his Majesty conceived no such fear on the Princes part, as that he could be practised or disputed out of his Religion; and that he had no such fear of Buckingham neither, but that he would be able to stand his ground, notwithstanding any Arguments which were brought to move him. And he that is so far confirmed as to stand his ground, will never yield himself though he may be vanquished. It was not then to be believed, that men so principled and instructed, as not to be forced out of their Religion, should take such pains to be perverted, or seduced upon worldly policies, as well against their Science, as against their Conscience. Had they gone thither on that Errand, what could have hindered them from putting the design in execution? having in Spain fit opportunity to effect it, at home the Kings Authority to confirm and countenance it, and the whole power of his Catholick Majesty (which was offered more than once or twice,) to justify and defend the mis-rule against all the world? That they brought back the same Religion which they carried with them, is a strong Argument to any man of Sense and reason that they went not into Spain of purpose to betray it there.

Let us next look upon the proofs which are offered to us; for Laud being privy to this journey, whereof his being of Council to pervert the Prince, and draw him to the Church of Rome, there is no proof offered: For first I find it charged, that he wrote a Letter unto Buckingham on the fifth day after his departure, and maintained a constant Correspondence with him when he was in Spain: And secondly, That he was privy to some Speeches which his Majesty had used to the Prince at his going hence. His Majesty in some of his printed Books had maintained that the Pope was Antichrist; and now he feared that this might be allledged against him in the Court of Rome, to hinder the Popes Dispenfation, and obftruct the Marriage: For the removal of which bar, he commands the Prince to signifie (if occasion were,) to all it might concern, That his Majesty had writ nothing in that point conclusively, but by way of Argument. That Laud was present at this Conference betwixt his Majesty and the Prince, hath no proof at all: He might be made acquainted with it on the post-fact, when the Prince returned; and yet because he was made acquainted with this passageway, though upon the post-fact, it must be hence concluded, as a matter certain, That he was one of the Cabinet Council, and privy to the Prince's going into Spain. And secondly, as a matter probable, That he suggested this
distinct unto King James, to please the Pope, and promote the Match.

As little strength there is in the second proof, touching his Writing to
the Marquess on the fifth day after his departure: but then it was not
till the fifth, before which time the Princess Journey into Spain was
made the general Discourse of all Companies, the ordinary Subject of
all Tongues and Pens; communicated by word of mouth, by Letters,
and by what means not? Nor can those following Letters, which he
received from Buckingham when he was in Spain, convince him of be-
ing privy to that Journey, when it was in project and design: there be-
ing many others also, who both received and dispatched Letters fre-
quently from that very same person, so far from being of the Council
as to that particular, that they were not of the Court at all: So ordi-
nary is the fate of such sorry Arguments, to conclude nothing at all,
or which this is nothing to the purpose.

But what need more to be said to confute this Calumny on which I
have so long insisted, than the great Care which was immediately taken
by the King and his Bishops, to maintain the Reputation of the Church
of England in the Court of Spain? No sooner had his Majesty notice
that the Prince was come in safety to the Court of that King, but order
presently was taken for Officers of all Qualities, and Servants of all
forts to be sent unto him, that so he might appear in publick with the
greater lustre. Nor was it the least part of his Royal Care, to ac-
 commodate him with two such Chaplains as should be able to defend the
Doctrine of this Church against all Opponents. And that there might
appear a face of the Church of England in the outward Forms of
Worship also, his Majesty was pleased by the Advice of the Bishops
then about him (of which Laud was one) to give the said Chaplains,
Mar and Wren, these Instructions following, dated at Newmarket,
March 10.

I. That there be one convenient Room appointed for Prayer; the said Room
to be employed during their abode to no other use.

II. That it be decently adorned Chappel-wife, with an Altar, Fonts, Palls,
Linen Coverings, Demy-Carpets, four Surplices, Candelslicks, Tapers,
Chalices, Pattons, a fine Towel for the Prince, other Towels for the
Household, a Traverse of Waters for the Communion, a Basin and Flag-
gons, two Copes.

III. That Prayers be duly kept twice a day: That all reverence be used by ev-
ery one present, being uncovered, kneeling at duetime, standing up
at the Creeds and Gospel, bowing at the Name of JESUS.

IV. That the Communion be celebrated in due form, with an Obleation of
every Communicant, and admixing Water with the Wine: the Com-
munion to be as often used as it shall please the Prince to set down;
smooth Wafers to be used for the Bread.

V. That in the Sermons there be no Polemical Preachings to inveigh against
them, or to confute them; but only to confirm the Doctrine and Tenets
of the Church of England, by all positive Arguments, either in Funda-
damental or Moral Points; and especially to apply themselves in Mor-
val Lessons to Preach Christ Jesus Crucified.

VI. That
VI. That they give no occasions (or rashly entertain any) of Conference L I B. II.
or Dispute (for fear of dislikonour to the Prince, if upon any offence Anno Dom.
taken, he should be required to find away any one of them): but if the
Lord Ambassador or Mr. Secretary wifs them to bear any that desire
some information, then they may safely do it.

VII. That they carry the Articles of our Religion in many Copies, the Books
of Common Prayer in several Languages, store of English Service-
Books, the Kings own Works in English and Latin.

Such were his Majesties instructions to the said two Chaplains: and
being such, they do concludingly demonstrate, That there was no de-
sign in the King or Prince, or in any of the Court or Court-Bishops,
of what name soever, to alter the Religion here by Law established;
or that the Prince was posited into Spain of purpose that he might be
perverted or debauched from it.

But the best is, that he which gave the Wound hath made the Plaister;
and such a Plaister as may auffiredly heal the Sore without troubling
any other Chirurgeon. It is affirmed by him who published the (p) (p) Breviats
Breviate of our Bishops Life, That he was not only privy to this Jour-
ney of the Prince and Buckingham into Spain, but that the Journey was
purposely plotted to pervert him in his Religion, and reconcile him
to Rome: And this he makes apparent by the following Prayer, found
amongst others in the Bishops Manual of Devotions; than which
there can be nothing more repugnant to the Propositions, for proof
of which it is so luckily produced. Now the said Prayer is thus ver-
batim, viz.

O Most merciful God and gracious Father, the Prince hath put
himself to a great Adventure: I humbly beseech thee, make
clear the way before him; give thine Angels charge over him; be with
him thy self in Mercy, Power, and Protection, in every step of his Jour-
ney, in every moment of his Time, in every Consultation and Address for
Action, till thou bring him back with Safety, Honour, and Contentment,
to doe thee service in this place. Bless his most trusty and faithful Ser-
vant the Lord Duke of Buckingham, that he may be diligent in Service,
provident in Business, wise and happy in Counsel, for the honour of thy
Name, the good of the Church, the preservation of the Prince, the con-
tentment of the King, the satisfaction of the State: Preserve him, I hum-
bly beseech thee, from all eney that attends him; and bless him, that his
eyes may see the Prince safely delivered to the King and State; and after
it to live long in happiness, to doe thee and them service, through Jesus
Christ our Lord. Amen.

And with this Prayer (so plainly destructive of the purpose for
which it was published) I shut up the Transactions of this present
year.

We will begin the next with the dismission of the Archbishop of
Spalato, a man defamed by the Italians at his coming hither, and as
much reproached by the English at his going hence: His name was

Marcus
The Life of William

Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato in Fusc, and Primate of Dalmatia in Title: Such anciently and of right those Archbishops were, till the Bishop of Venice being made a Patriarch by Pope Eugenius the Fourth, Anno 1450. assumed that Title to himself, together with a Superintendency over all the Churches of that Country, as subordinate to him. He had been long conversant with the Fathers and Ancient Councils; By this Light he discerned the Darkness of the Church of Rome, and the blind Title which the Popes had for their Supremacy. Inclining to the Protestant Religion, he began to fear that his own Country would prove too hot for him at the last; and therefore after he had fast in the See of Spalato about fourteen years, he quitted his Preferments there, and betook himself for Sanctuary to the Church of England, Anno 1616. Extremely honour'd at his first coming by all sorts of people: entertained in both Universities with solemn Speeches; pretented, complemented, feated, by the great Lords about the Court, the Bishops, and some principal persons about the City: Happy was he that could be honour'd with his Company, and satisfied with beholding his comely presence, though they understood not his Discourses. Commend'd by King James at first for a constant Sojourner and Guest to Archbishop Abbot, in whose Chappel at Lambeth he assist'd at the Consecration of some English Bishops. Made afterwards by the King the Master of the Savoy, and Dean of Wind's, and by himself made Rector of West-hay in the County of Berks: A Revenue not so great as to bring him under the suspicion of coming hither out of Covetousness, for the sake of filthy Lucre; nor so contemptible, but that he might have lived plentifully and contentedly on it. During his stay here, he published his learned and elaborate Book entituled, De Republica Ecclesiastica, never yet answer'd by the Papists, and perhaps unanswerable. He had given great trouble to the Pope by his defection from that Church, and no small countenance to the Doctrine of the Protestant Churches by his coming over unto ours. The founding of so great a Pillar, seemed to prognosticate, that the Fabrick of that Church was not like to stand. And yet he gave greater blows to them by his Pen, than by the defection of his Person; the wound so given, being conceived to be incurable.

In these respects, those of that Church bestir'd themselves to disgrace his Person, devising many other causes, by which he might be moved or forced to forsake those parts, wherein he durst no longer tarry: but finding little credit given to their libellous Pamphlets, they began to work upon him by more secret practices, insinuating, That he had neither that respect nor those Advancements which might encourage him to stay; That the new Pope Gregory the Fifteenth was his special Friend; That he might chuse his own Preferments, and make his own Conditions, if he would return. And on the other side they cunningly wrought him out of credit with King James, by the Arts of Containore, Embassador at that time from the King of Spain; and lessened his esteem amongst the Clergy, by some other Artifices: So that the poor man, being in a manner lost on both sides, was forced
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

to a necessity of swallowing that accursed bait, by which he was hooked over to his own destruction. For having solicited King James by several Letters (the last of them bearing date on the third of February) to license his departure home, he was by the King dish-}
dainfully turned over to the High-Commission, or rather to a special Commission directed to Archbishop Abbot, the Lord Keeper Lincoln, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, with certain of the Lords of the Privy Council. These Lords assembling at Lambeth on the 30th. of March, and having first heard all his excuses and defenses, commanded him to depart the realm within twenty days, or other-}
wise to expect such punishment as by the Laws of the Land might be laid upon him, for holding Intelligence by Letters, Missages, &c. with the Pope of Rome. To this Sentence he sorrowfully submitted, protesting openly, That he would never speak reproachfully of the Church of England, the Articles whereof he acknowledged to be found and profitable, and none of them to be Heretical, as appears by a Book entituled, S P A L A T O S Shiftings in Religion, published (as it was conceived) by Laud's especial Friend, the Lord Bishop of Dur-
ham. How well, or rather how ill he performed this promise, and what became of him after his return to Rome is not now my business. The man is banished out of England, and my History leads me next into Spain, not Italy.

The Church of England had a great stock at that time to be driven in Spain, and many of the Roman Factors were desirous to be trading in it. No sooner was the Princes Train of Lords and Gentlemen come to the City of Madrid, but the King of Spain assigned a day for his Reception. A Reception so Magnificent, so full of State and Royal Pomp, that it redounded infinitely to the honour of the Spanisb Court, and the satisfaction of the Prince. Never was King of Spain on the day of his inauguration received into that City with a more general concourse of all sorts of people, and greater signs of Joy and Gallantry; then the Prince was conducted through it to the Palace Royal. In which his Quarters being assigned him, there wanted no allurements on their parts to win him to a fair esteem of their Religion, and to put some high value also on their Court and Nation. Nor was the Prince wanting for his part in all fit compliances, by which he might both gain on them, and preserve himself; for by his Courtly Garb he won so much on the affections of the Lady Infanta, and by his Grace and circumspect behaviour got so much ground upon that King and his Council, that the Match went forward in good earnest. A dispensation for the marriage was procured from Gregory the Fif-
teenth then fitting in the See of Rome. The Articles of the marriage with all the circumstances thereof were agreed upon, and solemnly sworn to by both Kings. Nothing remained to bring the whole busi-
ness to a joyful issue but the Consummation. But before that could be obtained, the Prince must try his fortunes in an harder Conflict than any he had learnt in the Schools of Love.

The change of his Religion was much hoped for by the Court of Spain at his first coming thither. To perfect which he was plied from

L I B. II.

Anne Dom.

1 6 2 3.
time to time with many perswasive Arguments by many persons of great honour about that King. And many of the most learned Priests and Jesuits made their Addresses to him, with such Rhetorical Ora-
tions, with such insinuating Artifices, and subtle Practices, as if they had a purpose rather to conquer him by kindness, than by disputation. Nor stop they there, but dedicated many Books unto him, to gain him fairly to their party; invited him to behold their solemn Proceffions to captivate his outward senses; and carried him to the most Religious places, famous for their magnificent Fabricks, and pretended Miracles. In which conjunction of designs, it is not to be thought but that the Pope bestirred himself in gaining to his Church a Prince of such parts and greatnes. For first he writes unto the Bishop of Con-
chen, Inquisitor general of Spain, not to be wanting to the opportunity which God had put into his hands. The next day, being the twenti-
eth of April, he addreffed his lines unto the Prince, extolling the piety of his Predecessors, their zeal unto the Catholick Church, and to the head thereof the Pope, inviting him by all the blandishments of Art, to put himself upon the following of their brave examples. Never
had Prince a harder game to play than Prince Charles had now: He found himself under the Power of the King of Spain, and knew that the whole business did depend on the Popes dispensation, with whom if he complied not in some handsome way, his expectation might be frustrate, and all the fruits of that long Treaty would be suddenly blaf-
ted. He therefore writes unto the Pope in such general terms as
seemed to give his Holines some assurances of him: but being re-
duced unto particulars, signified nothing else but some civil comple-
ments; mixt with some promises of his endeavours to make up the breaches in the Church, and restore Christendom to an happy and de-
sirable peace. Which notwithstanding was after reckoned amongst his crimes, by such as rather would not, then did not know the ne-
cessity which lay upon him, of keeping at that time a plausible corre-
spondence with the Catholick party.

But these Temptations and Allurements, these Artifices and Insinua-
tions, prevailed so little with the Prince, that he still kept his stand,
and was found impregnable; carrying himself with such a prudent
Moderation in these encounters, that he came off always without En-
vy, but not without Glory. And that it might appear on what grounds he stood, it was thought fit to let them see that he professed no other
Religion than what was agreeable to the Rules of Antiquity, and not much abhorrent from the Forms then used in the Church of Rome.
And to this end, by the prudent care of the Lord Keeper Williams,
the English Liturgie was translated into Spanish; so many Copies of
the book then printed being sent into Spain, as gave great satisfaction both to the Court and Clergy. The work performed by a converted

(q) Cabp. 47

Dominican (q) who was gratified for his pains therein by a good Pre-
bend, and a Benefice, as he well deserved. And this I must needs say
was very reasonably done; for till that time the Spaniards had been
made believe by their Priests and Jesuits, that when the English had
cast off the Pope, they had cast off all Religion also. That from thence-
thenceforth they became mere Atheists; and that the name of God was never used amongst them, but with a purpose to expose it to profanation. An Argument whereof may be the extreme squeamishness of the Constable of Castile, lent into England in the beginning of the Reign of King James, to swear the peace between both Kings. Who understanding that the busines was to be performed in the Chappel, where some Anthems were to be sung, defired, that whatever was sung, God's name might not be used in it; and that being forborn, he was content they should sing what they list. And when the Earl of Nottingham, attended by many Gentlemen of worth and quality went into Spain, to take the like Oath of the Catholic King, it was reported by his followers at their coming back, how much it was commiserated by the Vulgar Spaniards, that so many goodly persons should be trained up in no other Religion than to worship the Devil.

But let us leave the Prince, and return for England, where the King had as hard a game to play; For having left such a Pawn in Spain, he was in a manner bound to his good behaviour, and of necessity to gratifie the Popish Party in this Kingdom with more than ordinary Favours. He knew no marriage could be made without the Popes Dispensation, and that the Popes Dispensation could not be obtained without indulging many graces to his Catholic Subjects. To smooth his way therefore to the point desired, he addresseth several Letters to the Pope and Cardinals, in which he gives him the title of most holy Father; and employs Gage, as his Agent in the Court of Rome, to attend the busines. At home he dischargeth all such Priests and Jesuits as had been formerly imprisioned; inhibiting all Proceffes, and Superfeding all proceedings against Recusants; and in a word, suspends the execution of such penal Laws as were made against them. The People hereupon began to cry out generally of a Toleration, and murmur in all places against the King, as if he were resolved to grant it. And that they might not seem to cry out for nothing, a Letter is differed abroad, under the name of Archbishops Abbot. In this Letter his Majesty is told, "That by granting any such Toleration he should let up the most damnable and Heretical Doctrine of the Church of Rome, the whore of Babylon; that it would be both hateful to God, grievous to his good Subjects, and contradictory to his former Writings, in which he had declared their Doctrines to be Superstitious, Idolatrous, and detestable; That no such toleration could be granted but by Parliament only, unless it were his purpose to shew his people that he would throw down the Laws at his pleasure; That by granting such a Toleration, there must needs follow a discontinuance of the true Profession of the Gospel, and what could follow thereupon, but God's heavy wrath and indignation both on himself and all the Kingdom; That the Prince was not only the Son of his Flesh, but the Son of his People also, and therefore leaves him to consider what an errour he had run into, by sending him into Spain without the privity of his Council, and content of his Subjects; And finally, That though the Princes return might be safe and prosperous, yet they that drew him into that dangerous and desperate Action, would not scape unpunished. This
This was the substance of the Letter, whosoever was the Writer of it. For Abbot could not but be so ill a Statesman (having been long a Privy Councillour) as not to know, that he who fitteth at the Helm must fteer his course according unto wind and weather; And that there was a very great difference betwixt such personal indulgencies, as the King had granted in that case to his Popish Subjects, and any such Publick Exercise of their Superflitious, as the word Toleration doth import; and howsoever, that it was a known Maxime in the Arts of Government, that necessity over-rules the Law, and that Princes many times must act for the publick good, in the infringing of some personal and particular rights which the Subjects claim unto themselves. Nor could he be fo ignorant of the Kings affections as to believe, that the King did really intend any fuch toleration, though possibly he might be content, on good reason of State, that the people should be generally perfwaded of it: For well he knew that the King loved his Soveraignty too well to quit any part thereof to the Pope of Rome, and consequently to part with that Supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters (as needs he must have done by a Toleration) which he esteemed the faireft Flower in the Royal Garland. In which respect, King James might seem to be made up of Cæsar and Pompey, as impatient of enduring an equal, as of admitting a Superiour in his own Dominions. Or had he been a greater stranger at the Court than can be imagined, yet could he not be ignorant, that it was the Kings chief interest to preserve Religion in the same State in which he found it; and could not fear but that he would sufficiently provide for the safety of it. Upon which Premises, it may be rationally inferred, that Abbot was only the reputed Author of this Baftard Letter, and not the natural Parent of it.

Nor was the Toleration more feared by the English Protestants, than hoped for by the Papists here, and presumed by the Pope himself. In confidence whereof, he nominated certain Bishops to all the Episcopal Sees of England to exercise all manner of Jurisdiction in their several and respective Dioceses, as his false and titular Bishops did in the Church of Ireland. The intelligence whereof being given to the Jesuites here in England, who feared nothing more than such a thing, one of them, who formerly had free access to the Lord Keeper William, acquaints him with this mighty secret; affuring him, that he did it for no other reason, but because he knew what a great expectation it would give the King, and consequently how much it would incense him against the Catholicks. Away with this Intelligence goes the Lord Keeper to the King, who took fire thereat as well as he, and though it was somewhat late at night, commanded to go to the Spanish Embassador, and to require him to rend unto the King his Matter to take some course that these proceedings might be stopp'd in the Court of Rome: or otherwise that the Treaty of the Match should advance no further. The Lord Keeper finds the Embassador ready to send away his Pacquet, who upon hearing of the news commanded his Currier to stay till he had reprefented the whole business in a Letter to the King his Matter. On the receiving of which Letter, the King
imparts the same to the Pope's Nuncio in his Court. Who presently sends his dispatches to the Pope, acquainting him with the great inconveniencies and unavoidable dangers of this new design; which being stop'd by this device, and the Treaty of the March ending in a rupture not long after, the same Jesuite came again to the Lord Keeper's lodging, and in a fair and facetious manner thanked him most humbly for the good office he had done for that Society, for breaking and bearing off which blow all the friends they had in Rome: could find no buckler. Which Story as I heard from his Lordships own mouth (with no small contentment) so seemed he to be very well pleased with the handfomnes of the trick which was put upon him.

Laud was not sleeping all this while. It was not possible that a man of such an Active Spirit should be out of work, and he had work enough to do in being the Dukes Agent at the Court. The Marques was made Duke of Buckingham, at his being in Spain, to make him more considerable in the eye of that Court: and this addition to his honours, was an addition also to that envy which was born againft him. Great Favourites have for the most part many enemies, such as are carefully intent upon all occasions which may be made use of to supplant them. Which point the Duke had so well studied; that though he knew himself to be a very great Master of the Kings affections; yet was he apprehensive of the disadvantages to which this long abstinence would expoe him. It therefore concerned him nearly to make choice of some intelligent and trusty friend, whom he might confide in (and he was grown more confident of Laud than of any other) from whom he might receive advertisement of all occurrences, and such advice as might be most agreeable to the complexion of affairs. Nor did it happen otherwise than he expected, for long he had not been in Spain, when there were many fearings of him in the Court of England, many strange whisperings into the ears of the King concerning the abuse of his Royal Favours; the general discontentments which appeared in the people for the Princes Journey into Spain; the sad consequntents which were feared to ensue upon it in reference to his Person, and the true Religion; that the blame of all was by the People laid on the Duke, and that it was safest for his Majesty to let it rest where they had laid it. But nothing could be thought more strange unto him, than that the Lord Keeper Williams, and the Lord Treasurer Cranfield should be of Counfel in the Plot, both of them being of his raising, and both (in the style of Court) his Creatures. Of all which practices and proceedings Laud gives intelligence to the Duke, and receives back again directions in his actings for him. (Pity it is that none of these reciprocal Letters have been found to make up the Cabal, and to enrich the treasurers in the Scrinia Sacra.) From hence proceeded the constancy of affection which the Duke carried to him for ever, after the Animosity between Laud and Williams: the fall of Cranfield first, and of Williams afterwards; Laud by his diligence and fidelity overtopping all.

The news of these practices in the Court, made the Duke think of leaving Spain, where he began to sink in his estimation; and hasting his
PART I. return to England, for fear of sinking lower here than he did in Spain. Some clashing there had been betwixt him and the Conde d'Olivarez, the Principal Favourite of that King; and some Carosses were made to him by the Queen of Bohemia, inviting him to be a God-father to one of her Children. In these disquiets and distractions he puts the Prince in mind of the other Game he had to play; namely, the Restitution of the Palatinate, which the Spaniard would not suffer to be brought under the Treaty of the Match; referring it (as they pretended, and perhaps really intended) to be bestowed by the Infanta after the marriage, the better to ingratiate herself with the English Nation. Which being a point of too great moment to depend upon no other assurance than a Court-complement only, it was concluded by the Prince, That since he could not prevail in the one, he would not proceed to the Consummation of the other. But then it did concern him so to provide for his own safety, that no intimation might be made of the intended Rupture, till he had unwound himself out of that Labyrinth into which he was cast: For which cause having desired of his Father, that some Ships might be sent to bring him home, he shewed himself a more passionate Lover than ever formerly, bestowed upon the Lady Infanta many rich Jewels of most inestimable value, and made a Proxy to the Catholic King, and Don Charles his Brother, in his name to Espouse the Lady. Which proxy being made and executed in due form of Law, on the Fourth of August 1623, was put into the hands of Dighy (on the Fifteenth of September after made Earl of Brislol) by him to be delivered to the King of Spain within ten days after the coming of the Dispensation from the new Pope Urban, which was then every day expected. But no sooner had he took his leave, and was out of danger, but he dispatch'd a Poft unto him, commanding him not to deliver up the proxy until further order: And having so done, he hasted Sails for England.

Arriving at Portsmouth on Sunday the fifth of October, he rides Poft the next day to London, and after Dinner on the same day to the Court at Rofion; his welcom home being celebrated in all places with Bells and Bonfires, and other accustomed expressions of a Publick Joy. Being come unto the Court, they acquaint his Majesty with all that hapned, informing him that no assurance of regaining the Palatinate could be had in Spain, though the Match went forwards. His Majesty thereupon dispatches Letters to the Earl of Brislol on the eighth of October, requiring him not to deliver up the proxy, and so not to proceed to the Espoufals, till the Christmas Holy-days; and in the mean time to press that King to a positive answer, touching the Palatinate. The expectation whereof not being answered by success, a Parliament is summoned to begin on the 17th of February then next following, to the end that all things might be governed in this great Affair by the publick Counsel of the Kingdom. Not long after the beginning whereof, the Duke declared before both Houfes (more to the disadvantage of the Spaniard than there was just ground for) how unhand-fomly they had dealt with the Prince when he was in Spain; how they had fed him with delays; what indignities they had put upon him; and finally,
finally, had sent him back, not only without the Palatinate, but with- L I B. II. out a Wife; leaving it to their prudent consideration what course to follow. It was thereupon Voted by both Houses, That his Majesty should be desired to break off all Treaties with the King of Spain, and to engage himself in a War against him for the recovery of the Palatinate, not otherwise to be obtained. And that they might come the better to the end they aimed at, they addressed themselves unto the Prince, whom they assured, That they would stand to him in that War, to the very last expence of their Lives and Fortunes; and he accordingly (being further fet on by the Duke) became their instrument to persuade his Father to hearken to the Common Votes and Desires of his Subjects, which the King (pres'd by their continual importunities) did at the last (but with great unwillingnesses) assent to: Such was the conduct of this businesse's part on the part of the English.

Look we next what was done in Spain; and we shall find in Letters from the Earl of Bristol, (r) That as soon as news came to Spain, that King James had sworn the Articles of the Treaty, (which was done on the 26th of July,) the Lady Infanta by all the Court, with the Approbation of that King, and her own good-minded, was called La Princesa de Inglaterra; That as such, she gave her self the liberty of going publickly to such Comedies as were presented in the Court, (which before was not allowable in her:) (s) That as such also, not only by herself (as the Kings Embassadors) was commanded to serve her; but the Duke, and all the English were admitted to kiss her hands, as her Servants and Vassals; That after the Princes departure, there was no thought of any thing but of providing Presents for the King and him, the setting of the Princes Family, and making Preparations for the Journey on the first of March; That the Princes also had began to draw the Letters which she intended to have written the day of her dispofitories to the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father-in-Law; That besides such assurances as were given by the Count of Olivarez, and other Ministers of that King, the Princes had made the business of the Palatinate to be her own, and had there in most expressly moved the King her Brother, and written to the Conde of Olivarez to that effect, and bad set her heart upon the making of her self grateful and welcome to the King and Kingdom, by overcoming the difficulties that appeared in it: In which respect it was very truly said by Digby, in one of his Letters to King James, That it would be held a point of great dissonour to the Infanta, if the Powers called for by her Friends should be detained on the Princes part; and that whatsoever had deserved ill, she certainly had deserved neither disfavour nor discomports. Add hereunto, That the Popes Dispensation coming to the Court of Spain in the beginning of December, that King caused Bonfires to be made in all the parts of his Realms, intending on that day (in satisfaction of the Cath which he had made to the Prince) to proceed to the Elysins, with all due solemnity. Which being the true state of this affair, as far as I am able to look into it, I shall refer it to the judgment of the equal Readers, whether this poor Lady were more dissonoured and discomforted by her own Brother and his Ministers, if they meant not really and effectually to satisfie all expectations touching either Treaty; or by the English, if they did.
The Life of William

PART I.

1623.

But it is now time to leave these Foreign Negotiations, and keep close at home, where we shall find the Priests and Jesuits as busy in seducing the people, and the Lay-Papists as audacious in hearing and frequenting Masses, as if they had been fortified by a Toleration. But it pleased God to put some Water into their Wine, and abate the fervor of those heats, by letting them feel the strokes of his heavy hand, when they look'd not for it. Being assembl'd in a fair and capacious room at Hunsdon House in Black-Friers, to hear the Sermon of one Drumay a Jesuite, their numbers were so great, and their weight so heavy, that the Floor sunk under them. Most lamentable were the cries of those which fell under that Ruine, 94 of them (of which the Preacher himself was one) being killed out-right; most of the rest so miferably bruised and maimed, that the condition of the dead was esteemed far happier than that of the living: A matter of great affo-

ription to their Party here; and that it might not be so abroad, they thought it good to shift the Scene, and change the Actors, publishing to that end a Pamphlet, which they differenc'd in divers parts of France and Italy, containing a relation of Gods Judgments shown on a sort of Protestant Heretics, by the fall of an House in St. Andrews Parish in Holborn, in which they were assembled to hear a Geneva Lecture, October 26. A.D. 1623. So wickedly wise are those of that Generation, to cheat their own Souls, and abuse their Followers. And yet the Pamphleteer says well, That this disaster hapned on the 26th of October; for so it did according to the Old Style and account of England: But it was on the fifth day of November, according to the New Style and account of Rome. And this indeed may seem to have somewhat of Gods Judgment in it, That the intended blowing up of the Parliament, to the unavoidable destruction of the King, Prince, Prelates, Peers, and the chiefest Gentry of the Nation, on the fifth day of our November, should on the fifth day of their own recompence or retaliated by the sinking of a Room in which they met, to the present slaughter of so many, and the maiming of more.

But leaving them to their ill Fortunes, it was not long before Buckingam found the truth of such Informations as he had receiv'd touching those ill Offices which had been done to him in his absence, from some whom he esteemed his Friends. Hereupon followed an estranging of the Dukes Countenance from the Lord Keeper Williams, and of his from the Bishop of St. Davids, whom he looked upon as one that stood in the way betwixt him and the Duke: with which the Duke was not long after made acquainted. But these displeasures were not only shewn in offended Countenances, but brake out within little time into sharp Expostulations on either side. The Duke complained to Land, December 15. That the Lord Keeper had so strangely forgotten himself to him, as he seemed to be dead in his affections; and began to entertain some thoughts of bringing him by a way which he would not like, to a remembrance of his duty: and on the eleventh of January the Lord Keeper meets with Land in the Withdrawing Chamber, and fell into very hot words with him, of which the Duke hath an account also within three days after. But Williams seeing how
how unable he was to contend at once with Wit and Power, applied himself with so much diligence to regain the Favour of the Duke, that in the beginning of February a Reconciliation was made between them, the Duke accepting his submission, and learning from him, That his great Favours unto Laud, were the chief reasons which had moved him unto that forgetfulness. And that the benefit of this Reconciliation might extend to all who were concerned in the displeasures, Williams engageth to the Duke to be friends with Laud, and did accordingly bestow some Complements upon him; but such as had more ceremony than substance in them. From henceforth nothing but an appearance of fair weather between these Great Persons, though at last it brake out again more violently into open storms. The wound was only skinned, not healed; and feffred the more dangerously, because the secret Rancor of it could not be discerned. In the mean time Laud was not wanting to himself in taking the benefit of this Truce: Abbot had still a spite against him, and was resolved to keep him down as long as he could; to which end he had caused him to be left out of the High-Commission (and Williams was not forward to put him in) though never a Bifhop that lived about London was left out but himself, and many who lived not there put in: Of which Indignity he complained to the Duke, by his Letter bearing date November 1. 1624. and was remedied in it.

During the heat of these Court-combats, the Parliament before-mentioned was assembled at Westminster, on the seventeenth of February; upon whose humble Petition and Advice his Majesty dissolved the Treaties, and engaged himself in a War with Spain: But this he had no sooner done, when they found into what perplexities they had plunged themselves by this Engagement; there being nothing more derogatory to the Honour and Prosperity of a King of England, than to be cast on the necessitv of calling Parliaments, which rendreth them obnoxious to the power and pride of each popular spirit, and makes them less in Reputation both at home and abroad: For first they Petitioned him for a Faft, which he also granted. They had defired the like in some former Parliaments, and Seffions of Parliaments, as they had done also in Queen Elizabeth's time; but could never obtain the same from either. It was then told them, That there were weekly Fafts appointed to be kept by the Laws of the Land, which if they did obferve, as they ought to do, there would be no need of Solemn Fafts, to begin their Parliaments. The blame of which Answer, in the Parliament immediately foregoing this, was by the Puritan Faction cast upon the Bishops (who at the same time had opposed some Proposition tending to some Restraints on the Lords Day, not imposed before) as men whose Pride hindred all such Religious Humiliations, and whose Profaneness made them Enemies to all Piety. But the King having now cast himself into the arms of his People, had brought himself to a necessity of yielding to their desire, and thereby left a fair President both for them to crave, and his Successor to grant the like: So that from this time forward, till the last of King Charles, we shall see no Parliament, nor Seffion of Parliament, to begin without them; though that King checked some times at the opportunity.
So far his Majesty had gone along with them, in yielding unto their desires; but he must go a little further. And therefore, secondly, they thought it not enough that his Majesty had made a Publick Declaration for the real and utter Dissolution of the said Treaties; but it must be declared also by Act of Parliament, that the said two Treaties were by his Majesty dissolved: Which gave them some colour of pretence in the following Parliament to claim a share in managing the War (which the Dissolving of these Treaties had occasioned) and of being made acquainted with the Enterprise which was then in hand. But for this time they were contented to have engaged the King for the future War, toward the carrying on of which, and more particularly (as the Act expresseth) "for the Defence of this Realm of England, the securing of the Kingdom of Ireland, the assistance of his Majesties Neighbours the States of the United Provinces, and other his Majesties Friends and Allies, and for the setting forth of his Royal Navy; they granted to him three Subsidies, together with three Fifteenths and Tenths, to be paid before the tenth of May which should be in the year 1625. Which though it be affirmed in the said Act to be the greatest Aid which ever was granted in Parliament to be levied in so short a time; yet neither was the time so short as it was pretended, there being almost fifteen months between the Dissolving of the Treaties, and the last payment of the Monies. Nor did the King get any thing by it, how great soever the said Aid was supposed to be. For, thirdly, before the King could obtain this Act, he was fain to gratify them with some others, amongst which that entituled, An Act for the general quiet of the Subject against all pretext of Concealments whatsoever, was the most considerable. An Act of such a grand Concernment to the Peace and Happiness of the Subject, and of such Disproportion to the King in his Gifts and Graces to his Servants, that it was affirmed by Justice Dodderidge at the Oxon. Assizes next ensuing, That his Majesty had bought those Fifteenths and Subsidies at ten years purchase. Nor fourthly, did one penny of this Money, so dearly paid for, accrue unto his Majesties particular use, or was to come into his Coffers; it being ordered in the Act aforesaid, That the said Monies, and every part and parcel of them, should be paid to certain Commissioners therein nominated; and that the said Commissioners should invest and dispose the same, according as they should be warranted by George Lord Carew, Foulk Lord Brooke, and certain other Commissioners to the number of ten, nominated and appointed for a Council of War; by them to be expended in the Publick Service. And albeit the Grant of the said Fifteenths, Tenths, and Subsidies, might possibly be the greatest Aid which had been given in Parliament for so short a time; yet did this greatnels consist rather in tale than weight, the Subsidy-Books being grown so low (for those of the Fifteenths and Tenths do never vary) that two entire Subsidies in the time of Queen Elizabeth came to more than all.

More nobly dealt the Clergy with him in their Convocation, because it came into his own Coffers, and without Conditions. For taking into consideration (amongst other motives) the great Expen-
ces at which his Majesty was then, and was likely to be hereafter, as well for the support of his Royal Estate, as for the necessary Defence of this Realm of England, and other his Dominions, whereby was like to grow the safety of Religion both at home and abroad; they granted to him four entire Subsidies, after the rate of 4s. in every Pound; which was indeed the greatest Aid that was ever given by Convocation in so short a time; the Subsidies of the Clergy being fixed and certain, those of the Laity diminishing and decreasing daily. A Burden which must needs fall exceeding heavy on many poor Vicars in the Country, whose Benefices are for the most part of small yearly value, and yet rated very high in the King's Books (according to which they are to be Taxed); Insomuch as I knew several Vicarages, not worth above 80 l. per Annum, which were charged higher than the best Gentlemen in the Parish, whose yearly Revenues have amounted unto many Hundreds. Land who had sometimes been Vicar of Stamford in Northamptonshire (as before is said) was very compassionate of the case of these poor men; for whose case he devised a course in this present Session; which being digested into form, he communicated to the Duke of Buckingham, who very readily promised to prepare both the King and Prince for the passing of it. This done, he imparted it also to the Lord Keeper Williams, and the Bishop of Durham, who looked upon it as the best Service which had been done for the Church many years before, and advised him to acquaint the Archbishop with it: But Abbot either disliking the Design for the Authors sake, or being an enemy to all Counsels which had any Author but himself, instead of favours returned him frowns; asking him, What he had to do to make any suit for the Church? And telling him withal, That never any Bishop attempted the like at any time, and that no body would have done it but himself; That he had given the Church such a wound, in speaking to any Lord of the Laity about it, as he could never make whole again. And finally, That if the Lord Duke did fully understand what he had done, he would never endure him to come near him again. St. David replies very mildly, That he thought he had done a very good office for the Church, and so did his betters too; That if his Grace thought otherwise, he was sorry that he had offended: But hoped that he had done it out of a good mind, and for the support of many poor Vicars abroad in the Country, who must needs sink under the payment of so many Subsidies; and therefore that his error might be pardonable, if it were an error. Thus soundly rated he departs, and acquaints the Duke with the success, for fear some ill offices might be otherwise done him to the King and Prince. So miserable was the case of the poorer Clergy, in living under such an High Priest, who though he was subject to the same infirmity, was altogether insensible of those heavy pressures which were laid upon them: It being his Felicity, but their unhappiness, that he was never Parson, Vicar, nor Curate; and therefore the less careful or compassionate of their hard condition.

Before the rising of this Parliament (which was on the twenty ninth of May) came out a book of Dr. Whites, entituled, A reply to Jesuits

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PART I.

Fisher's Answer to certain Questions propounded by his most Gracious Majesty King James. (1) The occasion this: His Majesty being present at the second Conference betwixt White and Fisher, before-mentioned, observed in his deep Judgment how cunning and subtle the Jesuite was, in eluding such Arguments as were brought against him, and of how little strength in particular questions he was when he came to the confirmation of his own Tenets. And thereupon it pleased him to have nine Questions of Controversie propounded to the Jesuite, that he might in writing manifest the Grounds and Arguments whereupon the Roman Faith in those Points were builded. Now the nine Points were these that follow: 1. Praying to Images. 2. Prayings and Oblations to the blessed Virgin Mary. 3. Worshipping and Invocation of Saints and Angels. 4. The Liturgie and private Prayers for the Ignorant in an unknown tongue. 5. Repetition of Father-Nosers, Aces, and Creeds, especially affixing a kind of merit to the number of them. 6. The Doctrine of Tranfubfaftination. 7. Communion under one kind, and the abetting of it by Concomitancy. 8. Works of Supererogation, especially with reference to the treasure of the Church. 9. The opinion of Deposing Kings, and giving away their Kingdoms by Papal power, whether directly or indirectly? To these nine Questions the Jesuite returned a close and well-wrought Answer, the unraveling whereof was by the King committed to this Dr. White, for his encouragement and reward made one of his Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary, and Dean of Carlile. This Book being finifhed at the Press about the beginning of April, and forthwith published to others, was very welcome to most moderate and learned men; the rather in regard that the third of those Conferences, which was that between Land and Fisher, was subjoyned to it.

Concerning which the Reader may please to call to mind, that this Conference had been digested and read over to the King in the Christmas Holidays as before is said. But why it staid so long before it was published, why published in the name of R. B. (Mr. Richard Bayly) afterwards President of St. John's Colledg and Dean of Sarisbury, being at that time one of his Chaplains, and not in his own; and finally, why it came out not as a distinct book of itself, but as an Appendix unto Whites, himself is better able to tell us than any other, and he tells it thus: (2) "The caufe (faith he) why the discourse upon this Conference (said so long before it could endure to be press'd. It was neither my Iediency, nor my unwillingness to right both my self and the discourse against the Jesuite, which occasioned this delay; For I had then most Honourable Witnesses, and have some yet living, that this discourse was finifhed long before I could perfwade my self to let it come into publick view: And this was caused partly by reason there was about the same time three Conferences held with Fisher, of which this was the third; and could not therefore conveniently come abroad into the world till the two former were ready to lead the way, which till now they were not. And this is in part the reason also why this Tract crept into the end of a larger work; for since that work contained in a manner the substance of all that passed in the two
two former Conferences, and that this third in divers points concur. L I B. II. red with them, and depended on them, I could not think it Substantially Anno Dom. tive enough to stand alone. But besides this affinity between the Conferences, I was willing to have it pass, as silently as it might, at the end of another work, and so perhaps little to be looked after, because I could not hold it worthy (nor can I yet) of that great duty and service which I owe to my dear mother the Church of England. As for the Reasons why it was published in the name of R. B. Chaplain to the Bishop, rather than his own, it neither was his own desire, (though the Breviarie telleth us that it was) nor for fear of being engaged thereby against his friends his Papists, as is there affirmed. His Reasons, whatever they were, were proposed by others, and approved by Authority, by which it was thought fit that it should be set out in his Chaplains name, and not his own. To which he readily submitted. But of this Conference we shall speak further, when we come to the defence and engagements of it, Anno 1637.

The reasonable publishing of these two Books did much conduce to the advancement of his Majesty's Service. The Commons at that time had been hammering a sharp Remonstrance against the Papists, as if there were no Enemies of the Religion here established to be feared but they. In the Preface to which Petition, they took notice of so many dangers threatened both to the Church and State by the power and practices of the Papist, as if the King had took no care to preserve the one or suppress the other: Which Petition, being brought to the House of Lords, was there so abbreviated, that the Preamble was quite left out, and the many branches of it reduced to two particulars: First, That all Laws and Statutes, formerly made against Jesuites, Seminary Pries, and other Popish Recusants, might from thenceforth be put into execution. Secondly, that he would engage himself by his Royal Word, that upon no occasion of Marriage or Treaty, or other request in that behalf, &c. he would slacken the execution of the Laws against them. Which Petition, being presented to his Majesty by a Committee of both Houses on the tenth of April, after some deliberation he returned this Answer to it, viz. That the Laws against Jesuites and Popish Recusants should be put into due execution from thenceforth, &c. And it appeared by the coming out of these said two Books within few days after, that as his Majesty had granted them their desires, in causing the said Laws against Pries and Jesuites to be duly executed; so he had taken special care, not only to preserve Religion in her Purity, by confuting the most material Doctrines of the Church of Rome: but to preserve his people also from being seduced by the practices of the Pries and Jesuites.

Which notwithstanding the Commons remaining still unsatisfied, betook themselves to the framing of another Petition, in which it was desired that all such persons as were either Papists, or suspected to be Papists, or had not received the Communion within the space of one whole year, or whose Wives, or any of their Servants were Recusants or suspected to be so, might be removed from all Commissions of charge and trust, from being Justices of the Peace, or bearing any Office.
PART I. Office in the Common-wealth. But this Petition was not made ready for the Lords till the twentieth of May next following, and being then reported to them by the Archbishops of Canterbury, they did proceed no further in it. The Commons in the mean time had been wholly busied in the Prosecution of the Lord Treasurer Cranfield, whom at last they brought unto his Sentence. A Gentleman he was by birth, but had his breeding in the City, from whence by his own wit and industry he preferred himself into the Court, where he was first made Master of the Wardrobe, afterward Master of the Wards, and finally advanced by the power and favour of the Duke, (one of whose Kinwomen he had married) to the Office of Lord Treasurer, and the honour of being made the first Earl of Middlesex. In this Office he had disinclined the Prince, when he was in Spain, by dissuading and diverting those large supplies which were required for the maintaining of his Port in a Foreign Kingdom. And he had disinclined the Duke, by joining in some secret practices to make him grow less and less in his Majesty's Favour. They had both served the turn of the Commons, in drawing the King by their continual importunities to dissolve the Treaty. And the Commons must now serve their turn in prosecuting this man to his final destruction: Which they purposed to effectually, that in the end he was sentenced in the House of Lords to be deprived of the Office of Lord High Treasurer of England, to be fined fifty thousand Pounds, and remain a Prisoner in the Tower during his Majesty's will and pleasure. It was moved also to degrade him from all Titles of honour, but in that the Bishops stood his Friends and daft the motion.

So Cranfield fell, and Williams did not stand long after. Laud was now brought into an higher degree of credit with the Duke of Buckingham than he was before, by means whereof he came to be of great power and authority with him. Infomuch that when the Duke fell sick of an Ague in the beginning of May, he was extreme impatient in his Fits till Laud came to visit him; by whom he was so charmed and sweetened, that at first he endured his Fits with patience, and by that patience did so break their heats and violence, that at last they left him. From this time forwards he was not used only as a Confessor, but a Counsellor also employed by him; in considering and advising whether the great endowments belonging to the Hospitals founded in the dissolved house of Carthusian Monks (commonly, but corruptly, called the Charter-House) might not be inverted to the maintenance of an Army for the present Wars, as well for his Majesty's advantage, as the ease of the Subject. And to this Proposition (as it seems) he returned a Negative, for I find not that the business advanced any further. He liked not any invercions or alienations of that nature, left being drawn into example, the Lands of Colleges or Cathedral Churches might in like manner be employed unto secular uses. Besides, he could not choose but know, that a project had been set on foot about ten years before, for the Entituling of the King to all Sutton's Lands; which probably might have succeeded, if Coke, then being Lord Chief Justice, and one of the Trustees for erecting the Hospital, had
had not stood stoutly to his trust. By which though he got the Kings displeasure, yet amongst others he preserved the reputation of an honest man. And Land might very well conclude, that he who durst oppose the King when he was in his favour, would be found more tractable at this time when he was in disgrace; which rendered him the less solicitous to appear in a business, not otherwise approved of by him: But in another point, which was more to his liking, and lay within the sphere of his activity, he gave him as much satisfaction as he had desired. This was the giving him the heads of Doctrinal Puritanism, that is to say, the Heads of such Doctrines as were maintained by those of the Puritan Faction, though not maintained by them as Puritans, but as Calvinists only. The Duke had a desire to know them, and he served him in it. I must needs say, the name of Doctrinal Puritanism is not very ancient, but whether first taken up by the Archbishop of Spalato at his being here, I am not able to say; Nor am I of opinion, that Puritans and Calvinists are terms convertible. For though all Puritans are Calvinists, both in doctrine and practice, yet all Calvinists are not to be counted as Puritans also; whose practices many of them abhor, and whose inconformities they detest, though by the error of their Education, or ill direction in the course of their Studies, they may, and do agree with them in some points of Doctrine. But I must take the word as it stands in the Breviate, and so let it go.

Thefe Doctrinal heads, being ten in number, related to the indispensible morality of the Lords-day-Sabbath, the indiscrimination of Bishops and Presbyters, the Power of Sovereign Princes in Ecclesiastical matters, the Doctrine of Consecration and Sacerdotal Abjuration, and the five Points so much disputed, about Predestination and the Concomitants thereof. Which last Points having been hotly agitated, for twenty years last past, in the Believers Churches, did now begin to exercise the Church of England upon this occasion. The Priests and Jesuits having been very busy of late in gaining Professors, and sowing their erroneous Doctrines, had got a haunt in a Village of the County of Essex, called Stanfords-Rivers. The Rector of that Church was Richard Montague, Batchelor of Divinity, Prebend of Windsor, and one of the Fellows of Eaton Colledge; a man exceedingly well versed in all the Learning of Greeks and Romans, and as well studied in the Fathers, Councils, and all other ancient Monuments of the Christian Church. Desirous to free his Parish from this haunt, he left some Propositions at the house of one of his Neighbours, which had been frequently visited with these Night-spirits, with this Declaration thereunto, that if any of those which ranged that walk could convince him in any of the same, he would immediately subscribe and be a Papist. After long expectation, instead of answering to his Queries, one of them leaves a short Pamphlet for him, entitled, A New Gag for the Old Gospel, in which it was pretended, that the Doctrine of the Protestants should be confused out of the very words of their own English Bibles. This book he was required to answer, and found it no such knotty piece, but that it might be cleft in sunder, with-
PART I.
Anne Dom. 1624.
out Beetle or Wedge. But in perusing of that Book, he found, that besides some few Doctrines which properly and truly did belong to the Church of England, there were crowded into it all Points of Calvinism, such Heterodoxies, and outlandish Fancies, as the Church of England never owned. And therefore in his Answer to that Popish Gagger he severed or discriminated the opinions of particular men, from the Authorized Doctrines of this Church; leaving the one to be maintained by their private F autors, and only defending and maintaining the other. And certainly had he not been a man of a mighty Spirit, and one that easily could contern the cry and clamours which were raised against him for so doing, he could not but have sunk remedilessly under the burden of disgrace, and the fears of Ruine which that performance drew upon him.

This Book came out about the latter end of December, and coming out made such a general amazement amongst those of the Calvinian Party, that they began to fear the sad consequences of it. The opening of this secret was of such importance, that if the Author and his Book were not speedily crushed, they must no longer shroud their private opinions under the name of the received Doctrine of the Church of England; excluded from that Sanctuary, they could find no place of strength and safety, in which they should not be exposed to assaults and dangers. And that the Author and the Book might be crush together, it was thought fit that Tate and Ward, two of the Lecturers or Preachers in Ipswich, should gather out of his Book some especial Points tending to Popery and Arminianism (as they conceived) to be presented to the Ceniture of the following Parliament. Having got a Copy of the Information intended to be made against him, he flies for refuge to King James, now grown more moderate, and (since the death of Montague the late Bishop of Winton) into a better liking of those opinions, which he had laboured to condemn at the Synod of Dort. His Majesty knew the man, and his great abilities, and was well pleased with his performance against the History of Tithes; where he had beaten the (then thought) matchless Selden at his own weapon, and shewed himself the greater Philologer of the two: Upon which ground he looked upon him as the fittest man to encounter Barrow, against whom the right learned Cafanbow had some preparatory velitations before his death, but made no further progress in it. Montague, flying to King James, as before is said, had pretently his discharge or quietus eft, as to his Majesties good opinion both of him and (e) the book itself. And more than so, his Majesty took notice that the Information was divulged, and the Clamor violent, and therefore gave him leave to make an Appeal from the said Defamers unto his own most Sacred Cognizance in publick, and to represent his just defence against their flanders and false surmises unto the world. And that the queanzies of the times might the better brook it, he gave express order unto Dr. White, then Dean of Carlile, (cryed up when Lecturer of St. Paul's, for the stoutest Champion of this Church against those of Rome) for the authorizing and publishing thereof, which was done accordingly. This Book he entitled by the name of
of APPELLO CÆSAREM, or a just APPEAL from two unjust LIB. II.
INFORMERS: But the King dying before it was finished at the
Pref, it was presented to King Charles, in the first entrance of his
Reign, and there we shall be sure to hear further of it.

In the mean time it may not be unnecessary to enquire what the
said Informers (Tates and Ward) might and did mean by Popery and
Arminianism, with which two crimes they charged the Answer to the
Gagger. And first we find upon due search, that by Popery they un-
derstood all such Points of Doctrine, as being determined by this
Church, hold some correspondence and agreement with the Do-
ctrines of the Church of Rome, or being not determined by this
Church, are left at liberty for every man to please himself in his own
opinion, how near soever he may come to such compliance. Of the
first sort they reckoned for points of Popery; The Doctrine of the Per-
petual Visiblity of the Church of Christ; The Local Defect of Christ in-
to Hell, The Lawfulness of Images, Signing with the Sign of the Cross,
Confession and Sacerdotal Absolution, The Real Presence, The Reward of
Good Works, The Sacrament of Orders; quarrelling even with very
words, Sacrifice, Altar, and the like: All which upon a perfect Exa-
mination, will be found to be the genuine Doctrines, and to speak no-
ting but the Language of the Church of England, as we have punctu-
ally discovered in our Introduction. Amongst the last I reckon the
Disputes concerning Evangelical Counsel, Antichrist, and Limbus Pa-
trum, of which the Church of England hath determined nothing; and
therefore the Appellant was left at liberty to follow his own J udg-
ment, and to chuse what guides he pleased to direct his Judgment in
those particular Debates. Yet such was the temper of those Times,
that whosoever held any of the Points aforesaid, or any other con-
troverted with the Church of Rome, contrary to the sense of Calvin,
must presently be accused of Popery. He that adhered unto the
Tendries of the Antient Fathers, in such particulars as the Church
was pleased to leave undetermined; or bound himself in matters pub-
licly resolved on, to vindicate this Church to her genuine Tenets,
was presently made subject to all those Clamours and Reproaches,
which the Tongues and Pens of that Predominating Faction could
either raise upon him, or asperse him with. Land had found good
experience of it when he lived in Oxon, and so had Honson and Cor-
bat too, as before was noted. But none of them were able to break
through those difficulties, till Mountague took the work in hand; who
being well back'd, and having the Ice somewhat broke before him,
waded with confidence and courage through the middlest of those wa-
ters, which otherwise might have overwhelmed the most tried Adven-
turer.

In the next place it will be no hard work to find what they meant by
Arminianism; under which name they comprehend the Melancho-
nian Doctrine of Predestination, The Universal Redemption of Man-
kind by the Death of Christ, The cooperation of the Will of Man with
the Grace of God; and, The possibility of falling from Grace received:
All which appear by plain and evident proofs in our said Introduction,
to have been the true original and native Doctrines of this Church at her first Reformation. But Calvinism had so over-spread the face of this Church, by Humphries long sitting in the Chair at Oxon. and the discomtenancing of Peter Eras at Cambridge, that the natural Doctrines and Determinations of it were either so forgotten, that they were not known, or else so over-powred, that none durft undertake to own them. And so it stood till the breaking out of the Predestiarian Quarrels in the Belgick Churches, between Arminius and his Followers on the one side, and the Rigid Calvinians on the other. The Books which had been written on both sides, being purposely dispersed abroad, to encourage and encourage their several Parties, cross'd over the Seas into England also; where being diligently studied, either out of curiosity, or desire of knowledge, they awaked many out of that dead sleep in which they were, to look with better eyes into the true and native Doctrines of this Church, than before they did. Amongst the first which publickly appeared that way at Oxon. after the coming out of the said Books, were Land and Hough, whom Aboft then Dr. of the Chair, and Vice-chancellor also, exposed to as much disgrace as by his Place and Power he could lay upon them. Amongst the first at Cambridge were Tompson, a Dutchman by original (if I be not mistaken in the man) and Richardson the Master of Trinity Colledge. The first of these had writ a Book touching Falling away from Grace, entituled, De intercellione Gratiae, & Justificationis; to which Aboft of Oxon. above-mentioned returned an answer. The other being a corpulent man, was publickly reproach'd in St. Marius Pulpit in his own University, by the name of a Fat-bellied Arminian. By that name they were called in Holland, which adhered not unto Calvin's Doctrine, though many had formerly maintained these Opinions in those Churches, before van Harmine came to the Chair of Leyden. And by that name they must be called in England also, though the same Doctrines had been here publickly Authorized and Taught before he was born. So the entitling of these Doctrines to the name of Arminius, seems to be like the nominating of the great Western Continent by the name of America, of which first Christopher Columbus, and afterward the two Cabots, Father and Son, had made many great and notable Discoveries, before Americus Vesputius ever saw those Shores. Howsoever these Doctrines must be called by the name of Arminianism, and by that name Montague stands accused by the two Informers, though he protests in his Appeal, that he had never seen any of the Writings of Arminius; and that he did no otherwise maintain those Doctrines, than as they were commended to him by the Church of England, and justified by the unanimous consent of the Antient Fathers. But of this man, and the pursuance of these Quarrels, we shall hear more shortly.

These matters being thus laid together, let us look back on some former Passages which preceded Montagues Disputes. The Commons had obtained their ends, in dissolving all Treaties with the King of Spain; but lost their hopes of marrying the Prince to a Lady of their own Religion. His Majesty would not look beneath a Crown,
to find a Marriage for his Son; and no Crown could afford him a better Wife for his Son, than a Daughter of France. The Prince had seen the Lady at the Court in Paris, and the King as much desired to see her in the Court of England. Upon this ground the Earl of Holland is dispatched privately into France, to see how the Queen-Mother and her Ministers, who then governed the Affairs of that King, would approve the Match; to which at first they seemed so cheerfully inclined, that they did not seem to stand upon any Conditions: But no sooner had they found, that the Breach between his Majesty and the King of Spain was grown irreparable, and that both sides prepared for War, but they knew how to make their best advantage of it. They thought themselves to be every way as considerable as the Spaniards were; and would abate nothing of those Terms which had been obtained by the Spaniards, in reference either to the Prince's herself, or in favour of the English Catholics: And to these Terms, when they saw no better could be gotten, his Majesty and the Prince consented. But such a Spirit of Infatuation was at that time upon the People, that they who on the 3d of February before had celebrated the dissolving the Treaties with Spain with Bells and Bonfires, on the 21st of November following did celebrate with like Solemnities and Expressions the like Match with France. And in this Match (a) Land is accused to have a hand, or at the least to have shewed his good affections to promote it. An heavy Crime, and proved by as infallible proofs; that is to say, his writing to and receiving Letters from the Duke, at such time as the Duke was sent to the Court of France, to attend the new Queen into England. And what else (b) could this Match and those Letters aim at, but to carry on the same design to bring in Popery, and by that means to stand their ground, and retain all those Privileges and Immunities, which the Popish party had procured by the former Treaties? To such absurdities are men swayed, when Prejudice and Professions over-rule the Balance.

We must begin the next year with the Death of King James, and therefore think it not amiss to take a brief view of the Condition of the Church and State, at the time of his departing from us. He had spent all his life in Peace, but died in the beginning of a War: A War which had been drawn upon him by dissolving the Treaties, to which he was as it were constrained, by the continual importunity of the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham. The Duke knew well, that he could not do a more popular act, than to gratifie the Commons in that business; and had easily posses'd the Prince with this opinion, That as his future Greatness must be built on the Love of his People, so nothing could oblige them more, than to be instrumental in dissolving the present Treaties. But herein they consulted rather their own private Passions, than the publick Inereit of the Crown; and they shall both pay dear enough for it in a very short space: For there is nothing more unsafe for a King of England, than to cast himself upon the necessity of calling Parliaments, and depending on the Purge of the Subject; by means whereof he makes himself obnoxious to the humour of any prevailing Member in the House of Commons, and becomes less in Reputa-
Reputation both at home and abroad. The Church he left beleaguer'd by two great Enemies; assailed openly by the Papists on the one side, undermined by the Puritans on the other. Of the audaciousness of the Papists we have spoke already, abated somewhat by the Fall at Black-friers, more by the dissolving the two Treaties about four Months after. For though they made some use of the French by this new Alliance, yet they resolved to suffer no dependence upon that Crown; insomuch that many of those, who greedily embraced such Favours as were obtained for them by the Treaties with the King of Spain, would not accept the same when they were procured by the Match with France; for which being asked the Reason, they returned this Answer, That they would not change an old Friend for a new; of the continuance of whose Favours they could have no certainty; and who by suffering Heretics in his own Dominions, declared himself no fit Protector for the Catholick Cause.

More secret were the Puritans; but nothing the less dangerous because more secret. Finding they could effect nothing in Queen Elizabeth's time, either by their publick clamours, or their open practices, they cunningly wrought themselves into a State-Faction, and play'd their Game under the colour of Advancing the Civil Liberties of the Subject and the preservation of Religion here by Law established: To which end they continually alarm'd this King with fears and dangers from the Papists (as before was said) that all men's eyes being turned that way, they might carry on their own designs without discovery. In which they imitated the old stratagem of some politicke Captains, who having made great noise, and prepared all things ready for an Assault on the one side of a Town besieged, and thereby drawn all the strength of the Town to make good that side, suddenly caus'd it to be fallen upon in another place, which they found destitute and unprovided of all defence. But having serv'd their Apprenticeships in the Reign of this King, we shall find them strong enough in the first Parliament of his Son and Successor, to let up for themselves. Hitherto they had worked under the ground like Moles or Wanks, without being discovered; but then they began to cut up the Earth before them: And having prepar'd a Bill for making way to their Lords-day-Sabbath, under colour of suppressing unlawful Pastimes and Assemblies, they press'd that King to it, and obtained it; some further addition to which Act they procur'd in his third Parliament also. Yet still they kept on foot their pretended Zeal against the Papists, and seem'd exceeding sensible of the Dangers which were threatened by them; not so much to advance their own Party, then grown strong enough (as they had done formerly); but to make it serve them as a Property to put by the Business of the King in the Grant of Subsidies, whensoever he required it of them.

In this condition of Affairs King James departs this Life at Theobalds, on Sunday the 27th. of March; his Disease no other than an Ague; which though it fell on him in the Spring, yet it crossed the Proverb, and proved not Medicinal, but Mortal. His Character hath been given by many others, and therefore I may well spare mine, looking upon
upon him only in his zeal to the Church, and his affections unto Learning. His zeal to Unity and Uniformity in the Church, appeared in Anno Domini England by the Conference at Hampton-Court, Anno 1623, by his directions sent to the University of Oxon. 1616, by those to the Archbishops and their several Suffragans, 1622. In Scotland, by his Restitution of Episcopacy, Anno 1610, by the Articles of Perth, 1618, and by the Grounds laid for the Publick Liturgy and Canons, at the Assembly in Aberdeen, Anno 1616. Had he been well followed by his Bishops, and other Publick Ministers in his several Kingdoms, he would have left the Church established on a sure Foundation, that neither secret Practices could have undermined it, nor open Batteries have disturbed it. His great affections unto Learning do appear as visibly, by the encouragement which he gave unto it both in his Person and Example. In the beginning of his Reign, Anno 1603, he graciously received the Vice-chancellor of Oxon, together with the Doctors, Professors, and Heads of Houses, at his Manor of Woodstock. And within two years after, Anno 1605, he accepted a Solemn entertainment from them, performed in all manner of Scholastic Exercise, Divinity, Law, Physick, and Philosophy; in all of which he shewed himself of such great Abilities, that he might have governed in those Chairs, as well as all or any of his three Professors. Being informed how small and insufficient their old Salary was, he added to his Professor for Divinity, and his Successors in that place, the next Prebend of Christ-Church, as soon as any should be void, and the Rectory of Ewelme in the County of Oxon, to the Dr. of the Chair for Law, the Corps of a good Prebend in the Church of Salisbury; and to the Professors place for Physick, the Government of an Hospital in Ewelme aforesaid, being within ten miles of the University.

Encouraged by which Examples, two Mathematick Lectures were founded by Sir Henry Savil Provost of Eaton, and Warden of Merton College; An History Lecture by William Camden, one of the Kings at Arms, by the name of Claudicencius; A Lecture in Natural Philosophy, by Sir William Sidney Knight and Baronet; In Moral Philosophy, by Dr. Thomas White, one of the Residentaries of St. Paul's, and Prebend of Christ-Church; All of them of a liberal and large Endowment. After all which an Anatomy Lecture was set up by Richard Tomlins of the City of Westminster, as necessary as any of the rest, though not so plentifully endowed. The poor man calling in his Mite (almost all he had) amongst those Rich Offerings. But the powerful Influences of his Learning and Government produce a further operation than the Instituting of a few particular Lectures; even to the Building and Endowing of some, and Beautifying of many other Colleges in that University; Witness that fair and Uniform College, built by Nicholas Wadham, and Dorothy his Wife, Anno 1612. The turning of Broadgates Hall into Pembroke College, built and endowed at the Charges of Thomas Tifdale of Glymton in the County of Oxon, appropriated in a manner to the Free-Grammar-School of Abingdon, Anno 1624. Witness the raising of the old Schools to a goodly and magnificent Structure, the adding of a new Quadrangle unto Merton College by the prudent
prudent care of Sir Henry Savill; the reducing of Exeter, and the making up of Jesus College into form Quadrangular, by adding of a neat Chappel and a fair Hall to each; of which the Chappel of Jesus College (being built together with the Hall, at such time as Sir Ezekiel Thelwall was Principal of it) was Consecrated by the Right Reverend Dr. Houfeon then Bishop of Oxon. May 28. 1621. The other built at the sole Charges of Dr. Hackwell Arch-Deacon of Surrey, received Consecration from the same hands, October 5. 1624. And finally, Witness a large and capacious piece of Ground, inclosed with a beautiful Quadrangular Wall, for a Physick-Garden, the first Stone whereof was laid in a Solemn Assembly of the whole University on St. James his day, July 25. 1622. Not to say any thing of the great cost bestowed in beautifying the Quires of Christ-Church and Magdalen, the setting up of a fair new Organ in the Chappel of St. John’s College, by the procurement of our Land, the then President of it, Anno 1618. The like fair Organ made and set up in Christ-Church, and the old one given to St. Marys for the publick use of the University, about six years after. Such and so many Benefactions in one University, and that too in so short a space, as none of the former Times can parallel, so let it be the wonder and amazement of all Ages following.

But the King dies, though his Munificence survive him. It was then Midlen-Sunday, and the Court-Sermon at Whitehall (according to the ancient custom) in the afternoon: At what time the sad News passing through London, began to be rumored in the Court, as Land was going into the Pulpit to Preach before the Lords of the Council, the Officers of the Houfhold, and the rest of that great Concourse of all Sorts of People which usually repaired thither at those Solemn Sermons. Before he was come to the middle of it, the certainty of the Kings death (more generally known amongst them) the confusion which he saw in the faces of all the Company, his own griefs, and the dolorous complaints made by the Duke of Buckingham, occasioned him to leave the Pulpit, and to besow his pains and comforts where there was more need. He did not think (as I believe few wise men do) that the carrying on of one particular Sermon was such a necessary part of Gods business, as is not to be intermitted upon any occasion, nor was this ever charged upon him among his crimes. The sens of this great loss being somewhat abated, he was requested by the Duke to draw up some Remembrances, of the Life, Reign, and Government of the King Deceased, which he accordingly performed and presented to him: But they are but Remembrances or Memorials only, like the first lines of a design or Picture, which being polished and perfected by a skilful Workman, might have prefented us with the true and lively Pourtraiture of that gracious Prince. But who will undertake to finish what Land began? I must therefore leave the deceased King to those Memorials, and those Memorials to be found in his Brevisate, p. 5. But there was another Pourtraiture provided for that King before his Funeral. His body being brought from Theobalds unto Sommersfet-house, where a Royal and Magnificent Hearfe was erected for him, visited and reforted to by infinite multitudes of people, for some Weeks together,
together. From somerset-house his body was carried in great State, to St. Peter's Church in Westminster, where it was solemnly interred. The Funeral Sermon Preached by... by the name of Great Britains Solomon, which afterwards administered the occasion of some discourse, which otherwise might have been spared.

Thus is James dead and buried, but the King survives, his only Son Prince Charles being immediately proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, first at the Court Gates, by Sir Edward Zouch Knight Marshal, most solemnly the next day at London, and afterwards by degrees in all the Cities and Market-Towns of the Kingdom. At his first entrance on the Crown he found himself engaged in a war with the King of Spain, the mightiest Monarch of the West, for which he was to raise great Forces both by Sea and Land. He was also at the Point of Marriage with the Daughter of France, and some proportionable preparations must be made for that. Nor was King James to be interred without a solemn and magnificent Funeral, answerable in the full height to so great a Prince. All which must needs exact great Sums of money, and money was not to be had without the help of a Parliament, which he therefore gave order to be called in the usual manner. But in the midst of these many and great preparations he forgets not the great business of the Church. He had observed the multitudinousness of his Fathers Chaplains, and the disorder of their waitings, which puts him on a Resolution of reducing them to a lesser number, and limiting them to a more certain time of attendance than before they were. He knew well also what an influence the Court had always on the Country; by consequence how much it did concern him in his future Government that his Officers and Servants should be rightly principled, according to the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worship established in the Church of England. And therefore that he might be served with Orthodox and Regular men, Land is commanded to prepare a Catalogue of the most eminent Divines; and to distinguish them by the two Letters of O and P, according to their several persuasions and affections. And that being done, he is directed by the Duke and the King's appointment to have recourse to the most learned Bishop Andrews, to know of him what he thought fitting to be done in the Cause of Religion; Especially in reference to the five Articles condemned not long since in the Synod at Dort, and to report his answer with convenient speed. A Convocation was of course to accompany the ensuing Parliament. And it was fit not only that the Prelates should resolve before hand what Points they meant to treat on when they were assembled, but that his Majesty also might have time to consider of them.

These seasonable cares being thus passed over, he hastens both his own marriage, and his Fathers Funeral: The first he solemnized by Proxy in the Church of Notre Dame in Paris, on Sunday the first of May according to the Style of England. The news whereof being brought to the Court, on the Wednesday following was celebrated in the Streets of London, the Liberties and out-parts of it, with more than or-

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Note: The text is a historical account of the death and succession of Charles I of England, including preparations for his marriage and the ensuing political and religious discourse.
PART I.  ordinary Expressions of Joy and Gladness. The Proxie made to Claudi.
  de Lorain, Duke of Chevreux, one of the younger Sons of the Duke of Guiſe; from which house his Majesty derived himself by his great
  Grand-Mother Mary of Lorain, Wife of James the Fifth. The Funeral
  he attended in his own Person, as the principal Mournor: which though
  it were contrary to the Custom of his Predecessors, yet he chose rather
to express his piety in attending the dead Body of his Father to the
  Funeral Pile, than to stand upon any such old niceties and points
  of State. This was the third Funeral which he had attended as the
  principal Mournor, which gave some occasion to preface that he
would prove a man of sorrows, and that his end would carry some
proportion to those mournful beginning. The Interval before the
coming of his Queen he spent in looking to his Navy, and drawing his
Land Forces together for that Summers service. But hearing that his
Queen was advancing toward him, he went to Canterbury, and rested
there on Trinity Sunday the twelfth of June. That night he heard
the news of her late arrival at the Port of Dover, whom he welcomed
the next morning into England with the most cheerful signs of a true
affection. From thence he brought her unto Canterbury, and from
thence by coach Stages to Gravesend, where entering in their Royal
Barge, attended by infinite companies of all sorts of People, and en-
tertained by a continual peal of Ordnance all the way they palled,
he brought her safely and contentedly unto his Palace at Westminister.
The Lords and Ladies of the Court having prefented to her the ac-
knowledgment of their humble duties, such Bishops as were about the
Town (as most of them were, in regard of the Parliament and Con-
vocation) were admitted to the kìs of her hand, whom she most gra-
ciously receiv'd.

For on the Saturday before, being June the eighteenth, the Parlia-
ment had took beginning. Which fell out not unseasonably, that the
French Lords might see with what Royal Magnificence he was attended
by the Prelates, Peers, and other Officers of State (besides his own
Domestick Servants) to the Parliament House. At their first meet-
ing he put them in mind of the War, in which they had engaged his
Father, and of the promise they had made to stand to him in it with
their lives and fortunes: That both his Land and Sea Forces were
now in readiness to set forwards; And, that there wanted nothing but
a present supply of money to quicken and expedite the affair: That
the eyes of all Christendom were fixt upon him: And that if he should
miscalculation in his first attempt, it would be a blunder of the honour of his fu-
ture actions: And therefore, That they should endeavour to deliver
him out of that War in which they had incumbrance (he hoped it would
never be said that they had betrayed) him. In answer whereunto,
the Commons past a Bill of two Subsidies only, so short of that exces-
sive charge which the maintenance of so great a Fleet and Army re-
quired at their hands, that being distributed amongst the Officers,
Souldiers, and Mariners, it would scarce have served for advance-
money to send them going. Which notwithstanding, he very graciously accepted of, taking it as an earnest of their good affection, in
reference
reference to the greater Sums which were to follow. In order whereunto he audited his account unto them, as well for such moneys as had remained undisburfed of the former aids, as for the defraying of such further Charges as his present Fleet, consisting of 120 Sail, and a considerable Land Army, must needs lay upon him. The particulars of which account stood thus: viz., 32000 pounds for securing of Ireland; 47000 pounds for strengthening the Forts; 37000 pounds for the repair of the Navy; 99000 pounds upon the four English Regiments in the States Country; 62000 pounds laid out for Count Mansfield; Total 287000 pounds. Besides which he sent in a demand of 200000 pounds and upwards upon the Navy; 48000 pounds upon the Ordnance; 45000 pounds in Charges of the Land men; 20000 pounds a month to Count Mansfield; and 46000 pounds to bring down the King of Denmark; the total of which latter Sum amounts to 339000 pounds. Both Sums make no less than 626000 pounds, to which the Grant of two Subsidies holds but small proportion.

But the Commons had other game to follow. Their Grievances must first be heard: A Lift whereof they had presented to King James toward the end of the former Parliament, of which the greatest part were still unredressed. To these his Majesty vouchsafed a very gracious, and for the most part a full and satisfactory Answer. Amongst which Grievances, a sober and discreet man would not think to find, that the building of all houses in London, and the parts adjoining, in one uniform way, with a face of brick toward the streets, should be passed for one, then which there could not be a greater ornament to that City, or a greater honour to his Majesties Government. And to that his Majesty returned this Answer: That there had much good come by such a reformation of Building in his Father’s time, and therefore that he was resolved to go on with the work. Which Resolution so much tending to the glory of the English Nation, and no objection being ready for his other Answers, the matter of Grievances could no longer be inflected on; especially in such a time when the concerns of the State, his Majesties honour, and all the motives which induced them to engage him in this present War, ought in all reason to precede their Grievances, had they been greater then they were. But then they had some Religious Grievances, which required a more speedy redress than any which concerned them in their Civil Interests. The Lords day was pretended to be much profaned by unlawful pastimes, and People frequently resorted out of their own Parishes to fealt in Revels. Of this a remedy is desired by Act of Parliament. Had any such Bill been offered in King James his time, it would have found a sorry welcome; but this King being under a necessity of compliance with them, resolved to grant them their desires in that Particular, to the end that they might grant his also in the aid required, when that obstruction was removed. The Sabbatharians took the benefit of this opportunity for the obtaining of this grant (the first that ever they obtained by all their struglings) which of what consequence it was we shall see hereafter.

But then the Doctrine of the Church was more in danger then ever.
PART I. In former Parliaments they were afraid of the Papists only: But now there was as much danger to be feared from Arminianism as before from Popery. An Information had been made by Tates and Ward, as before is said, against some passages in Mountague's Answer to the Rohish Gargler; and he had aggravated his offence by justifying all his Topists, and Arminian Tenents in a book newly published, called Apello Cæfarum. It could not be denied, but that this book was Licenced by Dr. White, then Dean of Carlile, by whom it was affirmed to be agreeable to the Publick Faith, Doctrine and Discipline established in the Church of England. But White they said was now turned black, and what is the Established Doctrine of the Church of England compared with Calvin's Doctrine in his Institutions? What Trifles are the Articles of Religion, agreed on by the Bishops and Clergy, in two several Synods held in London, compared with the determinations of the Synod of Dort, which Mountague (that bold man) had despised and vilified? This was a matter which became the care of the House of Commons, and Mountague is cited to appear before them on the seventh of July. Being brought unto the Bar, the Speaker declared to him the pleasure of the House, which was, that they would refer his Censure to the next meeting; and that in the interim he should stand committed to the Sergeants Ward; and entred baile for his appearance to the value of two thousand pounds. His Majesty had prelent notice of this occurrence; And being very sensible of this new incroachment, he thereupon caufed intimation to be made unto them, that he was not pleased with their proceedings against Mountague, being one of his Chaplains; adding withal that he conceived his Servants to be as capable of protection from all imprisonments and arrests, as any of the Servants of the Knights and Burgesses. It was not long before Laud found an opportunity to give Mountague notice of his Majesties great care of him, and affection to him. Which must needs be a Sovereign Cordial to the man, notwithstanding that the Commons were so stiff in their Rigors toward him, that his bail-bond of 2000 pound did remain uncancelled.

Notice hereof being given to Laud, he considered of the said effects and consequents which might follow on it, communicating those his fears to some other Bishops: by whom it was thought fit that Mountague's cafe, and not his only, but the case of the Church it self, should be commended to the care and power of the Duke of Buckingham. According unto which Advice and Resolution, three of them framed and signed the ensuing Letter. But before this Letter was delivered, Mountague had taken so much care of himself, as to prepare his way by a Letter of his own, bearing date July 29. In which Letter he first laid open the state of his cafe, desiring that by his Majesties Power he might be absolutely freed from those who had neither any Authority over his person, as being one of his Majesties Servants; nor over his Book, as being commanded by his Father, and authorized by himself. Which being said, he makes this resolute declaration, That if he could not really and thoroughly answer whatsoever was or could be imputed to him in any of his Books, he would no further desire favour and pro-
May it please your Grace,

_We_ are bold to be Suitors to you in the behalf of the Church of England, and a poor Member of it, Mr. Mountague, at this time not a little distressed. We are not strangers to his person, but it is the Cause which we are bound to be tender of. The Cause we conceive (under correction of better judgment) concerns the Church of England nearly; for that Church, when it was reformed from the superstitious opinions broached or maintained by the Church of Rome, refused the apparent and dangerous Errors, and would not be too busy with every particular School-Point. The cause why she held this moderation was, because she could not be able to preserve any unity among Christians, if men were forced to subscribe to curious particulars disputed in Schools. Now may it please your Grace, the opinions which at this time trouble many men in the late Book of Mr. Mountague, are some of them such as are expressly the resolved Doctrine of the Church of England, and those he is bound to maintain. Some of them are such as are fit only for Schools, and to be left at more liberty for learned men to abound in their own sense, so they keep themselves peaceable, and distract not the Church. And therefore to make any Man subscribe to School-opinions, may justly seem hard in the Church of Christ, and was one great fault of the Council of Trent. And to afford them from those opinions in which they have (as they are bound) subscribed to the Church, as it is worse in itself, so may it be the Mother of greater danger.

May it please your Grace further to consider, That when the Clergie submitted themselves in the time of Henry the Eighth, the submission was so made, that if any difference Doctrinal or other fell in the Church, the King and the Bishops were to be Judges of it in the National Synod or Convocation; the King first giving leave under his Broad Seal to handle the Points in difference: But the Church never submitted to any other Judge, neither indeed can she though she would. And we humbly desire your Grace to consider, and then to move his most Gracious Majesty (if you shall think fit) what dangerous consequences may follow upon it? For first, if any other Judge be allowed in matter of Doctrine, we shall depart from the Ordinance of Christ, and the continual Course and Practice of the Church. Secondly, If the Church be once brought down beneath her self, we cannot but fear what may be the next stroke at it. Thirdly, It will some way touch the honour of his Majesties dear Father, and our most Dread Sovereign of glorious and ever-blessed memory, King James, who saw and approved all the opinions of this Book. And he in his rare Wisdom and Judgment would never have allowed them if they had crossed with truth and the Church of England. Fourthly, We must be bold to say, that we cannot conceive what use there can be of Civil Government in the Commonwealth, or of Preaching or External Ministry in the Church, if such fatal opinions, as
The Life of William

PART 1. Some which are opposite and contrary to these delivered by Mr. Mountague are, shall be publicly taught and maintained. Fifthly, We are certain that all or most of the contrary opinions were treated of at Lambeth, and ready to be published, but then Queen Elizabeth of famous memory, upon notice given, how little they agreed with the Practice of Piety, and obedience to all Government, caused them to be suppressed; and so they have continued ever since, till of late some of them have received countenance at the Synod of Dort. Now this was a Synod of that Nation, and can be of no Authority in any other National Church, till it be received there by publick Authority. And our hope is, That the Church of England will be well advised, and more than once over, before she admit a foreign Synod, especially of such a Church as condemneth her Discipline and manner of Government, to say no more.

And further we are bold to commend to your Graces Wisdom this one particular. His Majesty (as we have been informed) hath already taken this business into his own care, and most worthy referred it in a right course to Church consideration. And we well hoped that without further trouble to the State, or breach of unity in the Church, it might so have been well and orderly composed, as we still pray it may. These things considered, we have little to say for Mr. Mountague's person: only thus much we know, he is a very good Scholar, and a right honest man. A man every way able to do God's, his Majesty's, and the Church of England great service. We fear he may receive discouragement, and (which is far worse) we have some cause to doubt this may breed a great backwardness in able men to write in the defence of the Church of England, against either home or foreign Adversaries, if they shall see him sink in Fortunes Reputation, or health, upon occasion of his Book. And this we most humbly submit to your Graces Judgment, and care of the Churches peace and welfare; So commending your Grace to the Protection of Almighty God.

August 2. 1625.

We shall ever rest at Your Graces Service,


After this no more news of Montague in the present Parliament, Adjournd by his Majesty on the eleventh of July (by reason of the Plague) to Oxon, there to be re-assembled on the first of August. Which time being come, his Majesty puts them again in mind of his pressing occasions, acquaints them with the necessity of setting out the Fleet, then ready for Service; That the eyes of his Confederates were fixt upon him; and that they would separate and disolve if it did not speedily set forwards. But then the dangers which they feared from the growth of Popery, stood as much in his ways, as Montague and the Grievances had done before. For the securing them from all such fears, an humble Petition and Remonstrance must be first prepared, which they framed much after the same manner with that which had been offered to King James, in the year 1621. In this they showed the King...
King the dangers which were threatened to the Church and State, by the more than ordinary increase of Popery; and offered him such remedies, as they conceived most likely, to prevent the mischief. And unto this Petition they procured the Peers also to join with them. But the King easily removed this obstruction, by giving them such a full and satisfactory answer, on the seventh of August, that they could not chuse, before their Rising, which followed within five days after, but Vote their humble Thanks to be returned unto his Majesty, for giving such a Gracious Answer to their said Petition. This they had reason to expect from his Majesties Piety; but then they had another Game which must be followed, before the Kings Business could be heard. In the two former Parliaments they had fleth’d themselves, by removing Bacon from the Seal, and Cranfield from the Treasury: And somewhat must be done this Parliament also, for fear of hazarding such a Privilege by a discontinuance. Williams came first into their eye, whom they looked on as a man not only improper for the Place, but also as not having carried himself in it with such integrity as he should have done; and him the Lawyers had most mind to, that they might get that Office once again into their possession. This Williams fearing, so applied himself to some leading Members, that he diverted them from himself to the Duke of Buckingham, as a more noble Prey, and fitter for such mighty Hunters than a silly Priest. Nor was this Overture proposed to such as were either deaf or tongue-tied; for this great Game was no sooner started, but they followed it with such an Outcry, that the noife thereof came presently to his Majesties ears; who finding by these delays and artifices, that there was no hope of gaining the Supplies desired, on the twelfth of the fame August dissolved the Parliament. He may now see the error he had run into by his breach with Spain, which put him into a necessity of making War, and that necessity compell’d him to cast himself in a manner on the Alms of his People, and to stand wholly in like manner at their Devotion.

The Parliament being thus dissolved, his Majesty proceeded towards the West, to set forward his Navy, and Land betakes himself unto his Dioces, this being the year of his Triennial Visitations. He took along with him in this Journey such Plate and Furniture as he had provided for his new Chappel at Aberleigh, which he Consecrated on Sunday August 28. Here he continued, by reason that the Sicknes was hot in London, and not cooled in Oxon till he was fain to make his way back again through Ice and Snow, as he writes in his Letters to the Duke from Windsor, December 13. At his return he found no small alteration in the Court. The Lord Keeper Williams stood upon no good terms with the Duke in the life of King James; but he declined more and more in Favour after his decease. The Duke had notice of his practising against him in the last Parliament, and was resolved to do his errand so effectually to the King his Master, that he should hold the Seal no longer; and he prevailed therein so far, that Sir John Suckling, Controller of his Majesties Household, was sent to him (being then at a House of the Lord Saudit’s in the Parish of Bray near
PART I. near Windfor) to require him to deliver up the Seal to his Majesties use; which being very unwillingly done, the Custody of the Great Seal, on Sunday the second of October, was committed to Sir Thomas Coventry his Majesties Attorney General, whom Heath succeeded in that place. But my Lord was not gone, though the Keeper was: He still remained Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and Dean of Westminster, holding still both his other Dignities and Preferments before recited: So that he might have lived as plentifull as the greatest, and as contentedly as the best, had he not thought that the fall was greater from the top of the Stairs unto the second or third Step, than from the second or third to the lowest of all. But as he fell, so Land ascended: Neil his good Friend, then Bishop of Durham, had fallen sick in the beginning of the Spring, at whose request he was appointed to wait upon his Majesty as Clerk of the Closet; in which Service though he continued not long, yet he made such use of it, that from that time forwards he grew as much into the Kings Favour, as before he had been in the Dukes; becoming as it were his Majesties Secretary for all Church Concernments.

His Majesty having set forward his Navy (which setting out so late, could not be like to make any good Return) was not unmindful of the Promise he had made in Parliament, in answer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons, concerning the Great dangers threatened to the Church and State by the Growth of Popery; to which end he caused a Commission to be Issued under the great Seal, for executing the Laws against Recusants, which he commanded to be published in all the Courts of Justice at Reading (to which Town the Term was then removed) that all his Judges and other Ministers of Justice might take notice of it, as also that all his Loving Subjects might be certified of his Princely Care and Charge for the Advancement of true Religion, and Suppression of Popery and Superstition: Which done, he directed his (a) Letters of the 15th of December, to his two Archbishops, signifying how far he had proceeded, and requiring them in pursuance of it, "That no good means be neglected on their part for discovering, finding out, and apprehending of Jesuits and Seminary Priests, and other Seducers of his People to the Romish Religion; or for repressing Popish Recusants and Delinquents of that Sort, against whom they were to proceed by Excommunication, and other Censures of the Church, not omitting any other Lawful means to bring them forth to publick Justice. But then within his Majesty takes notice of another Enemy, which threatened as much danger to the Church as the Popish did: And thereupon he further requireth the said two Archbishops, "That a vigilant care be taken with the rest of the Clergy, for the repressing of those who being ill affected to the true Religion here established, they keep more close and secret their ill and dangerous affections that way; and as well by their example, as by secret and under-hand sleights and means, do much encourage and encrease the growth of Popery and Superstition in sundry parts of this Kingdom. And therefore he did not only require that none of them might have any manner of Covert Prote-
That and other for the[Pretences] and possible diligence be used, as well to unmask the false shadows, and pretences of those who may possibly be won to conformity; letting all men know, That he could not think well of any that having Place and Authority in the Church, do permit such persons to pass with impunity; much less if they give them any countenance, to the emboldning them or their adherents.

On the receiving of these Letters, Abbot transmits the Copies of them to his several Sufficient, and to our Bishop of St. David amongst the rest, requiring him to conform therein to his Majesties Pleasure, and to see the same executed in all parts of his Diocess. On the receipt whereof, the Bishop commands his Chancellor, Arch-Deacons, and other Ecclesiastical Officers within his Diocess of St. David, That all possible care be taken of such as are any way backward in Points of Religion, and more especially of known and professed Recusants, that they may be carefully presented, and Proceedings had against them to Excommunication, according to form and order of Law; and that there be a true List and Catalogue of all such as have been presented and proceeded against, sent to him yearly after Easter, by him to be presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as had been required. No command given unto his Chancellor, and other Officers, to look into the Practices and Proceedings of the Puritan Faction; for which I am able to give no reason, but that he had received no such Direction and Command from Archbishop Abbot, whose Letter pointed him no further (it is no hard matter to say why) than to the searching out, presenting, and Excommunicating the Popish Recusants. And in what he commanded, he was obeyed by his Chancellor, returning to him in June following the names of such Recusants as lived within the Counties of Caermarthen and Pembroke, the chief parts of his Diocess.

The Kings Coronation now draws on, for which Solemnity he had appointed the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, better known by the name of Candlemas day. The Coronations of King Edward vi. and Queen Elizabeth, had been performed according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Roman Pontificals; That at the Coronation of King James had been drawn in haste, and wanted many things which might have been considered of in a time of leisure. His Majesty therefore suffereth a Commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and certain other Bishops, whereof Land was one, to consider of the Form and Order of the Coronation, and to accommodate the same more punctually to the present Rules and Orders of the Church of England. On the fourth of January the Commissioners first met to consult about it; and having compared the Form observed in the Coronation of King James, with the publick Rituals, it was agreed upon amongst them to make some Alterations in it, and Additions to it. The Alteration in it was, that the Unction was to be performed in forma Crucis, after the manner of a Cross, which was accordingly done by Abbot when he officiated as Archbishop of Canterbury.
PART I. *bury in the Coronation. The Additions in the Form consisted chiefly in one Prayer or Requet to him in the behalf of the Clergy, and the clause of another Prayer for him to Almighty God: the last of which was thought to have ascribed too much Power to the King, the first to themselves, especially by the advancing of the Bishops and Clergy above the Laity. The Prayer or Requet which was made to him, followed after the Unction, and was this, viz.

*Stand, and hold all from henceforth the Place to which you have been heir by the Succession of your Forefathers, being now delivered to you by the Authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us and all the Bishops, and Servants of God: and as you see the Clergy to come nearer to the Altar than others, so remember that in place convenient you give them greater honour; that the Mediator of God and Man may establish you in the Kingly Throne, to be the Mediator between the Clergy and the Laity, that you may Reign for ever with Jesus Christ the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen.*

The Clause of that Prayer which was made for him, had been intermitted since the time of King Henry vi. and was this that followeth; viz.

*Let him obtain favour for the People, like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elia the Prophet in the Waters, Zacharias in the Temple; Give him Peters Key of Discipline, and Pauls Doctrine.*

Which Clause had been omitted in times of Popery, as intimating more Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be given to our Kings, than the Popes allowed of; and for the same reason was now quarrell'd at by the Puritan Faction.

It was objected commonly in the time of his fall, That in digesting the form of the Coronation, he altered the Coronation-Oath, making it more advantageous to the King, and less beneficial to the People than it had been formerly; from which calumni his Majesty cleared himself and the Bishop, when they were both involved by common Speech in the guilt thereof. For the clearer manifestation of which truth, I will first set down the Oath it self, as it was taken by the King; and then the Kings Defence for histaking of it; Now the Oath is this.

**The Form of the CORONATION-OATH.**

*Sir (says the Archbishop) Will you grant, keep, and by your Oath confirm to your People of ENGLAND the Laws and Customs to them granted by the Kings of ENGLAND, your Lawful and Religious Predecessors, and namely, the Laws, Customs, and Franchises granted to the Clergy, by the Glorious King St. Edward your Predecessor, according to the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel established in this King—*
Kingdoms, and agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the
Ancient Customs of this Land?

The King Answers. I grant and promise to keep them.

Archbishop. Sir, Will you keep Peace and Godly Agreement entirely
(according to your Power) both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergie, and
the People?

Rex. I will keep it.

Archbishop. Sir, Will you (to your Power) cause Justice, Law, and
Discretion in Mercy and Truth, to be executed in all your Judgments?

Rex. I will.

Archbishop. Sir, Will you grant to hold and grant to keep the Laws
and rightful Customs which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have?
and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in
you lieth?

Rex. I grant and promise so to do.

Then one of the Bishops reads this Admonition to the King before
the People with a loud voice. Our Lord and King, we beseech you to
pardon, and to grant, and to preserve unto, and the Churches commit-
ted to your charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Justice;
and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King in his King-
dom ought to be a Protecter and Defender of the Bishops and the Churches
under their Government.

The King answereth, With a willing and devout heart I promise and
grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you and the
Churches committed to your charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Justice; and that I will be your Protecter and Defender to my
power by the Assistance of God, as every good King ought in his King-
dom, in right to protect and defend the Bishops and Churches under their
Government.

The King ariseth, and is led to the Communion Table, where he
makes a solemn Oath in sight of all the People, to observe the Promi-
sers, and laying his Hand upon the Book, faith, The things which I
have before promised, I shall perform and keep, so help me God, and the
Contents of this Book:

Such was the Coronation-Oath accustomably taken by the Kings of
England: Which notwithstanding, it was objected by the Lords and
Commons in the time of the Long Parliament, not to have been the
fame which ought to have been taken by him. And for proof thereof an
antiquated Oath was found, and published in a Remonstrance of theirs,
bearing date the twentieth of May 1642. To which his Majesty made
this Answer, That the Oath which he took at his Coronation was
warranted, and enjoyed by the Customs of his Predecessors; and
that the Ceremony of their and his taking of it they might find in the
Records of the Exchequer. And this it is, &c.

Now in performing the Solemnities of the Coronation, the Abbot
anciently; and for more than one hundred years last past, the Deans
of Westminster had a special place. To them belonged the Custody
of the old Regalia; that is to say, the Crown, Sword, Scepter,
Spurs,
PART I. Spurs. &c. of King Edward Sirnamed the Confessor. kept by them in a secret place of Westminister Abbey, not easily accessible to any, but such as know the mystery of it: never brought forth but at the Coronation of a King, or his going to Parliament. Williams the late Lord Keeper was at this time Dean. But being under the Kings displeasure, was commanded to forbear his attendance at the Coronation, and to depute one of the Prebends in his place. This put him into some dispute with himself. He had no mind to nominate Land, being then one of the Prebendaries of that Church, because he looked upon him as his Corrival and Supplanter in the Dukes good Grace; and to have named any other of a lower order, there being a Bishop in the number, would have subjected him to some discourse and misconstruction. He therefore very wisely sent unto his Majesty the names, degrees, and dignities of all the Prebends, leaving it unto him alone to make the Elections; who thereupon without any hesitancy or deliberation deputed Land unto the Service. Land, being thus nominated and deputed, prepared all things ready for that great Solemnity. And finding the Old Crucifix among the Regalia, he caused it to be placed on the Altar, as in former times. The Coronation being ended, his Majesty going in his Robes to Westminister Hall, did there deliver them to Land, (representing in that Pomp the Dean of Westminister) together with the Crown, Scepter, and the Sword called Cortena, to be laid up with the rest of the Regalia in their old repository; which he receiving from the King, returned into the Abbey Church, offered Solemnly on the Altar in his Majesties name (as by his place he was to do) and so laid them up.

Two things there were remarkable in this Coronation, which seemed to have something in them of Prefage. Senhouse, who had been once his Chaplain, when Prince of Wales, and was now Bishop of Cork, had the honour to Preach upon the day of that great Solemnity. An eloquent man he was reputed, and one that could very well express a passion: but he had chosen such a Text, as was more proper for a Funeral than a Coronation; his Text being this, ver. I will give thee a Crown of Life. Apoc. 2. 10. and was rather thought to put the new King in mind of his Death than his duty in Government; and to have been his Funeral Sermon when he was alive, as if he were to have none when he was to be buried. It was observed also, that his Majesty on that day was cloathed in White, contrary to the Custom of his Predecessors, who were on that day clad in Purple. And this he did not out of any necessity, for want of Purple Velvet, enough to make a Suite, (for he had many yards of it in his outward Garment) but at his own choice only, to declare that Virgin Purity with which he came to be invested unto his Kingdom. White (as we know) is the colour of the Saints, who are represented to us in White Robes by Saint John in the Revelation; and Purple is the Imperial and Regal colour, to proper heretofore unto Kings and Emperors, that many of the Constantinopolitan Emperors were called Porphyrogogites, because at their first coming into the world they were wrapt in Purple. And this some looked on also as an ill Prefage, that the King laying aside his Purple, ...
purple, the Robe of Majesty, should cloath himself in White, the Robe L I B. II. of innocence; as if thereby it were fore-signified, that he should devell himself of that Regal Majesty which might and would have kept him safe from affront and scorn, to rely wholly on the innocence of a virtuous life, which did expoe him finally to calamitous ruine.

No sooner were the Pompes of the Coronation ended, but the Second Parliament began; at the opening whereof, on Monday the sixth of February, our Bishop of St. David's preacht before his Majesty, the Lords, &c. in the Abbey-Church. He was appointed to have Preached in the beginning of the former Parliament, on Saturday the 18th. of June; but that turn being otherwife supplied, he Preached the same Sermon the next day before his Majesty at Whitehall, his Text then, Psal. 75. 2, 3. When I shall receive the Congregation, I will judge according unto right, &c. But now he chose for the Theme or Subject of his discourse the 3, 4, 5 verses of the 112. Psalm, viz. Jerusalem is like a City that is at unity in itself, &c. In which, considering Jerusalem as a Type of the Church and State, he first beholds it as a Type of the State, or Civil Government. Where he considered That Ordo Politicus, the wise ordering of the people in Concord and Unity was simply the strongest Wall of a State: But break Unity once, and farewell all strength. And therefore disjointed Factions in a State when they work upon Division, are Publica ira divine incendia, the publick kindlings of Gods Anger, and they burn down all before them. And God seldom suffers these to live a State till himself be heated first with the sins of the State: But then he will divide them in Jacob and scatter them in Israel, Gen. 49. Nay scatter Jacob and Israel it self for them. Which said in general, he descended to a more particular application, putting his Auditory in mind of those words of Tacitus, That nothing gave the Romans (powerful enemies though they were) more advantage against the ancient Britains than this, Quod Factionibus & studiis trahebantur; That they were broken into Factions, and would not so much as take counsel and advice together; and they smarted for it. But I pray what is the difference for men not to meet in counsel, and to fall to pieces when they meet? If the first were our Fore-fathers error, God of his mercy grant this second be not ours. And for the Church; that is as the City too, just so; Doctrine and Discipline are the Walls and the Towers of it: But be the one never so true; and the other never so perfect, they come both short of Preservation, if that body be not at Unity in itself. The Church, take it Catholick, cannot stand well, if it be not compacted together into an holy Unity with Faith and Charity. And as the whole Church is in regard of the affairs of Christendom, so is each particular Church in the Nation and Kingdom in which it sojourns. If it be not at Unity in itself; it doth but invite malice, which is ready to do hurt without any invitation: and it ever lies with an open side to the Devil and all his batteries. So both Church and State, then happy, and never till then, when they are at unity within themselves, and one with another. Well, both State and Church owe much to Unity; and therefore very little to them that break the peace of either.
PART I. "either. Father forgive them, they know not what they do. But if unity
be so necessary, how may it be preserved in both? How? I will tell
you. Would you keep the State in Unity? In any case take heed
of breaking the peace of the Church. The peace of the State de-
pends much upon it: For divide Christ in the minds of men, or di-
vide the minds of men about their hopes of Salvation in Christ, and
tell me what unity there will be. Let this suffice so far as the Church
is an ingredient into the unity of the State. But what other things
are concurring to the unity of it, the State it self knows better than
I can teach.

This was good Doctrine out of doubt. The Preacher had done his
part in it, but the hearers did not; the Parliament not making such
use of it as they should have done. At such time as the former Parlia-
ment was adjourned to Oxon, the Divinity School was prepared for
the House of Commons, and a Chair made for the Speaker in or near
the place, in which his Majeities Professor for Divinity did usually
read his publick Lectures, and moderate in all publick Disputations.
And this first put them into conceit, that the determining of all Points
and Controversies in Religion did belong to them. As Vilius Rufus
in the Story, having married Tullies Widow, and bought Caesars
Chair, conceived that he was then in a way to gain the Eloquence of
the one, and the power of the other. For after that we find no Parliament
without a Committee for Religion, and no Committee for Reli-
gion but what did think it self sufficiently instructed to manage the
greatest Controversies of Divinity which were brought before them:
And so it was particularly with the present Parliament. The Com-
mons had scarce settled themselves in their own House, but Moun-
tague must be called to a new account for the Popery and Arminianism af-
firmed to have been maintained by him in his books. In which Books
if he had defended any thing contrary to the established Doctrine of
the Church of England, the Convocation, of the two, was the fitter
Judge. And certainly it might have hapned ill unto him, the King
not being willing to engage too far in those Emergencies, (as the case
then stood) if the Commons had not been diverted in pursuance of the
Duke of Buckingham, which being a more noble game, they laid
this aside, having done nothing in it but raised a great desire in several
Members of both Houses to give themselves some satisfaction in those
doubtful Points. To which end a Conference was procured by the
Earl of Warwick, to be held at York House, between Buckridge Bishop
of Rochester, and White Dean of Carlisle, on the one side: Morton then
of Lichfield, and Preston then of Lincoln-Inn (of whom more hereafter)
on the other; the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Pembroke,
many other Lords, and many other persons of inferior quality being
present at it. To this conference, which was holden on the eleventh
of this February, another was added the next week on the seventeenth.
In which Montague acted his own part in the place of Buckridge, the
Concourse being as great, both for the quality and number of the per-
sons, as had been at the former. And the success was equal also. The
Friends and Fautors of each side giving the victory to thofe (as com-
monly
monly it happens in such cases) whose cause they favoured.

After this we hear no more of Mountague, but the passing of some Votes against him in the April following; which heats being over, he was kept cold till the following Parliament: And then he shall be called for. In the meantime the King perceiving that the Commons had took no notice of his own occasions, gave order to Sir Richard Weston (then Chancellour of his Exchequer) to mind them of it; by whom he represented to them the return of the last years Fleet, and the want of Mony to satisfie the Mariniers and Soldiers for their Arrears: That he had prepared a new Fleet of forty Sail ready to set forth, which could not stir without a present supply of Mony; And that without the like supply, notonly his Armies, which were quartered upon the Coasts, would disband or mutiny, but that the Forces sent for Ireland would be apt to rebel; and therefore he desired to know, without more ado, what present supply he must depend upon from them, that accordingly he might shape his course. These Propositions being made, Clem. Coke a younger Son of Sir Edward Coke (who had successively been Chief Justice of either Bench) obstructs the Answer by this rash and unhandsome expression, That it was better to dye by a Foreign Enemy, than to be destroyed at home. Which general words were by one Turner a Doctor of Physick, and then a Member of that Houfe, restrained and applied more particularly to the Duke of Buckingam. The Commons well remembred at what Point they were cut off in the former Parliament, and carefully watch all advantages to seize it in this. They had begun a great clamour against him on the first of March, for staying a French Ship, called the St. Peter of Newhaven; and Turner now incites them to a higher distemper, by six Queries raised about him, that is to say, "First, Whether the King had not lost the Regality of the Narrow Seas since the Duke became Admiral? Secondly, Whether his not going as Admiral in this last Fleet, was not the cause of the ill success? Thirdly, Whether the Kings Revenue hath not been impaired through his immense liberality? Fourthly, Whether he hath not ingrossed all Offices, and preferred his Kindred to unfit places? Fifthly, Whether he hath not made sale of places of Judicature? Sixthly, Whether the Recusants have not dependence on his Mother and Father in Law?"

For this days work Coke was severely reprehended by his Father, who could not be perswaded to look upon him for a long while after: But Turner, having none whom he stood in fear of, escaped not only without a private reprehension, but without any publick Confuire. His Majesty thereupon complained by Weston to the Houfe of Commons, who were so far from cenfuring the offence, that they seemed rather willing to protect the Offenders. And yet this was not all the affront they had done him neither. For seeming well satisfied with his Majesties gracious Answer to their Petition against Recusants, which they received from him at Oxford in the former Parliament, they now resolved to see what execution had been done upon it. And to that end they appoint a Committee for Religion, and that Committee substitutes a Sub-Committee; which Sub-Committee were impowered to 
PART I.  

search the Signet Office concerning such indulgencies as had been granted to the Papists since the end of that Parliament, and to examine the Letters of the Secretaries of State, leaving his Majesty nothing free from their discovery as to that particular: A point which never was presumed on in preceding times. And which seemed worst of all in the present conjuncture, they had voted him three Subsidies, and three fifteens, but voted them with such a clog that they should not pass into a Bill till their Grievances were both heard and answered. Which Grievances what they were both in weight and number, as it was not known unto themselves, so did his Majesty look upon it, not only as a thing dilatory in itself, but as a baffle put on him and his proceedings.

These indignities coming thus upon the neck of one another, he caused the Lords and Commons, to come before him at White-Hall, March 29, 1626, where first he signified unto them, by the mouth of the Lord Keeper, how sensible he was of those affronts which were put upon him, touching upon every one of them in particular, and aggravating each of them in their several kinds, letting them also know, That as he loved his people, so he regarded his honour; and that if he were sensible of his Subjects' Grievances, of his own he was sensible much more. The Keeper also had command to tell them in his Majesties Name, That the Duke had added nothing of Publick Employment, without his Majesties Special Warrant; That he had discharged his Trust with abundant both Care and Fidelity; That since his return from Spain he had been sedulous in promoting the Service and Contentment of the Commons House; And therefore, That it was his express Command, That they desist from such Unparliamentary Proceedings, and resign the Reformation of what was amiss to his Majesties Care, Wisdom, and Justice. Which Speech being ended, his Majesty's faith as followeth: I must withal put you in mind of Times past: you may remember my Father, moved by your Council, and won by your Persuasions, brake the Treaties: In these Persuasions I was your Instrument towards him; and I was glad to be Instrumental in any thing which might please the whole Body of this Realm: Nor was there any in greater favour with you, than this man whom you so traduce. And now when you find me so sure intangled in War, as I have no honourable and safe Retreat, you make my Necessity your Privilege, and set what rate you please upon your Supplies: A Practice not very obliging unto Kings. Mr. Coke told you, It was better to die by a Foreign Enemy, than to be destroyed at home. Indeed I think it more honourable for a King to be invaded and almost destroyed by a Foreign Enemy, than to be despised at home.

But all this did not edifie with the House of Commons. So little were they moved with the Eloquence of the one, and the smart Expressions of the other, that both their own Members remained uncensured, and the Prosecution of the Duke was followed with more violence then before it was. But for all this his Majesty and the Duke might thank themselves. His Majesty had power in his own hands to have righted himself, according to the practice of Queen Elizabeth, and others of his Majesties Royal Predecessors in the times foregoing. But
Lord Archbifhop of Canterbury.

But by complaining in this manner to the House of Commons, he chose rather to follow the Example of King James, who in like manner had complained of one Piggot, for some seditious words by him spoken in the House of Commons, Anno 1667. and with like success. He that divesfs himself of a natural and original Power, to right the injuries which are done him, in hope to find redrefs from others (especially from such as are parcel guilty of the wrong) may put up all his gettings in a Seamftrefs Thimble, and yet never fill it. All that which both Kings effectted by it, was but the weakening of their own Power, and the increasing of the others, who had now put themselves upon this Resolution, not to suffer any one of their Members to be questioned, till themselves had considered of his Crimes. By which means they kept themselves clofe together, and emboldened another to stand it out against the King to the very laft. And of this Maxim, as they made use in this present Parliament, in the Cafe of Coke, Turner, Diggs, and Eliot (which two last had been imprifoned by the Kings Command) so was it more violently and pertinaciously infifted on in the cafe of the Five Members impeach'd of High Treafon by the Kings Attorney, January 14. 1641. the miserable effects whereof we find too fenfibly. And as for their prosecuting of the Duke, the Commons might very well pretend, that they had and should do nothing in it, for which as well his Majesty as the Duke himself, had not given encouragement. They had both joined together againft Cranfield the late Lord Treasurer, and to revenge themselves on him, had turned him over to the power and malice of his Enemies in the Houfe of Commons. The Commons had served their turns on Cranfield, and will now serve their own turns on the Duke himself; let the King do the best he could to preferve him from them. So unsafe a thing it is for Princes to deliver any of their Servants into the hands of their People, and putting a Power out of themselves, which they cannot call back again when it most concerns them.

At the fame time the Earl of Brisfot, being charged with Treafon by the Duke, exhibited againft him certain Articles in the Houfe of Peers, in which he accused him of the like Crime, in reference to his Action in the Spanifh business. This made good sport amongst the Commons for a time; but at laft fearing either the Weakness of Brisfot's Charge, or the insufficiency of his Proofs, they resolved to follow their own way; and to that end a large Impeachment was drawn up againft him, and prefented to the Lords on the eighth of May, managed by fix of the ableft Lawyers in the Houfe, that is to fay, Glanvill, Herbert, Selden, Pym, Wansford, and Sherland; the Prologue made by Sir Dudly Diggs, and the Epilogue by Sir John Eliot. The principal Branches of this Impeachment related to his engroffing of Offices, his buying the Places of Lord Admiral, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; his not guarding the Seas; his stay of a Ship called the St. Peter of Newhaven, and of the Eaff-India Fleet; Lending his Majesties Ship called the Vantgard to the French King, which the French King employed against Rochef; his felling of Honours and Offices; procuring Honours for his Kindred; his diminishing the Revenues of the Crown;
and his applying Physick to King James in the time of his Sickness. 

To every one of these there was returned in Writing a particular

Answer by the Duke himself: "And then addressing his Discourse
unto the Peers, he humbly referred it to their Judgment, how full
of danger and prejudice it was, to give too ready an ear, and too
cafe a belief unto a Report or Testimony without Oath, which are
not of weight enough to condemn any. With like humility he ac-
knowledged, how cafe a thing it was for him in his younger years,
and unexperienced, to fall into thousands of Errors, in these ten
years wherein he had the honour to serve so great and so open-
hearted a Sovereign Master. But still he hoped the fear of God,
his sincerity in the true Religion established in the Church of Eng-
land (though accompanied with many weakness and imperfection-
s, which he is not ashamed humbly and heartily to confess) his
carefulness not willingly to offend so good and gracious a Master,
and his love and duty to his Country, had restrained and preserved
him from running into any hainous misdemeanours and crimes.
Which said, and having craved the benefit of two several Pardons, the one granted in the last Parliament of King James, the other at the Co-
ronation of King Charles, he added, "That he could not chuse but
hope so much in their Lordships Justice and Honour, that they would
acquit him of and from those Misdemeanors, Offences, Mifprifions,
and Crimes wherewith he had been charged; and for his own part,
he both hoped and would daily pray, that for the future he might so
watch over all his Actions, both publick and private, as not to give
caufe of just offence to any person.

Of these Proceedings his Majesty was exceeding sensible: He saw
himself wounded through the Dukes sides; that his Fathers Favour
and his own were the greatest Crimes of which the Duke had been
impeached; and, That their Regal Authority, in bestowing Offices
and Honours on whom they pleased, was not only questioned, but
controlled. With which disturbances being very much perplex'd and
troubled, he receives a Letter written to him from an unknown Per-
son, in which he first met with a Recital of the several Interests and
Affections which were united in this Prosecution against the Duke:
and after that this Application to himself; and his own Concernments,
viz. "These men (faith the Writer of the Letter) either cannot or
will not remember, that never any Nobleman in favour with his So-
vereign, was questioned in Parliament, except by the King himself
in case of Treafton, or unless it were in the nonage and tumultuary
times of Richard the Second, Henry vi, or Edward vi, which hapned
to the destruction both of King and Kingdom. And that not to ex-
ceed our own and Fathers Memory, in King Henry viii. his time,
Wolfe's exorbitant Power and Pride, and Cromwells contempt of the
Nobility and the Laws, were not yet permitted to be discussed
in Parliament, though they were most odious and grievous to all
the Kingdom: And that Leicesters undeserved favours and Faults,
Hatton's infufficiency, and Raleighs Infolencies, far exceeded what
yet hath been objected against the Duke; yet no Lawyer durft abet,
nor any man else begin any Invectives against them in Parliament. L. I. B. II. And then he adds (some other Passages intervening) "That it be not hoves his Majesty to uphold the Duke against them, who if he be but discouraged, it will be the Corner-stone on which the demolishing of his Monarchy will be builded: For if they prevail with this, they have hatched a thousand other Demands to pull the Feathers of the Royalty; they will appoint him Counsellors, Servants, Alliances; Limits of his Expences, Accounts of his Revenue; chiefly, if they can (as they mainly desire) they will now daze him in the beginning of his Reign."

How true a Prophet this man proved, the event hath shewed, and the King saw it well enough; and therefore since he could not divert them from that pursuit, on the 15th of June he dissolved the Parliament.

I have been the more punctual and particular in relating these Proceedings of the Commons against the Duke, by reason of that Influence which Land either had, or is reported to have had, in managing his Cause against them. For first it is affirmed by the Publisher of this Bishops Breviatae, That the Copy of the Kings Speech made in behalf of the Duke, March 29. was of Lands editing; and, That the Original Copy thereof under his own hand was given in evidence against him at the time of Trial. Secondly, That he likewise penned the Kings Speech to the Houfe of Peers, touching the Duke and the Commitment of the Earl of Arundel, May 11th. In which he spake concerning the preservation of the Honour of Noblemen, against the vile and detestable Calumnies of those of the Lower House, by whom the Duke had been accused, as before was said. Most grievous Crimes indeed, if they had been true; for a Subject to affift his Prince, and a Servant to be aiding to his Mafter, in penning a short speech or two, when either the press of Affairs, or perplexities of mind might require it of him. But for the truth of this there is no proof offered, but that the Copies of both Speeches (the Original Copies; as he calls them) were found in the Archbishops Study, as probably they might have been in the Studies of many other men, if they had been searched; For who can rationally suppose, That his Majesty, who was the Mafter of such a pure and elegant Style, as he declared himself to be in his Discourse with Henderson at Newcastle, and his Divine Essays made in Prison, when he could have no other helps but what he found in himself, should stand in need of the Expressions of another man in matters of so great concernment? Or if it be to be supposed, it makes exceedingly to the honour and commendation of this our Bishop, as well in point of Secrecy as unfeigned Fidelity, that his Majesty should pick out him from all other men, to be his Pen-man or Chief Secretary in such weathy busineses. Then again, it is affirmed, That he not only corrected and amended the Dukes Answer to the Impeachment which was made against him by the Commons, but that he also penned that Speech which the Duke subjoyned unto his Answer: A Crime of the fame nature, and proved by the fame Meditations as the others were; and such as rather might have served for a strong assurance both of his honest Fidelity to his Friend & Patron, and the
the even temper of his own mind in the managing of it. For if we may
believe the Author of the first History of the Life and Reign of King
Charles, as I think we may, this Answer of the Duke was so in-laid
with Modesty and Humility, that it became a new Grievance to his
Advocates, and was like to have a powerful influence toward the con-
version of many, who expected a defence of another and more dis-
dainful Spirit.

Thus have we brought two Parliaments unto an end; but we hear
nothing of the Convocations which were summoned with them. No-
thing indeed of the first Convocation, but the passing of a Grant for
three Subsidies, toward the Advancement of his Majesties Service.
In the second we find something more, though no Subsidies are grant-
ed in it. On the fifth Sunday in Lent, Goodman then Bishop of Glocester
Preach'd before his Majesty, and presid'd so hard upon the Point of
the Real Presence, that he was supposed to trench too near the borders
of Popery, which raised a great clamour both in Court and Country:
The matter of which Sermon was agitated pro and con in the Convoca-
tion, March 29. without determining any thing on either side. But
his Majesty out of a desire to satisfie both himself and his Houses of
Parliament, touching that particular, referred the consideration of it
to Abbot Archibishop of Canterbury, Andrews Bishop of Winchester, and
Laud Bishop of Saint David's; who meeting and considering of it,
on the twelfth of April, returned this Answer to the King; That some
things in that Sermon had been spoke less warily, but nothing falsly; That
nothing had been innovated by him in the Doctrine of the Church of Eng-
land: But however, That they thought very fit that Goodman should
be appointed to preach again before his Majesty, for the better explaining
of his meaning, and shewing how and in what Particulars he had been
mistaken by his Auditors: Which he accordingly performed. But
nothing was of such concernment to a Convocation, as the caufe of
Mountague, vexed and molested by the Commons in both the Parlia-
ments, for supposed Popery and Arminianism, matters meerly Doctri-
nal: And possibly it may be admired, that they should do nothing in
a matter of their own peculiar, having his Majesty to Friends; for it
appears in the Letter of the three Bishops before-mentioned, to the
Duke of Buckingham, That his Majesty had taken that business into his
own care, and had most worthily referred it in a right course to Church-
consideration. And it appears also by the Breviate, pag. 8. That on
Sunday, April 22. of this present year, his Majesty had commanded
all the Bishops to come before him, and reprehended such as came (be-
ing fourteen in number) for being silent in Causes which concerned
the Church, and had not made known unto him what might be profit-
able or unprofitable for it, the Cause whereof he was so ready to
promote. But then we are to call to mind, that Laud not long since
had been sent by the Duke of Buckingham to consult with Andrews,
and learn of him what he thought fitting to be done in the Cause of
the Church, and more especially in the Five Articles, so hotly agita-
ted between the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants in the Belgick
Provinces. And it appears by the event, that Andrews did not hold it
fit for any thing to be done in that particular, as the case then stood; the truth in those Opinions not being so generally entertained amongst the Clergy, nor the Archbishop and the greater part of the Prelates so inclinable to them, as to venture the determining of those Points to a Convocation.

But that which was not thought fit in that present Conjuncture for a Convocation, his Majesty was pleased to take order in by his Royal Edict. Many Books had been written against Mountague by Carleton Bishop of Chichester, Sutcliffe Dean of Exeter, Yates and Royes; by which the differences were rather increased than diminished. Which coming to his Majesties notice, it pleased him by the advice of his Bishops, to signify by his Proclamation of June 14. "Not only to his own People, but to all the World, his utter dislike of all those, who to shew the futility of their Wits, or to please their own Humours, or vent their own Passions, do or shall adventure to stir or move any new Opinions, not only contrary but differing from the sound and orthodoxal Grounds of the true Religion, sincerely Professed and happily Established in the Church of England; and also to declare his full and constant Resolution, that neither in matter of Doctrine nor Discipline of the Church, nor in the Government of the State, he will admit of the least Innovation; but by Gods assistance will so guide the Scepter of these his Kingdoms and Dominions (by the Divine Providence put into his hand) as shall be for the comfort and assurance of his Sover, Religious, and well-affecting Subjects, and for the repressing and severe punishing of such as out of any fitter respects, or disaffection to his Person or Government, shall dare either in Church or State to distract or disquiet the Peace thereof. His Majesty thereupon commands all his Subjects (the Clergy most especially) both in England and Ireland, That from thenceforth they should carry themselves so wisely, warily, and conscientiously, that neither by Writing, Preaching, Printing, Conferences, or otherwise, they raise any doubts, or publish or maintain any new Inventions or Opinions concerning Religion, than such as are clearly grounded and warranted by the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England heretofore published, and happily established by Authority: Straightly charging all Archbishops and Bishops in their several Diocesses, as also Counsellors of State, Judges, and Ministers of Justice, speedily to reclaim and repress all such Spirits as shall adventure hereafter to break this Rule of Sobriety, and due Obedience to his Majesty, his Laws, and this Religious Duty to the Church of God, or in the least degree attempt to violate this bond of Peace; adding withal this intimation of his Royal Pleasure, That whatsoever from thenceforth should take the boldness wilfully to neglect this his Majesties gracious Admonition, and either for the satisfying of their unquiet and restless Spirits, or for expressing of their rash and undutiful Insolencies, should wilfully break that Circle of Order, which without apparent danger both to Church and State may not be broken, his Majesty will proceed against them with that severity as upon due consideration had of their..."
PART I. "their Offences and Contempts, they and every one of them should deferve, &c.

Such was the tenor of his Majesties Proclamation of June 14. And the effect thereof was this. The House of Commons in pursuance of their Quarrel against Montague's Books, had referred the consideration of it to their Committee for Religion, from whom Pym brought a Report on the eighteenth of April, concerning some Arminian and Popish Tenants comprized in them. It was thereupon Voted in that House, 1. That he had disturbed the Peace of the Church, by publishing Doctrines contrary to the Articles of the Church of England, and the Look of Homilies. 2. That there are divers Passages in his Book (especially against those he calleth Puritans) apt to move Sedition between the King and his Subjects, and between Subject and Subject. 3. That the whole frame and scope of his Books is to discourage the well-affect in Religion, from the true Religion established in the Church, and to encline them, and as much as in him lay, to reconcile them to POPERY. This gave great animation to the opposite Party, who thought it a high point of Wildom to assault the man whom they perceived to have been smitten with this terrible Thunder-bolt, and not to lose the opportunity of a Parliament-time (when the Pres is open to all comers) for publishing their Books against him. Some of them have named already; besides which there appeared so many in the Lift against him. viz. Good, Peats, Ward, Wotton, Pryme, and Burton; that the Encounter seemed to be betwixt a whole Army and a single Person. (a) Laud and some of those Bishops on the other side, encouraged by his Majesties Proclamation, endeavoured to suppress those Books, which seemed to have been published in defiance of it; some of them being called in, some stopped at the Pres; some Printers questioned for Printing, as the Authors were for writing such prohibited Pamphlets. Burton and Pryme amongst the rest were called into the High-Commission, and at the point to have been cenured, when a Prohibition comes from Westminster-Hall to stay the Proceedings in that Court, contrary to his Majesties Will and Pleasure, expressed so clearly and distinctly in the said Proclamation: Which Prohibition they tended to the Court in so rude a manner, that Laud was like to have laid them by the heels for their labour. From henceforth we must look for nothing from both these hot-spurs but desire of revenge, a violent opposition against all Persons whatsoever, who did not look the same way with them, and whatsoever else an ill-governed zeal could excite them to.

And now being fallen upon these men, it may not be amiss to say something of them in this place, considering how much they exercised the patience of the Church and State in the Times succeeding. Burton had been a Servant in the Closet to his Sacred Majesty when he was Prince of Wales; and being once in the Ascendant, presumed that he should culminate before his time. He took it very ill that he was not sent as one of the Chaplains into Spain when the Prince was there; but worse, that Laud then Bishop of Saint David, should execute the Office of Clerk of the Closet at such time as Bishop Neil was sick, and he be
be looked on no other wise than as an underling still. Vexed with that L I B. II. Indignity, as he then conceived it, he puts a scandalous Paper into the hands of the King, for which, and for some other Infolences and licentious carriage, he was commanded by him to depart the Court; into which being never able to set foot again, he breathed nothing but rage and malice against his Majesty, the Bishops, and all that were in place above him, and so continued till the last; it being the custom of all those whom the Court casts out, to labour by all means they can to out-cast the Court. Pryme lived sometimes a Commoner of Oriall Colledge, and afterwards entered himself a Student in Lincoln's-Inn, where he became a great follower of Preston, then the Lecturer there: Some parts of Learning he brought with him, which afterwards he improved by continual Study; and being found to be of an enterprising nature, hot-spirited, and eager in pursuit of any thing which was put into him, he was looked upon by Preston as the fittest person to venture upon such Exploits, which a more sober and considerate man durst not have appeared in. Being once put into the road, it was not possible to get him out of it again by threats or punishments; till growing weary of himself, when he had no Enemy in a manner to encounter with, he began to look up at the last, and settled on more moderate and quiet courfes, becoming in the end a happy Instrument of Peace both to Church and State. And now I am fallen on Preston also, I shall add something of him too, as being a man which made much noise in the World about this time. A man he was (beyond all question) of a Throved Wit and deep Comprehensions; an excellent Master in the Art of Insinuation, and one who for a long time sate at the Helm, and sheared the Courfe of his Party, as one well observeth. Toward the latter end of the Reign of King James he was brought into the Court by the Duke of Buckingham, in hope to gain a Party by him: There he was gaz'd on for a time, like a new Court-Meteor; and having flashed and blazed a little, went out again, and was forgotten, in case he did not leave, as most Meteors do, an ill smell behind him. Much was he cried up by his Followers in the Univerfity, City, and all places else, as if he might have chosen his own Mitre, and had been as likely a man as any to have been trusted with the Great Seal in the place of Williams: But he was not principled for the Court, nor the Court for him; For long he had not been in that School of Policy, but he found other men as wise and cunning as himself, and that he could not govern there with such an absolute Omni-regency, as he had done in the Families of private Gentlemen in most parts of the Kingdom. Nor was it long before the Duke began to have some suspicion of him, as one not to be trusted in his Majesties Service, when it seemed any way to cross with the Puritan Interest, which he drove on with so much openness in the Court, as was not proper for a man of so famed a cunning. But that which loft him at the last, was a Letter by him written to a great Peer of the Realm, in which he spake disadvantageously enough, if not reproachfully of the Court; and signified withal how little hope there was of doing any good in that place, for the advancement of the Cause. Which Letter, or a Copy of it, being unluckily dropp'd
PART I. dropp'd out of his Pocket, was taken up, and forthwith carried to the
Duke: The shame and grief of which mischance, gave him so much
trouble, that he withdrew by little and little, and at last betook him-
self wholly to his old affectation of a Popular Greatness. By reason
of his Lectures in Cambridge and Lincolns-Inn, he was grown power-
ful in the University, and had gained a strong Party in the City, but
died about the time that Laud succeeded Mountain in the See of Lon-
don. And it was well for him that he died so opportunely; Laud was
resolved that there should be no more but one Bishop of that City, and
would have found some way or other to remove him out of Lincolns-
Inn, to the end he might have no pretence of raising or encreasing
any Faction there, to disturb the Publick. But before Laud shall come
from St. Davids to London, he must take Bath and Wells in his way, to
which we are now ready to wait upon him.
THE LIFE OF
The most Reverend FATHER in GOD
WILLIAM
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

LIB. III.

Extending from his being made Bishop of Bath and Wells till his coming to the See of Canterbury.

T. happned during the Sitting of the late Parliament, that Doctor Arthur Lake Bishop of Bath and Wells, a man of great Learning and exemplary Piety, departed this Life into whose Place his Majesty on the twentieth of June nominates our Bishop of St. Davids: In pursuance of which Nomination, his Majesty, on the 26th. of July Signed the Writ of Conge de elect to the Dean and Chapter, warranting them thereby to proceed to a new Election, and therewith sent his Letters Missive (according to the usual Custom) in behalf of Laud. On Wednesday, August the 16th. they Elect him Bishop of that See: and on September 18. their Election is confirmed in due form of Law; His Majesty on the morrow after, restoring the Temporalities of that Bishopsrick from the time of his Predecessors death. And now he is actually possessed not only of the Jurisdiction, but of the Rents, Profits, and Emergencies belonging to a Bishop of Bath and Wells; a double Title, but relating to a single Diocefs, and that Diocefs confined to the County of Somerset. The Bishops seat originally at Wells, where it still continues, and in respect whereof
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PART I. this Church is called in some Writers, *Fontanellis Ecclesia*. The title of *Bath* came in but upon the by. The Church of *Wells* first built by *Ina* King of the *West Saxons*, *Anno* 704. and by him dedicated to *St. Andrew*, after endowed by *Kemulf* another King of the same people, *Anno* 766. and finally made a Bishops See in the time of *Edward* the elder, *Anno* 905. The first that bore that title being *Adelous*, before Abbot of *Cliftonbury*. The present Church, in place where that of *Ina* had stood before, was built most part of it by Bishop *Robert*, the eighteenth Bishop of this See, but finished and perfected by Bishop *Joceline* Sirnamed *d* *Wells*. *Johannes d* *Villula*, the sixteenth Bishops, having bought the Town of *Bath* of King *Henry* the First for five hundred Marks, transferred his Seat unto that City *1088*. Hence grew a jar betwixt the Monks of *Bath* and the Canons of *Wells* about the Election of the Bishop. At last the difference was thus composed by that Bishop *Robert*, whom before I spake of, that from thenceforward the Bishop should be denominated from both places, and the precedence in the Style should be given to *Bath*; that on the vacancy of the See, a certain number of Delegates from both Churches should elect their prelate, who being elected should be install'd in them both; both of them to be reckoned as the Bishops Chapter, and all his Grants and Patents confirmed in both. And so it stood until the Reign of King *Henry VIII*. at what time the Monastery of *Bath* being dissolved, there pas'd an Act of Parliament for the *Dean and Chapter of Wells* to make one sole Chapter to the Bishop, *35 Hen. 8. c. 15*.

To welcome him to this new honour his Majesty commanded him to draw up certain Instructions to be communicated to the Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of this Realm upon this occasion. The late Parliament being dissolved without acting any thing in order to his Majesties Service, he was necessitated by the urgency of his affairs to try his Fortune on the Subject in the way of *Loan*, which seemed to have some Regality in it; for whereas the Parliament had pas'd a Bill of three Subsidies and three fifteens, and that the said Parliament was dissolved before the Bill pas'd into an Act, his Majesty was advis'd that he had good grounds to require those Subsidies of the Subjects which the House of Commons in their names had assented to, and yet not to require them by the name of Subsidies, but only in the way of *Loan*, till the next Parliament should enable him to make payment of it, or confirm his levying of those monies by a subsequent Act. The Sum required to be rais'd was *173411* pound, which was conceived to equal the three Subsidies, which had been voted for him in the House of Commons, though it never pas'd into an Act; or otherwise to make up that Sum which the present necessity of setting out his Fleet required. He had before pawn'd the Plate and Jewels of the Crown, and fold as much Land to the City of London, (which would neither lend *gratis*, nor take those Lands in way of Mortgage) as brought in *120000* pound upon easie purchases. All which he was ready to expend, or had before expended on the publick safety. But that not being able to make such necessary provisions as were required, both to secure himself at home, and suc-
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Upon That Which And preparing Conferences to by this course. To which end he fluxes out his Letters of Commission, bearing date the thirteenth of October, directed to certain Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen in their several Counties. In which they were required to acquaint the People, that his dear Uncle the King of Denmark was brought into great distress; That without present succour the Sound would be lost, his Garrison in Stade broken by the Emperours Forces, (which then straightly besieged it;) the English Trade (which maintains our Shipping) and the Staple of Hamburg (which vents our Cloth) would both be gotten from him; As also that the two great Kings of Spain and France, together with the Pope, were joyned to rout out our Religion; That their Admirals, the Duke of Guise, and Don Frederick de Toledo, were at that present before Rachel, endeavouring to block it up; And that they have store of Land-men ready on the Coast of Britain, with them and other Forces to invade us. Upon which grounds they were required by all plausible and powerful means to persuade the People to pay the Taxes severally imposed upon them; with many other directions tending to advance the Service.

It was observed of Queen Elizabeth, that when she had any business to bring about amongst the people, she used to tune the pulpits, as her saying was; that is to say, to have some Preachers in and about London, and other great Auditories in the Kingdom, ready at command to cry up her design, as well in their publick Sermons as in their private Conferences: Which course was now thought fit to be followed in preparing the people toward a dutiful compliance to these his Majesties desires. And to that end Land received a Command from his Majesty by the Duke of Buckingham, to reduce certain instructions into Form, partly Political, partly Ecclesiastical, in the Cause of the King of Denmark, not long before beaten, and now much distressed by Count Tilly, to be published in all Parishes within the Realm. To this he cheerfully conformed, and brought the said Instructions to the Duke within two days after, being the sixteenth of September. And having read them over first to the Duke, and after to the King himself, he received from both a very favourable acceptation. On the next day they were communicated to the Lords of the Council, who approved them also. By whose advice he sent them to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requiring him by his Letters, bearing date September 29, to see them published and dispersed in the several Diocesses of his Province. The like Letters he also wrote to the Archbishops of York. And they accordingly gave order to their several and respective Suffragans, "To see them made known to the worthy Preachers and Ministers in their Diocesses, and so far as their Lordships might in their own persons, to put these things in execution, and to call upon the Clergy which was under them, in their Preachings and private Conferences to stir up all sorts of people to express their Zeal to God, their Duty to the King, and their Love unto their Country, and one to another; that all good and Christian-like course might be taken for the preservation of true Religion both in this Land, and through
W e have observed that the Church and the State are so nearly united and knit together, that though they may seem two bodies, yet indeed in some relation they may be accounted but as one, insomuch as they both are made up of the same men, which are differenced only in relation to Spiritual or Civil ends. This nearness makes the Church call in the help of the State, to succour and support her, whatsoever she is pressed beyond her strength: And the same nearness makes the State call in for the service of the Church, both to teach that duty which her members know not, and to exhort them to, and encourage them in that duty which they know. It is not long since we ordered the State to serve the Church, and by a timely Proclamation sealed the peace of it: And now the State looks for the like assistance from the Church, that she and all her Ministers may serve God and us, by preaching peace and unity at home, that it may be the better able to resist Foreign Force uniting and multiplying against it. And to the end that they to whom we have committed the Government of the Church under us, may be the better able to dispose of the present occasions, we have, with the Advice of our Council, thought fit to send unto you these Instructions following, to be sent by you to the Bishops of your Province, and such others whom it may concern, and by them and all their Officers directed to all the Ministers throughout the several Dioceses, that according to those punctually they may instruct and exhort the People to serve God and us, and labour by their Prayers to divert the dangers which hang over us. The danger in which we are at this time is great. It is encreased by the late blow given our good Uncle the King of Denmark, who is the chief Person in those parts that opposed the spreading Forces of Spain. If he cannot subdue, there is little or nothing left to hinder the house of Austria from being Lord and Master of Germany: And that is a large and mighty Territory, and such as should it be gotten, would make an open way for Spain to do what she pleased in all the West part of Christendom. For besides the great strength which Germany once possessed would bring to them, which are too strong already, you are to consider first how it enables them by Land, in that it will join all or the most part of the Spaniards now disfitted Territories, and be a means for him safely and speedily to draw down Forces against any other Kingdom that shall stand in his way. Nor can it be thought the Low Countries can hold out longer against him if he once become Lord of the upper parts. And secondly, You are to weigh how it will advantage him by Sea, and make him strong against us in our particular, which is of idle apprehension to all men. And besides, if he once get Germany he will be able, though he had no Gold from India, to supply the necessity of those Wars, and to hinder all Trade and Traffick of the greatest staple Commodities of this Kingdom, Cloth and Wool, and so make them of little or no value.

You are to know therefore that to prevent this, is the present care of the King.
King and State, and there is no probable way left but by sending Forces and other Supplies to the said King of Denmark our dear Uncle, to enable him to keep the Field, that our Enemies be not Masters of all on the sudden. You are further to take notice how both we and the whole State stand bound in Honour and Conscience to supply the present necessity of the King of Denmark. For this quarrel is more nearly ours, the recovery of the Ancient Inheritance of our dear Sister and her Children. The King of Denmark stands not so near in blood unto her as we do: Yet for her and our fakes that brave and valiant King hath adventured into the field, and in that engagement hath not only hazarded his Person, but, as things go now, it may turn to some danger to his own Kingdom, and Posterity, should he not receive aid and succour from us without delay: Which should it happen (as God forbid) will be one of the greatest dishonours that ever this Kingdom was stained withall. Nor is danger and dishonour all the mischief that is like to follow this disaster; For if it be not presently relieved, the Cause of Religion is not only likely to suffer by it in some one part (as it hath already in a fearful manner in the Palatinate) but in all places where it hath gotten any footing. So that if we supply not presently our Allies and Confederates in this cause, it is like to prove the extirpation of true Religion, and the re-planting of Roman Superstition in all the neighbouring parts of Christendom. And the coldness of this State shall suffer in all places as the betrayer of that Religion elsewhere, which it professeth and honoureth at home, which will be an imputation never to be washed off. And God forbid this State should suffer under it.

Neither may you forget rightly to inform the People committed to your charge, that this War which now grows full of danger, was not entred upon rashly and without advice, but you are to acquaint them, that all former Treaties by a peaceable way were in the latter end of our dear Father of ever blessed memory dissolve as fruitless, and unfit to be longer held on foot; And this by the Counsel of both Houses of Parliament then sitting: so those two great and honourable Bodies of Peers and People represented in Parliament led on this Council and course to a War with Spain. To effect this, they advised our aid and assistance, and used us to work our said dear Father to entertain this course. This upon their persuasions, and Promises of all Assistance and Supply, we readily undertook and effectcd, and cannot now be left in that business, but with the Sin and Shame of all men. Sin, because aid and supply for the defence of the Kingdom, and the like Affairs of State, especially such as are advised and assented by Parliamentary Council, are due to the King from his People, by all Laws both of God and Men: And Sin, if they forsake the King, while he pursues their own Counsel, just and honourable, and which could not under God but have been as successful, if it had been followed and supplied in time, as we desired and laboured for. One thing there is which proves a great hinderance of this State, and not continued among the People, without great offence against God, detriment both to Church and State, and our great disservice in this and all other Business. It is breach of Unity, which is grown too great and common amongst all sorts of men. The danger of this goes far; for in all States it hath made way for Enemies to enter. We have by all means endeavoured Union, and require of you to Preach it, and Charity the
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PART I. the Mother of it, frequently in the ears of the People. We know their Loyal hearts, and therefore wonder the more what should cause distracted Affections. If you call upon them (which is your duty) we doubt not but that God will bless them with that Love to himself, to his Church, and their own Preservation, which alone will be able to bind up the scatterings of divided Affections into Strength. To this end you are to lay before them what Miseries Home-divisions have brought upon this and many other Kingdoms, and to exhort all men to embrace it in time. The Danger it self, besides all other Christian and Prudent Motives, is of force enough (where it is duly considered) to make men join in all amity against a common Enemy, a great and growing Enemy: And to do it in time, before any secret and cunning working of his may use one part in a division to weaken the other.

And in the last place (but first and last and all times to be insisted on) you are to call upon God your selves, and to incite the People to join with you in humble and hearty Prayers unto God, That he would be pleased now, after long affliction of his dear People and Children, to look in mercy both upon them and us, and in particular for the Safety of the King of Denmark, and that Army which is left him, That God would bless and prosper him against his and our Enemies. Thus you are to strengthen the hearts and hopes of our Loyal Subjects and People, in and upon God. And whereas the greatest confidence men have in God, ariseth not only from his Promises, but from their experience Likewise of his Goodness, you must not fail often to recall to the memory of the People, with thankfulness, the late great Experience we have had of his Goodness towards us: For the three great and usual Judgments, which he darts down upon disobedient and unthankful People, are Pestilence, Famine, and the Sword. The Pestilence did never rage more in this Kingdom than of late; and God was graciously pleased in mercy to hear the Prayers which were made unto him, and the ceasing of the Judgment was little less than a Miracle. The Famine threatened us this present year; and it must have followed, had God rained down his Anger a little longer upon the Fruits of the Earth: But upon our Prayers he stayed that Judgment, and sent us a blessed Searson, and a most plentiful Harvest. The Sword is the thing which we are now to look to; and you must call the People to their Prayers again, against that Enemy, That God will be pleased to send the like deliverance from this Judgment also; That in the same Mercy he will wouchsafe to strengthen the hands of his People; That he will sharpen their Sword, but dull and turn the edge of that which is in our Enemies hands; so while some Fight, others may Pray for the Blessing. And you are to be careful that you fail not to direct and hearten our Loving People in this and all other necessary Services, both of God, his Church, and Us: That we may have the comfort of our Peoples Service, the State, Safety, the Church, Religion, and the People, the enjoying of all such Blessings as follow these. And we end with doubling this Care upon you, and all under you in their several Places.

Given at our Palace at Westminster in the Second year of our Reign, September 21, 1626.

Such
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Such were the Instructious issued by his Majesties Command, in the present exigent: The dexterous performance of which Service, as it raised Laud higher in his Majesties good Opinion of him, than before he was: so was it recompensed with a Place of greater neereness to him, than before he had. For on that very day which gives date to the said Instructious, the most Learned and Reverend Bishop Andrews, Bishop of Winton, and Dean of his Majesties Chappel-Royal, departed this Life at his Episcopal House in Southwark; whose Funerals were solemnized in St. Saviours Church on the eleventh day of November following, Buckeridge then Bishop of Rochester, bestowing his last duty on him in a Funeral Sermon. A man he was of such extraordinary Abilities, that I shall rather chuse to express his Character by the Pen of others, than my own. Thus then says our late Historians: —

This year we loft the stupendiously profound Prelate Doctor An.,Hist.of K. and the most Learned and Reverend Bishop Andrews, Ch. by H.L. Tongues Bifhop of Winchester, an excellent Disputant, in the Oriental Tongues surpassing knowing, so studiously devoted to the Do- p. 62. trine of the Ancient Fathers, as his extant Works breathe nothing "but their Faith; nor can we now read the Fathers, more than we should have done in his very Aspect, Gesture, and Actions; so venerable in his Presence, so grave in his Motions, so pious in his Conversation, so primitive in all. Another goes a little further, and tells us of him; — That the World wanted Learning to know how "Learned he was; so skill'd in all (especially Oriental Languages) "that some conceive he might (if then living) almost have served as "an Interpreter-General at the Confusion of Tongues. In his life time he only published two Books in Latin, viz. His Apologie against Cardinal Bellarmine, and that which he called Tortura Torti, in behalf of King James; and a small Tract entitled, Determinatio Theologica, de jure-jurando exigendo, quarto, Printed at London, 1593. And in English nothing but a small Volume of Sermons, which he acknow- ledged for his own. The Book of Catechetical Doctrine, published in his life by others, but without his privy and consent, he always pro- fessedly disavowed, as containing only some imperfect Collections, which had been taken from his mouth by some ignorant hand, when he was Reader of the Catechism Lecture in Pembroke Hall. But after his decease, ninety six of his Sermons were collected with great care and industry, published in Print, and dedicated to his Sacred Majesty by Laud then Bishop of London, and Buckeridge at that time Bishop of Ely, 1628. For Felton of Ely dying the year before, Buckeridge had been translated thither by the Power & Favour of that his dear Friend and quondam Pupil, Curle Dean of Litchfield, and one of the Residen- tiaries of Salisbury, succeeding after his Translation in the See of Ro- chester. By the fame hands some other Pieces of his, both in English and Latin, were very carefully drawn together, and published with the like dedication to his Sacred Majesty, Anno 1629. He that desires to hear more of him, let him first consult the Funeral Sermon before mentioned, extant at the end of the great Volume of his Sermons; and afterwards peruse his Epitaph in the Church of St. Marias Over-rhe, transcribed in the Survey of London of the last Edition. After his X death
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next following; the profits of it being in the mean time taken up for
his Majesties use, and answered into the Exchequer, according to an
ancient Custom (but more old than commendable) used frequently
by the Kings of England, since the time of William renamed Rufus,
from whom it is said to have took beginning.

But the Deanry of the Chappel had not been void above nine days,
when Laud was nominated to it, and was actually admitted into that
Office on the sixth day of October following, by Philip Earl of Mont-
gomery Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Household, before whom
he took the usual and appointed Oath. He had before observed a
Custom (as ill though not so old as the other) used in the Court since
the first entrance of King James. The Custom was, that at what part
soever of the Publick Prayers the King came into his Closet (which
looked into the Chappel) to hear the Sermon, the Divine Service
was cut off, and the Anthem sung, that the Preacher might go into the
Pulpit. This the new Dean disliked, as he had good reason, and
thereupon humbly moved his Majesty, that he would be present at the
Liturgy, as well as the Sermon every Lords day; and that at whatso-
ever part of Prayers he came, the Priest who Ministr'd should proceed
to the end of the Service: To which his Majesty most readily and
religiously condescended, and gave him thanks for that so seasonable
and pious motion. As for the Deanry of the Chappel, it was of long
standing in the Court, but had been discontinued from the death of
Dr. George Carew Dean of Windsor, (the Father of George Lord Carew
of Clepton, and Earl of Totnes) Anno 1572. till King James his coming
to this Crown, at what time Bancroft, then Bishop of London, con-
ceiving into what dangers the Church was like to run, by the multitude
of Scots about him, thought it expedient that some Clergy-men of
Note and Eminence should be attendant always in and about the
Court. And thereupon it was advised, that to the Bishop Almover
and the Clerk of the Closet a Dean of the Chappel shou'd be added,
to look unto the diligent and due performance of Gods Publick Ser-
tice, and order matters of the Quire. According to which resolution,
Dr. James Montague was recommended to the King for the first
Dean of the Chappel in his time: succeeded in that place by Andrews,
and he now by Laud.

1627. But to proceed, Whilest matters went on thus smoothly about the
Court, they met with many Rubs in the Country, some of the Preach-
ers did their parts according as they were required by the said Instru-
cions, amongst whom Sibthorp, Vicar of Brackley in Northamptonshire,
advanced the Service, in a Sermon Preached by him at the Alizes for
that County. The scope of which Sermon was to justify the Lawfulness
of the general Loan, and of the Kings imposing Taxes by his own Regal
Power, without consent in Parliament, and to prove, that the people in point
of Conscience and Religion ought cheerfully to submit to such Loans and
Taxes without any opposition. The Licenishing of which Sermon (when
it was offered to the Pref) being refused by Archbishop Abbot, and
some exceptions made against it, the ruling of it was preferred to
Laud,
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Laud, April 24, 1627, by whom, after some qualifications and corre-
cctions, it was approved, and after published by the Author, under
the name of *Apostolical Obedience*. About the same time *Manu-
ning*, Doctor in Divinity, one of his Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary, and
Vicar of the Parish Church of St. Giles in the Fields, published two
Sermons of his preaching on the same occasion, the one before the
King, the other in the hearing of his own Parliamtoners. These Ser-
mons he entituled by the name of *Religion and Allegiance*, both of them
tending to the *justification of the lawfulness of the Kings imposing Loans
and Taxes on his People without consent in Parliament*, and that the im-
position of such Loans and Taxes did so far bind the *Consequences of the
Subjects of this Kingdom*, that they could not refuse the payment of them
without peril of eternal damnation. But neither the Doctrine of these
Preachers, or of any other to that purpose, nor the distress of the
King of Denmark, nor the miserable estate of Rochell, did so far pre-
vail amongst the People; but that the Commissioners for the Loan
found greater opposition in it than they did expect. Many who had
been Members in the two former Parliaments opposed it with their ut-
moft power, and drew a great part of the Subjects, in all Countries
some, to the like refusall. For which refusall some Lords, and many
of the choice Gentrey of the Kingdom, and others of inferior rank
were committed unto several Prifons, where they remained till the
approach of the following Parliament. Insomuch that the Court was
put upon the necessity of some further Project. The *Papists* would
have raised a Provision for the setting forth both of Ships and Men
for the defence of the Narrow Seas, and working on the Kings wants,
flattered themselves with the hope of a Toleration for it. But old Sir
John Savil of Torkshire, who had been lately taken into his Majesties
Council, had found out a plot worth two of that; conceiving, that a
Commission to proceed against Recusants for their thirds, due to his
Majesty by Law, would bring in double the Sum which they had of-
fered. To this the King readily condescended, granting him and some
others a Commission for that purpose for the Parts beyond Trent; as
unto certain Lords and Gentlemen for all other Counties in the King-
dom. By which means, and some money raised upon the Loan,
there was such a present stock advanced, that with some other helps
which his Majesty had, he was enabled to set forth a powerful Fleet,
and a considerable Land Army for the relief of the Rochellers, whose
quarrel he had undertaken upon this occasion.

The Queen at her first coming into England had brought with her a
complete Family of French to attend her here, according to the Ca-
pitulations, between the Commissioners of both Kings, before the
Marriage. But the French Priests, and some of the rest of her Do-
melticks were grown so insolent, and had put so many affronts upon his Majestie, that he was forced to send them home within few days
after he had dissolved the foregoing Parliament. In which he had
done no more than what the French King had done before him, in send-
ing back all the Spanish Courtiers which his Queen brought with her.
But the French King not looking on his own Example, and knowing

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on what ill terms the King stood both at home and abroad, first seized on all the Merchants Ships, which lay on the River of Burdeaux, and then brake out into open war. So that the King was necessitated to make use of those Forces against the French which were designed to have been used against the Spaniards, and to comply with the desires of the Rochellers, who humbly sued for his protection and defence. But the Fleet not going out till after Michaelmas, found greater opposition at Sea then they feared from the Land; being encountered with strong Tempests, and thereby necessitated to return without doing anything, but only shewing the Kings good will and readiness toward their affiance. But the next Fleet and the Land-Army before mentioned, being in a readiness, the Duke of Buckingham appeared Commander general for that Service, who hoped thereby to make himself of some consideration in the eyes of the People. On the twenty seventh of June he hoisted Sails for the Ile of Rhe, which lay before the Port of Rochel, and embarrased their trade; the taking whereof was the matter aimed at: And he had strength enough both for Sea and Land to have done the work, if he had not followed it more like a Courtier than a Souldier: For having neglected those advantages which the victory at his Landing gave him, he first suffered himself to be complemetted out of the taking of their chief Fort, when it was almost at his Mercy; and after stood unreasonably upon point of Honour, in facing those Forces which were sent from the French King to raise the Siege, when he might have made a safe retreat unto his Ships without los or danger. So that well beaten by the French, and with great los of Reputation among the English, he came back with the remainder of his broken Forces in November following, as dearly welcome to the King as if he had returned with successes and triumphs.

During the preparations for this unfortunate attempt, on Sunday the twenty ninth of April it pleased his Majesty to admit the Bishop of Bath and Wells for one of the Lords of his most honourable Privy Council; An honour which he would not have accepted with so great cheerfulness if his dear Friend, the Lord Bishop of Durham, had not been sworn at or about the same time also. So mutually did the two Prelates contribute their affinities to one another, that as Neile gave Land his helping hand to bring him first into the Court, and plant him in King James his favour: So Land made use of all advantages in behalf of Neile to keep him in favour with King Charles, and advance him higher. The Fleet and Forces before mentioned being in a readiness, and the Duke provided for the Voyage, it was not thought either safe or fit that the Duke himself should be so long absent, without leaving some assured Friend about his Majesty, by whom all practices against him might be either prevented or suppresse; and by whose means the Kings affections might be always inflamed towards him; To which end Land is first desir'd to attend his Majesty to Portmouth, before which the Navy lay at Anchor, and afterwards to wait the whole Progress also; the Inconveniences of which journeys he was as willing to undergo, as the Duke was willing to desire it. The Church besides was at that time in an heavy condition, and oppor-
opportunities must be watched for keeping her from falling from bad to worse. No better her condition now in the Realm of England than anciently in the Eastern Churches, when Nestorius, first as Supream Pastor in the Chair of Constantinople; of which thus Nazianzen writes unto him: The Arius (faith he) were grown so insolent, that they made open profecion of their Heresie, as if they had been authorized and licensed to it; The Macedonians so presumptuous, that they were formed into a Sect, and had a Titular Bishop of their own; The Apollinaris held their Conventicles with as much safety and eftem as the Orthodox Christians. And for Euromins, the bofon-mitchief of those times, he thought so poorly of a general convience, that at last nothing would content him but a toleration. The cause of which disorders he ascribeth to Nestorius only. A man, as the Historian faith of him, of an exceeding fair and plausible demeanour, and very gracious with the people: one that chose rather (as it seems) to give free way to all mens fancies, and fuffer every mans proceedings, than draw upon himself the envy of a stubborn Clergy, and a factious Multitude. Never was Church more like to Church, Bishops to Bishops, time to time; (the names of the Sects and Herefies being only changed) than that of Constantinople then, and of England now. A pregnant evidence, that possibly there could not be a greater mischief in the Church of God than a Popular Prelate.

This, though his Majefty might not know, yet the Bishops which were about him did, who therefore had but ill discharged their duty both to God and man; if they had not made his Majefty acquainted with it: he could not chuse but fee by the practices and proceedings of the former Parliaments to what a prevalency the Puritans were grown in all parts of the Kingdom; and how incompatible that humour was with the Regal interest. There was no need to tell him from what fountain the mischief came, how much the Popularity and remis Government of Abbot did contribute towards it. Him therefore he requesteth from his Metropolitical Jurisdiction, confines him to his house at Ford in Kent, and by his Commination, bearing date the ninth day of October, 1627. transfers the exercice of that Jurisdiction to Mountain Bishop of London, Nestle Bishop of Durham, Beveridge Bishop of Rochester, Houfn Bishops of Oxon, and Laud Bishop of Bath and Wells; To whom, or any two or more of them, he gives authority to execute and perform all and every thole Acts, matters, and things, any way touching or concerning the Power, Jurisdiction, or Authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury in causes or matters Ecclesiasfical, as amply, fully, and effectually, to all intents and purposes, as the said Archbishop himself might have done. And this his Majefty did to this end and purpose, that the Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction, being committed to fuch hands as were no favourers of that Faction, there might some stop be given to that violent current which then began to bear all before it. Nor did his Majefty fail of the end desired; For though Abbot (on good reasons of State) was restored unto his Jurisdiction toward the latter end of the year next following: Yet by this breathing time, as short as it was, the Church recovered strength
PART I. strength again. And the disgrace put upon the man did so disfaminate and deject the opposite Party, that the Ballance began visibly to turn on the Churches side.

During the time that this Commission was in force, some Beneficed persons in the Country, who in themselves were well-affected to ancient orders, and now in more assurance of Protections than before they were, adventured on removing the Communion-Table from the middle of the Church or Chancel, and setting it (according to the pattern of the Mother Churches) where the Altar formerly had stood. Amongst the rest one Tity, Vicar of Grantham (a noted Town upon the Road) in the County of Lincoln, having observed the situation of the holy Table, as well in his Diocesan Chappel, as in the Cathedral Mother Church, transposed the Table from the middelf of the Chancel in his Parish Church, and placed it Altar-wise at the East end of it. Complaint hereof being made by some of that Town to the Bishop of Lincoln, he presently takes hold of the opportunity to discourage the work; not because he disliked it in point of judgment (for then his judgment and his practice must have croft each other) but because Tity had relation to the Bishop of Durham. And for the Bishop of Durham he had no good thoughts, partly because he kept his stand in the Court, out of which himself had been ejected, and partly by reason of the intimacy betwixt him and Land, whom he looked on as his open and professed enemy. And then how was it possible that he should approve of Tity, or his action either, conceiving that it might be done by their or one of their appointments, or at the least in hope of better preferment from them? Hereupon he betakes himself unto his Books, and frames a Popular Discourse against placing the Communion-Table Altar-wise, digests it in the Form of a Letter to the Vicar of Grantham: but lends it unto some Divines of the Lecture there, by them to be dispersed and scattered over all the Country. But of this Letter more hereafter, when we shall find it taken up for a Buckler against Authority, and laid in Bar against the proceedings of the Church and the Rules of it, when such transposing of the Table became more general, not alone practised, but prescribed. But the noise of this Letter not flying very far, at the first hindred not the removing of the Table in the Parish Church of St. Nicholas in the Borough of Abingdon; the occasion this: One Blacknall, dwelling in that Parish, bestowed upon it, amongst other Legacies, an annual Pension to be paid unto the Curate thereof; for reading duly prayer in the said Church according to the Form prescribed in the English Liturgy. For the establishing of which Gifts and Legacies to the proper use and uses intended by him, a Commission was stifled out of the High Court of Chancery, according to the Statute 43 Eliz. Directed amongst others to Sir Ed. Clark Knight, Sam. Fell Doctor in Divinity, George Purefez, and Richard Organ Esquires; who by their joint consent made this Order following: viz. 'And that the Table given by Mr. Blacknall should not by the multitude of People coming to Service, or otherwise by sitting or writing upon it, or by any other unseemly usage, be prophaned, spoiled, or hurt; We do order...
order and decree, that the said Table shall continually stand at the upper end of the Chancel, upon which a Carpet (by him given) should be laid, where it shall continually stand close to the upper Skreen (there being of old within that Skreen a kind of Vestry for keeping the Plate, Books, and Vestments which belong to the Church) and there to be covered with the Carpet aforefaid, and in no place else. Which Order, together with many others, for settling and disposing the said Gifts and Legacies, were made at Abingdon on the twenty-fifth of April, 1628, and afterwards confirmed under the Great Seal of England. This being the only Table, as I conceive, whose posture in that place is ratified by Decree in Chancery.

Now as some private Beneficed persons, during the Suspension of the said Archbishops, did thus adventure on the one side; so divers Commissaries, Officials, Surrogates, and other Ecclesiastical Officers, began to carry a more hard hand on the Puritan Party (their great Friend and Patron being thus discountenanced) than they had done formerly. Amongst these none more active than Lamb, Sibthorp, Allen, and Burden, according to their Power and Places; the three last having some relation to Lamb, as Lamb had to the Episcopal Court at Peterborough, and thereby a neer neighbourhood to the Bishop of Lincoln, then keeping his House at Bungdon in the County of Hunting-don; at whose Table being entertained (as they had been many times before) they found there Morison Chancellor to that Bishop, and Privy one of the Officers of the Court at Lincoln. Their Discourse growing hot against the Puritans, the Bishop advised them to take off their heavy hand from them; informing them, That his Majesty hereafter intended to use them with more mildness, as a considerable Party, having great influence on the Parliament, without whose concurrence the King could not comfortably supply his necessities. To which he added, That his Majesty had communicated this unto him by his own mouth, with his Resolutions hereafter of more Gentleness to men of that Opinion. Which words, though unadvisedly spoken, yet were not thought, when first spoken by him, to be of such a dangerous and malignant nature, as to create to him all that charge and trouble, which afterwards befel him upon that occasion; For some years after, a breach being made betwixt him and Lamb, about the Offices place of Leicester, which the Bishop had designed to another person, Lamb complains of him to some great men about the Court, for revealing the Kings Secrets committed to his trust and privacy, contrary to the Oath taken by him as a Privy Councillor. The Bishop was conceived to live at too great a height, to be too popular withal, and thereby to promote the Puritan Interest, against the Councils of the Court. This Information was laid hold on, as a means to humble him, to make him sensible of his own duty, and the Kings displeasure; and a Command is given to Noy (then newly made his Majesties Attorney-General) to file a Bill, and prosecute against him in the Star-Chamber, upon this delinquency. Though the Bishop about two or three years since had lost the Seal, yet he was thought to have taken the Purse along with him; reputed rich, and one that had good Friends
PART I. Friends in the Court about the King, which made him take the less regard of this prosecution. By the Advice of his Council he first de¬
murred unto the Bill, and afterwards put in a strong Plea against it;
both which were over-ruled by Chief Justice Richardfon, to whom
by Order of the Court they had been referred: Which artifices and
delays though they gained much time, yet could he not thereby take
off the edge of the Attourney, grown so much sharper toward him by
thofe tricks in Law. And in this state we fhall find the busines about
ten years hence, when it came to a Sentence; having laid fo much of
it here together, because the occasion of the Suit was given much about
this time.

About the fame time also came out a Book entituled, A Collection of
Private Devotions, or, the Hours of Prayer, compofed by Cozens one of
the Prebends of Durham, at the Request, and for the Satisfaction,
as it was then generally believed, of the Countefs of Denbigh, the only
Sifer of the Duke, and then fuppofed to be unfetled in the Religion
here eftablibhed, if not warping from it: A Book which had in it much
good matter, but not well pleafing in the form; faid in the Title page
to be framed agreeably to a Book of Private Prayers Authorized by
Queen Elizabeth, Anno 1560. After the Kalendar it began with a Specifica-
tion of the Apofles Creed in Twelve Articles, the Lords Prayer in
Seven Petitions, the Ten Commandments, with the Duties enjoyed, and
the Sins prohibited by them; The Precepts of Charity, The Precepts of the
Church, The Seven Sacraments, The Three Theological Virtues, The Three
kinds of Good Works; The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, The Twelve
Fruits of the Holy Ghost, The Spiritual and Corporal Works of Mercy,
The Eight Beatitudes, Seven deadly Sins, and their contrary Virtues, and
and the Quatuor novissima: After which (fome Prefaces and Intro-
ductions intervening) followed the Forms of Prayer for the firth, third,
fifth, and ninth Hours, as also for the Vefpers and Compline, known
here in former Times by the vulgar name of Canonical Hours: Then
came the Litany, The Seven Penitential Psalms, Preparatory Prayers for
Receiving the Holy Communion, Prayers to be used in time of Sicksnef,
and of the near approach of Death, besides many others. The Book ap-
proved by Mountain then Bifhop of London, and by him Licenc'd for
the Pref (with the Subscription of his own hand to it): Which not-
withstanding it rartled many at the firth, though otherwife very mo-
derate and fober men, who looked upon it as a Preparatory to ufher in
the Superftitions of the Church of Rome. The Title gave offence to
fome, by reafon of the correspondence which it held with the Popifh
Horaries; but the Frontifpiece a great deal more, on the top whereof
was found the Name of JESUS, figured in three Capital Letters
(IHS) with a Crofs upon them, incircled with the Sun, supported by
two Angels, with two devout Women praying towards it.

It was not long before it was encountered by Prynne and Burton, of
whom we fhall have occafion to fpeak more hereaft. Prynne's Book
(for of the other there was but little notice taken) was Printed by
the name of A Brief Survey and Cenfure of Cozens his Cozening Devo-
tions, Anno 1628. In which he chargeth it for being framed in general
accord-
according to the Horaries and Primers of the Church of Rome? but more particularly, to be directly moulded, framed, and contrived according to Our Ladies Primer or Office Printed in Latin at Antwerp. 1593: and afterwards in Latin and English, Anno 1624. Next the objects, That the Book of Latin Prayers published by Queen Elizabeth, 1560. was called Orarium (not Horarium) sive Libellus Precautionum (that is to say, A Book of Prayers:) That in that Book there was mention of no other hours of Prayer than first, third, and ninth; and that in the second and third Editions of the same Book, published in the years 1564. and 1573. there occurred no such distribution into hours at all; which (said he) reproacheth all the Specifications before remembered by the name of Popis traft and trumpery, stolen out of Popis Primers and Catechisms, not mentioned in any Protestant Writers; and then proceeds to the canvasing of every Office, and the Prefaces belonging to them, which with the like infallible Spirit he condemns of Popery. But for all this violent opposition, and the great clamors made against it, the Book grew up into efteen, and justified it itself, without any Advocate; infomuch that many of those who first startled at it in regard of the Title, found in the body of it so much Pity, such regular Forms of Divine Worship, such necessary Consolations in special Exigencies, that they revered it by them as a Jewel of great price and value. But of this Author and his Book, the following Parliament, to whom Prynne dedicates his Anfwer, will take further notice.

But before that Parliament begins, we must take notice of some Changes then in agitation amongst the Governours of the Church. His Majefty in the June foregoing had acquainted Laud with his intent of nominating him to the See of London in the place of Mountain, whom he looked on as a man unactive, and addicted to volution, and one that loved his ease too well to disturb himself in the concernsments of the Church. He also looked upon that City as the Retreat and Receptacle of the Grandees of the Puritan Faction; the influence which it had, by reason of its Wealth and Trading, on all parts of the Kingdom; and that upon the Correspondence and Conformity thereof, the welfare of the whole depended: No better way to make them an example of Obedience to the rest of the Subjects, then by placing over them a Bishop of such Parts and Power as they should either be unable to withstand, or afraid to offend. In order unto this design, it was thought expedient to translate Neile (whose accommodations Laud much studied) to the See of Winchester, then vacant by the death of Andrews, and to remove Mountain unto Durham in the place of Neile: But the putting of this design into execution did require some time. Such Officers of State as had the management of the Kings Revenue, thought it not fit in that low ebb of the Exchequer, that the Church of Winton should be filled with another Bishop, before the Michaelmas Rents at leaft (if not some following Pay-days also) had flowed into his Majesties Coffers. Which though it were no very long time, compared with the Vacancies of some former Reign; yet gave it an occasion to some calumniating Spirits to report abroad,
PART I. That this Bishopricks was designed to be a Subsistence for one of the Queen of Bohemia's younger Sons, who was to hold it by the Name of an Administrator, according to an ill Custom of some Princes amongst the Lutherans. But this Obstruction being passed by, Neile with great clearfulness in himself, and thankfulnes unto the King, proceeded in his Translation to the See of Winton; his Election being ratified by his Majesty, and confirmed in due form of Law, before the end of the next year, 1627. In Mountains hands the busynes did receive a stop: He had spent a great part of his Life in the air of the Court, as Chaplain to Robert Earl of Salisbury, Dean of Westminster, and Bifhop Almoner; and had lived for many years laft past in the warm City of London. To remove him farther from the Court, and fend him into those cold Regions of the North, he looked on as the worst kind of Banishment, next neighbour to a Civil death: But having a long while strived in vain, and understanding that his Majesty was not well pleased with his delays, he began to set forward on that Journey, with this Provifio notwithstanding, That the utmost term of his Removal should be but from London-Houfe in the City, to Durham-Houfe in the Strand. And yet to beget more delays toward Land's Advancement, before he actually was confirmed in the See of Durham, the Metropolitan See of York fell void by the death of the moft Reverend Prelate Dr. Toby Matthews: This Dignity he affected with as much ambition, as he had earnestly endeavoured to decline the other; and he obtained what he desired: But so much time was taken up in passing the Election, facilitating the Royal Affent, and the Formalities of his Confirmation, that the next Session of Parliament was ended, and the middle of July well near passed, before Land could be actually translated to the See of London.

These matters being in agitation, and the Parliament drawing on apace, on Tuesday the fifth of February he strained the back-linew of his right Leg, as he went with his Majesty to Hampton-Court, which kept him to his Chamber till the fourteenth of the same; during which time of his keeping in, I had both the happiness of being taken into his special knowledge of me, and the opporunity of a longer Conference with him than I could otherwise have expected. I went to have presented my service to him as he was preparing for this Journey, and was appointed to attend him on the fame day seven-night, when I might presume on his return. Coming precifely at the time, I heard of his mischance, and that he kept himself to his Chamber; but order had been left amongst the Servants, that if I came he should be made acquainted with it; which being done accordingly, I was brought into his Chamber, where I found him sitting in a Chair, with his lame leg resting on a Pillow. Commanding that no body should come to interrupt him till he called for them, he caused me to sit down by him, inquired first into the course of my Studies, which he well approved of, exhorting me to hold my self in that moderate course in which he found me. He fell afterwards to discourse of some passages in Oxon, in which I was specially concerned, and told me thereupon the story of such oppositions as had been made against him in that
that University by Archbishops Abbot, and some others; encouraged L.I.B. III. me not to shrink, if I had already, or should hereafter find the like. Anno Dom. 1627.

I was with him thus, remotis Arbitris, almost twelvour two hours: It grew to ward such a clock, and then he knocked for his Servants to come unto him. He dined that day in his ordinary Dining-room, which was the first time he had so done since his mishap. He caused me to tarry Dinner with him, and used me with no small respect, which was much noted by some Gentlemen (Epfilton, one of his Majesties Cup-bearers, being one of the Company,) who dined that day with him. A passage I confess, not pertinent to my present Story, but such as I have a good precedent for from Philip de Comenes, who tell us as impertinently of the time (though he acquaint us not with the occasion,) of his leaving the Duke of Burgundy's Service, to take himself to the Employment of King Lewis xi.

It is now time to look into the following Parliament, in the preparation whereunto (to make himself more gracious in the eyes of the People) his Majestie releafteth such Gentlemen as had been formerly imprisoned about the Loan; which in effect was but the letting loose of so many hungry Lions to pursue and worry him; For being looked upon as Confellors, if not Martyrs for the Common-wealth, upon the merit of those sufferings they were generally preferred afore all others to serve in Parliament; and being so preferred, they carried as generally with them a vindicative Spirit, to revenge themselves for that Restraint, by a restraining of the Prerogative within narrower bounds.

At the opening of this Parliament, March 17. the Preaching of the Sermon was committed to the Bishops of Bath and Wells, who shewed much honest Art in persuading them to endeavour to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace, Ephes. 4. 3. which he had taken for his Text: In which, first laying before them the excellency and effects of UNIT? he told them, amongst other things, "That it was a very charitable tie, but better known than loved; a thing so good, that it was never broken but by the worst men; nay, so good it was, that the very worst men pretended best when they broke it; and that it was so in the Church, never yet Heretick renting her Bowels, but he pretended that he raked them for Truth: That it was so all in the State, seldom any unquiet Spirit dividing her Union, but he pre-

"That "I were made a judge in the Land, that every man which hath any Con-

"traversie might come to me, that I might do him Justice: and yet no worse a man than David was King when this cunning was used, I Sam. 15. That Unity both in Church and Common-wealth was so good, that none but the worst willingly broke it; That even they were so far ashamed of the breach, that they must seem holier than the rest, that they may be thought to have had a just cause to break it. And afterwards coming by degrees to an Application, Good God (faith he) what a preposterous Thrift is this in men, to few up every small rent in their own Coat, and not care what rents they not only suffer, but make in the Coat of Christ? What is it? Is Christ only thought fit to wear a torn Garment? Or can we think that the £2 Spirit
PART I. "Spirit of Unity; which is one with Christ, will not depart to seek warmer cloathing? Or if he be not gone already, why is there not Unity, which is where ere he is? Or if he be but yet gone from other parts of Christendom, in any case (for the passion, and in the "bowels of Jesus Christ I beg it) let us make stay of him here in our parts, &c. Which Sermon (being all of the same piece) so well pleased the Hearing, that his Majesty gave command to have it Printed. How well it edified with the Commons, when they came to read it, and what thanks he received from them for it, we shall clearly see before we come to the end of this present Session.

The Sermon being ended, his Majesty set forwards to the House of Peers, where sitting in his Royal Throne, and causing the Commons then assembled to come before him, he signified in few words, "That no man (as he conceived) could be so ignorant of the Common necessity, as to expotulate the cause of this Meeting, and not to think Supply to be the end of it, that as this necessity was the product and consequent of their Advice (he means in reference to his first ingaging in the War with Spain) to the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, and just defence of his Friends and Allies, being so considerably concerned, would be, he hoped, Arguments enough to persuade Supply; That he had taken the most ancient, speedy, and best way for Supply, by calling them together; in which if they should not do their duties, in answering the quality of his occasions, he must then take some other course for the saving of that, which the folly of some particular men might hazard to lose; that notwithstanding the distractions of the last Meeting, he came thither with so small confidence of good success; affuring them that he would forget and forgive whatsoever was past, and hoping that they would follow that sacred Advice lately inculcated, To maintain the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace. Which being said, the Lord Keeper took his turn to speak, as the Custom is, in which Speech he chiefly laboured to lay before them the formidable Power of the House of Austria, the mighty Preparations made by the King of Spain, the Diversions at the present in the Netherlands, the Dangers threatened by the French King to those of the Reformed Religion in his Dominions, and the necessity which lay upon the King to provide for the support thereof, as well as for the Peace and Preservation of his own Estate; concluding with several reasons to invite them to assist his Majesty with a bountiful and quick supply according to the exigency of his affairs.

But all this, little edified with the House of Commons, or rather with the prevailing Party in it, which comes all to one. For so it happens commonly in all great Councils, that some few leading Members, either by their diligence or cunning, out-wit the rest, and form a party strong enough, by casting a mist before their eyes, or other subtle Artifices to effect their purpose. And so it fared in this last Parliament with the House of Commons, which though it contained amongst the rest as dutiful Subjects as any were in the world, (in his Majesty's own acknowledgment of them) yet being governed by some men
men which had their interestes apart from the Crown, they are put upon a resolution of doing their own business first, and the Kings at leisure. And their own business must be to secure the plots and practices of the Puritan Faction by turning all mens eyes upon such dangers as were to be feared from the Papists; and in the next place, to make such provision for themselves, that it should not be within the power of the Royal Prerogative to lay any restraint upon their persons. No sooner had they obtained their Fait (without which nothing could be done) but they moved the Lords to join with them in a Petition for the suppressing of Popery, which they conceived to make the wall of Separation between God and them; to which they found their Lordships willing to consent, and his Majesty no less willing to satisfy them in all parts thereof than they could desire. For calling both Houses before him on the Fourth of April, He told them he liked well of their beginning with Religion, and hoped their consultations would succeed the happier; That he was as careful of Religion, and should be as forward in it, as they could desire; That he liked well of the Petition, and would make use of those and all other means for the maintenance and propagation of that true Religion wherein he had lived, and by the grace of God was resolved to dye; And finally, That for the particulars, they should receive a more full answer hereafter (as they shortly did."

Which said, he put them in remembrance, That if Provisions were not speedily made, he should not be able to put a Ship to Sea this year. But though his Majesty gave so full and satisfactory an answer to every particular branch of the said Petition, that Sir Benjamin Ruddiard moved the House to tender their humble thanks to his Majesty for it; yet to the close of his Majesty's Speech, touching the speedy making of provisions for that Summers Service, they returned no answer. They must first know whether they had any thing to give or not, whether they are to be accounted as Slaves or Freemen, to which two doubts the late imprisonment of their Members, for not paying the Loan required of them, gave them ground enough.

These weighty Questions being started, their own property and Liberty must first be settled, before they could be persuaded to move a foot toward his Majesty's supplies; Five Subsidies they had voted for him, but it palled no further than the Vote; For seeing that there was to be a trust on one side or the other, it was resolved, that the honour of it should be theirs. The agitating of which Points, with those which depended thereupon, took up so much time, that before the Lords could be brought to join with the Commons, and both together could obtain their desires of the King, there was spent as far as to the seventh of June; and it was ten days after before they had prepared the Bill of Subsidies for the Kings assent. Nothing in all this business did so trouble his Majesty as their insinuating on this point: That in no case whatsoever, though it never so nearly concerned matters of State and Government, he or his Privy Council should have power to commit any man to prison without shewing the cause, and that cause to be allowed or disallowed as his Majesties Judges should think fit on the Habeas Corpus, of which his Majesty well observed in
A Letter by him written to the Peers on the twelfth of May, "That by shewing the cause of the Commitment, the whole Service many times might happen to be destroyed; and that the cause also might be such and of a nature so transcending the Rules of Law, that the Judges had no capacity in a Court of Judicature to determine in it. The intermitting of which power, being one of the constant Rules of Government, practised for so many Ages within this Kingdom, would (as he said) soon dissolve the very frame and foundation of his Monarchy, and therefore that without the overthrow of his Sovereignty he could not suffer these powers to be impeached. But what reason soever he had to alledge for himself, he was so bent on his desires to relieve the Rochellers, and keep that honour up abroad which he loft at home; that at the last he condescended unto their desires, and confirmed the prayer of their Petition by Act of Parliament.

Nor would they rest upon that point. They thought they had not done themselves right enough in disputing their Property with the King in Parliament if they suffered it to be preached down in the Court and Country. Manuring therefore (of whose Sermons we have spake before) must be brought in for an example unto others. Whole charge, being drawn up by the Commons, was reported to the Peers by Pyn, June 13. The Book of his two Sermons produced before them, the passages which gave offence openly read, aggravated to the very height. And though the poor man, in his knees, with tears in his eyes, and sorrow in his heart, had most humbly craved pardon of the Lords and Commons for the errors and indelicacies he had committed in the said two Sermons; yet could he find no other mercy than, "1. To be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House. 2. To be fined one thousand pounds to the King. 3. To make such an acknowledgment of his offence at the Commons Bar as it should please them to prescribe. 4. To be suspended from his Ministry for three years to come. 5. To be disabled from ever preaching at the Court. 6. To be incapable of any further Ecclesiastical preferment, or secular Office. And finally, That his Majesty should be moved to call in the said Book by Proclamation, and cause it to be publickly burnt. An heavy Sentence I confess, but such as did rather affright than hurt him. For his Majesty looking on him in that conjuncture as one that suffered in his cause, preferred him first to the Patronage of Stamford-Rivers in Essex, (void not long after by the promotion of Montague to the See of Chichester;) afterwards to the Deanry of Worcester; and finally to the Bishoprick of St. David. This was indeed the way to have his Majesty well served, but such as created him some ill thoughts amongst the Commons for his Majesties Indulgence to him.

But they had a greater game to fly at, than to content themselves with so poor a Sacrifice. The day before, complaint was made unto the Commons, that Land, Bishop of Bath & Wells, had warranted those Sermons to the Prefs, and him they had as good a mind to as to any other. There had been some liftings at him in the Court by Sir John Cook, who
who had informed against him to the Lord Treasurer then being: And by the Lord Treasurer to the Duke, where the busines s flapt. And there had been some liftings at him in the Country also, there being some murtherings fpred abroad, that some Sacrifices must be made for expiating the ill success in the Ille of Rhe, and that he was as like as any to be made the Sacrifice. Which coming to his ears from two feveral persons, he thought fit to acquaint his Majefty with it s who thereupon returned this moft gracious answer, That he fhould not trouble himself with fuch reports, till he fhaw him forfake his other friends. Had he stood still upon that principle he had never fallen. Such Princes as forfake their Servants, will be forfake by their Servants in their greatest need, and neither be well served at home, nor observed abroad. But it appeared by the event, that those mutterings were not made without some ground, and that somewhat was then plotting toward his destruction. For Mauving was no sooner cenfur ed, but Land s caufe was called to the report, some days before (viz. June 11.) they had voted the Duke of Buckingham to be the caufe of all the grievances; and now they were hammering a Re montrance, both again t him, and all that depended on him. In which Remontrance, having firft befprinkled the King with fome Court holy-water, for granting their Petition of Right, they make bold to represent unto him, That there was a general fear con ceived in his people of fome secret working and combination to introduce into this Kingdom innovation and change of holy Reli gion. Which fear proceeded (as they said) from the encreafe of Popery in this Kingdom, and the extraordinary favours and respects which they of that Religion found in the Court from per fons of great quality and power there, unto whom they continually re fer t, more efpecially by name from the Countefs of Buckingham the Dukes Mother. Secondly, From fome Letters written by his Majefty to ftop all legal proceedings again ft Recusants, and the Compositions which had been made with fome of them for fuch fines and penalties as were laid upon them by the Laws, which seemed in their opinion little les than a Toleration. Thirdly, From the daily growth and spreading of the Faction of the Arminians, that being (as they thought his Majefty knew) but a cunning way to bring in Popery; the profefiors of fuch opinions being common disturbers of the Protestant Churches, and Incendiaries of thofe States wherein they have gotten any head, being Prot eflants in fhew, but Jesuites in opinion and practice. Of which growing Faction Neile Bishop of Winchester, and Laud Bishop of Bath and Wells, are named particularly for the principal Patrons. Fourthly, From fome endeavours to suppress the diligent teaching and instructing the people in the true knowledge of Almighty God by disparaging pious, painful, and Orthodox Preachers. Fifthly, From the me ritable condition of the Kingdom of Ireland, in which without controul the Popifh Religion is affirmed to be openly profefsed, Popifh Superfition being generally exercifed and avowed, Monasteries, and Nunneries newly erected, &c. In the laft place they lay before
PART I. "before him their former grievances, now redressed, the design of raising moneys by the way of Excise, and of bringing in some Regiments of German horse, though never put into execution; a Commission of Lieutenancy granted to the Duke of Buckingham; the supposed decay of Trade in all parts of the Kingdom; the improvident consumption of the stock of Gunpowder; the loss of the Regality of the Narrow Seas; the taking of many Merchants Ships by the Pyrates of Dunkirk, &c. The cause of all which mischiefs is imputed to the excessive power of the Duke of Buckingham, and his abusing of that power.

This Remonstrance being thus digested, it was presented to his Majesty, together with the Bill of Subsidies, on the seventeenth of June. At the receiving thereof his Majesty was pleased to use these words: That on his Answer to their Petition of Right he expected no such Declaration from them, which contained divers points of State touching the Church and Common-wealth; that he conceived they did believe he understood them better than themselves: But that since the reading thereof, he perceived they understood those things less than he imagined; and that notwithstanding he would take them into such consideration as they deferred. Nor was it long after his Majesty's receiving of this Remonstrance, but that they were drawing up another to take away his right to Tonnage and Poundage. Which coming to his Majesty's knowledge, he resolved to be beforehand with them, and dissolve the Parliament, which was done accordingly June 26. At the following whereof his Majesty gave this further cenure on the said Remonstrance, viz. That the acceptableness thereof unto him, every man might judge, and that he would not call in question the merit of it, because he was sure no wife man could justify it. And possibly it had escaped without any further cenure, if the Commons for the ostentation of their Zeal and Piety had not caused it to be printed, and dispersed abroad, with which his Majesty being acquainted, he commanded it to be called in by Proclamation, as tending to the defamation of his Person and Government.

But no sooner was the Parliament ended, but he gave order unto Land (whom he found to be much concerned in it) to return an answer thereunto; which he, who knew no better sacrifice than obedience, did very cheerfully perform; which Answer for so much as concerns Religion, the Preamble and Conclusion being laid aside, we shall here subjoin.

And first (faith he) that Remonstrance begins at Religion, and fears of innovation in it; Innovation by Popery; but we would have our Subjects of all sorts to call to mind what difficulties and dangers we endured not many years since for Religious sake; That we are the same still, and our holy Religion is as precious to us as it is or can be to any of them, and we will no more admit innovation therein than they that think they have done well in fearing it so much. It is true, that all effects
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

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effects expedit have not followed upon the Petitions delivered at Oxon, L I B. III. but we are in least fault for that; for supply being not afforded us, disen-
abled us to execute all that was desired, and caused the stay of those legal
proceedings which have helped to swell up this Remonstrance: Yet let all the
Counts of England be examined, and London, with the Suburbs
thereof, neither is there such a noted increase of Papists, nor such cause
of fear as is made; nor hath any amounted to such an odious tolerating,
as is charged upon it, nor near any such. For that Commissio so much
complained of, both the matter and intent of it are utterly mistaken; for
it doth not dispence with any penalty, or any course to be taken with any
Papists for the exercise of their Religion, no nor with the Pecuniary
Mutiis or Non-conformity to ours; it was advised for the increase of
our profits, and the returning of that into our Purse, which abuse or con-
nivency of inferior Ministers might perhaps divert another way; if that
or any other shall be abused in the execution, we will be ready to punish
upon any just complaint. The next fear is the daily growth and spread-
ing of the Arminian Faction, called a cunning way to bring in Popery:
but we hold this Charge as great a wrong, to our Self and Government,
as the former; For our People must not be taught by a Parliament Remon-
strance, or any other way, that we are so ignorant of Truth, or so care-
less of the Profession of it; that any opinion, or fiction, or whatever it be
called, should thrust it self so far, and so fast into our Kingdom without our
knowledge of it: this is a mere dream of them that make, and would make
our loyal and loving People think we sleep the while. In this Charge there
is great wrong done to two eminent Prelates that attend our Person; for
they are accused, without producing any the least shew or shadow of Proof
against them; and should they, or any other, attempt Innovation of Reli-
gion, either by that open or any cunning way, we should quickly take other
Order with them, and not stay for your Remonstrance.

To keep on this, our people are made believe, That there is a restraint of
Books Orthodoxal: but we are sure since the late Parliament began,
some whom the Remonstrance calls Orthodox, have assumed unto them-
selves an unsufferable Liberty in Printing. Our Proclamation command-
ed a Restraint on both sides, till the Passions of men might subside and
calm; and had this been obeyed as it ought, we had not now been tossed in
this Tempest: And for the distressing and discouragement of Good
Preachers, we know there is none, if they be (as they are called) Good.
But our People shall never want that Spiritual Comfort which is due unto
them; and for the Preferments which we bestowed, we have so made it our
great Care to give them, as Rewards of Desert and Pains; but as the Pre-
ferments are ours, so will we be Judge of the Desert Our selves, and not be
taught by a Remonstrance. For Ireland, we think in case of Religion,
it is not worse then Queen Elizabeth left it; and for other Affairs, it is as
good as we found it, nay, perhaps better; and we take it as a great dispa-
ragement to our Government, that it should be voiced, That new Mona-
stryes, Nunneries, and other Superstitious Houses, are Erected and Reple-
ished in Dublin, and other great Towns of that our Kingdom: For we
affire our selves, our Deputy and Council there will not suffer God and our
Government so to be dishonoured, but we should have some account of it
from
This, and the rest of the Answer to the said Remonstrance, is all what I find acted by Laud in reference to the present Parliament. For, that he should be a chief means for the dissolving of this, or a principal Instrument in the untimely breaking off of the former, I find no proof offered, though he stands charged with the one in the further Articles of his Impeachment, and of the other on the bare suspicion of a private Person. As little proof I find of another Article, in which he stands accused for saying, That this Parliament was a Factional Parliament, and had cast many Scandals upon his Majesty, and had used him like a Child in his Minority; styling them PURITANS, and commending the Papists for harmless and peaceable Subjects: For which, if any Evidence had been brought against him, he might have been condemned by some for his indiscretion, but by none for Treason. Nor did the Parliament act more against Church or Church-men, than what is formerly related; but only in receiving certain Articles against one Burgess Vicar of Witney, in the County of Oxon. By which it did appear, That the man was sharp set against the Puritans, whom he accused of breaking every one of the Ten Commandments, reproached them with many bitter Exasperations, and finally impeached Calvin, Beza, and all the Ministers of the Reformed Churches, both in France and Scotland, for committing many Treasons against those Princes under whom they lived. But these Matters not being Actionable at the Common Law, nor punishable (as the times then were) in way of Parliamentary Proceedings; the poor man, after a long and chargeable Attendance, was at last dismissed. Little or nothing done in the Convocation which accompanied this Parliament, but the granting of five Subsidies, toward the Support of his Majesty's Royal Estate, and the Defence of his Kingdoms: So much the more acceptable to his Majesty, because the Grant seemed in a manner to exceed their Abilities, and came not clogged with any self-ends, or particular Interests. Kings are Gods Deputies on Earth, and like him, love a cheerful Giver, above all those who either do it grudgingly, or upon constraint.

No sooner was the Parliament ended, but Laud prepares for his Translation to the See of London, the Conge d'effire being issued out on the first of July, the Election within few days returned, and pub-
likely confirmed with the accustomed Formalities on Saint Swithin's Day, being the fifteenth of that Month. London, the Kings Chamber, and the chief City of the Realms; equal in bigness unto any, but in Trade Superior unto all in these Parts of Christendom; one of the Metropolitan Sees of the Ancient Britains, and next in Dignity and Antiquity to the See of Canterbury among the Saxons. The first Bishop of it, called Melitus, received his Episcopal Consecration, Anno 606, from whom Land was in number the 88th, as he had been the 89th. Bishop of St. David, another of the Metropolitan Sees of the Britains. The Cathedral Church, best known by the name of Saint Pauls in London, was founded first by Ethelbert, the first Christian King of Kent, and the six Monarchs of the Saxons; afterwards much beautified and enlarged by Erkenwald the fourth Bishop: Which Church of theirs being 500 years after destroyed by fire, that which now stands was built in the place thereof by Maritus Richardus his Successor, and certain other of the Bishops, a great part of it at their own Charge, and the Residue by a general Contribution over all the Kingdom. The Bishops next in Place and Dignity to the Metropolitans, and also Deans of the Episcopal College for the Province of Canterbury; by which Office he is not only to preside over the rest of the Bishops at Synodical Meetings, in case the Metropolitan be dead or absent, but to receive his Mandates for assembling Synods, and other busineses of the Church; and having to receive them, to intimate the power and effect thereof to the Suffragan Prelates. As for the Dioceses of London, it contains in it the whole Counties of Middlesex and Essex, so much of Hertfordshire as was anciently possessed by the East Saxons, together with the peculiar Jurisdiction of the Church of St. Albans; divided into 623 Parishes (of which 189 are Impropiations) and those distributed amongst five Archdeacons, that is to say, of London, Middlesex, Essex, Colchester, and the Archdeacon of Saint Albans for that Circuit only.

His own Translation being past, his next Employment of that nature was his assisting at the Consecration of Mountague, nominated by his Majesty to the See of Chichester in the place of Carleton, who died about the latter end of the Parliament; which Action in the King seemed more magnanimous than safe: For though there was much magnanimity in preferring the man, whom he beheld as well in his personal Sufferings, as his great Abilities; yet was it not held safe for him (as his case then stood) to give such matter of Exasperation to the House of Commons, of whom he did expect a Supplement to the former Subsidies within few Months after. Nor did the businesse pass so clearly on Mountagues side, but that he found a rub in his way, which was like to have hindred his Preferment for the present time, but possibly enough for the times to come. It is an ancient Custom, that the Elections of all Bishops in the Province of Canterbury be solemnly confirmed by the Archbishop, or his Vicar-general, in the Court of the Arches, held in Saint Maries Church in Cheapside, commonly called by the name of Bow Church; at and before which Confirmation, there is publick notice given to all manner of Persons, that...
PART I. if they have any thing to object either against the Party Elected, or the legality of his Election, he should come and tender his Exceptions at the time appointed, or else for ever after to hold his peace: Which signification being made, as Mountague stood ready to beConfirmed, one Jones a Bookseller accompanied with a Rabble of the poorer sort, excepted against him as a man unfit to be made a Bishop, charging him with Popery, Arminianism, and some other Heterodoxies, for which his Books had been condemned in the former Parliament. It hapned well that Brent the Vicar-general, either for dissatisfaction to the man, or on some necessary avocation, had devolved his Office for that time on Doctor Reeves his Majesties Advocate, a man of better Principles in himself, and of more Learning in the Laws than the other was: For no sooner had Jones offered his Exceptions against the Party Elected, but Reeves had found a way to evade the danger, and frustrate the bold man of his design, for putting a present stop to the Confirmation; For neither were the Exceptions tendered in writing, signed by the hand of any Advocate, nor presented by any of the Proctors authorized to attend that Court; all which Formalities were to have been observed by Jones in the present Act, but that the man was hurried on with more Zeal than Knowledge. Which Rub thus happily removed August 22. Mountague hastens all he could to his Confirmation, which was performed on Sunday the 24th. at the Archbishops house in Croyden, Land among it other Bishops assisting at it.

And it is possible enough, That if he had not made such haste as he did, he might have had a worse rub in it then he had before. Scarce was the Confirmation finished, when news came to Croyden of the unfortunate death of the Duke of Buckingham, murthered the day before at Portsmouth by one John Felton a Lieutenant, who thought himself neglected in the course of his Service. The Duke had wholly set his heart on the Relief of Rochel, then blockt up by the French both by Sea and Land, in hope thereby to redeem the Honour he had lost at the Isle of Rhe, and to ingratitude himself with the People of England. On the twelfth of August he set forwards from Portsmouth, near which the Navy lay at Anchor, and where he had appointed the Rendezvous for his Land-Forces to assemble and meet together. The interval of time betwixt that and his death he spent in putting all things into Readines, that he was almost at the point of going on Board, when Felton cut him off in the midst of his Glories. The wretch in such a general confusion might have saved himself, if either curiosity in attending the issue, or some conternation in his countenance upon the horror of the Fact, had not betrayed him to a present discovery. Taken upon suspicion, and questioned about the Murder, he made no scruple to avow it as a meritorious Act, of which he had more cause to glory than to be ashamed: And being afterwards more cunningly handled by one of his Majesties Chaplains (sent to him from the Court of purpole to work him to it) he confessed plainly and resolutely, That he had no other motive to commit that Murder, but the late Remonstrance, in which the Duke had been accused for being the Cause of all the Grievances
Grievances and Mischiefs in the Common-wealth. This news was L I B. III. brought unto the King as he was at the Publick Morning-Prayers in his Presence-Chamber, the Court being then at Southwicks, not far from Portsmouth; which he received with such a stedfast Countenance, so unmoved a Patience, that he withdrew not from the place till the Prayers were ended.

It is not to be doubted but that his Majesty was much afflicted in the los of so dear a Servant, in whose bosom he had lodged so much of his Counsels, and to whose Conduct he had so fully recommended the Great Concernments of the Kingdom. But such was the constancy of his Temper, and the known evenness of his Spirit, that in the midst of all those forrows he neither neglected his affairs abroad, nor his Friends at home: For notwithstanding this sad accident, the Fleet set forwards under the Command of the Earl of Lindsey, whose coming within sight of Rochell was welcomed by those in the Town with all the outward expressions of Hope and Joy: But his desire to do them Service were without Success: For when he came, he found the Haven so strongly barred, that though he gallantly attempted to force his way, and give Relief to the Besieged; yet finding nothing but impossibility in the Undertaking, he discharged his Ordnance against the Enemy, and went off with Safety: Which being perceived by those of the Town, who had placed their last hopes in this Attempt, they presently set open their Gates, casting themselves upon the Mercy of their Natural Prince, whose Government and Authority they had for so many years before both opposed and slighted. And on the other side, being well assured of that infinite anguish and disconsolation which Laud (his now most trusty Servant) must needs suffer under, by the most barbarous Affaillation of so dear a Friend, he dispatched Elphiston his Cup-bearer with a gracious Message to comfort him in those disquiets of his Soul; and on the neck of that, a Letter of his own hand-writing to the same effect. He looks upon him now as his Principal Minister well practised in the Course of his Business, of whose fidelity to his Person, and perspicacity of Judgment in Affairs of State, he had found such good proof: And therefore at the first time that Laud could find himself in a condition to attend upon him, he used many gracious Speeches to him, not only to wipe off the Remembrance of that sad Misfortune, but to put him into such a Power by which he might be able to protect himself against all his Enemies. He was before but an inferior Minister in the Ship of State, and had the trimming of the Sails, the superintendence of the Bulging and Leakings of it. Now he is called unto the Helm, and steers the Course thereof by his own Directions.

Having obtained this height of Power, he casts his eye back on his Majesties Proclamation of the fourteenth of June, Anno 1626. Of which though he had made good use in suppressing some of those Books which seemed to foment the present Controversies; yet he soon found, as well by his own Observation, as by Intelligence from others, That no such general notice had been taken of it as was first expected: For being only published in Market-Towns (and perhaps very few of them)
PART I, them) the Puritan Ministers in the Country did not conceive themselves obliged to take notice of it. And much less could it come to the ears of Students in Universities, for whose restraint from medling, either by Preaching or Writing, in the Points prohibited, it might seem most necessary. He knew, that by the Laws of the Land all Ministers were to read the Book of Articles audibly and distinctly, in the hearing of their Parishioners, when they first entered on their Cures; and that by the Canons of the Church, all that took Orders or Degrees were publickly to subscribe unto them. A Declaration to the same effect before those Articles must needs give such a general signification of his Majesty's pleasure, that no body could from henceforth pretend ignorance of it, which must needs render his transgression the more inexusable. Upon which prudent considerations he moved his Majesty that the Book of Articles might be reprinted; and such a Declaration placed before them as might preserve them from such misconstructions as had of late been put upon them, and keep them to their native literal and Grammatical sense. His Majesty approved the Counsel as both pious and profitable, and presently gave order, that all things should be done according as he had advised. A Declaration of great influence in the course of our Story, and therefore here to be subjoined in its proper place.

By the KING.

Being by God's Ordinance, according to our just Title, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Governor of the Church within these our Dominions, We hold it most agreeable to Our Kingly Office, and Our own Religious Zeal, to conserve and maintain the Church committed to Our charge in the Unity of true Religion, and in the bond of peace: and not to suffer unnecessary Disputations, Alterations, and Questions to be raised: which may nourish Faction both in the Church and Commonwealth; We have therefore upon mature deliberation, and with the Advice of so many of Our Bishops as might conveniently be called together, thought fit to make this Declaration following: That the Articles of the Church of England (which had been allowed, and authorized heretofore, and which our Clergy generally have subscribed unto) do contain the true Doctrine of the Church of England agreeable to God's Word; which We do therefore ratifie and confirm, requiring all our loving Subjects, to continue in the Uniform Profession thereof, and prohibiting the least difference from the said Articles; which to that end We command to be reprinted, and this Our Declaration to be published therewith.

That We are Supreme Governor of the Church of England, and that if any difference arise about the External Policy, concerning Injunctions, Canons, or other Constitutions whatsoever, thereunto belonging; the Clergy in their Convocation is to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under Our Broad Seal so to do: And We approving their Said Ordinances and Constitutions, provided that none be made contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Land. That out of our Princely care that the Church-men may do the work which is proper unto them; the Bishops and Clerg,
Lord Archibishop of Canterbury.

Clergie, from time to time, in Convocation, upon their humble desire, L I B. III. shall have licence under Our Broad Seal, to deliberate of, and to do all such things, as being made plain by them, and assented to by Us, shall concern the settled continuance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England established; from which We shall not endure any variation or departing in the least degree. That for the present, though some differences have been ill-raised, We take comfort in this, that all Clergie-men within Our Realm have always most willingly subscribed to the Articles established, which is an Argument to Us, that they all agree in the true usual literal meaning of the said Articles, and that even in those curious Points, in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the Articles of the Church of England to be for them; which is an Argument again, that none of them intend any desertion of the Articles established. That therefore in these both curious and unhappy differences which have for many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, We will that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes be shut up in God’s Promises, as they be generally set forth unto Us in holy Scriptures; and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either Print or Preach to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof: And shall not put his own sense or Comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal & Grammatical sense. That if any Public Reader in either Our Universities, or any Head or Master of a College, or any other Person respectively in either of them, shall affix any new sense to any Article, or shall publicly read, determine, or hold any publick Disputation, or suffer any such to be held either way, in either the Universities or Colleges respectively; or if any Divine in the Universities shall Preach or Print any thing either way, other than is established in Convocation with Our Royal Assent: He, or they, the Offenders, shall be liable to Our displeasure, and the Churches Censure in Our Commission Ecclesiastical, as well as any other: and We will see there shall be due execution upon them.

No sooner were the Articles published with this Declaration, but infinite were the Clamours which were raised against it by those of the Calvinian party. Many exclaimed against it for the depths of Satin, some for a Jesuitical Plot to subvert the Gospel: For what else could it aim at (as they gave it out) but under colour of silencing the disputes on either side, to give encouragment and opportunity to Arminians here to sow their tares, and propagate their erroneous Doctrines. And what effects could it produce, but the suppressing of all Orthodox Books, the discouraging of all godly and painful Ministers, thereby deterred from preaching the most confortable Doctrines of man’s election unto life; The Arminians in the mean time gathering strength, and going on securely to the end they aimed at. And to give the better colour to these suspicions, a Letter is diffped abroad, pretended to be written to the Rector of the Jesuites in Bruxells the chief City of Brabant. In which the Writers let him know, with what care and cunning they had planted here that Soveraign drug Armini-anism.
PART I. anifur, which they hoped would purge the Protestants from their He-
refles, and that it did begin to flourith and bear fruit already; That
for the better preventing of the Puritans, the Arminians had lockt up
the Dukes ears, &c. with much of the like impudent stuff, which
no nober man did otherwise look on than a piece of Cutlery. Upon
which grounds, a Petition was designed for his sacred Majesty,
by some of the Calvinian Party in and about the City of London,
For the revolting of the said Declaration, by which they were de-
terred (as the matter was handled) from preaching the saving Do-
trines of Gods Free Grace in Election and Predestination: And this
(fay they) had brought them into a very great strait; either
of incurring Gods heavy displeasure, if they did not faithfully dis-
charge their Embaflage in declaring the whole Counsel of God;
or the danger of being cenfured as violaters of his Majesties said
Lct, if they preach those constant Doctrines of our Church,
and confuted the opposite Pelagian and Arminian Heresies, both
Preached and Printed boldly without fear of cenfure. And there-
upon they pray on their bended knees, that his gracious Majesty
would take into his Princely consideration the forenamed Evils
and Grievances under which they groaned, and, as a wise Ph-
ician, prescribe and apply such speedy Remedies as may both
cure the present Maladies, and secure the peace of Church and
Common-wealth, from all those Plagues which their Neighbours had
not a little felt, and more may fear if the Council of his Majesties
Father to the States of the United Provinces were not better fol-
lowed.

But this Petition being flott before it came to the King, they found
more countenance from the Commons, in the next Parliamentary
meeting, than they were like to have found at the hands of his Ma-
jefty. For the Commons conceiving they had power to declare Reli-
gion as well as Law, (and they had much alike in both) they voted this
Anti-Declaration to be published in the name of that House: viz.
We the Commons now assembled in Parliament, do claim, profess,
and avow for truth the fene of the Articles of Religion which were
established in Parliament the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth,
which by the publick Acts of the Church of England and the gene-
ral and current exposition of the Writers of our Church have been
delivered to us, and we reject the fene of the Jesuites, Arminians,
and all others wherein they differ from us. Which Declaration of
the Commons, as it gave great animation to those of the Calvinian
Party, who entertained it with the like ardency of affection, as those
of Ephesus did the Image of D I A N A which fell down from Heaven;
so gave it great matter of discourse to most knowing men. The
Points were intricate and weighty, such as in all Ages of the Church
had exercized the wits of the greatest Scholars. Those which had
taken on them to declare for truth that which they took to be the
fene and meaning of the Articles in those intricate Points, were
at the best no other than a company of Lay Perfon's met together on
another occasion; who, though they might probably be suppos'd for
the
the wisest men, could not in reason be relied on as the greatest Clerks. L I B. III.
And therefore it must needs be looked on as a kind of Prodigie, that
men unqualified, and no way authorized for any such purpose, should
take upon them to determine in such weighty matters, as were more
proper for a National or Provincial Council: But being it pro-
cceeded from the House of Commons, whose power began to grow
more formidable every day than other, no body durst adventure a
Reply unto it; till Laud himself, by whose procurement his Maje-
sies Declaration had been published, laying aside the Dignity of
his Place and Perfon, thought fit to make some scholastic, or short
notes upon it. Which not being published at that time in Print (for
ought I have either heard or seen) but found in the rising of his Stud-
y amongst the rest of his Papers, I shall present unto the Reader in
these following words:

And first (saith he) the Publick Acts of the Church in matters of Cont. Dooms-
Doctrine are Canons and Acts of Councils, as well for expounding as deter-
mining: The Acts of the High Commission are not in this sense Publick
Acts of the Church, nor the meeting of a few or more Bishops. Extra Con-
cilium unless they be by lawful Authority called to that work, and their de-
cision approved by the Church. Secondly, the current Exposition of
Writers is a strong probable argument, De senfe Canonis Ecclesie vel
Articuli; yet but probable: The current Exposition of the Fathers them-
selves have sometimes missed Senfum Ecclesie. Thirdly, Will you reject
all sense of Jesuit or Arminian? May not some be true? May not some
be agreeable to our Writers; and yet in a way that is stronger than ours
to confirm the Article? Fourthly, Is there by this Act any Interpretation
made or declared of the Articles or not? If none, to what end the Act?
If a sense or interpretation be declared, what Authority have Lay-men to
make it? For interpretation of an Article belongs to them only that have
power to make it. Fifthly, Is manifest there is a sense declared by the
House of Commons, the Act says it. (We avow the Article, and in that
sense, and all other that agree not with us in the aforesaid sense, we
reject these, and these go about misinterpretation of a sense; Ergo, there is
a Declaration of a sense; yea, but it is not a new sense declared by them, but
they avow the old sense declared by the Church) the publick Authentick
Acts of the Church &c.) yea, but if there be no such publick Authentick
Acts of the Church, then here is a sense of their own declared under the
pre-
texts of it. Sixthly, It seems against the Kings Declaration, 1.That says, We
shall take the general meaning of the Articles: This Act restrains them to
conform of Writers. 2. That says, The Articles shall not be drawn aside any
way, but that we shall take it in the literal and Grammatical sense: This Act
ties us to conform of writers, which may, and perhaps do, go against the
literal sense; for here is no exception; so we shall be perplexed, and our
conform required to things contrary. Seventhly, All consent in all Ages,
as far as I have observed, to an Article or Canon, is to it self as it is laid
down in the body of it, and if it bear more senses than one, it is lawful
for any man to choose what sense his judgment directs him to, so that it be
a sense secundum Analogiam fidei, and that he hold it peaceably without
disturbing the Church, and this till the Church that made the Article
A a
deter-
determine a sense: And the wisdom of the Church hath been in all
Ages, or in most, to require consent to Articles in general, as much as
may be, because that is the way of Unity; and the Church in high points
requiring assent to particulars, hath been rent as De Transubstantia-
tione, &c.

It is reported of Alphonso King of Castile, Sirnamed the Wise, that
he tried many times to say (never the wiser for so saying) That if he
had stood at God Almighty's Elbow when he made the world, he
would have put him in mind of some things which had been forgotten,
or otherwise might have been better ordered than they were. 'And
give me leave to say, with as little wisdom, (though with so much blasphemy) that if I had stood at his Lordship's Elbow when he made
these Scholias', I would have put him in mind of returning an answer
to that Clause of the said Declaration, in which it is affirmed, That
the Articles of Religion were established in Parliament in the thirteenth of
Queen Elizabeth. But I would fain know of them whether the Par-
liament they speak of, or any other since or before that time, did take
upon them to confirm Articles of Religion, agreed on by the Clergy
in their Convocations, or that they appointed any Committee for
Religion to examine the Orthodocies of those Articles, and make re-
port unto the House. All which was done in that Parliament was this,
and on this occasion. Some Ministers of the Church so stiffly
wedded to their old Mummies of the Man's; and some as furiously
prosecuting their new Sumpisms of inconformity, it was thought fit
that between those contending parties, the Doctrine of the Church
should be kept inviolate. And thereupon it was Enacted, That every
person under the degree of a Bishop, which did or should pretend to
be a Priest or Minister of Gods' holy Word and Sacraments in the
Church of England, should before Christmas next following, in the
presence of his Diocesan Bishop, testify his assent and subscribe to
the said Articles of the year 1562. Secondly, That after such sub-
scribing before the Bishop, he should on some Sunday in the Fore-
noon in the Church or Chappel where he served, in time of Divine
Service read openly the said Articles, on pain of being deprived of
all his Ecclesiastical Promotions as if he were then naturally dead.
Thirdly, That if any Ecclesiastical person should maintain any Do-
ctrine contrary to any of the said Articles, and being Convented be-
fore his Bishop, &c. and shouldpersist therein, it should be just cause
to deprive such person of his Ecclesiastical Promotions. Fourthly,
That all persons to be admitted to any Benefice with cure, should like-
wise subscribe to the said Articles, and publickly read the same in the
open Church, within two months after their Induction, with declara-
tion of their unfeigned assent to the same, on the pain aforesaid. In
all which there was nothing done to confirm these Articles, but only
a pious care expressed for reformation of such disorders as were like
to rise amongst the Ministers of the Church by requiring their sub-
scription and assent unto them under such temporal punishments, which
at that time the Canons of the Church had not laid upon them.

But
But it is time to leave these follies of my own, and return to our Lord Bishop, who had thus seasonably manifested both his Zeal and Judgment in reference to the peace of the Church in general: nor showed he less in reference to the peace of that University, which had the happiness and honour of his Education. The Proctorship had before been carried by a combination of some houses against the rest; the weaker side calling in strangers and non-residents to give voices for them. For remedy whereof a Letter in another year was procured from the Earl of Pembroke, then Chancellor of that University, by which it was declared, that only such as were actually Residents should be admitted to their Suffrages in the said Elections: which Letter was protested against by the Proctors for the year 1627, as knowing how destructive it was of their plot and party: And on the other side, such Colleges as had many Chappelaries, and other places, which were removable at pleasure, invested many which came out of the Country in the said Offices and Places one after another, thereby admitting them for the time into actual residence. In which estate things stood when the great competition was, April 23, 1628. betwixt Williamso of Magdalen, and More of New-College on the one side, and Bruch of Brazen-nose, with Lloyd of Jesus Colledge on the other side. These last pretending foul play to be offered to them (as indeed it was not very fair) made their appeal unto the King; before whom the proceedings being heard and examined, Williamso and Lloyd were returned Proctors for that year, the last pretending Kindred to the Dutchess of Buckingham. And to prevent the like disorders for the time to come, it was resolved by the King, with the Advice of his Council, but of Lord especially, that the Proctors should from henceforth be chosen by their several Colledges, each Colledge having more or fewer turns, according to the number and greatness of their Foundations. To which end a cycle was devised, containing a perpetual Revolution of three and twenty years, within which Latitude of time, Christ-Church was to enjoy six Proctors, Magdalen five, New-Colledge four, Merton, All-Souls, Exeter, Brazen-Nose, St. John's, and Wadham Colledges to have three apiece; Trinity, Queen's, Oriel, and Corpus Christi to have only two; the rest, that is to say, University, Radclif, Lincoln, Jesus, and Pembroke, but one alone; which cycle was so contriv'd, that every Colledge knew their turn before it came, and did accordingly resolve on the fittest man to supply the place. And for the more peaceable ordering of such other matters in the University, as had relation thereunto, some Statutes were digested by Lord, and recommended by the King to the said University, where they were cheerfully received, without contradiction, and Entred on Record in the Publick Registers in December following. Yet was notthis the only good turn which that University received from him in this Year: For in the two Months next ensuing, he procured no fewer than 260 Greek Manuscripts to be given unto the Publick Library; that is to say, 240 of them by the Munificence of the Earl of Pembroke, and 20 by the Bounty of Sir Thomas Browne, then newly returned from his Negotiations in the Eastern parts.
And now the time of the next Parliamentary Meeting, which by divers Adjournments had been put off till the twentieth of January, was near at hand. And that the Meeting might be more agreeable to his Intendments, his Majesty was advised to smooth and prepare his way unto it, first by removing of some Rubs, and after by some popular Acts of Grace and Favour. Savil of Yorkshire, a busie man in the House of Commons, but otherwise a politick and prudent Person, had taken off at the end of the former Parliament, by making him one of his Privy Council, and preferring him to be Comptroller of his Houshold, in the place of Suckling then deceased; and at the end of the last Session had raised him to the honour of Lord Savil of Pontfract. Competitor with Savil in all his Elections for that County, had been Sir Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse, a man of most prodigious Parts, which he had made use of at first in favour of the Popular Faction, and for refusing of the Loan had been long imprisoned. He looked on the Preferments of Savil (his old Adversary) with no small disdain, taking himself to be, as indeed he was, as much above him in Revenue, as in Parts and Power. To sweeten and demulse this man, Sir Richard Wenton then Lord Treasurer, created afterwards Earl of Portland, ufed his best endeavours; and having gained him to the King, not only procured him to be one of his Majesties Privy Council, but to be made Lord President of the North, and advance'd unto the Title of Viscount Wentworth; by which he overtopped the Savills both in Court and Country. Being so gained unto the King, he became the most devout Friend of the Church, the greatest Zealot for advancing the Monarchical Interest, and the ablest Minister of State both for Peace and War, that any of our former Histories have afford'd to us. He had not long frequented the Council-Table, when Land and he, coming to a right understanding of one another, entred into a League of such inviolable Friendship, that nothing but the inevitable stroke of Death could part them; and joining hearts and hands together, co-operated from thenceforth for advancing the Honour of the Church, and his Majesties Service.

These Matters being carried thus, to assure himself of two such Persons, in which he very much pleas'd himself, his Majesty must do something also to please the People; and nothing was conceived could have pleas'd them more, than to grant them their desires in matters which concerned Religion, and bestow Favours upon such men as were dear unto them. In pursuance of his gracious Answer to the Lords and Commons, touching PRIESTS and Jesuits, the growth of Popery, and obstinacy of Recusants, he had caused his Proclamation to be issu'd on the third of August, for putting the Laws and Statutes made against Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants, in due Execution: And now he adds another to it, dated on the eleventh day of December, for the Apprehension of Richard Smith a Popish Priest, styl'ing and calling himself the Bishop of Chalcedon, a dangerous man, and one who under colour of a Foreign Title, exercis'd all manner of Episcopal Jurisdiction in the Church of England. And on the other side, Archbishop Abbot, a great Confident of the Popular Party in the Houfe
House of Commons, is sent for to the Court about Christmas, and from out of his Barge received by the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Dorset, by them accompanied to the King, who giving him his Hand to kiss, enjoyed him not to fail the Council Table twice a week. And so far all was well, beyond all exception; but whether it were so in the two next also, hath been much disputed. *Bartholomew Potter, Proviso of Queenes College* in Oxon. a thorough pac'd Calvinian (but otherwise his ancient Servant) is prefer'd to the Bishoprick of Carlisle, then vacant by the Translation of White to the See of Norwich. *Mountague's Book*, named *Appello Cesarem*, must be called in also; not in regard of any false Doctrine contained in it: but for being the first cause of those Disputes and Differences which have since much troubled the quiet of the Church: His Majesty hoping, That the occasion being taken away, men would no longer trouble themselves with such unnecessary Disputations. Whether his Majesty did well in doing no more, if the Book contained any false Doctrine in it; or in doing so much, if it were done only to please the Parliament. I take not upon me to determine: But certainly, it never falleth out well with Christian Princes, when they make Religion bend to Policy, or think to gain their ends on men by doing such things as they are not plainly guided to, by the Light of Conscience. And so it hapned to his Majesty at this present time; those two last Actions being looked on only as Tricks of King-craft, done only out of a design for getting him more love in the hearts of his People than before he had. Against the calling in of Mountague's Book, it was objected commonly to his disadvantage, That it was not done till three years after it came out, till it had been questioned in three several Parliaments, till all the Copies of it were dispersed and sold; and then too, That it was called in without any Censure either of the Author or his Doctrines; that the Author had been punished with a very good Bishoprick, and the Book seemingly disownned, to no other end but to divert those of contrary persuasion from Writing or Acting any thing against it in the following Parliament. And as for Potter, what could he have done less in common gratitude, than to prefer him to a Bishoprick, for so many years Service as Potter in his time had done him both as Prince and King, So true is that of the wise Historian? (a) *When princes once are in discred with their Subjects, as well their good Actions as their bad are all accounted Grievances.*

For notwithstanding all these preparatory actions, the Commons were resolved to begin at the same Point where before they ended. The Parliament had been Prorogued as they were hammering a Remonstrance against Tonnage and Poundage, which animated, Chambers, Roule, and some other Merchants, to refuse the payment; for which refusal some of their Goods was seised by Order from the Lord Treasurer Westou, and some of them committed Prisoners by the Kings Command. These matters so posseted their thoughts, that a week was passed before they could resume their old care of Religion or think of Petitioning his Majesty for a Publick Fait; but at last they fell upon them both. To their Petition for a Fait (not tendered to his Majesty till
PART I. till the thirtieth of January) he returned this Answer the next day,  
Anne Dom. 1628. "That this Custom of Facts at every Session was but lately be-

From these, that he was not so fully satis-ified.of the necessity of it at this 
time; that notwithstanding, for the avoiding of Questions and Jea-

loufies, he was pleased to grant them their Requeft; with this 
Proviso, That it should not hereafter be brought into President but 
on great occasions: And finally, that as for the form and times 
thereof he would advise with his Bishops, and then return unto both 
Houses a particular Answer. But so long it was before that Anfwer 
came unto them, and so perverfe were they in croffing with his Ma-
jefties Counfels, that the Parliament was almost ended before the 
Faf was kept in London and Westminifter, and difolved many days 
before it was to have been kept in the rest of the Kingdom. And for 
Religion, they infifted on it with fuch impor-tunity, that his Majefly 
could no longer difemble his taking notice of it, as a meer artifice 
and diverfion to fave him off from being gratified in the Grant of 
Tonnage and Poundage, which he fo often pref'd them to. And there-
upon he lets them know, That he understood the caufe of their delay in 
his business to be Religion, of the prefervation whereof none of them 
should have greater care than himfelf; and that either it muft be an Ar-
ument he wanted power to preferve it (which he thought no body would 
affirm) or at the leaft, That he was very ill counfelled, if it were in fo 
much danger as they had reported.

This notwithstanding, they proceed in their former way. His 
Majefly had granted several Pardons to Mountague, Cofens, Manwairing 
and Sibbalp, before-mentioned. These Pardons muft be questioned, 
and the men summoned to appear: And Information is preferved by 
Jones againft Mountague's Confirmation in the See of Chiefeper, 
which after many difputes is referred to a Select Committee. Com-
plaint is made againft Neile Bifhop of Winton, for faying to fome Di-
vines of his Diocefs, That they muft not Preach againft Papifts now, as 
they had done formerly. Marshall and Moor, two Doctors in Divinity 
(but fuch as had received fome difpleafures from him) are brought in 
to prove it. Upon him alfo it was charged, That the Pardons of 
Mountague and Cofens were of his procuring: Infomuch that Eliot pro-
nounced positively, That all the Dangers which they feared, were con-
tralled in the perfon of that Bishop; and thereupon defired, That a mo-
tion might be made to his Majefly to leave him to the justice of that 
Houfe. Many Reports come flowing in to the Committee for Reli-
gion; of turning Tables into Altars, adoring towards or before them, 
and standing up at the Gofpels and the Gloria Patri, which muft be 
also taken into confideration. The Articles of Lambeth are declared 
to be the Doctrines of this Church, and all that did oppofe them to be 
called in question. Walker delivered a Petition from the Booksellers 
and Printers, in complaint of the Reftrain of Books written againft 
Popery and Arminianifm; and the contrary allowed of, by the only 
means of the Bifhop of London; and, That divers of them had been 
Perf.ventad for Printing of Orthodox Books; and, that the Licensing 
of Books was only to be refrained to the faid Bifhop and his Chap-

lains.
lains. Hereupon followed a Debate amongst them about the Li-
ening of Books, which having taken up some time, was referred to
the Committee also, as the other was. By these Embarraffes the
Committee for Religion had work enough, more than they knew how
to turn their hands to. But before they could bring any thing to
perfection, his Majesty was so exasperated by their rigorous Proceed-
ings against the Farmers of his Customs, the Imprifoning of Aflon
Sherriff of London, their Voting down his right to Tonnage and Poun-
dage, and their threatening Speeches against the Lord Treasurer We-
flon, whom he highly favoured; That on the second of March he
Adjourned the Houfe, and on the tenth of the fame Month Dissolv-
ed the Parliament. At which Adjournment some of the Members car-
ried themselves in such an undutiful (I must not say a feditious) man-
ter, that they locked up the doors of the Houfe, put the keys into one
of their Pockets, excluded the Kings Messenger from coming in to
deliver his Errand, compelled the Speaker to return to his Chair, and
held him there by strong hand, till they had thundred out their Ana-
them's, not only againft fuch as should dare to Levy the Tonnage and
Poundage, but thofe also who fhould willingly pay it, before it had
been granted by Act of Parliament; for which Contempts and Disob-
bedencies, the principal Sticklers were convented by the Lords of
the Council, and after brought before the Juftices of his Majefties
Bench, by whom they were not only fined, but committed unto fe-
veral Prifs, notwithstanding all they could pretend or plead from
the Petition of Right, which they fo much ftood on. So hard a thing
it is to find a cord fo strong as to bind the Prerogative, when Kings
have either power or Will to make ufe thereof.

During this laft Parliament, Leighton, a Scot by birth, a Doctor of
Phyfick by Profeflion, a fiery Puritan in Faction, dedicated a moft pe-
fifent Book unto them, called Sions Plea: In this Book he incited them
to kill all the Bishops, and to infult them under the fifth Rib; inveighing
also againft the Queen, whom he branded by the name of an Idolater,
a Canaanite, and the Daughter of Beth. And that this general Do-
ctrine might not be Preached without a particular Application, a
Paper was caft into the yard belonging to the Houfe of the Dean of
St. Pauls, March 2. to this effect; viz. "Land look to thy felf; be
affured thy Life is fought, as thou art the fauterer of all Wicked-
ness: Repent thee, repent thee of thy monftrous fins, before thou
be taken out of the World, &c. And affure thy felf, neither
God nor the World can endure fuch a vile Counselour to live,
"or fuch a Whisperer. Another was found at the fame time and
place againft the Lord Treasurer, who now is made the Scape-Goat,
to bear all thofe faults in Civil Matters which formerly had been im-
puted to the Duke of Buckingham. It was no need to bid them have
a care of themselves, after two fuch Warnings: Leighton is therefore
brought into the Sane-Chamber as foon as he could be apprehended,
where he was Sentenced to have his Ears cropp'd, his Nofe flit, his
Forehead ftigmatized, and to be whipped; But between the Sen-
tence and Execution he made his efcape out of the Fleet, though by
PART I. better hap to the Warden, than to himself, he was retaken in Bedford-
shire, and underwent the punishment appointed for him; but this hap-
ned not till November 29. 1630. The rest of this Year (in reference to
our present Story) was of little Action, Land falling into a burning
Fever on the fourteenth of August, at the House of Wodehouse, his old
Friend, by which he was brought to such a low and weak estate, that
he was not able to reach to his own House till October 20. nor to put
himself into the Service of his Place till the end of March. Yet such
was the Activity of his Spirit, that though his Body was infirm, yet
his Thoughts were working. He saw the Church decaying both in
Power and Patrimony: Her Patrimony dilipated by the Avarice
of several Bishops, in making havock of their Woods to enrich them-
selves; and more than so, in filling up their Grants and Leases to
the utmost term, after they had been nominated to some other Bi-
shoprick, to the great wrong of their Successors. Her Power he
found diminifhed partly by the Bishops themselves, in leaving their
Dioceses unregarded, and living altogether about Westminster, to be
in a more ready way for the next Prefemnt; partly by the great
increase of Chaplains in the Houscs of many private Gentlemen: but
chiefly by the multitude of Irregular Lecturers, both in City and
Country, whose work it was to undermine as well the Doctrine as
the Government of it. For the preventing of such mischiefs as might
hence ensue, some Conference had past betwixt him and Harfiet,
who lately had succeeded Mountain (before he had half warmed his
Chair) in the See of York; and certain Considerations were resolved
upon to be propounded to the King, for the peace and well-ordering
of the Church; which being reduced into form, and by Land presented
to his Majesty, were first signed by bis Majesties Royal Hands, and
published in December following by the Title of His Majesties Instruc-
tions to the most Reverend Father in God George Lord Archbishops of
Canterbury, containing certain Orders to be observed and put in execu-
tion by the several Bishops in his Province: Which said Instructions
were as followeth.

CHARLES REX.

I. That the Lords the Bishops be commanded to their several Sees, there
to keep Residence; excepting those which are at necessary Attendance
at Court.

II. That none of them Reside upon his Land or Lease that he hath Pur-
chased, nor on his Commendam, if he hold any; but in one of his
Episcopal Houscs, if he have any such: And that he waste not the
Woods where any are left.

III. That they give Charge in their Triennial Visitations, and at other
cconvenient times, both by themselves and their Arch-Dccons, That
the Declaration for settling all Questions in difference, be strictly ob-
served by all Parties.

IV. That there be a special Care taken by them all, That their Ordinations
be Solemn, and not of unworthy Persons.

V. That
V. That they take great care concerning the Lecturers in their several Dioceses, for whom we give these special Directions following. 

1. That in all Parishes the afternoon Sermons be turned into Catechising by Question and Answer, where and whenever there is not some great cause apparent to break this ancient and profitable Order.

2. That every Bishop order in his Diocess, that every Lecturer do read Divine Service according to the Liturgy printed by Authority, in his Surplice, and before the Lecture.

3. That where a Lecture is set up in a Market-Town, it may be read by a Company of Grave and Orthodox Divines near adjoining, and in the same Diocess; and that they preach in Gowns, and not in Cloaks, as too many do use.

4. That if a Corporation do maintain a single Lecturer, he be not suffered to preach till he profess his willingness to take upon him a living with Cure of Souls, within that Incorporation, and that he do actually take such Benefice or Cure so soon as the same shall be fairly procured for him.

VI. That the Bishops do encourage and countenance the grave and Orthodox Divines of their Clergie, and that they use all means by some of their Clergie, or others, that they have knowledge how both Lecturers and Preachers within their Diocess behave themselves in their Sermons; that so they may take order for any abuse accordingly.

VII. That the Bishop suffer none under Noblemen, and men qualified by the Law, to have any private Chaplain in his house.

VIII. That they take especial care, that Divine Service be diligently frequented, as well for the Prayers and Catechising, as Sermons; and take particular notice of all such as absent themselves as Recusants, or otherwise.

IX. That every Bishop, who by Our Grace and Favour, and good opinion of his Service, shall be nominated by Us to another Bishoprick, shall not from that day of nomination presume to make any Leaf for three Lives, or one and twenty years, or Concurrent Leave, or any way renew any Estate, or cut any wood or timber, but meekly to receive the Rents due, and so quit the place; for we think it a hateful thing that any man, leaving the Bishoprick, should almost undo his Successor. And if any man shall presume to break this Order, We will refuse him at Our Royal Assent, and keep him at the place which he hath so abused.

X. And lastly, We command you to give Us an account every year on the second of January of the performance of these Our Commands.

The Reader may think strange that in the second of these Instructions we should find any Bishop under a supposition of having no Episcopal house for his habitation; concerning which he is to know, that the Bishops of Oxon at that time had no house left belonging to their Episcopal See, either in the City, or in the Country; but dwelt at their Parsonage houses which they held in commendam, as before Dr. Bridges, who had no commendam within the Diocess, did for the most part.
part in hired houses. For though at the foundation of the Bishoprick of Ovon, in the Abbey of Ottery, the King appointed Glocefter Hall for the Bishops Palace; yet when that foundation was dissolved, and the Bishops See removed to Chrift Church, the Grant of Glocefter Hall was dissolved also. The Bishops thereupon retired to some Country house within the Diocefs, which appertained unto them in the right of their See, as long as any of their Manners, Land, and Houses were left unfold. But they being finally made a prey to the Luft and Sacrifice of some great perffons, they have since lived for the most part in hired houses, or on their commandans (if they had any such) within their Diocelles, till the year 1632. when Dr. John Bancroft was made Bishop of Ovon, who having at or about that time obtained of the King that the Vicarage of Cudfden, about five miles from Ovon, being of his own proper Patronage and Donation, might be annexed for ever unto his Episcopal See, built there at the perfwafion of our Bifhop of London, a very fair and convenient house, with a decent Chappel thereunto, to be the ordinary dwelling place of himself, and his Successors. But the house proved almost as short lived as the Founder, being burned down by Colonel Leg, during the short time that he was Governor of Ovon, for fear it might be made a Garrison by the Parliament Forces; though with as much reafon, and more piety, he might have Garrisoned it for the King, and preferved the house.

But to proceed, No sooner were thefe instructions come to the hand of Archbishop Abbot, but they were presently dispersed, and communicated to the Suffragan Bishops. In this he acted only ministerially, and durft do no otherwife, but when he came to act authoritatively, in his own capacity he betrayed the caufe; he neither liked the third Inftitution for observing his Maiesties Declaration before the Articles, that being looked on as an Artifice to bring in Arminia-nism. Nor was he pleased with any of the Limitations concerning Lecturers, to whom (as the chief sticklers in the Puritan Caufe) he was always favourable; which laft affection he was so unable to conceal, that when the Dean and Archdeacon of Canterbury had suspended Palmer and Vehnay, two of the Lecturers in that Diocefs, whom they found obstinately inconformable to the Kings Directions; he restored them not long after to their several Lectures, inhibiting the Archdeacon from his Jurisdiction, and exposing all that acted in it to contempt and scorn. And if an Archbishop could be fo unsatisfied for putting thefe Instructions into execution, as his place required, there is no quefion to be made, but various defendants and reports would be raised upon them by most forts of People. The Country Gentlemen took it ill to be deprived of the liberty of keeping Chaplains in their houses, from which they had not been debarred by the Laws of the Land. The Laws indeed had taken order, that no perffons under the Degree of a Baron, (some Judges and great Offices excepted only) should qualify any of their Chaplains for a dispensation to hold more than one Benefice with Cure of Souls, or to be dispensed with for not refiding on such Cures as they were preferred to. And they had taken
taken order how many Chaplains every such person, according to his L. I. B. III.
Rank and Degree in the Scale of Nobility, should be enabled to qua-
lify to those ends and purposes: but otherwise all persons had been
left at liberty to keep as many as they would, and as long as they
pleased, without any comptrol. Nor were the Chaplains better plea-
ced than their Masters were. For having lived upon hard commons,
and perhaps under some smart Discipline also in their Halls and Col-
ledges, they thought that they had spent their studies to good purpose
by finding ease and a full belly in these Gentlemens houses, from whom
there was some possibility of preferment also, which better Scholars
then themselves might have otherwise hoped for. Such of the Bishops
as were possetted of the poorer Bishopricks, were as much troubled as
the other, and thought it the worst kind of banishments to be confined
unto the Country; complaining privately, that now the Court-Bis-
haps had served their own turns upon the King, they cared not what
miferies their poor brethren were exposcd unto; who if they were con-
rained to live in their Episcopal houses, or in any other place within
their Diocesses, must be constrained also to keep up such a Port, and
maintain such open Hospitality as their Revenues could not bear. Nor
was it thought a less injury to them, that they could not make the best
of their time, but were required to be good husbands for another man,
who was to enjoy the place which they were to leave; when they
were fain to take it as it came to their hands, without any prevent-
on going before, or satisfaction following after.

But greater were the clamours of the Puritan Faction, reviving
all, which had been made against the like Instructions in the time of
King James, and the late Declaration published by the King reigning.
For what less could be aimed at in them than supressing the Divine
Ordinance of Preaching, or at the least a dreadful diminution of the
number of Sermons; And what could follow thereupon, but negli-
gence in the Priests, ignorance in the People, Popery and Superstition
in the mean time gaining ground on both? Spending the afternoons in
teaching the Catechism was a work fitter for a Pedagogue than a preach-
ing Minister, who rather were ordained to provide strong meats for
men, than milk for babes; and yet such was the strictness of the said
Instructions, in looking to the observance of the late Declaration, that
they were not suffered to set strong meats before the people; though
men of ripe years, and somewhat more than Children in their under-
standings. Preaching must be restrained hereafter to Gods Will reve-
el'd, to Faith in Christ, and Moral duties towards God and men: but
as for his secret Will and Purpose in the unathomable depths of Prede-
sration, those must be kept sealed up under lock and key, and none
but the Arminians have the opening of them. And yet the grief had
been the less if Labyrinrs had been left to their former liberty, and not
tied up to Gown and Surplice, or fettered with Parochial cures, and
consequently with Subscriptions and Canonical Oaths; badges of Anti-
christ, and professed enemies to the pure Freedom of the Gospel.
Where might a man repair with comfort to hear Gods Word preach-
ed in truth and simplicity, the Sacraments administered in their origi-

Bb 2
nakedness; to hear Christ speaking in his Prophets, and the Prophets speaking to the People, if this world went on? But notwithstanding these secret Murmurs on the one side, and the open Clamours of the other, Land was resolved to do his duty, who summoning all the Ministers and Lecturers about the City of London to appear before him, made a solemn Speech, in which he prefixed the necessity of his Majesty's said Instructions for the good of the Church, and of their clear and obedient submission to them; He directed Letters also to every Archdeacon in his Diocess, requiring them to see them published to all the Clergy, and to give him an exact account at the end of their Visitations how they were observed; especially insisting on the third Instruction, For keeping the King's Declaration, that so the differences and disputes in those prohibited points might be laid aside. The like care taken also by the rest of the Bishops, but slackening by degrees when the heat was over; and possibly in short time after they had not been looked into at all, if Abbot had continued longer in the See of Canterbury: or that his Majesty had not enjoyned the Bishops to give him an exact account of their proceedings in the said particulars, not once for all, but Annually once in every year; on the second of January. Which care, being taken for the peace and happiness of the Church of England, we will lay hold upon this opportunity for crossing over into Ireland, and taking a short view of the state of Religion in that Country; which from henceforth shall be looked into more than hath been formerly.

Concerning which we are to know, that when the Reformation was advanced in the Church of England, the first care was to let the people have the Bible, the publick Liturgie, and certain godly Homilies in the English tongue; as appeareth by the Statutes 2, 3. Edw. vi. 5, 6. Edw. vi. and 1 Eliz. Secondly, The like care was taken of the Welsh; For whose Instruction it was further ordered, partly by the Queen, and partly by Act of Parliament, in the fifth of her Reign, that as well the Bible as the Common-Prayer Book should be translated, printed, and published in that Language; one Book of each sort to be provided for every several Church at the Charge of the Parishes. Which being printed at the first in the large Church-Volume, was afterwards reduced to a more portable bulk for Domestick use, by the cost and charge of Rowland Haysyn, Citizen and Alderman of London, about the beginning of this King's Reign. But for Ireland no such care was taken. The Acts of the Supremacy, and of the Confessions of Archbishops and Bishops were received there as before in England, the English Liturgie imposed upon them by order from hence, and confirmed by Parliament in that Kingdom. Which notwithstanding not only the Kornes, or natural wild Irish, but many of the better sort of the Nation, either remain in their old barbarous ignorance; or else adhere unto the Pope, or finally to their own superstitious fancies, as in former times. And to say the truth, it is no wonder that they should, there being no care taken to instruct them in the Protestant Religion, either by translating the Bible, or the English Liturgie, into their own Language, as was done in Wales; but forcing them to come
come to the English Service, which they understood no more than they did the Miss. By means whereof the Trith are not only kept in continual ignorance, as to the Doctrine and Devotions of the Church of England: but those of Rome are furnished with an excellent argument for having the Service of the Church in a Language which the Common people understand not. And though somewhat may be pleaded in excuse thereof, during the impiety of that Kingdom under Queen Elizabeth, who had the least part of it in her possession: yet no sufficient plea can be made in defence of it for the time succeeding, when the whole Country was reduced, and every part thereof lay open to the course of Justice. So that I cannot look upon it without great amazement, that none of the Bishops of that Church should take care herein, or recommend the miserable condition of that people to the Court of England.

Now as Popery continued by this means in the Realm of Ireland, so Calvinism was as strongly rooted in that part thereof, which professed the Doctrine and Religion of the Church of England. And touching this we are to know also, that the Calvinian Doctrines being propagated in both Universities by such Divines as lived in exile in Queen Mary's time; one Peter Baroe a Frenchman obtained to be the Lady Margaret's Professor in the Divinity Schools at Cambridge. This man approving better the Melanchthonian Doctrine of Predestination than that of Calvin, publicly taught it in those Schools, and gained in short time very many followers. Whitaker was at that time her Majesties Professor for Divinity there, and Perkins at the same time was of no small note, both Calvinists in the same points of Doctrine, and both of them Supralapsarians also. Betwixt those men and Baroe there grew some disputes, which afterwards begat some heats, and those heats brake out at last into open Factions. Hereupon Whitaker, Perkins, Chaderton, and others of the same opinion, thought it expedient to effect that they were not able to obtain by Argument. To that end preoccupate the most Reverend Archbishop Whitgift with most sad complaints touching the Rupture made by Baroe in that University. For remedy whereof, the Archbishop calls unto him Fletcher the Lord Elect of London, Vaughan the Lord Elect of Bangor, Tyndal Dean of Ely, and such Divines as came from Cambridge, who meeting at his house in Lambeth on the twenty sixth day of November, Anno 1595, did then and there conclude upon certain Articles: for regulating disputations in those points of Controversy. Which Articles, being nine in number, are these that follow:

IV. Those
PART I. IV. Those who are not predestinated to salvation, shall be necessarily damned for their sins.

Anno Dom. 1629.

V. A true living and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away, it vanisheth not away in the All either finally or totally.

VI. A naturally faithful, that is, such a one who is endued with a justifying Faith, is certain with the full assurance of Faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.

VII. Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men; by which they may be saved if they will.

VIII. No man can come unto Christ unless it shall be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him: and all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son.

IX. It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved.

These Articles being brought to Cambridge, so discouraged Baro, that when the ordinary time of his publick readings was expired, he forsook that place, and not many years after died in London. His Funeral being attended (by order from Bishop Bancroft) by most of the Eminent Divines about that City, which shews that both the Bishop, and the most eminent Divines of London, were either inclinable to his opinions, or not so averse from them, as not to give a solemn attendance at the time of his Funeral. The news of which proceedings being brought to the Queen, she was exceedingly offended, conceiving it a deep intrenchment upon her Prerogative, that any such Declaration should be made in matter of Religion without her Authority. Once was she at a point to have them all indited of a Presumtuous, but the high esteem she had of Whitgift, whom she commonly called her black husband, reprievled all the rest from the danger of it. However such a strict course was taken for suppressing the said Articles, that a Copy of them was not to be found in Cambridge for a long time after; though after the Queen's death they began to peep abroad again, and became more publick. Nor was King James better conccited of them than Queen Elizabeth was; for when it was moved by Dr. Reynolds at Hampton Court that the nine Orthodoxal Assertions (as he pleased to call them) which were concluded on at Lambeth might be admitted into the confession of the Church of England, the King so much disliked the motion, that it was presently rejected without more ado. But that which the Calvinians could not get in England, they effected at the last in Ireland; where the true and genuine Doctrines of the Church of England had been less looked after than at home. For in the year 1615, a Parliament and Convocation being holden in Dublin, it was resolved on by the Archbishop, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy then assembled, that a Book of Articles should be framed to be the Publick Confession of that Church for succeeding times; the drawing up whereof was committed to Dr. James Usser (afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, and Lord Primate of Ireland) a Rigid Calvinist, but otherwise the ablest Scholar of that Nation: And he accordingly fashioning the Doctrine for that Church by
his own Conceptions, insertt into the said Book of Articles the nine L.I.B. III. Conclusions made at Lambeth, to be the standing Rule (as he thought and hoped) of that Church for ever.

And yet they did not stay there neither. The sabbatarian Doctrines had been broached by Bowd in the same year wherein the nine Articles had been made at Lambeth: Which being opposed by Archbishop Whitgift, and never admitted in this Church, were by the cunning of that Faction, and the zeal or diligence of this man, incorporated into the Body of the Articles for the Church of Ireland; in which it is declared for a Doctrinal Point, That the first day of the Week, which is the Lords-day, is wholly to be dedicated to the Service of God; and therefore we are Bound therein to rest from our common and daily Business, and to bestow that leisure upon holy Exercise, both Publick and Private. And because he concluded in himself that the Pope was Antichrist, that also must be made an Article of this Confession, in which we find it in these words, viz. The Bishop of Rome is so far from being the Supreme Head of the Universal Church, that his Works and Doctrines do plainly discover him to be the Man of Sin, foretold in the Holy Scripture, whom the Lord shall confine with the spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightness of his coming. Add hereunto, That the Plantation of the Scots in Ulter (unhappily projected in the time of King James) brought in so much Puritanism, such a contempt of Bishops, such a neglect of the Publick Liturgie, and other Divine Offices of this Church, that there was nothing left to be found amongst them than the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worship established in the Church of England. The Papists in the mean time encroaching more and more, grew at the last to so great a confidence, by the clashings here in England betwixt the King and his Parliaments, that they gave themselves great hope of a Toleration. And possibly enough they might have obtained somewhat like it, if the Irish Bishops had not joined together in a Protestation to the contrary, and caufed it to be published in the Pulpit by the Bishop of Derry, with infinite Acclamations of the Protestant Hearers. Howsoever, the loft hopes had so far emboldened them, that they set up some Religious Houfes even in Dublin it self, shewed themselves openly in their Friars Habits, and publickly affronted not only the Mayor, but the Archbishop of that City. This coming to his Majesties knowledge, he caused his pleasure to be signified to the Lords of his Council, "That Order should be taken there, That the Houfe where the said Seminary Friars appeared in their Habits, and wherein the Reverend Arch-bishop and the Mayor of Dublin received their first Affront, be speedily demolished, and be the Mark of Terrors to the Refifters of Authority; and that the rest of the Houfes erected or employed there or elsewhere, to the ufe of Superflitious Societies, be converted to Houses of Correction, and to set the People on work, or to other Publick ues, for the Advancement of Justice, good Arts, or Trade. Which Order of the Council-Table bears date 31 January 1629."
PART 1. That part of the Remonstrance of the House of Commons which related to the Affairs of Ireland, first alarmed Land to take the business of that Church into consideration. And that he might be the better informed in all particular affairs which concerned it, he took order with Doctor William Beadle, desirous unto the Bishoprick of Killmore, to give him an exact Account of the Estate of that Church, as soon as he could make any perfect Discovery of it. This Order of the Council-Table reinforced that case, and quickened the dispatch of Beadle for his satisfaction, from whom he received a Letter dated April the first, Anno 1630. In which he signified, That he had not been unmindful of his Lordship's commands, which he was now the better able to perform, because (faith he) I have been about my Dioceses, and can set down out of my knowledge and view what I shall relate, and shortly, to speak much ill matter in few words. Which said, he lets his Lordship know, That the Estate of his Church was very miserable; That the Cathedral Church of Ardagh (united to the See of Killmore) one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by St. Patrick, together with the Bishops House there, was down to the ground; That the Church at Killmore had been built, but without Bell or Steeple, Font or Chalice: That the Parish-Churches were all in a manner ruined, or unroofed and unrepair'd; That the People, having a few British Planters here and there, (which are not the tenth part of the Remnant) were obstinate Recusants; That there was a Popish Clergy, more numerous by far than the English Clergy; That they were in full Exercise of all Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical by their Vicars-general and Officers, who were so confident as to Excommunicate those that came to the Courts of the Protestant Bishops; That the Popish Primate for Ireland lived within two miles of his House, and the Bishops in another part of his Diocese further off; That every Parish had their Priest, and some two or three apiece, and so their Musing-house also; and that Messes are sometimes said in their Churches; That there were Friars in divers places, who went about, though not in their Habit, who by their importunate begging did impoverish the People; That Poverty was much increas'd, as well by their paying double Tythes both to their own Clergy and the English, as by the dearth of Corn, and the death of their Cattle; That the Oppressions of the Courts Ecclesiastical (which was reckoned for another cause of the common poverty), were not indeed to be excus'd, which for his part he had a purpose to reform; That in each Diocese there were some seven or eight Ministers of good sufficiency; but being English, they neither understood the Tongue of the People, nor could perform any Divine Offices, nor converse with them as they ought, and consequently could give no stop to the growth and increas of Poverty. But that most of the said Ministers held two, three, four, or more Vicarages apiece; and that sometimes one man was Clerk of three or four Parishes, which were ordinarily bought, sold, and let to Farm: And finally, That by those and such other means, his Majesty was King as to the Hearts and Consciences of that People; but so, that it remained wholly at the Pope's Discretion.

Here
Here was sufficient work for a Reformation; and we shall see Land Lib. III. taking care of it in convenient time. But first we must look back to. Anno Dom. England, where we shall find a new Honour attending on him. On Saturday, being the tenth of April, William Lord Herbert Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward of his Majesties Household, and Chancellor of the University of Oxon. died suddenly at his House called Bayards-Castle, having then made up the fiftieth year of his life, beyond which it had been foresigned by some Learned Mathematicians that he should not live. This news being brought to Oxon. the same night or else betimes on Sunday morning, Land's friends not only in St. John's, but in other Colleges, so betirred themselves, that before noon there was a Party strong enough to confer that honourable Office on him. Frewen of Magdalen College being then Vice-Chancellor, was at that time as far as Andover in a Colledge-Progres, where hearing accidentally of the Earls decease, he made such haste back again to Oxon, that he came thither before the end of Evening Prayer; and finding his own Colledge in so good a posture, advised with some other heads of Houses, whom he knew to have the same Inclinations, to make sure work of it; by whom it was agreed, That a Convocation should be called the next day, to speed the business before any other Competitor should appear against it. Nor did they make more haste than good speed in it, some Agents coming thither before night in behalf of Philip Earl of Montgomery, Brother to the Earl deceased; and they so well discharged their Trust, that those of the Welsh Nation generally, Prudeurs, and some other Heads of Houses who were of the Calvinian Party, and the four Colleges belonging to the Visitation of the Bishop of Lincoln (that is to say, Bailol, Oriel, Lincoln, and Brasennoke) were wholly in a manner for him; that Bishop sticking in the Cause, not so much out of love to him, as hate to Land. But all their diligence could not carry it as they desired, the Election passing clear for the Bishop of London, of which he was presently advertised by the University. On his receiving of which Message, he presently addressed himself unto the King, acquainted him with what had hapned, and humbly submitted the Place unto his disposal. To which his Majesty most graciously returned this Answer, That he knew none more worthy of it than himself; and that he should rather study how to add further Honour to him, than take any from him. On which incouragement, he appointed Wednesday the twenty eighth of the same Month for the Solemnity of his Investiture in that Office, which was performed in a frequent Convocation of that University, held at London-House, to the great contentment of both Parties.

To add a further Honour to him, it pleased his Majesty to send him the joyful news, under his Royal Signature, of the Princes Birth, born at his Majesties House of St. James's on Saturday May the twentieth, about one of the Clock in the afternoon. He had the happiness of seeing the Royal Infant in the first hour of his Birth, and the honour afterwards to Baptize him. By ancient Privilege belonging to the See of Canterbury, those Archbishops are Ordinaries of the Court; his Majesties Household, wheresoever the same shall be, being reckoned

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PART I.

reckoned to be his Parishioners, or of his peculiar. But Abbot being at that time infirm, or otherwise of no desirable Company, this Office was devolved on Laud, as Dean of the Chappel; and he accordingly performed it. The Birth of this young Prince, as it gave cause of great Rejoycings to all good Subjects, so it gave no small matter of discouragement to the Puritan Faction, who had laid their Line another way, and desired not that this King should have had any Children: infomuch that at a Feast in Fryday-street, when some of the Company shewed great joy at the news of the Queens first being with Child, a leading man of that Faction (whom I could name, were it worth the while) did not stick to say, That he could see no such cause of joy as the others did. Which said he gave this Reason for it, That God had already better provided for us than we had deserv'd, in giving such a hopeful Progeny by the Queen of Bohemia, brought up in the Reformed Religion; whereas it was uncertain what Religion the Kings Children would follow, being to be brought up under a Mother so devoted to the Church of Rome. And I remember that being at a Town in Gloucestershire, when the news came of the Princes Birth, there was great Joy shewed by all the rest of the Parifh, in causing Bonfires to be made; and the Bells to be rung, and sending Victuals unto those of the younger fort, who were most busily employed in the publick Joy: But so, that from the rest of the Houfes, being of the Presbyterian or Puritan Party, there came neither Man, nor Child, nor Wood, nor Victuals; their doors being shut close all the evening, as in a time of general mourning and disconsolation.

It was not long after the Birth of this new Prince, that the Feoffees for buying in Improprations were called in question. The Project took beginning about four years since, when Preslow governed the Affairs of the Puritan Faction; at what time it was resolved amongst them, to set up stipendary Lectures in all or most Market-Towns, where the People had commonly left to do, and consequently were more apt to Faction & Innovation than in other places; and of all Market-Towns, to choose such as were Priviledged for sending Burgefles to the High Court of Parliament: Which that it might be done, with the least charge to the People, who commonly love that Religion best which comes cheapest to them, it was agreed to raise a common Stock amongst them, for buying in such Improprations as were remaining in the hands of the Laiety. To this end they erected a kind of Corporation amongst themselves, consisting of twelve Persons, Clergy-men, Citizens, and Lawyers, enabling them to receive and expend such Monies as their Emiffaries should bring in from their several Circuits. Their names, George, Offspring, Bibles, and Davenport, Minifters; Eyre, Brown, White, and Sherland, Lawyers; Geering, Davis, Harwood, and Bridges, Citizens; to whom was afterwards added Rowland Heylyn Alderman of the City of London, by the name of Treasurer to the Company, that there might be a calling Voice amongst them, as occasion served. Great were the fums of Mony which the Piety of the Design, and the Diligence of their Limittaries brought in from their several Walks; most men admiring, all applauding the noble-
of such a Popular and Religious Act. But so it hapned, that one L.I.B. III. of the Fellows of Magdalen Colledge, resorting frequently to a Town in Gloucestershire, where one of thefe new Lectures had been founded by them, observed these two things: First, That the Impropiation of that place remained in the fame Lay-hands as before it did; and therefore that the Lecturer must receive his Stipend from the Profits of some other Parish: And fecondly, he observed, That the man there planted in that Lecture was one of a notorious Inconformity, found upon further search to have been hunted from one Dioces to another, till at last he was silenced upon that account by the High-Commission. This gave him the first hint of making a more diligent Inquiry into that Design; and the more he looked into it, the worse he liked it. He knew to much of some, and heard so much of all the rest which were trusted in the Conduct of it, that he could hope for no good to the Church of England, from any thing of their projections; For if such publick mischiefs be prefaged by Astrologers from the Conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn, though the firt of them be a Planet of a molt sweet and gentle Influence; what Dangers, what Calamities might not be feared from the Conjuntion of twelve such Persons, of which there was not one that wished well to the prefent Government?

Having gone thus far in the Discovery, it pleased the President of his Colledge, being then Vice-Chancellor, to appoint him to Preach the Act Sermon at Saint Marten on Sunday in the afternoon, July 11. 1630. To which appointment he submitted, resolving to deliver something in that great concourse of People from all parts of the Kingdom, which might serve to undeceive them in that Particular. He had chofen for his Text those words in the thirteenth of Saint Matthew, viz. But while men slept, the enemy came and planted tares among the wheat, and went his way. Beginning to draw toward the end of his Sermon, he thus began to unfold the Arras, and shew the Portraicture thereof in as lively Colours as he could. "Planting, faith he, affo many Penfionary Lecturers in fo many places where it need not, and upon days of common labour, will at the best bringing forth of fruit, appear to be a tarde indeed, though now no wheat be counted tares, &c. We proceed a little on further in the propofal of some things to be considered. The Corporation of Feoffes for buying in of Impropiations to the Church; Doth it not feem in the appearance to be an excellent piece of Wheat? A noble and gracious point of piety? Is not this Tempulum Domini, Tempulum Domini? But bleffed God, that men should thus draw near unto thee with their mouths, and yet be far from thee in their hearts! For what are those intrufled in the managing of this great busines? Are they not the moft of them the moft active and the bell affected men in the whole caufe, and Magna Partium momenta, Chief Patrons of the Faction? And what are those whom they prefer? Are they not moft of them such as must be serviceable to their dangerous innovations? And will they not in time have more preferements to bestow, and there for more de-
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No sooner were these words delivered, but a general consternation showed it felt in the looks of his Auditors. Some honest and well meaning men seemed much to pity his misfortune in being put (as it was then generally, but falsely, thought) on that odious task by some higher power, of purpose to discourage such a pious work which good men rejoiced at. But greater was the clamour of the Puritan Faction, who in a meeting held that night conceived no punishment great enough to inflict upon him which either Law, Malice, or Revenge could expose him to. Being thus alarmed on one side, and threatened by the other, he sent a Copy of his Sermon to the Bishop of London, not long before made Chancellor of that University; and signified in a Letter therewith sent, that he was both able and ready to make good his charge, whenever it should be required. This information came opportunely to his Lordship, with whom the King had used some speech (as appears by his Breviary p. 12.) about restoring Impropriations to the Church, which this new project seemed to frustrate. And thereupon he entred it in the Memorandum at the end of his Breviary, viz. To overthrow the Feoffment, dangerous both to Church and State, going under the specious pretence of buying in Impropriations. The Preacher in the mean time making a further search into the business, observed these particulars, first, That no Impropriation by them bought, was laid unto the Parish Church, and settled upon the present Incumbent, as was first expected, that being utterly destructive of their design. Secondly, That a great part of that Revenue was spent in maintaining a daily Lecture in the Church of Saint Antholin's at six a clock in the Morning, to serve for a Seminary for the training up of such Novices as were to be sent into the Country. Thirdly, That another part of it was laid out, not only for the support of silenced Ministers, during their own lives, but of their Wives and Children also after their decease, than which there could not be a greater eye to unite men to them, and make them sticklers in the Cause. Fourthly, These Penions neither were so settled, nor their Lectures so well established in their several places: but that the one might be withdrawn, and the other removed, at the will and pleasure of their Patrons, if they grew slack and negligent in the holy cause, which fastened a dependence on them to the very last. It was not long before Nay, that Renowned Lawyer, was made his Majesties Attorney General, to whom the Preacher was commanded to deliver a particular of all such passages as he had observed in the carrying on of this design; the Feoffees thereupon being called into the Court of Exchequer, the Feoffment damned, the Impropriations by them bought confiscated to his Majesties use, and the merit of the cause referred to a further censure. And though the Sentence past not on them in the Court of Exchequer, Anno 1632, yet I have laid all here together, that so I might proceed to the rest of my business with the less disturbance.

For whilst the business of these Feoffees was under a more strict enquiry, some things were acted by this Bishop, which brought him into the like danger of an Inquisition. Saint Catherine Creed Church in London
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lord by being ruinous, and in great decay, had in some places been taken almost down to the ground, and rebuilt again by the Parishioners at such time as Mountain was their Bishop, who suffered it to be made use of for Religious Offices without any new Consecration of it, which coming to the knowledge of Bishop Laud, he caused it for a time to be suspended from all Divine Service, Sermons, and Sacraments, till it was re-consecrated by himself. Which Office he solemnly performed on Sunday January 16. An infinite number of people of all sorts drawing together to behold that Ceremony to which they had so long been strangers, ignorant altogether of the Antiquity and the necessity of it. The like done also at the Church of Saint Giles in the Fields on the Sunday after; which had been generally repaired, and for the greatest part new built in the time of his Predecessor also; Divine Service, Preaching, and Administration of the Sacraments being used therein, without any such Dedication of it, contrary to the practice of the Primitive times and the Ancient Canons. And that we may lay these things together, the next year after, June the seventh, he consecrated a new Church at Hammondsbro, built at the charges of that Village; and the next year after that, July the seventeenth, a new Church built at Stanmore magna, in the County of Middlesex, erected at the sole cost and charges of Sir John Wolseley, one of the Farmers of the Customs, who made that day a sumptuous and magnificent Feast for the entertainment of all such persons of quality as resorted thither to behold the Consecration. It was my chance to bestow a visit on his Lordship at his house in Fulham, as he was preparing to set forwards to this last Consecration; and being one of his Chaplains was at that time absent, and that he was of ordinary course to make use of two, he took me along with him to perform the Office of the Priest in the solemnity, in which his Chaplain Bray was to act the Deacons. I observed all the Circumstances and religious Ceremonies which were used by him in that sacred Action from his first coming into the Church till his going out, but could see nothing in it favouring of that Superstition which had raised so much talk amongst ignorant People; and afterwards was certified by Willingham at the time of his trial in reference to the consecration of Saint Katherine Creed Church. The Antiquity of which Consecrations hath been shown in our Introduction performed by the Fathers at such times when the Church hated nothing more than superstitious vanities, or the accumulating of unnecessary and fruitless Ceremonies. The form and manner of it left by our first Reformers to the care and discretion of the Bishops whom it most concerned; Presuming that nothing would be done by them which would not be consistent with the Rules of Piety, and the ancient practice of the Church in the times foregoing. And such a Form was that which this Bishop now made use of, digested first by the Learned Andrews for his own particular use, but afterwards copied out, approved and followed (though possibly not without some alterations) by most Bishops else.

Nor did he take care only of the Fabrick, the material Church, to make
PART II.

make it fit and ready for God’s publick Service: but that God’s publick Service should be done in it, as might most tend to the edification of the Mystical Church, the body aggregate of God’s People. His Majesty had took special care, as well by his Proclamation of the fourteenth of June, 1626, as by his Declaration before the Articles, 1628, for the silencing of all disputes touching Predestination, and the points depending thereupon, which had begun to threaten such a general disturbance to the peace of the Church. But neither Proclamation, nor Declaration could persuade the Calvinian Party unto any such silence, which they interpreted, to be a plain betraying of God’s Cause into the hands of his enemies. Somewhat is to be done to conjure down these unruly Spirits, which otherwise would not be confined within their Circle. Mady, the Lecturer of Christ-Church, near Newgate, must needs lie out upon the Point of Election, and the motives to it. For this contempt he is called before the Bishop of London, and on some further misbehaviour prohibited from Preaching any more within that Diocess. Burgess (who afterwards pulled down the Cross in St. Paul’s Church-yard) must needs add scorn to his contempt; telling his Auditors, that if their Minister Preached Popery or Arminianism they might change their dwellings, and not trouble the peace and order of their Church. For which about the same time he is questioned also. White, and some others, in that Diocess suspend¬ed by this Bishop on the same occasion.

From the City pas we to the Court. Where toward the end of the same Month we find Davenant Bishop of Sarum. Preaching a Lent Sermon before the King, and therein falling upon some of those prohibited points, even before his face, for which the King being much offended (as he had good reason) he caused him to be called before the Lords of his Council. The cause is managed against him by Archbishop Marstede (Laud all the while walking by in silence,) who gravely laid before him as well the Kings Piety in letting forth the said Declaration, as the greatness of his, the said Davenant’s offence, in making so little, reckoning of it. Davenant at first endeavoureth many defence to make good his Action, but at last wisely caueth himself upon this submissio, he tells the Lords, in answer to one of Harsnet’s objections, That he was sorry he did no sooner understand his Majesty’s intention, which if he had done before, he would have taken some other matter to treat of, which might have given none offence, and that for the time to come he would conform himself as readily as any other to his Majesty’s Command. Arundel, Earl Marshall, bids him hold to that, as his safest Plea, and that he should proceed to no further defence; a bad cause not being made the better by too much handling. To this counsel he conforms himself. And being afterwards admitted to the kifs of his Majesty’s hand (which his attendance might deserve, though his Sermon did not) his Majesty declared to him his Resolution, That he would not have this high Point meddled withal or debated, either the one way or the other, because it was too high for the Peoples understanding; and that other Points which concerned Reformation and Newness of life, were more needful and profitable. I hope the lower Clergy will not
not say hereafter as some did of old, That Laws are like the Spiders Cobwebs, which suffer the great flies to break through, and lay hold only upon those of the smaller size.

From the Court let us go to Oxon. where we find the next year beginning (in a manner) with a Sermon Preached at St. Maries Church by one Hill of Heart-Hall, May 24, point blank enough against his Majesties Declaration, and more than bitter enough against those of different persuasion from him, whom he charged with handling scriptures worse than poor Christians were by the Turk at Tunis, enforcing them to the waftallage of the fouleft errors, not without some reflection on the Higher Powers by whom they were mischiefew into honour. For which indifferency being convicted before the Vice-Chancellor, and Heads of Houses, (but not without the Chancellors privity) he confessed his fault, and craved pardon for the faime, which he obtained on his submission made in the Convocation the sixteenth of July following. But worse it fared not long after with Ford of Magdalen Hall, Hodges of Exeter Colledge, and Thorne of Baliol, who in their several Sermons had not only committed the like error, but charged their Renovation of some ancient order in the Church, to be no other than plain Innovation. Questioned for this by Smith, then Warden of Wadham Colledge, and Vice-Chancellor of that University, they appeal from him to the Convocation. The Proctors, having advisedly received the Appeal, were at the point to have named Delegates when Smith appealed to the King; But they took their aim amifs when they shot this bolt; For both his Majesty, and the Chancellor were alike concerned in it; the King, to justify his Declaration; the other, to preserve his own power and dignity; neither of which could have been done, but by defending Smith in his lawful acting. On the twenty third of August all parties interefled in the Case appeared before the King at Woodflock, who after a full hearing of both fides, it was ordered thus, That the three Delinquents should be expelle the University; Doughty and Bruch, the two Proctors, should be deprived of their places: Prideaux and Wilkinson (this last then Principal of Magdalen Hall) being checked for tickling to much in it, and glad they were that they escaped without further cenfure. But they liwed not the fame mercy which they found; for Rainsford of Wadham Colledge, Preached at St. Maries in August following in defence of Universal Grace, and Mans Election unto life, from Faith foreseen. No man more forward than Prideaux to approach him of it, on whose complaint and prosecution he was sentenced to a publick acknowledgment of his offence in a form prescribed, which was as much as had been done in the cafe of Hill. So that the Rigid Calvinism can pretend no just ground for that so great Calumny, that none but they were cenfur'd from Preaching those prohibited Doctrines; those of the Arminian Party (as they commonly called them) going off unpunished.

From Oxon. cros we into Ireland, where we shall see Law's care as great for preferring the Kings Authority and the Churches peace as it was in England. Usher, the Lord Primate of that Church, had publifhed
PART I. Isshed a Book this same year in the Latine Tongue, called, The Hi-
story of Gotteschalebus: for which he was after much extolled by Twisse
of Newbury, as professled a Calvinian as himselfs, in a Letter of his dated
May 29. 1640. "For, having first commended him for his great
learning and various reading, manifested in his Book De Primordiis
Britannicarum Ecclesiarum, he magnifies next his singular wisdom for
taking an occasion to infect therein the History of the Pelagian Here-
fe, coming so opportunely in his way; and then he addeth that his
History of Gotteschalebus was a piece of the like nature, and came
forth most seasonable, so much the more because it seemed to give
some check to a Book written by Vossius, a right Learned man, which
had been much cried up by the Remonstrants. Downham then Bishop
of Derry had somewhat before that published a Discourse about Per-
severance, wherein some Passages were found directly thwarting his
Majesties most pious purpose, in the said Declaration: But Usher's
Book being writ in Latin, gave the less offence. Nor seemed it fit to
put any publick disgrace on a man to whom the Government of the
whole National Church had been committed by King James of most
Blessed Memory. By questionning and supressing Downham's Book,
he might be made as sensible of his Error in writing the aforesaid Hi-
story, as it his own had been made subject to the like condemnation.
His Majesty therefore gives him Orders, by Letters bearing date at
Woodstock, August 24. (the next day after the said Sentence of Thorn,
Hodges, &c.) to call in Bishop Downham's Book, who thereupon sent
out Warrants, and caused all the Books that were sent into England,
to be seised on; but so long it was before the King had notice of it,
and so long after that, before his Letters came to the Lord Primats
hands, which was not till the fifteenth of October following, that almost
all the Copies were dispersed in England and Ireland, before the com-
ing out of the Prohibition. And for preventing of the like for the
time to come, a Command is laid on Beadle Bishop of Killmore (which
sheweth that Usher was not thought fit to be trusted in it) to have an
eye unto the Press, and to take care that nothing hereafter should
be published contrary to his Majesties said Directions: So Beadle in
his Letter to the Bishop of London, dated November 8. 1631. Which
care being taken for the Peace of that Church, and nothing else pre-
mitted us on that side of the Sea to detain us any longer there, we
will hoise Sail again into England, where we find more Work.

More Work indeed, and far the greatest not only of this present
year, but the greatest of this Bishops Life: A Work before in project,
but in project only. None had the Courage or the Power to carry it
on so far as he he: He could not rest under the shade of those vast Ruines
of St. Paul's Church, (his own Cathedral), without continual thought,
and some hopes withal of repairing those deformities in it, which by
long time had been contracted. Of the first Founding of this Church
by Ethelbert King of Kent, the first Christian King and the sixt Mon-
arch of the Saxons; and the Enlargement of the same by Erkenwald
the fourth Bishop of it, we have spoke already: and now we are to
know, That their old Fabrick being much wasted by Fire in the time
of
of the Conquerour, *Mauritius* then Bishop of London, Anno 1083, began the Foundation of that most magnificient Pile now standing, *viz.* all the Body of the Church, with the South and North cross Isles. Toward which Work he made use of a great part of the Materials of the old Palatine Castle (standing in the same place where the Co vent of the Black-Friers was after built) great part whereof had perished by the same Fire alfo. But the Foundations which this worthy Bishop had laid, being fuitable to his mind, were fo vast, as the Historian observes, (a) That though he prosecuted the Work twenty years he left the performing thereof to the care of Poffereity: amongft which, none more transcendentally affected to this business, than his next Successor Richard Beaumis, (b) who bestowed the whole revenue of his Bishoprick upon it, supporting himfelf and his Family by other means. And after him (some other Bishops succeeding between them) that Richard, who was Treasurer to King Henry ii. being made Bishop of London in the first year of King Richard, bestowed great Sums of Money in the Reparation of this Church, and the Epifcopal Houses which belonged unto it. But all this Charge was principally laid out on the main Body of the Church, and the Croffed Isles thereof, the Choire not holding Proportion with fo vast a Strucre: So that resolving to make it fairer and more capacious than before, they began with the Steeple, which was finifhed in Anno 1221, (5 Hen. 3.) In which year the Dedication of it was celebrated with great magnificence, the King himfelf, *obto* the Popes Legate, Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, Roger furnamed Niger then Bishop of London (a chief Advancer of the Work) with five other Bishops, besides infinite multitudes of the Nobility, Gentry, Citizens, and others of the Common People from all parts of the Land, being present at it.

Nor is it to be thought that the Charges of that ftrately and magnificient Structure was supported by the Bishops only, or fliued out of such Revenues as belonged unto the Dean and Chapter: but that the Clergy and People generally, both of England and Ireland, contributed largely to the Work: the People of thofe Times, out of their Devotion to Gods Service, being eafily incited to further all Works of this nature as occasion offered. And this appears by the sundry Letters of several Bishops of both Nations, to the Clergy under their Jurifdictions, for recommendation of that biffines to their particular Congregation, many of which are extant fih upon Record. Nor were the People firiion on only by the folicitation of their Priests, or the exhortatory Letters of their feveral Prelates; but by the grants of fuch Indulgences, and relaxation from their feveral and referpective Penances, which in thofe Letters were extended unto all sorts of People, who with a chearful heart and liberal hand did promote the Service: By means whereof some men contributed Materials, others fent in Money; and many Mafons, Carpenters, and other Artificers, who were to labour in the Work, bestowed their pains and toil upon it, for les confideration and reward than in other Buildings. Besides which, Henry de Lacy Earl of Lincoln is faid to have been a principal Benefactor to that part of it which was then called the New work, in
PART 1. a Chappel whereof, dedicated to St. Dunstan, we find his body to be interred. And so was Ralph de Baldock also, both while he was Dean, and when he was Bishop of this Church; whose body was also buried in another part of the New-work, called Our Ladies Chappel.

But this vast Pile, the work of so long time, and so many Ages, was on the fourth of June, Anno 1561, in danger to be suddenly consumed by a violent Fire, beginning in the Steeple, and occasioned by the negligence of a Plumber, who left his pan of coals unquench'd at his going to dinner. A Fire so violent, that in the space of few hours it consumed not only the Steeple where it first began, but did spread itself to the upper Roof of the Church and Isles, totally burning all the Rafters, and whatsoever else was of combustible nature. The Queen knew well, as well as any, that the Revenues of that Church were so dilapidated, that neither the Bishops themselves, nor the Dean and Chapters, were able to repair the least part of those Ruines which the Fire had made: And thereupon out of a deep apprehension of that lamentable Accident, forthwith directed her Letters to the Lord Mayor of London, requiring him to make some speedy Order for its repair; and to further the Work, gave out of her Purse $1000 Marks in Gold, as also a Warrant for $1000 Load of Timber to be taken out of her Woods, and elsewhere. Nor were the Citizens slack herein; for having given a large Benevolence, they added three whole Fifteens to be speedily paid for that purpose; all which amounted to three thousand two hundred forty seven pounds sixteen shillings two pence halfpenny. The Clergy of England within the Province of Canterbury, freely contributed the fortieth part of all such Church Livings as were charged with First-fruits, and the thirtieth part of all their Benefices not so charged; those of London only excepted, who besides the thirtieth part of such as paid First-fruits, gave the twentieth part of all the rest: Which Contribution of the Clergy amounted to one thousand four hundred sixty one pound thirteen shillings and eleven pence; whereunto was added, by the benevolence of the Bishop of London, at several times, coming in all to nine hundred five pound one shilling and eleven pence; By the Dean and Chapter one hundred thirty six pound thirteen shillings and four pence; and made of the surplusage of Timber one hundred nineteen pound three shillings and nine pence; Given by the Justices and Officers of the Common Pleas thirty four pound five shillings; and by those of the King's Bench seventeen pound sixteen shillings; eight pence: All which together made no more than five thousand seven hundred and two pound thirteen shillings and four pence. And yet with this small Sum (such was the cheapness of those Times) the Work was carried on so prosperously, that before the Month of April 1566, all the Roofs of Timber (whereof those large ones of the East and West, framed in Yorkshire, and brought by Sea) were perfectly finished and covered with Lead; the adding of a new Steeple being thought unnecessary (because too chargeable) though divers Models have been made and presented of it.

The whole Roof being thus Repaired, the Stone-work of it stood as before it did, sensibly decaying day by day, by reason of the corro-
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

The quality of the Sea-cole smoke, which on every side annoyed it. L I B. III. Which being observed by one Henry Farley, about the middle of the Reign of King James, he never left soliciting the King by several Petitions and Addresses, to take the Ruinous Estate thereof into his Princely Consideration, till at last it was resolved on by the King. And to create the greater Veneration to so good a Work, he bestowed that magnificent Visit on it, described at large in the first Book of this History, Anno 1620. The product and result whereof was, the ensuing out a Commission under the Great Seal of England, bearing date the sixteenth day of November then next following, directed to Sir Francis Jones Knight, then Lord Mayor of London, George Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Francis Lord Verulam then Lord Chancellor of England, and divers others, to the number of sixty persons and upwards: Which Commission importing, That this Church being the greatest and most eminent (as also one of the principal Ornaments) of the Realm, and in much decay, any six or more of these Commissioners, whereof three to be of the said Kings Privy-Council, should meet to make Particulars of the decay, and likewise what Houses, Cellars, &c. had been built near it, either to the annoyance of it, or the Church-yard: And moreover to Inquire what Lands, Rents, &c. had been given towards its Repair, or Sums of Money collected to that purpose, and not accordingly employed: And further to confider of the most fit and proper means to raise money to carry on the said Repair: And lastly, to appoint Surveyors and other Officers of their Work, and to make Certificate of their Proceedings therein, into the Chancery. Upon the Meeting of which Commissioners, and diligent search made into the Particulars afore-mentioned, it was acknowledged that the Bishop of London had the whole care of the Body of that Church, and the Dean and Chapter of the Choirs: But that which each of them enjoyed to this purpose, was so little, that they yearly expended double as much upon the Roof and other parts decayed, to preserve them from present ruine. Which being made evident to the Commissioners, as also that in former times, even from the very first foundation thereof, it had been supported partly out of the large Oblations of those that visited the Shrines and Oratories therein, and partly from Publick Contributions in all parts of the Kingdom; It was concluded to proceed in the same way now, as had been done formerly. And that it might proceed the better, the King himself, and many of the principal Nobility and Gentry, declared by their Subscriptions (for the encouragement of others to so good a Work) what Sums they resolved to give in pursuance of it: Doctor John King, then Bishop of London, subscribing for 100 l. per Annum as long as he should continue in that See. Mountain who succeeded not long after in that Bishoprick, procured with great charge and trouble some huge maffie Stones to be brought from Portland, for the beginning of the Work: But money coming slowly in, and he being a man of small activity, though of good affection, the heat of this great businesse cooled by little and little, and so came to nothing.
PART I: But Laud succeeding him in the See of London, and having deferredly attained unto great Authority with his Majesty, no sooner saw his Office settled both at home and abroad, but he poached him with a Loyal and Religious Zeal to pursue that Work, which King James had so piously designed, though it went not much further than the bare design. Few words might serve to animate the King to a Work so pious, who aimed at nothing more than the Glory of God, in the Advancement of the Peace and Happines of the Church of England: And therefore following the example of his Royal Father, he bestowed the like Visit on St. Paul's, whether he was attended with the like Magnificence, and entertained at the first entrance into the Church with the like Solemnity. The Divine Service being done, and the Sermon ended, which tended principally unto the promoting of a Work so honourable both to his Majesties Person, and the English Nation; his Majesty took a view of the Decays of that Church, and there religiously promised not to be wanting in the Piety of his best Endeavours, to the Repair of those Ruines which Age, the Casualties of Weather, or any other Accidents had brought upon it. In order whereunto, in the beginning of this year he issued out his Royal Commission under the Great Seal of England, bearing date the tenth of April in the seventh year of his Reign, directed to Sir Robert Duce Lord Mayor of the City of London, George Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Lord Coventry Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, &c. William Lord Bishop of London, Richard Lord Bishop of Winton, John Lord Bishop of Ely, &c. Nicholas Rainton, Ralph Freeman, Rowland Haylyn, &c. Aldermen of the City of London, Edward Waynack, and Robert Bateman Chamberlain of the said City of London. In which Commission the said King taking notice of this Cathedral, as the goodliest Monument and most ancient Church of his whole Dominions, as also that it was the principal Monument of the City of London, the Imperial Seat of this his Realm; and moreover, That the Commissions issued out by his Royal Father (as heretofore had been observed), were slackened by reason of his death; but he resolving to go on therewith effectually, declared as followeth: viz. 1. That all Money brought in for Repair thereof, should be paid into the Chamber of London. 2. That William Laud then Bishop of London offered to allow 100l. per Annum out of the Revenues of that Bishopric, during his continuance therein. 3. That a Register-Book should be made of all Subscriptions for Contributions thereunto, as had been done in King James his time. 4. That the Judges of the Prerogative Court, and all Officials throughout the several Bishopricks in England and Wales, upon the Decesse of any Person Intestate, should be excited to remember this Church, out of what was proper to be given to pious Uses: And lastly, That Commissions should be issued throughout the whole Kingdom. Which Commissions were executed in the Country with care and diligence, and seconded so strongly by the power and solicitation of this pious Prelate, that the money came flowing in space 3 so much being raised by Legacies, by money given to pious Uses, and other free and voluntary Contributions, before the issuing out of those Commissions, as enabled the grand Com-
Commissioners to begin the work. Infomuch that on the sixteenth of December, Anno 1632, they found that there had been brought into the Chamber of London the Sum of 5416l. 13s. 6d. And in April next ensuing the Work was begun: The houses adjoining to and near the Church being compounded for, and plucked down, a great part of the Church-yard paled in for Masons to work in, and an order given to Inigo Jones, Surveyor-general of his Majesties Works, on the twenty sixth of June next following, to prepare Scaffolding for the same. Which Preparations being made, the first stone of this new Work was solemnly laid by our Bishop himself, the second by Sir Francis Windebankes, his Majesties principal Secretary of State, and the third by Sir Henry Martin Knight, then Judge of the Prerogative Court, and the fourth by the said Inigo Jones, chief Surveyor of that Fabrick; each of them giving money liberally amongst the Workmen, the better to encourage them to proceed therein with all honest speed. The Quire or Chancel being first finisht, the work was carried on to the North part of the Crofs Isle, and so unto the Western part or main body of the Crofs Isle, and so unto the Western part or main body of the Church. This worthy Prelate continuing the Piety of his endeavours towards the compleating of this stately and Magnificent Structure, as well when he was Archbishop of Canterbury (to which dignity he was promoted in September following) as when he was Bishop of London, and was more nearly concerned in the affairs of that Church.

And though it be affirmed by a late Historian, that many had no fancy to the work because he promoted it; yet on the contrary it is known, that had not he promoted it, there were not many would have had the fancy to a work of that nature. Some men in hope of favour and preferment from him, others to hold fair quarter with him, and not a few for fear of incurring his displeasure, contributing more largely to it than they had done otherwise; if otherwise, they had contributed at all. Certain I am, that the Regular Clergy were so forward in it, that being called together by their several Ordinaries, few of them gave so little as a single tenth, many a double Subsidy, most in the middle betwixt both, to be paid in three, four, or five years, as the work continued. Which joyned together mounted to a liberal sum, not reckoning in the Deans and Chapters, whom it more nearly did concern to support that Fabrick than those of the Parochial Clergy. And yet it cannot be denied, that it met with many rubs, and mighty enemies. The Puritan Ministers and their Adherents inveighed against it as the repairing and adorning of a Rotten Relique; infinuating to the people (as they found occasion) that it was more agreeable to the Rules of Piety to demolish such old Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry than to keep them standing. For remedy whereof order was given to such as Preached at Saint Paul's Crofs, and other publick places both in City and Country, to reprefent unto their hearers all those several motives which might not only serve to justify, but endear the work; nor wanted there some zealous Patriots (or such as were desirous to be so accounted) on the other side, who
The Life of William

PART I. who gave it out to be a cheat, a meaj Court device to procure money for the King without help of Parliaments; which project if it might succeed, the King (said they) would grow too absolute, and take unto himself an Arbitrary form of Government, the People for want of Parliaments being left remediless; which false report coming to his Majesties ears, he was compelled to make this Declaration of himself in all such following Commissions as were dispatched into the Country, that he had not only commanded, That the work of Reparation should begin, but had caused an entrance to be made into it, and that he was constantly resolved to follow it till it was brought to perfection, whereof he required the Commissioners to satisfy all his loving Subjects of the clearness of his Royal Intention therein, and to assure them in his Name, that all rumors and imaginations, as of diverting the money to any other purpose, was but the fancies of men either grossly malevolent, or carelessly jealous and disfusrful.

The Subject being thus assured, the Clergy active, and the Nobility giving good example unto all the rest, the work was so followed by the care of this powerful Prelate, that before the year 1640. the whole body of it was finifhed, and the Tower or Steeple Scaffolded to the very top, with an intent to take it down to the very Arches, and raise it to a more stately height than it had at the present, with four great Pinales (at each Corner one) the Arches being thought unable to support the burthen of such a Steeple as before was fired. And though the publick Contribution which was brought into the Chamber of London amounted to the Sum of 101330 li. 4s. 8d. yet there was something more done in it by the Munificence of the King, and the bounty of the private Subject. His Majesty to give life to the Work had lent in first and laft 10295 li. 5s. 6d. toward the said Sum, with part whereof he caused a stately Portico to be erected at the West end of the Church, raised on Corinthian Pillars, where he placed the Statues of his Royal Father King James, and himself, for a lasting memorial of this their advancement of so glorious a work. Which Portico was intended to be an Ambulatory for such as by usual walking in the body of the Church prophaned the place, and disturbed the Divine Service in the Choir. And on the other side, Sir Paul Findar Knight (sometime Embassador from King James at Constantinople) first repaired the decays of that goodly Partition, made at the West end of the Choir, adorning the outward Front thereof with fair Pillars of black Marble, and Statues of those Saxon Kings who had been Founders and Benefactors to that Church; beautified the inward part thereof with Figures of Angels, and all the Wainscoat work with Figures and Carving, viz. of Cherubins, and other Images richly gilded; adding also fine sorts of hangings for the upper end thereof, and afterwards bestowed 4000 li. in repairing the South part of the Cross Isle. But as this Bishop fell, the work fell with him; the yearly Contribution abating in the year 1641. when he was plunged into his troubles, from 15000 li. and upward, to little more than 1500 li. and after by degrees to nothing, which clearly shews upon what Wheel the whole Engine moved, whose soul it was, which gave both life and motion to
to that great design. A work of such a vast Magnificence as required a large and open heart, commenfurate in some manner to the greatness of it; not to be entertained by a man of such narrow comprehensions, as were ascribed unto him in a Speech made by one of the Peers, when he first fell into his troubles. So easy a thing it is to disgrace the man whom the weight of his afflictions have once made incapable of standing up against such reproaches as the Pens or Tongues of his Revilers shall accumulate on him.

Better success he had in another of his undertakings, though not of such a publick nature, or of so general concernment to the honour of the Church and State. He had received his breeding and first Preferments in St. John's Colledge in Oxon, which he resolved to gratifie for the charge of his Education, by adding a second Quadrangle unto that of the first Foundation. The other great work he carried on by the publick Purse, contributing little more unto it (besides his annual pension of 100 l.) but his power and diligence. But this he means to carry on at his own proper Cost, his Majesty most graciously contributing some sum towards it out of shot-over woods, of which the Lord Treasurer endeavoured (but in vain endeavoured) to have made a stop. Some Benefactor had before enrich the Colledge with a Publick Library, which made one side to his new Building, the other three he added to it of his own. That on the North consisted altogether of several Chambers, for the accommodations of the Fellows and other Students. That on the East of a fair open walk below, supported upon curious Pillars, and bearing up a beautiful Gallery, opening out of the Library, for Meditation and Discourse: confronted on the other side with the like open walk below, and a suitable Fabrick over that raised up against the Eastern Wall of the Ancient Buildings. These hole copulure fashioned in an excellent Symmetry according to the exactest rules of Modern Architecture; not only graceful in itself, and useful to that private house, but a great ornament also to the University. St. John's in Cambridge shall boast no longer of its precedence, before this in a double Quadrangle, in which it stands equalled at the least, if not surmounted also by this of Oxford. On the twenty third of July, in this present year, he laid the first Stone of his new building, not intermitting it (but only during the unseasonableness of the following Winters) till he had brought it to an end, according to his first design and proposition. Nor did these publick buildings take him off in the least degree from doing the Office of a Bishop. His eye was always watchful over the Church's peace. And to preserve his own Diocefs both in peace and order, he bestowed this year a personal Visitation on it; beginning at Brentwood in Essex, on the thirtieth of August, and so went on from place to place, till he had visited and regulated the whole Clergy of it in their several Deaneries, and Precints. And for performing of that Office he laid aside the dignity of a Privy Councillor, and his attendance on the person of his gracious Sovereign, in being an example of a careful and prudent Pastor to the rest of his brethren.

In the late Agitations at Woodstock, before the King he let fall some words
PART I. words, which were interpreted to the disparagement of the married
Clergy. He was a single man himself, and would perhaps as St. Paul once
did, That all men else (that is to say, all men in holy Orders) would
remain so likewise. And some occasion being offered at that time to
speak about the conveniences or inconveniences of a married Clergy,
he made some declaration of himself to this effect, that in disposing of
all Ecclesiastical Promotions he would prefer the single man before the
married, supposing the abilities of the persons were otherwise equal;
which limitation notwithstanding it gave much matter of discourse,
and not a little ground of scandal to many very honest and well-minded
men, who began presently to fear the sad consequences of it. This
general murmur could not but come unto his ears, and found him very
tender of the Inconveniences which might grow upon it. For he
soon wiped off that reproach by negotiating a Marriage between Mr.
Thomas Turner, one of his Chaplains, and a Daughter of Windebanke
his old friend, (at whose house he had so long lain sick, as before is
said.) And that the satisfaction in this point might appear the greater,
he officiated the whole Service of their Marriage in his own Chappel at
London House, joyning their hands, and giving the Nuptial Bénédic-
tion, and performing all other Ecclesiastical Rites which belonged to
the solemnization of Matrimony by the Rules of this Church. This
was the answer which he made to his own Objection, and indeed it
was so full and home, that the Objection seemed not to require any fur-
ther answer. Nor was it long before Windebanke found how well his
cheerfulness in yielding to that Match had been entertained. He was
at that time one of the Clerks of the Sigisiet, as his Father Sir Thomas
Windebanke had been before him: But our Bishop did not mean he
should dwell there always. They had been Contemporaries at St.
Johns Collidge, their acquaintance from their very Childhood, their
persons much of the same stature; a like facetiousness in both for wit
and company. In which respects Land had commended him to the
good Graces of the Duke when he was alive. But the Duke doing
nothing for him, left Land in a capacity to supply the want; by whole
power and favour with the King he was advanced unto the honourable
Office of the principal Secretary of State, in the place of Dudly Lord
Carlton Viscount Dorchester. Dorchester died on Ash-Wednesday Morn-
ing, Anno 1631. And of Windebanke he writes thus in his Epistles,
viz. June 15. 1632. Mr. Francis Windebank my old friend was sworn
Secretary of State, which Place I obtained for him of my gracious Mas-
ter King Charles.

About the same time also Sir Francis Cottington, who succeeded the
Lord Treasurer Weston in the place of Chancellor, was made Successor
unto Nanton in the Mastership of the Wards and Liveries. Nanton
was in this place, but some difference began to grow betwixt him
and Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, about the
dispensing of such Benefices as belonged to the King in the Minority
of his Wards: Coventry pleaded a Joint Interest in it according to the Pri-
vilege and usage of his Predecessors, it standing formerly for a rule,
that he of the two which first heard of the vacancy, and presented his
Clerk
Clerk unto the Bishop, should have his turn served before the other. L I B. III.  
But Cottington was resolved to have no Competitor, and would have either all or none. During which Competition betwixt the parties, Laud ends the difference by taking all unto himself. Many Divines had served as Chaplains in his Majesties Ships, and ventured their persons in the action at the Isle of Rhe, during his Majesties late engagements with France and Spain; some reward must be given them for their Service past, the better to encourage others on the like occasions for the time to come. It is cold venturing in such hot Services without some hope of Reward. And thereupon he takes occasion to inform his Majesty, that till this Controversie were decided he might do well to take those Livings into his own disposing for the reward of such Divines as had done him service in his Wars, or should go forth hereafter on the like employments. Which Proposition being approveed, his Majesty committed the said Benefices unto his disposing, knowing full well how faithfully he would discharge the trust repos'd in him for the advancement of his Majesties Service, the satisfaction of the Suitors, and the Churches peace. Neither did Cottington seem displeas'd at this designation: As being more willing that a third man should carry away the prize from both, than to be overtopd by Coventry in his own Jurisdiction. By the accession of this power as he encreas'd the number of his dependents, so he gained the opportunity by it to supply the Church with regular and conformable men, for whom he was to be paffiond both to God and the King. Which served him for a Counter-Ballance against the multitude of Lecturers established in so many places, especially by the Feoffees for impropriations, who came not to their doom till February 13. of this present year, as before was said.

But greater were the Alterations amongst the Bishops in the Church than amongst the Officers of Court, and greater his Authority in preferring the one than in disposing of the other. Buckridge his old Tutor, dying in the See of Ely makes room for White, then Bishop of Norwich, and Lord Almover, to succeed in his place; A man who having spent the greatest part of his life on his private Cures, grew suddenly into esteem by his zealous preachings against the Papists, his Conferences with the Jesuite Fishier, and his Book wrote against him by command of King James. Appointed by that King to have a special eye on the Countels of Denbigh (whom the Priests much laboured to pervert) he was encouraged thereunto with the Deanry of Carlisle, advanced on that very account to the Bishoprick thereof by the Duke her Brother. The Duke being dead, his favour in the Court continued, removed to Norwich first and to Ely afterwars. Corbet of Oxon, one of Lands fellow-sufferers in the University, succeeds him in the See of Norwich; and Bancroft, Master of University-Colledge, is made Bishop of Oxon. Kinsman he was to ever renowned Archbishop Bancroft, by whom preferred unto that Headship, and looked upon for his fake chiefly, though otherwise of a good secular living in this Succession. The Bishoprick of small Revenue, and without a House, but Laud will find a remedy for both in convenient time.

E e
PART I. The Impropricate Parsonage of Cudefdens five miles from Oxon, belonged to the Bishop in the right of his See, and he had the Donation of the Vicarage in the same right also. The Improprication was in Leafe, but he is desired to run it out without more renewing, that in the end it might be made an improvement to that slender Bishoprick. The Vicarage in the mean time falling, he procured himself to be legally instituted and inducted, and by the power and favour of our Bishop of London obtains an annexion of it to the See Episcopal, (the design of bringing in the Improprication going forwards still) and builds that beautiful house upon it, which before we mentioned. The See of Bristol was grown poorer than that of Oxon, both having been dilapidated in Queen Elizabeth's time, though by divers hands. To improve the Patrimony thereof, his Majesty had taken order, that Wright, then Bishop of that Church, should spend the renewing of a Leafe of a very good Farm, not very far distant from that City, well Houfed, and of a competent Revenue, to serve as a Demefn to the following Bishops; for which he was to be considered in some other Preferment. Howun of Durham being dead, Morton removes from Lichfield thither; A man who for the greatest part of his time had exercis'd his Pen against the Papifte: but gave withal no small contentment to King James, by his learned Book in the defence of the three harmles Ceremonies against the Puritans. Wright follows him at Lichfield, and Cooke (brother to Secretary Cooke) follows Wright at Bristol, tyed to the same conditions, and with like encouragement. The Secretary had formerly done our Bishop some bad Offices. But great Courtiers must sometimes pay good tunes for injuries, break and be piece again, as occasions vary. The like care also taken by him for mending the two Bishopricks of Asaph and Chester, as appears by his Breviate.

Nor were these all the Alterations which were made this year; Arch bishop Harpocrat having left his life the year before, care must be taken for a fit man to succeed at York; a man of an unsuspected trust, and one that must be able to direct himself in all emergencies. Neiles known sufficiencies had pointed him unto the place, but he was warm at Winton, and perhaps might not be persuaded to move toward the North, from whence he came not long before with so great contentment; Yet such was the good man's desires to serve his Majesty, and the Church in what place foever, though to his personal trouble and particular lots; that he accepted of the offer, and was accordingly translated in the beginning of this year, or the end of the former. Two Offices fell void by this remove, one in the Court, which was the Clerksiphip of the Clofet: and another in the Church of Winton, which was that of the Bishop. To the Clerksiphip of the Clofet he preferred Dr. William Juxon, (whom before he had made President of St. John's Colledge) and recommended to his Majesty for the Deanry of Worcester, to the end that he might have some truly friend to be near his Majesty, whenthever he was forced by sickness, or any other necessary occasion, to absent himself. So that Windebanck having the Kings ear on one side, and the Clerk of the Clofet on the other,
he might presume to have his tale well told between them; and that his Majesty should not easily be persuaded with anything to his disadvantage. To find another fit man for Winton must be his chief business, whom it concerned to plant such a Bishop in that See as might be plant and subservient unto his desires. The Bishop of Winton by his place is Visitor of five considerable Colleges in the University of Oxon. that is to say, Magdalen, New Colledge, Corpus Christi, St. Johns, and Trinity; by which means he is able to draw a great party after him, and such as might much curb the power of the Chancellor if they should cross with one another. Therefore to make sure work at Oxford, he thought it most conducive to his peace and power to prefer Curie from Bath and Wells to the See of Winton, which being accordingly effectual, Pierce is removed from Peterborough to the Church of Wells, upon the like consideration as Wright about the same time was translated to Lichfield. There was a rich Patronage, called Castor, which belonged to his Patronage as Bishop of Peterborough, about three or four miles from that small City, designed whensoever it fell void to serve for a perpetual commendam to the Bishops of it. And falling void, it was ordered by the care of our Bishop of London, that Pierce should have the preferment of a friend unto it, and take it for the present unto himself, leaving it afterwards to his Successors. For his Reward therein he was preferred to Bath and Wells, and Peterborough procured by Laud for his old Friend and Fellow-Servant Dr. Augustine Lyndell, for whom he formerly had obtained the Deanery of Lichfield: And to say truth, the man deferred it, being a very solid Divine, and a learned Linguist, to whom the Christian World remains indebted for Theophylact's Comment on the Epistles, and the Catena upon Job, published by him in Greek and Latin.

His Majesty's Printers, at or about this time, had committed a scandalous mistake in our English Bibles, leaving out the word Not in the Seventh Commandment. His Majesty being made acquainted with it by the Bishop of London, Order was given for calling the Printers into the High-Commissio[n, where upon evidence of the Fact, the whole Imprisonment was called in, and the Printers deeply fined, as they justly merited. With some part of this fine Laud caueth a fair Greek Character to be provided, for publishing such Manuscripts as Time and Industry should make ready for the Publick view; of which Fort were the Catena and Theophylact set out by Lyndell.

This mentioning of the High-Commissio[n conduces me toward the Star-Chamber, where we shall find a Censure passed on Sherfield the Recorder of Sarum, wherein our Bishop was as active as in that before; which because it drew upon him some clamour, and such a clamour as not only followed him to his death, but hath been since continued in sundry Pamphlets, I shall lay down the occasion of it, and the true Reasons of his Earnestness and Zeal in that prosecution. This Sherfield being Recorder of Sarum, as before is said, was one of the Parishioners of the Parish Church of St. Edmonds, in one of the Windows whereof the Story of the Creation was exprest in old-painted Glass, in which there was a Representation of God the Father.
ART I. in the shape of an Old Man, after which form the Painters of those Elder times did most commonly draw him. This Window, which had continued in the Church without any offence from the first setting of it up, till the year 1629, or thereabouts, became a great eye-fore to this man, whom nothing would content but the defacing of those Pictures, in such a way as might best please his own humour, and affront Authority. Davenant at that time was Bishop of Sarum, and lived for the most part in his Palace there; a man of known disaffections to the Church of Rome, and all the Superstitious Vanities and Corruptions of it. Had he been made acquainted with it, there is no question to be made, but that he either would have gratified the man, in causing the said window to be taken down in a peaceable way; or else have given him such good Reason to the contrary, as might have qualified the peculancy of the present Humour. But Sherfield being the Recorder, and thinking he had the Law in his hands, as well as he had it in his head, must go another way to work, and bring the Business to be agitated in a Parish Vestry; which Bishops Elder-ships began to grow so much in use in most Corporate Towns, that countenance and connivence in short time would have made them Legitimate. The Elders of the Vestry being as willing to embrace the business, as he was to commend it to them, enabled him at the next Church-Session, in the Month of January 1629, to cafe his Conscience of that burthen, by taking down the offensive Window, and setting up another of plain white Glass in the place thereof: And yet this gave him no content, unless he might shew a more than ordinary Zeal, in defacing those Images which he was ordered to take down; and did accordingly deface them, beating down the Pictures with his Staff in such a violent and scandalous way, as was disrelished by most moderate men of his own Perfwasion. The noise of so foul a misdemeanor growing lowder and lowder, it came at last unto the Court; whereupon an Information was exhibited against him in the Star-Chamber by the Kings Attorney, not ripened for a Hearing till the latter end of this present year, and then brought to Sentence. The Affront done to the Diocesan, and the erecting of a new Eldership in despite of Authority, had been crime sufficient to bring him under the Cenfure of the High-Commission: But taking power unto himself of Reforming what he thought amiss in the face of the Church, and proceeding to the execution of it in a way so dangerous, so full of ill example to the rest of the Zealots, made him more properly subject to the Court of Star-Chamber, and to as heavy a Cenfure there as that Court could legally inflict for the like disorders. For what Security could be hoped for in Church or State, if every man should be a Sherfield, and without asking leave of the Prince or Prelate, proceed to such a Reformation as best pleased his Phanfie? If suffered to go on in defacing Windows, they would be spirited in short time to pull down Churches; there being commonly no stop in such Tumultuary Reformations, till every man be wearied in his own confusions. And somewhat there was also in it which was looked upon as a great discouragement to the moderate Papists, from
from thinking favourably of our Churches, or resorting to them; and L I B. III.
to some moderate Protestant also, in beautifying and adorning Churches after such a manner, as without giving just offence, might draw the greater Estimation to those sacred Places. In which respect, Laud did not only aggravate the Crime as much as he could, in reference to the dangerous Consequences which might follow on it: but shewed how far the use of painted Images, in the way of Ornament and Remembrance, might be retained in the Church; not justifying the painting of God the Father in the shape of an Old Man (as he was commonly misreported) but only laying down the Reason which induced some Painters to that Representation, which they grounded on Daniel 7. 9. where God the Father is not only called the Ancient of Days, to signify his Eternity before all time (which was so much infilited on by the Earl of Dorset) but described after the finitude of an Old Man, the hair of whose head was like the pure wool. In fine, though Sherfield found some Friends, yet they were but few, the major part concurring in this Sentence on him, that is to say, to be fined a thousand pounds to the King, deprived of his Recorder-ship, bound to his good behaviour for the time to come, as also to make a public Acknowledgment of his Offence, not only in the Parish Church of St. Edmunds, where it was committed; but in the Cathedral Church it fell; that the Bishop, in contempt of whose Authority he had plaid this Pageant, might have Reparation.

This Censure being past on Sherfield on the eighth of February, Order is given to Noy the Attorney-General to make preparation for another, but of greater consequence. We shewed before how Bulk Pymne had made himself in some present Controversies, and with what infolence he carried himself from the High-Commission. Prepared with confidence and success for a further Calamity, he publishes a small Pamphlet called Dene GILES his Halting, An Appendix against Bowing at the Name of JESUS, a larger Book called the Anti-Arminianism, and notably betters himself in discovering a mistake (an Imperfection it must needs be called) in the Historical Narration published 1631. against which he never left exclaiming, till he had procured Archbishop Abbot (with whom he was grown very gracious) to call it in; But not contented with that Triumph, he prepares another Pageant for us in the end of Michaelmas Term this year, known by the name of Histrio-Muflix, in which he seemed to breathe nothing but Disgrace to the Nation, Infamy to the Church, Reproaches to the Court, Dishonour to the Queen, and Somethings which were thought to be tending to the destruction of his Majesties Person. Neither the Hospitality of the Gentry in the time of Christmas, nor the Musick in Cathedrals and the Chappells Royal, nor the Pomp and Gallanties of the Court, nor the Queens harmless Recreations, nor the Kings folacing himself sometimes in Masques and Dances, could escape the venom of his Pen; expressed for the most part in such bitter Language, and frequently interlaced with such dangerous Aggravations and Infirmities, that it was not possible for the Author to escape uncensured. This Book being brought before the Lords of the Council toward the end of January, and
and found too tedious for their Lordships to be troubled with it, it pleased his Majesty to give order, that the Book should be committed to the reading of one of the Prebends of Westminster, with command to draw out of it and digest such particular Passages as tended to the danger or dishonour of the King or State. On the finishing and return of which Collection, Prynne is committed to the Tower on Sunday being Candlemas day, and on the morrow after the Collector received a further Order to review his Notes, and deduct out of them such Logical Inferences and Conclusions as might and did naturally arise on those dangerous Premises: One Copy of the same to be left for the Lords of the Council, and another with Nay the Attorney-General, and the rest of his Majesties Council-Learned in the Laws of this Realm, which Papers gave such satisfaction to the one, and such help to the other, that when the Cause was brought to hearing in the Star-Chamber, they repeated his Instructions only, as (a) Prynne himself informed against him to the House of Commons. What was done farther in this business, we shall see hereafter.

This business being put into a course, our Bishop offereth some considerations to the Lords of the Council, concerning the dishonour done to the Church of England by the wilful negligence of some Chaplains and other Ministers, both in our Factories and Regiments beyond the Seas; together with the Inconveniencies which redounded to it from the French and Dutch Congregations settled in many places amongst our selves. He had long deemed with this Design, but was not willing to be his own Midwife when it came to the Birth; and therefore it was so contrived, that Windebank should make the Proposition at the Council-Table, and put the business so far, that the Bishop might be moved by the whole Board to consider of the several Points in that weighty Business: who being thus warranted to the execution of his own desires, presented two Memorials to their Lordships, at the end of this Year, March 22. The one relating to the Factories and Regiments beyond the Seas; the other to the French and Dutch Plantations in London, Kent, Norfolk, Yorkshire, Hampshire, and the Isle of Axholme. He had observed, not without great indignation, how Tenacious the French and Dutch Churches were of their own received Forms; both in Worship and Government; on the other side, how ignoble and degenerate the English had shown themselves, in neglecting the Divine Service of this Church in their several Factories, where they were licensed to make use of it by the Power and Countenance of that State in which they Traded. The Earl of Leicester being sent this Year to negotiate some Affairs with the King of Denmark, and Anstis brother ready to come from the Court of the Emperor, they were appointed by his Majesty to meet at Ham-borough, there to expect the coming of Pennington with some Ships to conduct them home. The English driving a great trade in that Town, were by the Magistrates thereof indulged all the Privileges of an English Church: but they retained nothing of a Church of England, governing themselves wholly by Calvin's Platform, which they had taken up in England. The two Embassadors being met, but the Ships not come, the

Elders
Elders of the Church humbly desired their Lordships to do them so much honour in the eyes of the People, as to vouchsafe their presence at the English Church; and that their Lordships Chaplains might be ordered to Exercise in the Congregation. This Motion being cheerfully embraced by both, the Earl of Leicester's Chaplain first mounts the Pulpit, and after a short Psalm, according to the Genevan fashion, betakes himself unto his Sermon. The like was done by Johnson, Austrothers Chaplain, (for I remember not the name of the other) when it came to his turn. The Ships being come, and staying for a change of wind, the like courtesy was designed of Pennington, Admiral of that little Fleet for the present Service. Pennington told them that he had no Chaplain, that there was in the Ship one Doctor Ambrose his Friend and Kinman, who had born him company in that Voyage; and that he doubted not but that he would readily hearken to them, if they made the motion. The motion being made and granted, Ambrose attends his Admiral to the place of Exercise, where he took up his stand very near the Pulpit. The Congregation being filled, and the Psalm half done, a Deacon is sent to put him in mind of going into the Pulpit; of whom he desires to be accommodated with a Bible, and a Common-Prayer Book; The Deacon offered him a Bible, but told him that they had no such thing as a Common-Prayer Book, and that the Common Prayers were not used amongst them: Why then, said Ambrose, the best is, that I have one of my own; which being presently taken out of his Pocket, he began with the Sentences, and invitation, and was scarce entred into the Confession, when all the Church was in an uprore. The Elders thereupon in a great amaze sent back the Deacon, to desire him to go into the Pulpit, and not to trouble them with that which they were not used to do. Ambrose replied, That if they were an English Church they were obliged to serve God by the English Liturgie, and that if they would have no Prayers they should have no Sermon, and so proceeded on with the rest of the Liturgy; which Message being delivered to the Elders, the Deacon was sent back the third time, requiring him to desist from that unnecessary Service. On the receiving of which Message he puts the Book into his pocket, and goes out of the Church, the two Embassadors following him, and the Admiral them; to the great honour of himself, and the confusion of Johnson (from whose mouth I received the story) and the other Chaplain, being thus shewed their error in not doing the like.

That our Bishop was ever made acquainted by the said Johnson with this passage, I am not able to say; but whether he were or not, he had too much ground for what he did, in offering to their Lordships his considerations for regulating Divine Service in that and all other Factories, Imployments, and Commands of the English Nation. That is to say, "First, That the Colonels of the English Regiments in the Low-Countries should entertain no Minister as Preacher to their Regiments but such as should conform in all things to the Church of England, to be commended to them by their Lordships, the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury and York being taken in it. Secondly, That
PART I. That the Company of Merchants there residing, or in any other
parts, shall admit no Minister as Preacher to them, but such as are so
qualified, and so commended, as aforesaid. Thirdly, That if any
Minister hath gotten himself by indirect means to be so commended,
and should be afterwards found to be unconformable, and should
not conform himself within three months, upon warrant given him
by the said Colonels, or Deputy Governour of the Factors under
whom he liveth, he shall be dismissed from his employment, and a more
orderly man recommended to it. Fourthly, That every Minister
or Chaplain in any Factory, or Regiment, whether of English or
Scots, shall read the Common Prayers, Administer the Sacraments,
Catechize the Children, and perform all other publick Ministerial
duties, according to the Rules or Rubricks of the English Liturgy,
and not otherwise. Fifthly, That if any Minister or Preacher, being
the King's born Subject, should with any bitter words, or writings,
in Print or otherwise, defame the Church of England by Law
established, notice thereof is to be given to the Ambassador there,
and by him to this State, by whom the party so offending should be
commanded over again to answer for his said offences, the like to
be done also in derogating from the Doctrine and Discipline of the
Church, and in Preaching, Writing or Printing any thing prejudi-
cial to the Temporal State and Government of the Realm of Eng-
land. Sixthly, That no Colonel or Deputy Governour should
permit their Minister or Preacher, in the case of sickness, or neces-
sary absence, to bring in any to Preach or Officiate for him, but such
an one for whose conformity he would be accountable. Seventhly,
That no Deputy Governours should be sent to Delfe, or any other
place of Residence for the English Merchants, but one that, being
conformable to the Church of England both in Doctrine and Disci-
pline, would take care also, that such as be under him, shall per-
form all Church duties before expressed; that the party so design-
ated shall be presented to their Lordships by the Merchant Adventurers,
giving assurance of his fitness and sufficiency for that charge, and
that some of the chief of the Merchants be sent for to the Board,
and made acquainted with this order. Eighthly, That as often as
the said Merchants shall renew their Patents, a clause for the due ob-
servation of these Instructions (or so many of them as the Act as
should seem necessary to their Lordships) to be inserted in the same.
Ninthly, That all his Majesties Agents there from time to time have
these Instructions given them in Charge, and that once a year they
be required to give the Board an account of the Progress of the busi-
siness, that further order might be taken if occasion be. Tenthly,
That the English Ministers in Holland, being his Majesties born
Subjects, be not suffered to hold any Classical meetings, but how-
soever not to abuse the power of Ordination, from which if they
should not be restrained, there would be a perpetual Seminary for
breeding up men in Schism and Faction, to the disturbance of this
Kingdom.

In reference to the French and Dutch Churches here in England he pro-
proceeded in another method; first, representing the occasion of their L I B. III. setting here, their several abuses of that favour, together with the manifold dangers and inconveniences which might thence arise; and next advising such agreeable remedies as he thought most proper for the cure. "And first he represented to them the great piety of this State in giving liberty to those Nations to enjoy the freedom of their own Religion, at London and elsewhere in this Kingdom; when being under persecution in their own Countries they could not enjoy the same at home. Secondly, That it was not the meaning of this State then, or at any other time since, that the first Generation being worn out, their Children, and Children's Children, being naturally born Subjects of this Realm, should still remain divided from the rest of the Church, which must needs alienate them from the State, and make them apt to any innovation which may fort better with their humour. Thirdly, That they still keep themselves as a distinct body of themselves, marrying only in their own Tribe with one another; by means whereof it must needs follow, that as they are now a Church within a Church, so in short time they might grow to be a Commonwealth in the midst of a Kingdom. Fourthly, That these bodies standing thus divided from the Church and State are planted for the most part in such Haven Towns as lay fittest for France and the Low-Countries; which may be a threwd temptation to them to take such advantages to themselves, or to make use thereof for others as occasion offereth. Fifthly, That the example is of ill consequence in Church-affairs to the Subjects of England, many being confirmed by it in their stubborn ways, and inconformities, but in London chiefly. Sixthly, That neither French nor Dutch Church be longer tolerated in this Kingdom than the Subjects of this Kingdom be suffered to enjoy the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England in those several parts beyond the Seas where they have their abode. The dangers and inconveniences being thus laid down, he proceeds to the Remedies. And first he doth advise, "That the number of them in all places of the Kingdom be fully known, to the end a better judgment might be made of the way by which they are to be reduced to the rest of the Kingdom." Secondly, That a Command be issued to this purpose from the State itself, and that it be avowedly (and not perfunctorily) taken in all places where they do reside, and a Certificate returned of the men of most credit and wealth amongst them. Thirdly. That if they will continue as a distinct body both from State and Church, they should pay all duties double as strangers used to do in this Realm, and not be capable of such immunities as the Natives have, as long as they be divided from them. Fourthly. That when it shall be thought convenient to reduce them to the same condition with the rest of the Subjects, they should then be warned in an Ecclesiastical way (excepting such as be new Comers) to repair diligently to their Parish Churches, and to conform themselves to their Prayers and Sacraments; which if they should refuse to do, then to proceed against them by Excommuni-
PART I. "Citation, and for unto the Writ de Excommunicato capiendo, for a terr-
Anno Dom. 1632.
ror to others. Fifthly, and lastly, That if this course prevail not
with them, a Declaration to be made by the State to this effect, That
if they will be as Natives, and take the benefit of Subjects, they must
conform themselves to the Laws of the Kingdom, as well Ecclesias-
tical as Temporal; that being the likeliest way to make them ca-
cible of the inconveniences they should run into by their refusal
and perversity. Such were the considerations offered by him to
the Lords of the Council, for advancing the peace and honour of this
Church both at home, and abroad. But long it will not be before we
shall behold him sitting in the Chair of Canterbury, acting his own
counsels, bringing these Conceptions to the birth, and putting the design
into execution, of which more hereafter.

1633. These matters standing in this state, we must at last look toward
Scotland; for the receiving of which Crown his Majesty and the Court
prepare the beginning of this year. But besides the Pomp, and
Splendor of a Coronation, which the people with great importunity
had long press upon him, there were some other Loadstones which
made the Needle of his Compass point so much to the North. Concern-
ing which the Reader may be pleased to know, that at the first Altera-
tion of Religion in the Kirk of Scotland, the Scots petitioning for aid
from Queen Elizabeth to expel the French, (a) obliged themselves by the
subscription of their hands to embrace the Liturgie, Rites, and
Ceremonies of the Church of England. According whereunto, an Or-
dinance was made by their Reformers, that in all Parishes of that Realm
(b) the Common-Prayer should be read weekly on Sundays, and oth-
er Festival days, with the Lefions of the Old and New Testament,
conform to the Order of the Book of Common-Prayer of the Church of
England; it being well known, that for divers years after, they had
no other order for Common-Prayer but that which they received
from hence. But as Presbyterian prevailed, so the Liturgie fell: the
fancy of Extemporaneous Prayers growing up so fast in the minority of
King James, that it soon thruf all Publick Forms out of use and credit.
In which confused state it stood till the coming of that King to the
Crown of England, where he much pleased himself with the Sobriety
and Piety of the publick Liturgie. This made him cast his eyes more
faddly on the Kirk of Scotland, where for want of some such publick
Forms of Prayers the Ministers prayed so ignorantly, that it was shame
to all Religion to have God spoked to in that barbarous manner, and
sometimes so sedulously, that their Prayers were plain Libels against
Authority, or stuff with lies made up of all the false reports in the
Kingdom. For remedy whereof, after he had restored, and settled the
Episcopal Government, he procured the General Assembly of that
Kirk, held at Aberdeen, Anno 1616. to pafs an Act for Authorising
some of the Bishops, and divers others, to compile a Publick Liturgie
for the use of that Kirk; which being presented unto the King, and
by him approved, should be universally received over all the King-
dom. To prepare the way unto them, his Majesty gave order the
next Spring after, That the English Liturgie should be Officialized day
by
by day in his Chappel-Royal in the City of Edenborough; and in the L I B. M. year following 1618. obtained the five Articles before-mentioned (as so many chief Ingredients for the Common-Prayer-Book) to be passed at Perth: by which Encouragements, the Commissioners which were appointed to compile the Book, went so luckily forwards, that it was not long before they brought it to an end; and sent it to King James by Archbishops Spottwoode who not only carefully perused every passage in it, but caused it to be revived by some of the Bishops of that Kingdom, which were then in England, in whose judgments he repose especial confidence. Fitted according to his mind, he sent it back again to those from whose hands he received it, to be by them commended to the use of the Church; which undoubtedly had took effect; if the Breach with Spain, and the Death of that King, which followed not long after, had not unfortunately interrupted the Success of the busines.

In this condition of Affairs King Charles succeeded in the Crown, engaged in a War with the King of Spain, and standing upon no good terms with his People at home; so that the busines of the Liturgie seemed to be laid asleep, if not quite extinct. But in the year 1629, having agreed his differences with the Crown of France, and being in a good way towards an Accommodation with the King of Spain, the Scottish Bishops were again remembred of their Duty in it, who dispatched Maxwell, then one of the Preachers of Edinburgh, to the Court about it: Maxwell applying himself to Laud, then Bishop of London, from whom he received this positive Answer, That if his Majesty would have a Liturgie settled there, different from what they had already, it was best to take the English Liturgie, without any variation from it; that to the same Service-Book might pass through all his Majesties Dominions. Maxwell replying, That the Scottish Bishops would be better pleased to have a Liturgie of their own, but such as should come near the English both in Form and Matter, the Cause was brought before the King, who on a serious consideration of all Particulars, concurred in Judgment for the English. And on these terms it stood till this present year.

Laud standing hard for admitting the English Liturgie without alteration; the Scottish Bishops pleading on the other side, That a Liturgie made by themselves, and in some things different from the English Service, would best please their Countrymen, whom they found very jealous of the least dependence on the Church of England. But because Letters written in the time of Action, are commonly conceived to carry more truth in them, than Relations made upon the post-fact for particular ends; take here this short remembrance in one of his Letters to the Earl of Traquaire, dated September 11. 1637. Where we find this passage: And since (faith he) I hear from others, That some exception is taken, because there is more in that Liturgie in some few particulars, than is in the Liturgie of England, Why did they not admit the Liturgie of England without more ado? But by their refusal of that, and the dislike of this, it is more than manifest they would have neither, and perhaps none at all, were they left to themselves.

But besides this, there was another Invitation which wrought much upon him in order to the present Journey: At his first coming to the Crown,
Crown, the greater Engagements then upon him, want of Supply from France, and small help from Scotland, forced him to have recourse to such other ways of assistance as were offered to him; of which this was one. In the Minority of King James, the Lands of all Cathedral Churches and Religious Houses which had been settled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were shared amongst the Lords and great men of that Kingdom (by the connivance of the Earl of Murray, and some other of the Regents) to make them sure unto that side: And they being thus possessed of the same Lands, with the Regalities and Tythes belonging to those Ecclesiastical Corporations, Lorded it with Pride and Inviolence enough in their several Territories, holding the Clergy to small Stipends, and the poor Peasants under a miserable Vassalage and subjection to them, not suffering them to carry away their nine parts, till the Lord had carried off his Tenth; which many times was neglected out of pride and malice, those Tyrants not caring to lose their Tythes, so that the poor man’s Crop might be left unto spoil and hazard. King James had once a purpose to revolve those Grants; but growing into years and troubles, he left the following of that Project to his Son and Successor: Having but little help from thence to maintain his Wars, by the Advice of some of the Council of that Kingdom, he was put upon a course of returning those Lands, Tythes, and Regalities into his own hand, to which the present Occupants could pretend no other Title than the unjust usurpation of their Predecessors. This to effect, he resolves upon an Act of Revocation, Commissioning for that purpose the Earl of Annandale, and the Lord Maxwell (afterwards Earl of Niddsdale) to hold a Parliament in Scotland, for Contribution of Money and Ships against the Dutchers; and arming Maxwell also with some secret Instructions for pulling the said Act of Revocation, if he found it feasible. Being on the way as far as Berwick, Maxwell was there informed, that his chief errand being made known, had put all at Edinburgh into Tumult; so that a rich Coach which he had lent before to Dalkeith was cut in pieces, the poor Horses killed, the People seeming only forry that they could not do so much to the Lord himself. Things being brought unto this stand, the King was put to a necessity of some second Counsels, amongst which none seemed more plausible and expedient to him, than that of Mr. Archibald Achison, who from a Puisne Judge in Ireland, was made his Majesties Procurator or Solicitor-General, in the Kingdom of Scotland; who having told his Majesty, That such as were Excluded in the Laudian question, had served themselves so well by the bare naming of an Act of Revocation, as to possess the People (whom they found apt to be inflamed on such Suggestions) That the true intent of that Act was to revoke all former Laws for suppressing of Popery, and settling the Reformed Religion in the Kirk of Scotland: And therefore, That it would be unsafe for his Majesty to proceed that way. Next he advised, That instead of such a General Revocation as the Act imported, a Commission should be issued out under the Great Seal of that Kingdom, for taking the Surrenders of all such Superiorities and Tythes within the Kingdom, at his Majesties Pleasure: And that such as should refuse to submit.
submit unto it, should be Impleaded one by one; to begin first with those L I B. III. whom he thought least able to stand out, or else most willing to conform to his Anno Dom. Majesties Pleasure: Assuring him, That having the Laws upon his side, the Courts of Justice must and would pass judgment for him.

The King resolved upon this course, sends home the Gentleman, not only with thanks and Knighthood (which he had most worthy deserved) but with Instructions and Power to proceed therein; and he proceeded in it so effectually to the Kings Advantage, that some of the impleaded Parties being caft in the Suit; and the rest seeing, that though they could raise the People against the King, they could not raise them against the Laws, it was thought the best and safest way to compound the business. Hereupon, in the year 1630, Commissioners are sent to the Court of England, and amongst others, the Learned and right Noble Lord of Marchefon (from whose mouth I had this whole Relation) who after a long Treaty with the King, did at last agree, that the said Commission should proceed as formerly; and, That all such superiorities and Tythes as had been or should be surrendered, should be re-granted by the King on these Conditions: First, That all such as held Hereditary Sheriffdomes, or had the Power of Life and Death over such as lived within their Jurisdiction, should quit these Royalties to the King. Secondly, That they should make unto their Tenants in their several Lands, some permanent Estates, either for their Lives, or one and twenty years, or some such like Term; that so the Tenants might be encouraged to Build and Plant, and improve the Patrimony of that Kingdom. Thirdly, That some Provisions should be made for augmenting the Stipends of the Clergy. Fourthly, That they should double the yearly Rents which were reserved unto the Crown, by their former Grants. And finally, That these Conditions being performed on their parts, the King should settle their Estates by Act of Parliament. Home went the Commissioners with joy for their good success, expecting to be entertained with Bells and Bonfires: but they found the contrary; the proud Scots being generally resolved, rather to put all to hazard, than to quit that Power and Tyranny which they had over their poor Vassals, by which name (after the manner of the French) they called their Tenants. And hereunto they were encouraged underhand by a Party in England, who feared that by this Agreement the King would be so absolute in those Northern Regions, that no Aid could be hoped from thence, when the necessity of their designs might most require it: Just as the Caflilians were displeased with the Conquest of Portugal by King Philip the Second, because thereby they had no place left to retire unto, when either the Kings displeasure, or their disobedience should make their own Country too hot for them.

Such was the face of Church and State when his Majesty began his Journey for Scotland to receive the Crown; a Journey of great expense on both sides, but of small profit unto either. On the thirteenth day of May he advanced toward the North; but by such leisurely Removes, that he recovered not the City of York till the twenty fourth, into which he made a Solemn and Magnificent Entrance, attended by the
PART I. the Flower of the English Nobility, the principal Officers of his Court, and some of the Lords of his Privy Council. He was received at his first entrance into Scotland with a gallant body of that Nation, consisting for the most part of the like Ingredients, and so conducted into Edenborough on the tenth of June. Edenborough, the chief City of the Realm of Scotland, and indeed the Summa totalis of that Kingdom, extended a whole mile in length from the Palace-Royal of Holy-Rood-House, lying at the foot of the Hill, to a fair and ancient Castle mounted on the top thereof. From this Castle the King was to descend the Street in a Royal Pomp, till he came to his Palace (as the Kings of England commonly on the like occasion ride from the Tower thorough London to the Court of Whitehall) where the Solemnities of the Coronation were to be performed. The day design'd for it was the eighteenth of June, the concourse of people beyond expression, and the expressions of their joy in gallantry of Apparel, sumptuous Feasting, and Acclamations of all sorts, nothing inferior to that concourse. But this was only the Hosanna of his first Reception; they had a Crucifix for him when he came to his Parliament. It was conceived at his Majesties first going toward the North, that he would have fettled the English Liturgie in that Church, at his being there: but he either carried no such thoughts with him, or, if he did, he kept them to himself as no more than thoughts, never discovering any such thing in his words or actions. The Scots were of another temper, than to be easily won to any thing which they had no mind to; and a less mind they could have to nothing than the English Liturgie. King James had taken order at his being in Scotland, Anno 1617. That it should constantly be read twice every day in his Chappel-Royal for that City; and gave command that the Lords of his Privy-Council, and the Lords of Session, should be present at it on the Sundays, and there receive the Holy Communion, according to the form prescribed in the Common-Prayer-Book: And this he did unto this end, That as well the Citizens of Edenburgh, as such as came thither upon Business, might by degrees be made acquainted with the English Forms, and consequently be prepared for the receiving of such a Liturgie as the King, with the Advice of his Bishops, and other Learned Men (according to the Act of the Assembly at Aberdeen) should command unto them But these Directions being either discontinued, or carelessly followed after his decease, and the five Articles of Perth not pres'd to diligently on the People as they might have been, the Scots were generally as great strangers to the Liturgie of the Church of England, as when King James first came amongst us.

His Majesty could not be foil served, as not to be well enough informed how things went in Scotland; and therefore was not to venture rashly upon such a business, wherein he might receive a foil. He thereupon resolves to proceed no further in Matters which concerned the Church, than to pass an Act of Ratification, an Act Confirmatory of such Laws and Statutes, relating unto Church-concernments, as by King James had been obtained with great charge and cunning. And though he carried this Act at last, yet was it not without
out a far greater opposition than he had reason to expect from that L I B. III. Convention: But the Commiffion of Surrendry did so stick in their Ann Dom. stomachs, that they could not chufe but vent their difaffections on the first occasion. Nor would they suffer him to enjoy the benefit of that Act, fo hardly gotten, with Peace and Honour; but followed him into England with a peftilent Libel, in which they charged him to have carried that Act by corrupting some, and a plain down-right buying of the Voices of others. This was the firft taste which they gave the King of their malevolency towards his Person and Government; but it shall not prove to be the laft. His Majesty had another busines to effect at his being there, for which he needed not their Affiftance, and for that reafon did not ask it: This was the raising of the City of Edenborough to a See Episcopal, which before was only a Borough Town, belonging anciently to the Diocefs and Jurifdiction of Saint Andrews. The Metropolitan of St. Andrews was willing for the common good to yield unto this diminution of his Power and Profit; and that the whole County of Lothian, extending from Edenborough-Fryth to the Town of Berwick, should be difmembred from his own Diocefs, to serve as a Diocefs to this Bishop of new Election. And on the other side, the Duke of Lenox, whose Ancestors had long enjoyed the Priory of St. Andrews, with a great part of the Lands belonging to it, was willing to let his Majesty have a good peny worth of some part of those Lands, to serve as a Patrimony to this new Episcopal See; and the Bishop of it: Which Provision being thus made and fetled, Forbeffe a right grave and solid Divine, is made the first Bishop of this City, his Cathedral fix'd in the Church of St. Giles (being the fairest in the Town) a Dean appointed for that Church, some Ministers of Edenborough and the Parts adjoining, being nominated for the Canon's or Prelsends of it. A design pious in it felf, and purposely intended to inure the Edenburghers to the Fatherly Government of a Bishop, who by tempering the exorbitancies of the Ministers there, might by degrees prepare the People to fuch impreffions of Conformity as his Majesty, by the Council and Consent of the rest of the Bishops, fhould graciously be pleafed to imprin upon them. But fuch ill luck his Majesty had with that stubborn Nation, that this was look'd upon alfo as a general Grieance, and must be thought to aim at no other end than Tyranny and Popery, and what else they pleafed.

We have almost done our work in Scotland, and yet hear nothing all this while of the Bishop of London; not that he did not go the Journey, but that there was little to be done at his being there, but to fee and be seen: And yet it was a Journey which brought him some access of Honour, and gave him opportunity of making himself known to thofe of bett Quality of that Kingdom. He had been in Scotland with King James; but then he waited only as a private Chaplain. He is now looked upon as the third Bishop of England in Place, and the greatest in Power; a Counfellor of State, and the King's great Favourite. He entred Scotland as a Privy-Counfellor of England only; but returned thence as a Counfellor for that Kingdom alfo: to which Office he was sworn on the fifteenth of June. Nor
PART I. did he shew himself least able in that Church; than in the Council-Chamber; being appointed by his Majesty to Preach before him on the last of that Month: in which some question may be made how he pleased the Scots, although it be out of question that he pleased the King. The greatest part of the following July was spent in visiting the Country, and taking a view of the chief Cities, and most remarkable Parts and Places of it: Which having seen, he made a Poffing Journey to the Queen at Greenwich, whither he came on Saturday the twentieth of July, crossing the Water at Blackwall, and looking towards London from no nearer distance: But in this Act he laid aside the Majesty of his Predecessors, especially of Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory, of whom it was observed, That he did very seldom end any of her summer Proffes; but he would wheel about to some end of London, to make her paffage to Whitehall thorrow some part of the City; not only requiring the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in their Scarlet Robes and Chains of Gold, to come forth to meet her: but the several Companies of the City to attend solemnly in their Formalities as she went along. By means whereof she did not only preserve that Majesty which did belong to a Queen of England, but kept the Citizens (and consequently all the Subjects) in a reverent Estimation and Opinion of her. She used the like Arts also in keeping up the Majesty of the Crown, and Service of the City, in the Reception and bringing in of Foreign Embassadors; who if they came to London by Water, were met at Gravesend by the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Companies in their several Barges, and in that solemn manner conducted unto such Stairs by the Water-side, as were nearest to the Lodgings provided for them: But if they were to come by Land, they were met in the like fort at Shooters-Hill, by the Mayor and Aldermen, and thence conducted to their Lodgings, the Companies waiting in the Streets in their several Habits. The like she used also in celebrating the Obsequies of all Christian Kings, whether Popish or Protestants, with whom she was in Correspondence; performed in such a Solemn and Magnificent manner, that it preserved her in the estimation of all Foreign Princes, though differing in Religion from her, besides the great contentment which the People took in those Royal Pomp's. Some other Arts she had of preserving Majesty, and keeping distance with her People; yet was so popular withal, when she saw her time, that never Majesty and Popularity were so matched together. But these being laid aside by King James, who broked neither of them; and not returned by King Charles, who loved them not much more than his Father did; there followed first a neglect of their Persons, which Majesty would have made more Sacred; and afterwards a mislike of their Government, which a little Popularity would have made more grateful.

Land, having no such cause of hastening homewards, returned not to his House at Fulham till the twenty-sixth of the same month: But the same time enough to hear the news of Abbott's Sickness, and within few days after, of his Death; which hapned on Sunday morning the fourth of August, and was pretently signified to the King, being then at
at Greenwich. A man he was that had tafted both of good and ill L I B. III. Anno Dom. I 63.3. Fortune in extremes; affirmed by the Church Historian (for I shall only speak him in the words of others) to be a grave man in his Conversation, and unblameable in his Life: but said withal to have been carried with non amavit gentem nostram, forsaking the Birds of his own feather, to flye with others; and generally favouring the Laity above the Clergie, in all Cases which were brought before him: Conceived by one of our State Historians, to be too facil and yielding in the exercising of his Function; by whom it is also affirmed, That his extraordinary reminifcence, in not executing strict Conformity to the prescribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, seemed to resolve those legal Determinations to their first Principle of Indifferency, and to lead in such an habit of Inconformity, as the future reduction of those tender-conscienc'd men to long discontinued Obedience, was interpreted an Innovation. By the first Character we find what made him acceptable amongst the Gentry; by the laft, what made him grateful to the Puritan, in favour of which men he took so little care of the great Trust committed to him, and gave them so many opportunities of increasing both in Power and Numbers, that to stop them in their full career, it was found necessary to suspend him from his Metropolitical Jurisdiction, as before was noted.

It is reported, That as Prince Henry, his Majesty, then Duke of York, Archbishop Abbot, with many of the Nobility were waiting in the Privy Chamber for the coming out of King James; the Prince, to put a jest on the Duke his Brother, took the Archbishops Square Cap out of his hands, and put it on his Brothers head, telling him, that if he continued a good Boy, and followed his Book, he would one day make him Archbishop of Canterbury. Which the Child took in such disdain, that he threw the Cap upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet, not being without much difficulty and some force taken off from that eagerness. This though first it was not otherwise beheld than as an Act of Childish Passion, yet when his Brother Prince Henry died, and that he was Heir apparent to the Crown, it was aken up by many zealous Church-men for some ill preface unto the Hierarchy of Bishops; the overthrow whereof by his Act and Power did seem to be fore-signified by it. But as their fears in that were groundless, so their conjectures were no better grounded than their fears (there never being a greater Patron of the Episcopal order than he lived and died) but whether there might not be some preface in it in reference to the Archbishops person, the diminution of his Dignity and fall of his Power, may be best judged by this suspension and the consequents which followed on it: And though he lived not long under the disgrace, yet in the interval of time he saw so much of his Authority devolved on Laud, that he grew more and more discontented, and was ready in a manner to have made himself the head of the Puritan Faction.

It is related by a late Writer, That towards his death he was not only discontented himself, but that his house was the Rendezvous of all the Male-contents in Church and State, that he turned Mid-night to Noon-day by constant keeping of Candles lighted in his Chamber and
and Study, as also that such Visitants as repaired unto him called themselves Nicodemites, because of their secret coming to him by night. I know how much that Author hath been mistaken in other things, but I see nothing in this which may not be confirmant with the truth of History. Certain I am, his Chaplains were successively declared Calvinians, his Secretary a professed Patron of the Puritan Faction, his doors continually open to the Chiefs of that party, and such as sticked in that cause and amongst others to him by whose Suggestion (if we may take his own report) the Historical Narration was called in, for the great danger which it threatened to the grounds of Calvinism.

For his compliance with the Gentry against the Clergy, this reason is alleged from his own mouth, That he was so severe to the Clergie on purpose to refuse them from the severity of others, and to prevent the punishment of them by Lay Judges to their greater shame; which leaves the poor Clergy under a greater obloquy than any which their enemies had laid upon them. But the truer reason of it was, that having never been Parson, Vicar, nor Curate, he was altogether ignorant of those afflictions which the Clergy do too often suffer by the pride of some, and the Avarice of others of their Country Neighbours, and consequently shewed the least compassion towards them when any of them had the hard fortune to be brought before him. And for his compliance with the Puritans against the Church this reason is alleged by others, viz. That he shewed the greater favour to them, to keep the balance even betwixt them and the Papists; as Land was thought to be indulgent to the Papists, the better to keep down the pride and prevalency of the Puritan Faction. But the truer reason of it was, that he had been always inclinable to them from his first beginnings; information that when he went Chaplain into Scotland with the Earl of Dumbarton (employed by King James in some negotiation about that Church) he was upon the point of betraying the cause, if Hodgkins, (afterwards one of the Residentiaries of York) who went Chaplain with him, had not preacquainted the Earl with his turnigivation.

And as he laboured to be Popular upon both accounts, so he endeavoured a more particular correspondence with the Gentry of Kent, but most especially of his own Diocess. It had been formerly the custom of his Predecessors to spend the greatest part of the long Vacations in the Palace of Canterbury, met at the first entrance into the Diocess with a body of five hundred horse, conducting them to Canterbury with great love and duty; feasting the Gentry, relieving the poor City, entertaining their Tenants, and by them liberally furnished on the other side with all sorts of provisions. Abbot affected not this way, and therefore never bestowed any such visit upon his Diocess, but when he was confined to his house at Ford by the Kings appointment; and yet resolved upon a course which carried some equivalence with it towards his design. For once or twice in every year (and sometimes oftner) at the end of the Term he would caufe enquir-y to be made in Westminster-Hall, the common Rendezvous in Saint Paul's Church, and the Royal Exchange, for all such Gentlemen of his Diocess as lodged in and about the City of London, dispersing severa
veral Tickets from one to another, by which they were invited to a L I B. III. general entertainment at his house in Lambeth, the next day after the end of the present Term, where he feasted them with great bounty and familiarity. A course as acceptable to the Kentish Gentry as if he had kept open Hospitality in his Palace at Canterbury; because it saved them both the trouble of attending on him, and the charge of sending Presents to him, both which had been expected if he had spent any part of the year amongst them. But this he discontinued also for three or four years, or more, before his death, fearing (as his affairs then stood) that it might render him obnoxious to some misconstructions, which he was willing to avoid.

To bring his Story to an end, I shall say no more, but that he had his Birth at Guilford, the chief Town of Surrey, and the best part of his breeding in Baliol College in Oxon. whereof he was Fellow, and from thence preferred to be Master of University College, and Dean of Winton. Other preferments he had none till he came to Lichfield, of which he was consecrated Bishop on the third of December, Anno 1669. from thence translated unto London within few Months after, and within twelve Months after that to the See of Canterbury. Marks of his Benefaction we find none, in places of his Breeding, and Preferments; but a fair Hospital, well built, and liberally endowed in the place of his Birth. To which the woful man retired in the first extremity of those afflictions which his misfortune at Brazenhill had drawn upon him; and to this place he desired his body whensoever it should please God to translate him out of the Church Militant to the Church Triumphant, which hapned on the fourth of August, as before was said.

The End of the First Part.
CYPRIANUS ANGLICUS:
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Life and Death
OF
The most Reverend and Renowned PRELATE
WILLIAM
By Divine Providence,
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all
ENGLAND, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the
Universities of Oxon. and Dublin; and one of the
Lords of the Privy Council to His late most
SACRED MAJESTY
King CHARLES
Second MONARCH of Great Britain.

PART II.
Carrying on the History from his Nomination to the Metropolitical
See of Canterbury, August 6. 1633. to the day of his
Death and Burial, Jan. 10. 1644.

LONDON,
Printed by J. M. for several Book-sellers in London, 1671.
HISTORY
of the Life and Death
of William
Shakespeare
CHARLES
G. WILKINSON
1852
THE LIFE OF
The most Reverend FATHER in GOD
WILLIAM
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

LIB. IV:
Extending from his being made Archbishop of Canterbury to the end of the Parliament and Convocation, Anno 1640.

CANTERBURY was anciently the principal City of the Kingdom, and afterwards of the County of Kent, situate about seven miles from the Sea, and neighboured by a little River, capable only of small boats, and consequently of no great use for the wealth and trading of the place.

It was made an Archiepiscopal See at the first planting of the Gospel amongst the English; Augustine the Monk who first preacht the one, being the first Archbishop of the other. For though that Dignity was by Pope Gregory the Great designed for London, yet Augustine the Monk (whom he sent hither on that Errand) having received this City in gift from the King, resolved to fix himself upon it without going further. Merlin had prophesied as much, if those Prophecies be of any credit, signifying, that the (a) Metropolitan dignity which was then at London, should in the following times be transferred to Canterbury. Ethelbert then King of Kent, having thus given away the Regal City, retires himself unto Reculver, where he built his Palace for himself and his Successors in that Kingdom, leaving his former Royal Seat to be the Archic-
PART I. Archiepiscopal Palace for the Archbishops of Canterbury. The Cathedral, having been a Church before in the Britains time, was by the said Archbishop Augustine repaired, Consecrated and Dedicated to the name of Christ, which it still retains, though for a long time togethet it was called St. Thomas, in honour of Thomas Becket, one of the Archbishops hereof, who was murthcrered in it. The present Fabrick was begun by Archbishop Lanfrank and William Carboyle; and by degrees made perfect by their Successors. Take Canterbury as the Seat of the Metropolitan, it hath under it twenty one Suffragan Bishops, of which seventeen are in England, and four in Wales: But take it as the Seat of a Diocesan, and it containeth only some part of Kent, to the number of 257 Parishes, (the residue being in the Dioceses of Rochester) together with some few particular Parishes dispersed here and there in several Dioceses; it being an ancient priviledge of this See, that whereover the Archbishops had their Mannors or Advoufons, the place forthwith became exempt from the Ordinary, and was reputed of the Dioceses of Canterbury. The other Priviledges of this See are, that the Archbishop is accounted Primate and Metropolitan of ALL England, and is the first Peer of the Realm: having precedence of all Dukes, not being of the Royal blood, and all the great Officers of the State. He hath the Title of Grace afforded him in common speech, and writeth himself Divina Providenfia, where other Bishops onely use Divina Permisfion. The Coronation of the King hath anciently belonged unto him: It being also formerly resolved, that whereover the Court was, the King and Queen were (b) the proper and Domeftical Parifhioners of the Archbifhop of Canterbury. It also did belong unto him in former times to take unto himself the Offerings made at the holy Altar by the King and Queen, wherefover the Court was, if he were prefent at the fame; and to appoint the Lent Preachers: but these time hath altered, and the King otherwise disposed of them. Abroad in General Councils he had place at the Popes Right foot: At home this Royal Priviledge, That those which held Lands of him were liable for Wardhip to him, and to compound with him for the fame, though they held other Lands in chief of our Lord the King. And for the more increase of his power and honour it was Enacted, 25. Hen. viii. and 21. "That all Licenfes and Dispemtions (not repugnant to the Law of God) which here-tofore were sued for in the Court of Rome, should be hereafter granted by the Archbifhop of Canterbury and his Successors. As also in the 1 Eliz. and 2. That by the Advice of the Metropolitan or Ecclefiaftical Commissioner, the Queens Majesty might ordain and publish fuch Rites and Ceremonies, as may be most for the Advancement of Gods glory, the Edifying of his Church, and the due Reverence of Christs holy Sacraments. To this high dignity Land succeedeth on the death of Abbot, nominated unto it by the King on the sixth of August, the Election returned and presented to his Majesty from the Dean and Chapter, on the twenty fifth of the fame, and the translation fully perfected on the nineteenth of September then next following, on which day he kept a Solemn and magnificent Feast
at his house in Lambeth, his State being set out in the great Chamber of that house, and all persons standing bare before it after the accustomed manner; his Steward, Treasurer, and Comptroller, attending with their white staves in their several Offices.

Thus have we brought him to his height, and from that height we may take as good a prospect into the Church under his direction, as the advantage of the place can present unto us. And if we look into the Church as it stood under his direction, we shall find the Prelates generally more intent upon the work committed to them, more earnest to reduce this Church to the ancient Orders, than in former times; the Clergy more obedient to the Commands of their Ordinaries, joyned together to advance the work of Uniformity recommended to them; the Liturgy more punctually executed in all the parts and offices of it; the Word more diligently preached, the Sacraments more reverently administered, than in some scores of years before; the people more conformable to those Reverend Gestures in the House of God, which, though prescribed before, were but little practised; more cost laid out upon the beautifying and adorning of Parochial Churches, in furnishing and repairing Parsonage-houses, than at or in all the times since the Reformation; the Clergy grown to such esteem, for parts and power, that the Gentry thought none of their Daughters to be better disposed of, than such as they had lodged in the Arms of a Church-man; and the Nobility grown so well affected to the State of the Church, that some of them designed their younger Sons to the Order of Priesthood, to make them capable of rising in the same Ascendant Next, if we look into the Doctrine, we shall find her to be no less glorious within, then beautified and adorned to the outward eye; the Doctrines of it publickly avowed and taught, in the literal and Grammatical sense, according to the true intent and meaning of the first Reformers; the Dictates and Authorities of private men (which before had carried all before them) subjected to the sense of the Church; and the Church hearkening to no other voice than that of their great Shepherd, speaking to them in his Holy Scriptures; all bitternesses of spirit so compos'd and qualified on every side, that the advancement of the great work of Unity and Uniformity between the parties went forwards like the building of Solomon's Temple without the noise of Axe or Hammer. If you will take her Character from the mouth of a (c) Protestant, he will give it thus: "He that desires to pourtray England (faith he) in her full structure of external glory, let him behold the Church shinning in transcendent Empyreal brightness, and purity of Evangelical Truths. Her Religious Performances, her holy Offices, ordered and regulated agreeable to the strict expedient of such Sacred Actions. Her Discipline, Model, suitable to the Apostolick Form. The set and suit of her whole Tribe, renowned for Piety and Learning, are all those in so super-eminent a degree, that no Church on this side of the Apostolick, can or could compare with her in any one: All Arts and Sciences highly honoured, and consequently their Academies to flourish. To which last part of the Character let me add thus much, That the Uni- (c) H. of K. Charles by H.L. p. 242.
PART II. verities never had such a flourishing time for number of Students, civility of Conversation, and eminence in all parts of Learning, as when the influences of his Power and Government did direct their Studies.

If you will take her Character from the Pen of a (d) Jesuit, you shall find him speaking, amongst many falshoods, these undoubted Truths; viz. "That the Professors of it, they especially of greatest Worth, Learning and Authority, love Temper and Moderation; That the Doctrines are altered in many things; as for example, the Pope not Antichrist, Pictures, Free-will, Predestination, Universal Grace, Inherent Righteousness, the preferring of Charity before Knowledge, the Merit (or Reward rather) of good Works; the 39 Articles seeming patient, if not ambitious also of some Catholick fcale; That their Churches begin to look with a new face, their Walls to speak a new Language, and some of theirDIVINES to teach, That the Church hath Authority in determining Controversies of Faith, and interpreting the Scriptures; That men in talk and writing use willingly the once fearful names of Priests and Altars, and are now put in mind, That for Exposition of Scripture they are by Canon bound to follow the Fathers. So far the Jesuit may be thought to speak nothing but truth; but had he tarried there, he had been no Jesuit: And therefore to preserve the Credit of his Order, he must fly out further, and tell us this, viz. "That the Protestantism waxeth weary of it self; That we are at this time more unresolved where to fasten, than in the infancy of our Church; That our Doctrine is altered in many things, for which our Progenitors forsook the then visible Church of Christ, amongst which he reckons Limbus Patrum, Prayer for the Dead, Justification not by Faith alone, The possibility of keeping Gods Commandments, and the accounting of Calvinism to be Hereof at the least, if not also Treason. Which Points the Jesuit cannot prove to have been positively maintained by any one Divine in the Church of England; and yet those foolish men began to phancy such a mis-construction of that Ingenuity and Moderation which they found in some Professors of our Religion, whom they affirmed to be of greatest Worth, Learning and Authority, as to conceive that we were coming towards an Agreement with them, even in those Superflitions and Idolatries which made the first Wall of Separation between the Churches. Upon which hope (as weak and foolish as it was) the late Archbishop of Canterbury was no sooner dead, but one of their Party came to London, whom they looked upon as his Successor, seriously tendred him the offer of a Cardinals Cap, and avowed Ability to perform it; to whom he profently returned this Answcr, That somewhat dwelt within him which would not suffer him to accept the Offer, till Rome were otherwise than it was: And this being said, he went immediately to his Majesty, acquainting him both with the Man, and with his Message, together with the Answcr which he made unto it. The like he also did when the same Offer was reinforced a fortnight after; upon which second Refusal, the Tempter left him, and that not only for that time, but for ever after.

But
But to proceed: To welcome him to his new great Charge, here-LIB. IV.
Anno Dom. 1633.
Canons of the Church, "That none should be admitted Deacon or Priest, who had not first some certain place where he might use his Function. And it was ordered by the Canons of the year 1603, in pursuance of the said old Canons, "That no person should be admitted into Sacred Orders, except he shall at that time exhibit to the Bishop of whom he desireth Imposition of Hands, a Presentation of himself to some Ecclesiastical Preferment then void in that Diocese; or shall bring unto the said Bishop a true and undoubted Certificate, "That either he is provided of some Church within the said Diocese, Can-33,
"where he may attend the Cure of Souls, or of some Ministers Place vacant, either in the Cathedral Church of that Diocese, or of some other Collegiat Church therein also situate, where he may execute his Ministry, or that he is a Fellow, or in right as a Fellow, or to be a Conduct or Chaplain in some Colledge in either of the Universitie's, or except he be a Master of Arts of five years standing, that liveth in either of them at his own charge. And hereunto was added this Commination, "That if any Bishop shall admit any person into the Ministry, that hath none of these Titles as is aforesaid, then he shall keep and maintain him with all things necessary, till he do prefer him to some Ecclesiastical Living; and on his refusal so to do, he shall be suspended by the Archbishop, being assisting with another Bishop, from giving of Orders by the space of a year. Which severe Canon notwithstanding, some Bishops of the poorer Sees, for their private benefit, admitted many men promiscuously to Holy Orders, so far from having any Title, that they had no Merit: By means whereof the Church was filled with indigent Clerks, which either thrust themselves into Gentlemens Houses to teach their Children, and sometimes to officiate Divine Service at the Tables end; or otherwise to undertake some Stipendary Lecture, wheretoever they could find entertainment, to the great fomenting of Faction in the State, the Danger of Schism in the Church, and ruine of both. It had been formerly ordered by his Majsieties Instructions of the year 1629. "That no private Gentleman, not qualified by Law, should keep any Chaplain in his House: Which though it were somewhat strictly inquired into at the first, yet not a few of them retained their Chaplains, as before: For remedy whereof for the time to come, it was thought fit to tie the Bishops from giving Orders unto any which were not qualified according to the aforesaid Canon; which was conceived to be the only probable means of diminishing the number both of such petit Lecturers, and such Trencher-Chaplains; the English Gentry not being then come to such wild extremities, as to believe that any man might exercise the Priests Office, in ministring the Sacraments, Praying, Preaching, &c. which was not lawfully Ordained by some Bishop or other. Now his Majesties Letter to this purpose was as followeth.

H h 2 CHARLES
Charles Rex.

Most Reverend Father in God, Right Trusty and Right Entirely-beloved Counsellor, We greet you well. There is nothing more dear to us than the preservation of true Religion, as it is now settled and established in this Our Kingdom, to the Honour of God, the great Comfort of Our Self and Our Loyal People: and there can nothing more conduce to the Advancement thereof, than the strict observations of such Canons of the Church as concern those who are to take Orders in their several Times; more especially of keeping that particular Canon which enjoins, That no man be made a Priest without a Title: For We find, that many not so qualified, do by favour or other means procure themselves to be Ordained, and afterwards for want of means wander up and down, to the scandal of their Calling; or to get Maintenance, fall upon such Courses as were most unfit for them, both by humouring their Auditors, and other ways altogether unsufferable. We have therefore thought fit, and We do hereby straightly command, require, and charge you, to call such Bishops to you as are now present in or near Our City of London, and to acquaint them with this Our Resolution. And further, That you fail not in the beginning of the next Term, to give notice of this Our Will and Pleasure openly in Our High-Commission Court; and that you call into your said Court every Bishop respectively, that shall presume to give Orders to any man that hath not a Title, and there to confine him as the Canon aforesaid doth enjoin (which is, to maintain the Party so Ordered till be give him a Title) and with what other Censure you in Justice shall think fit. And Our further Will is, That nothing shall be reputed a Title to enable a man for Orders, but that which is so by the Ancient Course of the Church, and the Canon-Law, so far forth as that Law is received in this Our Church of England. And as you must not fail in these Our Directions, nor in any part of them; so We expel that you give Us from time to time a strict Account of your Proceedings in the same.

Given under Our Signet at Our Palace of Westminster, Septemb. 19, in the ninth year of Our Reign. 1633.

On the Receipt of these Letters, which himself had both advised and digested, he called such of his Suffragan Bishops who were then abroad London to come before him, acquaints them with the great scandal which was given the Church, the danger of Schism and Faction which might thence arise, and the more than ordinary displeasure which had been taken by his Majesty and the Lords of his Council, at such unlawful and uncanonical Ordinations; he required them therefore to be more careful for the time to come, and not to give the like offence to his Sacred Majesty, who was resolved to see the Canons of the Church in that particular more punctually observed than they had been formerly, and to call all such to an account who should presume hereafter to transgress therein: Which said, he gave to each of them a Copy of his Majesties Letters, and lent the like Copies unto all the rest of his Suffragan Bishops inclosed in Letters of his own;
in which Letters having declared unto them as much as he spake unto the rest, touching his Majesties pious Care to redress that mischief, he requires them and every one of them, That at all times of Ordination they be very careful to admit none into Holy Orders, but such men as for Life and Learning are fit, and which have a Title for their maintenance, according to the Law and the ancient Practice of the Church, assuring them that his Majestie had commanded him to let them know, That he would not fail to call for an account of those his Letters, both from him and them; and therefore, That he did not doubt but that they would have a special care both of the good of the Church, and his Majesties Contentment in it. The like Letters were sent from his Majestie, by his procurement, to the Archbishop of York, who was as sensible of the inconvenience as himself could be. And though nothing was required in either of the said Letters, but what had been provided for in the Canon of 1603, yet was it as much inveighed against as if it had been a new device, never heard of formerly. The reason was, because that neither any Lecture, nor any possibility of being entertained as a Chaplain in the Houses of Noblemen, or others of the inferior Gent, could be allowed of for a Title, and consequently no Orders to be given hereafter under those Capacities. But notwithstanding those Reproaches, the Archbishops did bestirr themselves, and kept such a strict eye on their several Suffragans, that from henceforth we hear but little of such vagrant Ministers and Trencher-Chaplains (the old brood being once worn out) as had pestred and annoyed the Church in those latter Times.

It is to be observed, That the Archbishops Letter to his several Suffragans bears date on the eighteenth of October, which day gives date also to his Majesties Declaration about Lawful Sports, concerning which we are to know, That the Commons in the first Parliament of his Majesties Reign had gained an Act, That from thenceforth there should be no Assembly or Concours of People out of their own Parishes on the Lords day, or any Bull-baiting, Bear-baiting, Enterludes, Common Plays, or any other unlawful Exercises or Pastimes in their own Parishes on the same: Which being gained, they obtained another in the third Parliament, for inhibiting all Carriers, Waggoners, Drovers, Pack-men, for Travelling on the said day with their Horses, Wagons, Packs, &c. As also, That no Butcher should from thenceforth kill or sell any Victual upon that day, either by himself or any other, under the several Penalties therein contained. And though it was not his Majesties purpose in those Acts to debar any of his good Subjects from any honest and harmless recreations, which had not been prohibited by the Laws of the Land; or that it should not be lawful for them, in case of necessity, to buy a piece of Meat for the use of their Families, the Butchers Shop not being yet open as on other days: yet presently some Publick Ministers of Justice began to put another sense upon those Acts, than ever came within the compas of his meaning. For at the Summer Assizes held in Exon. Anno 1627, an Order was made by Walter then Chief Baron, and Denham one of the puifne Barons of the Court of Exchequer, for suppressing all Re-
PART II. veils, Church-Ales, Clerk-Ales, which had been used upon that day; requiring the Justices of the Peace within the said County to see the same put in execution; and that every Minister in his Parish-Church should publish the said Order yearly, on the first Sunday in February. The like Order made in the same year also for the Counties of Somerset and Dorset, and probably enough for some of the other Counties of that Western Circuit; none of them in those peculiar and unfelted Times being questioned for it. And then in reference to the Statute of the Third of this King, a Warrant is granted in the month of April 1629. by Richard Dean then Lord Mayor of London, for apprehending all Porters carrying Burthens, or Water-men plying at their Oars, all Tankard-bearers carrying Water to their Mesters Houses, all Chandlers and Hucksters which bought any Victuals on that day of the Country-Carriers, all Vintners, Alehoufe-keepers, Strongwater-men, and Tobacco-fellers, which suffered any Person to sit drinking on that day (though possibly they might do it only for their honest necessities.) In which as Dean out-went the Statute, so Rayton in the same Office, Anno 1632. over-acted Dean, prohibiting a poor woman from selling Apples on that day in Saint Paul's Church-yard, within which place he could pretend no Jurisdiction, and for that cause was questioned and reproved by Laud then Bishop of London.

But none so lustily laid about him in this kind, as Richardson the Chief Justice of his Majesties Bench, who in the Lent-Affizes for the County of Somerset, Anno 1631. published the like Order to that which had been made by Walter for the Countv of Devon; not only requiring that the Justices of the Peace in the said County should see the same to be duly put in execution; but also (as the other had done before) that publication should be made thereof in the Parish-Churches by all such Ministers as did officiate in the same, with which encroachment upon the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in imposing upon men in Holy Orders the publishing of Warrants and Commands from the Secular Judges, Laud being then Bishop of London, and finding his Majesties Affairs in a quieter condition than they had been formerly, was not meanly offended, as he had good reason so to be, and made complaint of it to the King, who thereupon commanded Richardson to revoke the said Order at the next Affizes. But Richardson was so far from obeying his Majesties Command in that particular, that on the contrary he not only confirmed his former Order, but made it more peremptory than before: Upon complaint whereof by Sir Robert Philips, and other chief Gentlemen of that County, his Majestie seemed to be very much moved, and gave Command to the Bishop of London to require an Account from the Bishop of Bath and Wells then being, how the said Feast-days, Church-Ales, Wakes, or Revels, were for the most part celebrated and observed in his Diocese. On the Receipt of which Letters the Bishop calls before him 72 of the most Orthodox and ablest Clergy-men amongst them, who certified under their several hands, That on the Feast-days (which commonly fell upon the Sunday) the Service of God was more solemnly performed, and the Church was better frequented both in the forenoon and afternoon, than upon any Sunday
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

in the year; That the People very much desired the continuance of them: L I B. IV. That the Ministers in most Places did the like, for these Reasons specially; Anno Dom. viz. For preserving the memorial of the Dedication of their several Churches; For civilizing the People; For composing Differences, by the mediation and meeting of Friends; For increase of Love and Unity, by those Feasts of Charity; For Relief and Comfort of the Poor (the Richer part in a manner keeping open Houses,) &c. On the Return of which Certificate, so seasonably sending the Complaint and Information of the Gentry, Richardson was again convened at the Council-Table, and peremptorily commanded to reverse his former Orders at the next Assizes for that County; withal receiving such a rattle for his former Contempt by the Bishop of London, that he came out blubbering and complaining, That he had been almost choked with a pair of Lawn Sleeves.

Whilist these things were thus in agitation, one Brabourne a poor School-master in the Diocess of Norfolk, being seduced and misguided by the continual inculcating of the Morality of the Lords-day-Sabbath from the Press and Pulpit, published a Book in maintenance of the Seventh-day-Sabbath, as it was kept amongst the Jews, and prescribed by Moses, according to God's Will and Pleasure signified in the Fourth Commandment. This Book at the first not daring to behold the Light, went abroad by stealth; but afterwards appeared in publick with an open confidence, an Epistle Dedicator to his Majesty being placed before it. His Majesty extremely moved with so lewd an impudence, and fearing to be thought the Patron of a Doctrine so abhorrent from all Christian Piety, gave Order for the Author to be Censured in the High-Commission. Brabourne being thereupon called into that Court, and the Cause made ready for an Hearing, his Error was so learnedly confuted by the Bishops and other judicious Divines then present, that he began to stagger in his former Opinion; which hint being taken by their Lordships, he was admonished in a grave and fatherly manner to submit himself unto a Conference with such Learned men as should be appointed thereunto; to which he cheerfully consented, and found such benefit by that Meeting, that by God's blessing he became a Convert, and freely conformed himself to the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the Church of England; concerning the sabbath and Lords-day: Which Tendencies of some of the People to downright Judaism, grounded upon the Practices and Positions of the Sabbatarians, and seconded by the petulancy of some Publick Ministers of Justice, in debarring his good Subjects in keeping the ancient Dedication-Feast of their several Churches, occasioned his Majesty to think of the reviving of his Royal Fathers Declaration about Lawful Sports: To which end he gave Order to the Archbishop of Canterbury to cause the same to be Re-printed, word for word, as it had issued from the Press in the time of his late Royal Father, Anno 1618. at the end whereof he caused this Declaration of his own sense to be super-added; that is to say:

Now out of a like Pious Care (faith his Sacred Majesty,) for the Service of God, and for suppressing of any humours that oppose the Truth,
and for the cafe, and comfort, and recreation of Our well-deserving People, We do Ratifie and Publish this Our Blessed Fathers Declaration, that rather, because of late in some Counties of Our Kingdom we find, that under pretence of taking away Abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called Wakes. Now Our express Will and Pleasure is, That these Feasts with others shall be observed, and that Our Justices of the Peace in their several Divisions shall look to it, both that all Disorders there may be prevented or punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises be used. And We further command Our Justices of Assize in their several Circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of Our Loyal and Dutiful People, in or for their Lawful recreations, having first done their Duty to God, and continuing in Obedience to Us and Our Laws. And of this We command all Our Judges, Justices of the Peace as well within Liberties as without, Mayors, Rayliffs, Constables, and other Officers, to take notice, and to see observed, as they tender Our displeasure. And We further Will, That Publication of this Our Command be made by Order from the Bishops, through all the Parish Churches of their several Dioceses respectively. Given at our Palace at Westminster, Oct. 18, in the ninth year of Our Reign, 1633.

His Majesty had scarce dried his Pen, when he dippt it in the Ink again, upon this occasion: The Parishes of St. Gregories in Saint Pauls Church-yard had bestowed much coat in beautifying and adorning their Parish Church; and having prepared a decent and convenient Table for the holy Sacrament, were ordered by the Dean and Chapter of St. Pauls, as being Ordinaries of the place, to dispose of it in such a Posture, in the East end of the Chancel, as anciently it had stood, and did then stand in the Mother Cathedral. Against this some of the Parishes (not above five in number) appeal unto the Dean of the Arch, and the Dean and Chapter to the King. The third day of November is appointed for debating the Point in controvertie before the Lords of the Council; his Majesty sitting as chief Judge, accompanied with Land Archbp of Canterbury, Lord Keeper, Lord Archbp of York, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Duke of Lenox, Lord High Chamberlain, Earl Marshal, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Bridgewater, Earl of Carlisle, Lord Cottington, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary Coke, Mr. Secretary Windebanke. The caufe being heard, and all the Allegations on both sides exactly pondered, his Majesty first declared his dislike of all Innovations, and receding from ancient Constitutions, grounded upon just and warrantable reasons, &c. And afterwards gave Sentence in behalf of the Dean and Chapter. But because this Order of his Majesty in the case of St. Gregories was made the Rule, by which all other Ordinaries did proceed, in causing the Communion Table to be placed Alterwise in the Churches of their several and respective Dioceses, I will subjoyn it here verbatim as it lies before me.
This day, was debated before his Majesty sitting in Council the question and difference which grew about the removing of the Communion-Table in St. Gregory's Church, near the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, from the middle of the Chancel to the upper end, and there placed Altarwife in such manner as it standeth in the said Cathedral and Mother-Church, (as also in other Cathedrals, and in his Majesties own Chappel) and as is confonant to the practice of approved Antiquity, which removing and placing of it in that fort was done by order of the Dean and Chapter of St. Pauls, who are Ordinaries thereof, as was avowed before his Majesty by Doctor King, and Doctor Montfort, two of the Prebends there. Yet some few of the Parishioners, being but five in number, did complain of this Act by appeal to the Court of Arches, pretending that the Book of Common-Prayer, and the 82. Canon, do give permission to place the Communion Table where it may stand with most fitness and convenience. Now his Majesty having heard a particular relation, made by the Counsel of both parties, of all the carriage and proceedings in this cause, was pleased to declare his dislike of all innovation and receding from ancient Constitutions, grounded upon just and warrantable reasons, especially in matters concerning Ecclesiastical Orders and Government, knowing how easily men are drawn to affect Novelties, and how soon weak judgments in such cases may be overtaken and abused. And he was also pleased to observe, that if those few Parishioners might have their wills, the difference thereby from the forefaid Cathedral Mother-Church, by which all other Churches depending thereon ought to be guided, would be the more notorious, and give more subject of discourse and disputes that might be spared, by reason of the nearness of St. Gregorys standing close to the Wall thereof. And likewise, for so much as concerns the Liberty by the said Common Book or Canon, for placing the Communion Table in any Church or Chappel with most convenience, that liberty is not so to be understood, as if it were ever left to the discretion of the Parish, much less to the particular fancy of any hansom person, but to the judgment of the Ordinary, so whose place and function doth properly belong to give direction in that point, both for the thing itself, and for the time, when, and how long, as he may find cause. Upon which consideration his Majesty declared himself, that he well approved and confirmed the Act of the said Ordinary, and also gave commandment, that if those few Parishioners before mentioned, do proceed in their said Appeal, then the Dean of the Arches (who was then attending at the hearing of the cause) should confirm the said Order of the aforesaid Dean and Chapter.

Of this last Declaration there was no great notice took at first, the danger being remote, the cause particular, and no necessity imposed of conforming to it. But the other was no sooner publifhed then it was followed and pursued with such loud outcries as either the Tongues or Pens of the Sabbatarians could raise against it. Some fell directly on the King, and could find out no better names for this Declaration than
PART II. then a Profane Edict, a maintaining of his own honour, and a Sacrilegious robbing of God. A Toleration for profaning the Lords day. Affirming, That it was impossible that a spot of so deep a dye should be emblanched, though somewhat might be urged to qualify and alleviate the blame there-of. Others, and those the greatest part, impute the Repubbling of this Declaration to the new Archbichop, and make it the first remarkable thing which was done presently after he took possession of his Gracehip, as Burton doth pretend to wit it in his Pulpit Libel. And though these Books came not out in Print till some years after, yet was the clamour raised on both at the very first, encresing every day more and more as the reading of it in their Churches had been prefixed upon them. To stop the current of these clamours, till some better course might be devised, one who wisht well both to the Parties and the Cause, fell on a fancy of Tranlating into the English Tongue a Lecture or Oration made by Doctor Prideaux at the Act in Oxon. Anno 1622. In which he solidly discoursed both of the Sabbath and Sunday, according to the judgment of the ancient Fathers, and the most approved Writers of the Protestant and Reformed Churches. This Lecture thus translated was ushered also with a Preface: In which there was proof offered in these three Propositions, First, That the keeping holy of one day of seven is not the moral part of the fourth Commandment. Secondly, That the alteration of the day is only an humane and Ecclesiastical Constitution. Thirdly, That 'till the Church hath power to change the day, and to transfer it to some other. Which as they are the general Tendries of the Protestant, Lutheran, and Calvinian Writers beyond the Seas, so were they briefly touched at and maintained in the Doctors Lecture; which came out thus translated in the next Candlemas Term, under the Title of The Doctrin of the Sabbath, delivered in the Act at Oxon. An. 1622. By D. Prideaux, his Majesties Professor for Divinity in that University. The name of Prideaux was so Sacred, that the Book was greedily bought up by those of the Puritan Faction, presuming they should find in it some invincible Arguments to confirm both the Party and the Cause. But when they found how much they had deceived themselves in that expectation, and that nothing could be writ more smartly against them and their Lords-day Sabbath, as it did very much cool their colours, and abate their clamours: so did it no less tend to the diminution of that high esteem and veneration which before they had harboured of the man. What followed afterwards, when the reading of the book was prefixed, and the clamours multiplied by such as refused to read it, future time shall shew.

These passages concerning England being laid together, we must look back into the North, which till took up a great part of his Majesties thoughts. He had observed how much his Fathers Pious Order for officiating by the English Liturgie in the Chappel Royal of that Kingdom, had been discontinued and neglected, imputing thereunto the opposition which he found amongst them at his late being there. And being resolved to pursue his said Fathers most Religious purpose of setting an uniformity of Divine Worship in all the Churches of these Kingdoms, he thought it most expedient to pursue the same method.
thad also, to the end that the people being prepared by little and little might the more willingly admit of that, or some other Liturgie like unto it, when he should think it reasonable to commend it to them. In order whereunto he sends to Ballentine, then Bishop of Dumblaine, and Dean of the Chappel of that Kingdom, these Instructions following, to be observed in the Chappel Royal of Holy Rood in the City of Edinbugh.

**CHARLES REX,**

I. *Our express Will and Pleasure is, That the Dean of Our Chappel that now is, and his Successors shall be assistant to the Right Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of St. Andrews at the Coronation, so often as it shall happen.*

II. *That the Book of the Form of Our Coronation, lately used, be put in a little Box, and laid into a Standard, and committed to the care of the Dean of the Chappel successively.*

III. *That there be Prayers twice a day with the Choristers as well in Our absence as otherwise, according to the English Liturgie, till some other course be taken for making one that may fit the Customs and Constitutions of that Church.*

IV. *That the Dean of the Chappel look carefully, that all that receive the blessed Sacrament there, receive it kneeling, and that there be a Communion held in that Our Chappel the first Sunday of every Month.*

V. *That the Dean of Our Chappel that now is, and so successively, come duly thither to Prayers upon Sundays, and such Holidays as the Church observes, in his Whites, and Preach so whenever he Preach there; and that he be not absent thence but upon necessary occasion of his Dioceses, or otherwise according to the course of his preferment.*

VI. *That these Orders shall be Our Warrant to the Dean of Our Chappel, that the Lords of Our Privy Council, the Lords of the Session, the Advocate, Clerk, Writers to the Signet, and Members of Our College of Justice, be commanded to receive the Holy Communion once every year at the least in that Our Chappel Royal, and kneeling, for example sake to the Kingdom; and we likewise command the Dean aforesaid, to make report yearly to Us how We are obeyed therein, and of whom, as also if any man shall refuse, in what manner he doth so, and why.*

VII. *That the Copes which are consecrated for the use of Our Chappel be delivered to the Dean to be kept upon Inventory by him, and in a Standard provided for that purpose, and to be used at the Celebration of the Sacrament in Our Chappel Royal. To these Orders we shall hereafter add others, if we find others more necessary for the Service of God there.*

Together with these directions bearing date the eighth of October, he sends a Letter of the same Date, to the said Bishop of Dumblaine, requiring him to put them speedily in execution, and all things to be carefully performed by him as he was directed; commanding also that he should certify the Lords of the Council there, if any person who had been formerly appointed to communicate in the said Chappel Royal,
PART II. Royal, should either neglect or refuse conformity to his Majesties pleasure, to the end that the Council might take such further order in it, as had been directed by his Majesty in some former Letters. But knowing, or at the least suspecting, that Ballentine might have some what more of the Presbyter than the Bishop in him (as indeed he had) he gave a Warrant under his hand to his Grace of Canterbury, "Re quiring him to hold correspondence with the said Bishop of Dumb lain, that the said Bishop might from time to time receive his Maj esties directions for ordering of such things as concerned his Service in that Chappel. He had before a Primacy in the Church of England, and a strong influence on the Government of the Church of Ireland. This Warrant gives him some just ground of a superintendency over the Kirk of Scotland also, which from henceforth was much directed by his power and wisdom, as will appear by that which follows in its proper place.

Mean while we will behold such alterations as by his power were made in the Preferments of the Church of England; which in the beginning of this year lamented the death of Bishop Godwin, made Bishop of Landaff in the year 1601, from thence translated unto Hereford, Anno 1617. A man whose memory shall be precious in succeeding times for his indefatigable pains and travel in collecting the Catalogue of Succeedion of all the Bishops of this Church since the first planting of the Gospel amongst the Saxons, not pretermitting such of the Britiff Church as by the care and diligence of preceding Writers, or any old Monument and Record, had been kept in memory. For his Success for in that See Juxton, then Dean of Worcester, and Clerk of his Majesties Closet, as before was said, is recommended and elected. But before the business had proceeded to confirmation there was a superfluous to it by Lands preferment to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury, who having a great confidence in him, and no less affection to his Person than confidence of his Wisdom and Moderation, commended him so efficaciously to his Majesties Favour, that he made him not only Bishop of London, but Dean of the Chappel Royal also. It had been Lands great care, as he grew into credit with his Majesty, to give a stop to such corruptions as had been used too frequently in the Court, about Church Preferments, which made him the less acceptable to many which were near the King in Place and Service, who formerly had been on the taking hand, and made a Market of the Church as they had occasion. Goodman of Gloucester having stayed in that Diocess long e nough to be as weary of them as they were of him, affected a remove to the See of Hereford, and had so far prevailed with some great Officer of State, that his Mony was taken, his Conge d' esfill auxi dull, his Election failed. But the Archbishop coming opportunely to the knowledge of it, and being ashamed of so much baseness in the man, who could pretend no other merit than his Mony, so laboured the business with the King, and the King so rattled up the Bishop, that he was glad to make his peace, not only with the Resignation of his Election, but the loss of his Bribe. At last, that Church a third time vacant, that is to say, by the death of Godwin, the promotion of Juxton and the Resignation of Goodman, was recommended to the Government
ment of Dr. Augustine Lindel, not long before made Bishop of Peter- 
borough, and now succeeded in that See by Francis Dee, Doctor in 
Divinity, and Dean of Chichester. Now begins Wren to come in play, 
Chaplain to his Majesty when Prince of Wales, and chosen by King 
James to be one of the two which were to follow him into Spain, a-
mongst the rest of his Retinue, as before was said. He had seen Mary, 
who went Chaplain with him into Spain, to be preferred first to the Ma-
sterhip of Trinity Colledge, and afterwards to the Bishoprick of Bath 
and Wells, Anno 1628. himself remaining in his place in Peterhousé as his 
highest dignity. In the year 1628. he was at the last made Dean of 
Windsor, and Register of the most noble Order of the Garter, in the 
place of Beaumont. And on that place he dwelt so long, that his well- 
willers gave it out, that Laud was afraid of his abilities, and would 
not suffer him to rise, for fear that he might rise too high both in pow-
er and favour, and overtop him in the Court. But these surmises 
proved as groundless as they were unjust: For this year he was made 
Succesfor unto Juxton as Clerk of the Closet, a place of great nearness 
to the King, and being once on the Ascendent he went up space, suc-
cceeding Lindel in the See of Hereford, Anno 1634. and Corbet in the 
Church of Norwich, Anno 1635. When Juxton was advanced to the 
Treasurers Staff, he was made Dean of the Chappel in his place, Anno 
1636. Succesfor unto White in the See of Ely, Anno 1638. and queeti-
onless had mounted higher had the times been favourable. Nor was 
he less fortunate in his Successors, leaving the Deanry of Windsor to 
Dr. Christopher Wren his younger brother; his Clerkship of the Closet 
to Dr. Richard Steward, Dean of Chichester; and the Mastership of Pe-
terhousé to John Coeins of Durham.

We must conclude this year, and begin the next with some pro-
ceedings against Pymne, the Preparations to whose cenfure we have 
heard before. Candlemas Term brings him at last unto his trysal in the 
Court of Star-Chamber, being first pre-condemned by the Gentlemen 
of his own Profession, and afterwards sentenced by that Court. 
The Gentlemen of the four Societies presented their Majesties with a 
Pompous and Magnificent Mafsue, to let them see that Pymnes leaven 
not fowred them all, and that they were not poysoned with the 
same infection. In which as they all joyned together to perform that 
Service, so gave they such contentment to his Sacred Majesty, that 
he defired them to make a Repreftation of it to the City of London: 
Which they accordingly performed with no lefs honour to themselves, 
and delight to the People, than shame and sorrow unto him who 
had given the occasion. But greater shame and sorrow fell upon 
him when he came to his Cenfure. Richardfon, Chief Juflice of 
his Majesties Bench, highly extolled his Majesties mercy in bringing 
him rather unto his trial in a Criminal than a Capital way; declaring 
openly, that if he had been turned over to his Tribunal, he must have 
put himself upon a Jury, of whom no mercy could be hoped for so 
great an Offender. The Earl of Dorset, being Lord Chamberlain 
to the Queen, aggravated his offence in aspersing with such foul re-
proaches a Lady of such eminent Vertue and exemplary Piety, that her 
very
PART II. very dreams were more in Heaven than most womens Prayers. The Archbishop having been bred in St. John's College in Oxon, where the younger Students used yearly to present some new or other Dramatic Exercise to the University, spake much in commendation of Academic Enterludes, and the great benefit which redounded to the Actors in them, by training them in an Art of speaking, a modest confidence of Behaviour, the strengthening of the Memory in the repeating of their parts, and the enriching them with a stock of Latine Verfes, out of one approved Author or other, which were their own for ever after. In fine, they generally concurred in this Council of his, viz. To be fined five thousand pound to the King; expelled the University of Oxon, and Lincoln's-Inn; degraded and disabled from his Profession in the Laws; to stand in the Pillory, first in the Palace-yard in Westminister, and three days after in Cheapside, and in each place to lose an Ear, (though this last part of his Censure was much moderated in the execution;) to have his Book, called Hiftrio-Majestix, publickly burnt before his face by the hand of the Hangman, and remain prisoner during life.

But all this was so far from working any remorse in him, that it rather hardened him in his ways. For in June following, as soon as he could provide himself of Pen, Ink and Paper, he writes a most sharp and Libertell Letter to the Lord Archbishop, touching his Censure in that Court, and that which the Archbishop in particular had declared against him. With this Letter the Archbishop acquaints his Majesty, and his Majesty commands him to refer it to Attorney Nay. Nay sends for Prynne, and demands of him whether the Letter were of his own hand-writing or not; to which Prynne cunningly replied, That he could make no answer to that demand, unless he saw the Letter, and might read the fame. No sooner was the Letter put into his hands, and Nay's back turned a little toward him, but presently he tore it all to pieces, and flung the pieces out of the window, to the end it might not rife in judgment against him if the Attorney should proceed to an Orefentence, as he meant to do. With this affront, and the principal passages of the Letter, the Attorney acquaints their Lordships in open Court, but there was no remedy. For being there was no proof of the misdemeanour but the Letter itself, and that the Letter could not be brought in evidence as it should have been, the Archbishop thought it a more noble Act to remit the crime than to trouble the Court, or any of his Majesties Ministers in the prosecution. But herein Prynne sped better than some others who had before been snarling at him, and laboured to expose him both to scorn and danger. No sooner had he mounted the Chair of Canterbury, but one Boyer, who not long before had broke prison, to which he had been committed for felony, most grossly abused him to his face, accusing him of no less than High Treason. For which being brought into the Star-Chamber, the next Michaelmas Term he was there censured by their Lordships as the Crime deserved. And presently on the neck of this, one Greene a poor decayed Printer, for whom his Grace then Bishop of London had procured a Pension of five pound per Annun, to be paid by the Company of Stationers.
And that the other Sex might whet their tongues upon him also, the Lady Davies, the Widow of Sir John Davies Attorney-General for King James in the Realm of Ireland, scatters a Prophecy against him. This Lady had before spoken something unluckily of the Duke of Buckingham, importing, that he should not live till the end of August, which raised her to the Reputation of a Cunning Woman amongst the ignorant people: and now the Prophecies of the new Archbishop, That he should live but few days after the fifth of November; for which, and other Prophecies of a more mischiefous nature, she was after brought into the other Court of High-Commission; the Woman being grown so mad, that she phancied the Spirit of the Prophet Daniel to have been infused into her Body: And this she grounded on an Anagram which she made of her Name, viz. ELEANOR DAVIES, REVEAL O DANIEL: And though the Anagram had too much by an L, and too little by an S; yet she found Daniel and Reveal in it, and that served her turn. Much pains was taken by the Court to dispossess her of this Spirit; but all would not do, till Lamb then Dean of the Arches shot her through and through, with an Arrow borrowed from her own Quiver; For whilsit the Bishop and Divines were reasoning the Point with her out of Holy Scripture, he took a Pen into his hand, and at last hit upon this excellent Anagram, viz. DAME ELEANOR DAVIES, NEVER SO MAD A LADY: Which having proved to be true by the Rules of Art, Madam, said he, I see you build much on Anagrams, and I have found out one which I hope will fit you; This said, and reading it aloud, he put it into her hands in Writing, which happy Phancy brought that grave Court into such a laughter, and the poor Woman thereupon into such a confusion, that afterwards the grew either wiser, or was les regarded. This ended as successfully as he could desire: but he sped worse with another of his Female Adveraries. The Lady Purbeck, Wife of John Villers Viscount Purbeck, the elder Brother by the same Venter to the Duke of Buckingham, had been brought into the High-Commission, Anno 1627. for living openly in Adultery with Sir Robert Howard, one of the younger Sons of Thomas the first Earl of Suffolk, of that Family. Sentenced among other things to do Penance at St. Paul's Crofs, she escaped her Keepers, took Sanctuary in the Savoy, and was from thence conveyed away by the French Embassador. The Duke being dead, all further prosecution against her died also with him; which notwithstanding, the proud woman being more terrified with the fear of the Punishment, than the sense of the Sin, vented her malice and displeasure against the Archibishop (who had been very severe against her at the time of her Trial) when he wascome unto his Greatness's spending her tongue upon him in words so full of deep disgrace and reproach
The Life of W I L L I A M

PART II. reproach unto him, that he could do no less than cause her to be laid in the Gatehouse: But being not long after delivered thence by the Practice of Howard aforesaid, Howard was leas'd upon, and laid up in her place; which Punishment (though it was the least that could be looked for) he so highly stomach'd, that as soon as the Archbishop was impeach'd by the House of Commons, and committed to Custody by the Lords (which hapned on Friday, December 18. 1640.) he petitioned for Relief against the Archbishop, and some other of the High Commissioners by whom the Warrant had been signed. The Lords upon the reading of it imposed a Fine of 500 l. on the Archbishop himself, and 250 l. apiece upon Lamb and Duck, and presli'd it with such cruel rigour, that they forced him to sell his Plate to make payment of it; the Fine being set on Monday the 21. of December, and ordered to be paid on the Wednesday after.

But these Particulars have carried me beyond my year: I return therefore back again; and having shewed what Actions had been set on foot both in England and Scotland, must now cross over into Ireland, where we find Wentworth made Lord Deputy in the place of Faulkland. We told you formerly of some dearness which was growing between him and Land then Bishop of London, at his first Admission to the place of a Privy-Councillor. Toward the latter end of January, Anno 1630. Wentworth being then Lord President of the Council established for the Northern Parts, bestowed a Visit on him at London-House, where they had some private Conference touching the better Settlement of Affairs both in England and Ireland, of which Kingdom Wentworth not long after was Created Lord Deputy. He said something longer from his Charge then he would have done, to bear present at the Ceniture of Williams Bishop of Lincoln, informed against in the Star-Chamber by his Majesties Attourney-General, for some dangerous and disgraceful words which he was reported to have spoken of his Majesties Government, and revealing some Secrets which his Majesty had formerly committed to his Trust as a Privy-Councillor: But Williams found so many shifts to put off the Trial, that the Deputy was fain to leave him in the same estate in which he found him, and hossed Sail for Ireland. Scarce was he settled in his Power, but he began to reform some things which he beheld as blemishes in the face of that Church. In the Chappel of the Castle of Dublin, the chief Seat of his Residence, he found a fair large Pue at the end of the Chioye, erected for the use of his Predecessors in that place; the Communion-Table in the mean time being thrust out of doors. This Pue he commands to be taken down, and the Holy Table to be restored to its ancient place, where the Altar formerly had stood. In Christ-Church the Cathedral of that City, to which the Lord Deputies repair on Sundays and Holydays for Gods Publick Worship, he found the Holy Table situated in the middle of the Chioye or Chancel, and day by day profan'd by Boys and Girls, who hate upon it: This Table he caus'd to be removed also, as he did the other. And whereas the Earl of Cork had built a stately Monument for his Wife and some of her Ancestors, but chiefly for himself and his own Posterity, at the East end of the Chioye.
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Choir in St. Patrick's Church, being the second of that City, the Lord Deputy required him to take it down, or otherwise to satisfie the Archbishop of Canterbury in the standing of it.

Of all these things he gave Order to his Chaplain Bramhall to give the Archbishop an Account, which Bramhall did accordingly in his Letters of the tenth of August 1633. In which Letters he gave this testimony also of the Deputies Care, That it was not possible for the Intentions of a mortal Man, to be more serious and sincere in those things that concerned the good of the Irish church than his Lordships were. And that he might lay a sure foundation to proceed upon, he procured the Univercity of Dublin to make choice of Land, then being Lord Elect of Canterbury, for their Lord and Chancellor. To this they cheerfully attented, paft the Election on the fourteenth of September, Anno 1633, being but six days before his actual Confirmation into the Metropolitical and Suprem Dignity of the Church of England. Nor was it long before they found on what a gracious Benefactor they had placed that Honour: He had been told by Ryvers, his Majesties Advocate (who formerly had exercised that Office in the Realm of Ireland) of the deplorable condition of that Church in the respect of Maintenance. Most of the Tythes had been appropriated to Monasteries and Religious Houses, afterwards vested in the Crown, or fold to private Subjects, and made Lay-Fees; The Vicarages for the most part Stipendary, and their Stipends so miserable fordid, that in the whole Province of Connaught most of the Vicars Penfions came but to 40 s. per Annum, and in many places but 16. The Bishopricks at that time were many in number, but of small Revenue, having been much dilapidated in the change of Religion, some of them utterly unable to maintain a Bishop, and no good Benefice near them to be held in Commendam. This had been certified unto him by Letters from the Lord Primate about three years since; and it had been certified also by Beadle Bishop of Killmore, That the Churches were in great decay, and that some men of better quality than the rest were possessed of three, four, five, or more of those Vicarages, to the great differvice of the Church, and reproach to themselves.

These things he could not choose but look on as great discouragements to Learning, and such as could produce noother effects than Ignorance in the Priest, and Barbarism in the People. Scandalous Benefices make for the most part scandalous Minifters, as naked Walls are said in the English Proverb to make giddy Houfifes. Where there is neither Means nor Maintenance for a Learned Miniftry, what a gross night of Ignorance must befall those men who were to hold forth the Light to others? And if the light it felt be Darkness, how great a Darknes must it be, which doth follow after it? That Observation of (c) Panormitan, That poor Churches will be filled with none but ignorant Priests, being as true as old, and as old as lamentable. For remedy whereof, he took an opportunity to move his Majesty to ref tore all such Improprations to the Church of Ireland, as were then vested in the Crown. The Exchequer was at that time empty,

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the
PART II. the Revenue low, which might seem to make the Proposition the more unfeasable: But so great was his Majesties Piety on the one side, the Reafons to forcible on the other, and the Lord Deputy of that Kingdom so cordially affected to advance the Work, that his Majesty graciously condeffected to it, and found his Minifters there as ready to speed the busines, as either of them could defire. Encouraged by which Royal Example, the Earl of Cork, who from a very small beginning had raised himself to a vaft Revenue in that Kingdom, Re-built some Churches, and Repaired others; restored some of his Improprations to those feveral Churches; and doubtlefs had proceeded further, if a difference had not hapned betwixt the Lord Deputy and him, about the removing of the Monument which he had erected for himfelf and his Poffertiy, in one of the principal Churches of the City of Dublin, as before was faid. And as for the improving of the Bifhopricks, as Offory and Kilkenny, Killmore and Ardagh, Down and Connor, and possibly some others had before this been joined together; fo was it advised by the Primate, That Kilfenore fhould be joined unto that of Killalow, lying contiguous to each other; Both which being joined by a perpetual Union, were thought fufficient to make an indifferent Competency for an Irish Bifhop.

But all this Care had been to little or no purpofe, if fome course were not alfo taken to preferve Religion, endangered on this fide by Popyry, and on that by Calvinifm; each fide unwillingly contributing to the growth of the other. The perverfe oppositions of the Calvinifts, made the Papift obfiffinate; and the infolencies of the Papifts, did both vex and confirm the Calvinifts. Betwixt them both, the Church of England was fo loft, that there was little of her genuine and native Doctrine to be found in the Clergy of that Kingdom. The Papifts being firft fuppreffed, it was conceived to be no hard matter to reduce the Calvinifts to Conformity; and to fupport the Papifts, it was found expedient, That the standing Army fhould be kept in continual Pay, and that Monies fhould be levied on the Papifts themfelves for the payment of it: In order whereunto, the Bifhop of Killmore before-mentioned, had given an account unto his Grace then Bifhop of London, touching the dangerous condition of that Church by the growth of Popery; and now he finds it neccffary to give the like Account unto the new Lord Deputy. Him therefore he informs by Letters dated November 5, 1633. (which was not long after he had perfonally assumed the Government, and received the Sword) to this effect; viz.

"That in that Crown the Pope had a far greater Kingdom than his Majesty had; That the faid Kingdom of the Pope was governed by the new Congregation de propaganda Fide, eftablidhed not long fince at Rome; That the Pope had there a Clergy depending on him, double in number to the English, the Heads of which were bound by a corporal Oath to maintain his Power and Greatnefs againft all Perfons whatsoever; That for the moulding of the People to the Popes Obedience, there was a great rabbife of irregular Regulars, moft of them the younger Sons of Noble Houfes, which made them the more infolent and uncontrollable; That the Pope had erected an University
University in Dublin, to confront his Majesties Colledge there, and L I B. IV.
breed up the Youth of the Kingdom to his Devotion, one Harris being Dean thereof, who had dispersed a Scandalous Pamphlet against the Lord Primate's Sermon preach'd at Wanstead (one of the best Pieces that ever came from him) Anno 1629. That since the Dissolving of their new Frieries in the City of Dublin, they had erected them in the Country, and had brought the People to such a sottish negligence, that they cared not to learn the Commandments as God spake and left them; but flocked in Multitudes to the hearing of such Superstitious Doctrines as some of their own Priests were ashamed of; That a synodical Meeting of their Clergy had been held lately at Drogheda in the Province of Ulster, in which it was decreed, That it was not lawful to take the Oath of Allegiance; And therefore, That in such a conjuncture of Affairs to think that the bridle of the Army might be taken away, must be the thought not of a Brain-sick, but of a Brainless man: which whosoever did endeavour, not only would oppose his Majesties Service, but expose his own neck to the Sake of those Irish cut-throats. All which he humbly refers to his Lordships seasonable Care and Consideration. Upon this Information, the Deputy obtains his Majesties leave to hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he managed with such notable dexterity, that he made himself Master of a Power sufficient to suppress the Infolencies of the Papists, and yet exceedingly prevailed upon their Affections. From which time forwards the Papists Reconcilants in that Kingdom were kept in stricter duty, and held closer to loyal Obedience, for fear of irritating so severe a Magistrate, than ever they had been by any of his Predecessors.

This Parliament brought with it a Convocation, as a thing of course; and in that somewhat must be done to check the spreading of Calvinism in all parts of that Church. The Articles of Religion agreed upon in Convocation Anno 1615. were so contrived by Ulster the now Lord Primate, That all the Sabbatarian and Calvinian Rigours were declared therein to be the Doctrines of that Church; Most grievous Torments immediately in his Soul affirmed to be endured by Christ, which Calvin makes to be the fame with his defect into Hell; The abstinenties from eating Flesh upon certain days, declared not to be Religious Fasts: but to be grounded only upon Politick Ends and Considerations; All Minifters adjudged to be Lawfully called, who are called unto the Work of the Ministry by thofe that have Publick Authority given them in the Church (but whether they be Bishops or not, it makes no matter, fo that he be Authorized unto it by their severall Churches): The Sacerdotal Power of Abolution made declarative only, and consequently quite subverted; No Power ascribed unto the Church in Ordaining Canons, or confenting any of those who either carelessly or maliciously do infringe the fame; the Pope made Antichrift, according to the like Determination of the French Hugonots made at Gappe in Dolphine: And finally, such a silence concerning the Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops (expressly justiyed and avowed in the English Book) as if there were
PART II. "were not a different Order from the Common Presbyters. All which being Usher's own Opinions, were dispersed in several places of these Articles for the Church of Ireland, approved of in that Convocation, and finally confirmed by the Lord Deputy Chichester in the Name of King James. By means whereof these two great mischiefs did ensue; First, A great matter of division which it cau'd to the Priests and Papists of the Realm, that in three Kingdoms, under the Obedience of one Sovereign Prince; there should be three distinct and contrary Professions, and yet pretending every one to the same Religion. And secondly, Whensoever the Points were agitated here in England against the Sabbatian and Calvinian Rigours, the Disputants were forthwith choked by the Authority of these Articles, and the infallible Judgment of King James, who confirmed the same. If therefore the Archbishop meant to have Peace in England, the Church of Ireland must be won to defer those Articles, and receive ours in England in the place thereof.

This to effect, it was not thought expedient by such as had the managing of that design, to propose any abrogation or repealing of the former Articles, which had so many Friends and Patrons in that Convocation, that it was moved severally both in the House of the Bishops, and in that of the Clergy, to have them ratified and confirmed in the present meeting. And questionless it had been carried in that way, if it had not feaonably been diverted by telling the Promoters of it, That those Articles had already received as much Authority as that Church could give them, and that by seeking to procure any such Confirmation, they would weaken the Original Power by which they stood. This blow being thus handsomely struck, their next work was to move the Primate, That for the avoiding of such scandal which was given the Papists, and to declare the Unity in Judgment and Affections between the Churches, a Canon might be passed in approbation of the Articles of the Church of England. To this the Prelate being gained, the Canon was drawn up and presented to him; and being by him propounded, was accordingly passed, one only man dissenting when it came to the Vote, who had pierced deeper into the bottom of the Project than the others did. It was desired also by Bramhall, not long before the Lord Deputies Chaplain, but then Bishop of Derby, That the whole Body of Canons made in the year 1603, might be admitted in that Church: But the Primate was ever so afraid of bowing at the Name of Jesus, and some other Reverences required in them, which he neither practis'd nor approved, that he would by no means hearken to it, which bred some heats between him and Bramhall, ending at last in this Temperament. That some select Canons should be taken out of that Book, and intermingled with some others of their own composing. But for the Canon which approved and received the Articles of the Church of England, it was this that followeth, viz.
Of the Agreement of the Church of England and Ireland in the Profession of the same Christian Faith.

For the manifestation of Our Agreement with the Church of England, in the Confession of the same Christian Faith, and Doctrine of the Sacraments, We do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the whole Clergy, in whole Convocation holden at London, Anno Dom. 1562. for the avoiding of diversities of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion. And therefore if any hereafter shall affirm, That any of those Articles are in any part Superstitious and Erroneous, or such as he may not with a good Conscience Subscribe unto, let him be Excommunicated, and not Absolved before he make a publick Revocation of his Error.

Such was the Canon passed in this Convocation, for the approbation and reception of the Articles of the Church of England: Which Canon was no sooner passed, confirmed, and published, but the Primate and his Party saw the danger which they had cast themselves into by their inadvertency; and found too late, That by receiving and approving the English Articles, they had abrogated and repealed the Irish. To salute this fore, it concerned them to bestir themselves with their utmost diligence, and so accordingly they did. For first the Primate, and some Bishops of his opinions, required subscription to the Articles of both Churches of all such as came to be ordained at the next Ordination. But it went no further than the next, for if the Papists made it a matter of Derision to have three Confessions in the three Churches of his Majesties Kingdoms: How much more matter must it give them of scorn and laughter, that there should be two different Confessions in the same Church, and both subscribed unto, but as one and the same?

The Primate next applies himself to the Lord Deputy, beseeching him that the former Articles might receive a new Ratification by Act of Parliament for preventing all innovations in the Religion there established: But he found but little comfort there, the Lord Deputy threatening to caufe the said Confession to be burnt by the hand of the hangman; if at the least the Scots Commissioners may be believed amongst whose Articles against him I find this for one. Finding no better hopes on that side of the Sea, he dispatcheth his Letters of Advice to his Friends in England, one to an Honourable Person amongst the rest, assuring them that though by a Canon passed in that Convocation they had received and approved the Articles of England; yet that the Articles of Ireland were ever called in, might well be reckoned for a fancy. The like affirmed in a Certificate made by Bernard, and Pullen, two Members of the Lower House in this Convocation, where it is said, That whosoever do aver that the said Articles were abolished, are grossly mistaken and have abused the said Convocation in delivering so manifest an untruth. And to back this, another Certificate must be gained.
PART II. gained from one who comes commended to us under the Title of a
most eminent, judicious, and learned person, who having considered of
the matter, conceivess that both Confessions were confisent; and that the
Abrogation of the Synod was not a Revocation of the Irish Articles, but an approba-
tion of the English, as agreeing with them.

But all this would not serve the turn, or save those Articles from
being brought under a Repeal by the present Canon. For first, it appear-
eth by the Canon, That they did not only approve, but receive the Ar-
ticles of the Church of England. Their approbation of them, had they gone
no further, had been a sufficient manifestation of their agreement with
the Church of England in the Confession of the same Protestant Re-
ligion: But their receiving of the same doth intimate a superindu-
cing of them upon the other, and is equivalent both in Fact and Law to
the Repealing of the old. For otherwise St. Paul must needs be out
in the Rules of Logick when he proved the Abrogating of the old Co-
venant by the superinduction of a new; For having affirmed, that
God by speaking of a New Covenant, had (d) antiquated and made
void the first, (or made the first old, as our English read it;) he adds
immediately, That that which is old, decayseth, and is ready to vanish a-
way; that is to say, as Diosyll deferts on it. The old being difan-
ulled by the new, there must necessarily follow the abolishment of
its use and practice. Nor find they any other abrogation of the Jewish
Sabbath then by the superinducing of the Lords day for the day of wor-
ship. By means whereof the Sabbath was leffened in authority and
reputation by little and little, and in short time was absolutely laid
aside in the Church of Christ; the fourth Commandment, by which
it was at first ordained, being still in force. So then according to
these grounds the Articles of Ireland were virtually, though not for-
maUy, abrogated; or else it must be granted, that there were two
Confessions in the same one Church, different both in form and matter,
and contrary in some points unto one another, which would have been
so far from creating an uniformity between the Churches in the con-
cernments of Religion, that it would have raised a greater disagree-
ment within Ireland it fell than was before between the Churches of
both Kingdoms. And certainly the gaining of this point did much
advantage the Archbishop, conducing visibly to the promotion of his
ends and Counsels in making the Irish Clergy subject to the two De-
clarations, and accountable for their breaking and neglect thereof;
that is to say, his Majesties Declaration about Lawful Sports, and
that prefixt before the book of Articles for appeasing Controversies.
Take for a farewell this acknowledgment of a late Historian, speaking
as well the sense of others as his own, A Convocation (concurrent
with a Parliament) was called (faith be) and kept at Dublin in Ireland,
wherein the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England were received
in Ireland, for all to subscribe unto. It was adjudged fit, seeing that
Kingdom conipies with England in the Civil Government, it should also
conform thereto in matters of Religion. And thereupon he thus con-
cludes, That in the mean time the Irish Articles concluded formerly in a
Synod, 1616. (mislaken for 1615.) wherein Arminianism was con-
demned.
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

denied in terminis terminantibus, and the observation of the Lords day L I B. IV. resolved Jure divino) were utterly excluded.

But leaving Ireland to the care of the Lord Deputy, and the Bishop of Derry, who under him had the chief managing of the affairs of that Church; let us see how the new Archbishop proceeds in England, where he had so many plows going at once, too many, as it after proved, to work well together. For not thinking he had done enough in order to the peace and uniformity of the Church of England, by taking care for it here at home, his thoughts transported him with the like affection to preserve it from neglect abroad. To which end he had offered some considerations to the Lords of the Council, as before was said, Anno 1622. relating to the regulation of God's publick Worship amongst the English Factories, and Regiments beyond the Seas, and the reducing of the French and Dutch Churches, settled in divers parts of this Realm, unto some conformity. In reference to the first, he had not long since in the Chair of Canterbury when he procured an Order from the Lords of the Council, bearing date Octob. 1. 1633. By which their English Churches and Regiments in Holland (and afterwards by degrees in all other Foreign parts and plantations) were required strictly to observe the English Liturgie with all the Rites and Ceremonies prescribed in it. Which Order contained the sum and substance of those considerations which he had offered to the Board touching that particular. With which the Merchant Adventurers being made acquainted, with joint consent they made choice of one Beaumont (reputed for a learned, sober, and conformable man) to be Preacher to their Factory residing at Delf, Forbes, a Scot by birth, who formerly had been Preacher to the Society, being neither dead, nor otherwise departed to avoid conformity. And that this man might be received with the better welcome, a Letter is sent with him to the Deputy Governor, subscribed by the Archbishop himself, in which he signifieth both to him and the rest in his Majesties name, That they Cont. Do\n, were to receive him with all decent and courteous usage fitting his person. And calling, allowing him the ancient Pension which formerly had been paid to his Predecessors. Which said in reference to the man, he lets them know that it was his Majesties express command, that both he, the Deputy, and all and every other Merchant, that is or shall be residing in those parts beyond the Seas, do conform themselves to the Doctrine and Discipline setted in the Church of England: and that they frequent the Common-Prayer with all Religious duty and reverence at all times required, as well as they do Sermons; and that out of their company they should yearly about Easter, as the Canons prescribe, name two Church-Wardens, and two Sides-men, which may look to the Orders of the Church, and give an account according to their office. It was also required that these present Letters should be registered and kept by them, that they which come after might take notice what care his Majesty had taken for the well ordering of the said Company in Church affairs; and that a Copy of the same should be delivered to the said Beaumont, and to every Successor of his respectively, that he and they might know what his Majesty expected of them, and be the more inexorable if they disobey it. With this Dis-
patch, bearing date the seventeenth of June, this present year 1634. Away goes Beaumont into Holland, taking with him these Instructions for his own proceedings; that is to say, That he should punctually keep and observe all the Orders of the Church of England, as they are prescribed in the Canons and the Rubrics of the Liturgy; and that if any person of that Company shall shew himself refractory to that Ordinance of his Majesty, he should certify the name of any such offender, and his offence to the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, who was to take order and give remedy accordingly. Which Order and Instructions given to Beaumont in private, were incorporated also in the Letter, left otherwife he might be thought to act any thing in it without good Authority. And he accordingly proceeded with such honest zeal, and was so punctual in observing his Majesties pleasure and commands, that for a reward of his good service he was preferred unto a Prebends place in the Church of Canterbury, though by the unhappy change of times, it brought more reputation than advantage with it.

And now at last we have the face of an English Church in Holland, respositive to the Bishops of London for the time being, as a part of their Dioceses, directly and immediately subject to their Jurisdiction. The like course also was prescribed for our Factories in Hamborough, and those further off, that is to say, in Turkey, in the Moguls Dominions, the Indian Islands, the Plantations in Virginia, the Barbadoes, and all other places where the English had any standing Residence in the way of Trade. The like done also for regulating the Divine Service in the Families of all Embassadors, residing in the Courts of Foreign Princes for his Majesties Service, as also in the English Regiments, serving under the States. The superinpection of which last was referred to Boffwel his Majesties Resident at the Hague, and his Successors in that place; as he and all the rest of the Embassadors, in what place soever, were to be ordered by the care of the Lords of the Council; and they to be accountable therein to his Sacred Majesty, as the Supream Ordinary. The English Agents and Embassadors in the Courts of Foreign Princes had not been formerly so regardful of the honour of the Church of England, as they might have been, in designing a set Room for religious uses, and keeping up the Vestments, Rites and Ceremonies, prescribed by Law in performance of them. It was now hoped that there would be a Church of England in all Courts of Christendom, in the chief Cities of the Turk, and other great Mosometan Princes, in all our Factories and Plantations in every known Part of the world, by which it might be rendred as diffused and Catholic as the Church of Rome.

In reference to the regulating of the French and Dutch Churches here amongst ourselves, he conceived himself in a capacity of putting his own Counsels in execution; either as Bishop of the Dioceses, or Archbishop of the Province of Canterbury. He had considered of the dangers which those Foreign Churches drew on this, by standing divided & dismembred from the rest of the body; and of the countenance and encouragement which was given to the Puritan Faction in the pro-

promoting
moting of Schifin. There was no Travers to be made to this Dilemma, L I. B. IV. but either they were or were not of the same Religion with the Church of England. If they were not of the same Religion, why should they, being Strangers, born in other Countries, or descendiing from them, expect more Liberty of Conscience than the Papists had, being all Natives, and descendiing from English Parents? If of the same, why should they not submit to the Government and Forms of Worship, being the outward Acts and Exercises of the Religion here by Law established? It was now as when they first fled into this Land from the Fire and Faggot; from which their own Countries having felt no Persecution for forty or fifty years last past, were at this time freed: And therefore if they did not like the Terms of their staying here, they might return from whence they came, in peace and safety, with thanks to God and the good English Nation, for the long and comfortable Entertainment they had found amongst them. Upon these grounds, and such Considerations as had before been offered to the Lords of the Council, before he had sat a whole year in the Chair of Canterbury, he caused these three Articles to be tendered to the French Congregation in that City, and the two Dutch Congregations in Sandwich and Maidstone, Apr. 14. 1634. 1. What Liturgie do you use? or whether you have not the Dutch or French in use? 2. Of how many Disciples for the most part they were born Subjects? 3. Whether such as are born Subjects, will conform to the Church of England? For Answer to the Articles (after some fruitless Pleas touching their Exemptions) they obtained time till the fifth of May; against which time, with the consent of their several Churches, they prepared these several Answers. To the first it was answered, That they had that Liturgie which all the Churches of the French Tongue (both in France, and in the United Provinces of the States) have had since the blessed Reformation, and which their Churches (residing here) have had this sixty or seventy years, or more: That the English Liturgie was translated into French, but that they used it not; and that they knew not whether it were translated in Dutch or not. To the second it was answered, That the greatest part of the Heads of the Families were not born here, but about a third part; because that the greatest part of the old ones were strangers born, and many others are newly come since a few years. But to the third they defied to be excused from making any Answer at all, foreseeing (as it was pretended) a diffipation of their Churches, in reference to the maintenance of their Ministry and relief of their Poor, if such Conformity should be prefixed, which they endeavoured to avoid by all means imaginable. But before these Answers were returned, it was thought fit to consult with the Ceus (as they styled it) of the French and Dutch Churches in London, who were concerned as much as they, and who by reason of their wealth and number governed all the rest; by whom they were advised to suppress those Answers, and to present their Declinator, fixing themselves upon their Privileges, and challenging the Exemption granted them by King Edward vi. confirmed by several Acts of Council in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and his Sacred Majesty:

L I. This
This Declinator no way satisfied his Grace of Canterbury. He knew, none better, That Acts of Council were not like the Laws of the Medes and Persians, but might be changed and varied as occasion served; That the Letters Patents granted by King Edward vi. to the first Congregation of Strangers under John A Lasco (by which they were licenced to use their own Forms both of Worship and Government, without any disturbance) were vacated by the departure of the said Congregation in the time of Queen Mary; and that the French and Dutch Churches now in England, could pretend no succession unto that in the time of King Edward vi. And therefore as soon as Brent returned from his Visitation (of which we shall hear more anon) and had a while repose himself after that long Journey, he was dispatched to Canterbury, with these Injunctions, viz. 1. That all the Natives of the Dutch and Walloon Congregations in his Grace's Dioceses, are to repair to their several Parish Churches where they reside, to hear Divine Service and Sermons, and perform all Duties and Payments required in that behalf: And 2. That all the Ministers, and all other of the same Walloon or French Congregations, which are Aliens born, shall have and use the Liturgie used in the English Churches, as the same is or may be faithfully Translated into French or Dutch. These two Injunctions being given on the nineteenth of December, with time for conforming thereunto till the first of March, were presently communicated by the Kentifh to the London Churches, and by those of London to the rest in the Province of Canterbury, requiring them to send their Deputies to consult together with them in this Common Danger. There were at that time ten Churches of Strangers in this Province; that is to say, two in London, two in Norwich, and one a piece in Canterbury, Sandwich, Maidstone, Southampton, Colchester, and Tarmouth, who were to send their sufficient Deputies, consisting of Ministers and Lay-Elders, to make this Synod. But because the time might be elap'd before these Deputies from so many Places could meet together, and resolve upon any Conclusion; it was determined by the Cæsas, that those of Kent, whom it most immediately concerned, should address themselves to the Archbishop, and desire his favour for the enjoying of their Privileges, as in former times; whose Propositions being heard, and their Reasons pondered, he answered, That it was his purpose to make a General Visitation of all his Province, and that he would begin at home; That he did nothing but what had been communicated to the King, and resolved by the Council; That neither the Letters Patents of King Edward vi. nor any Reasons by them alleged, should hinder him from proceeding in the said Injunctions; That their Churches were not of and occasions of Schism, which he would prevent in Kent as well as he could; That it were better there were no Foreign Churches nor Strangers in England, than to have them thereby to give occasion of prejudice or danger to the Church-Government of it; That they endeavoured to make themselves a State in a State, and had vaunted, That they feared not his Injunctions; but, That he hoped the King would maintain him in it, as long as he Governed by the Canons; That the dissiption of their Churches, and maintenance of two or three Ministers, was not to be laid in the same Balance with the Peace and Happiness
Happiness of the Church of England; That their ignorance in the English Tongue, ought not to be used for a pretence for their not going to their Parish Churches, considering that it was an affected ignorance, and they might avoid it when they would: And finally, That he was resolved to have his Injunctions put in execution, and that they should conform to them at their peril by the time appointed.

Finding no hope of Good this way, they expect the Sitting of the Synod on the fifth of February; to which the Deputies made a Report of their ill Successes; and thereupon it was resolved, That a Petition in the name of all the Foreign Churches, should be presented unto the King; which way they found as unsuccessful as the other was: For his Majesty having read the Petition, delivered it to the Earl of Pembroke, commanding him to give it to one of the Secretaries. And though Pembroke, either out of love to the Caufe, or hate to the Archbishops Perfon, chose rather to deliver it to Cooke than Winderbank; yet neither Cooke himself, nor Weckerly his chief Clerk (a Walloon by birth) who had very much espoused the Quarrel, could do anything in it. The next course was to back that Petition with a Remonftrance, containing the chief Reasons which they had to urge in their own behalf; and that Remonftrance to be put into his Majesties hands by the Duke of Soniza, a Prince of great Decent in France, and a chief Sticker in the Wars of the Hugonots against their King: In which Reasons, when they came to be examined more particularly, there was nothing found material, but what had formerly been observed and answered, except it were the fear of a Persecution to be raised in France, when it should there be known, how much the French Churches in this Kingdom had been discomfited and disquieted. And this they after aggravating by some fresh Intelligence which they had from thence, by which they were advertised of some words of the great Cardinal Richelieu, to this effect, viz. That if a King of England, who was a Protestant, would not permit two Disciplines in his Kingdom, why should a King of France, a Papist, permit two Religions? Great workings had been in the Court upon this occasion; though all which was effected by it, was but the present qualification of the second Injunction; His Majesty on good Reason of State insinuating so strongly on the first, that it could not be altered. But as for the second Injunction, it was qualified thus, viz. That the Ministers, and all others of the French and Dutch Congregations, which are not Natives, and born Subjects to the Kings Majesty, or any other Stranger that shall come over to them, while they remain Strangers may have and use their own Discipline, as formerly they have done; yet it is thought fit that the English Liturgie should be Translated into the French and Dutch, for the better fitting of their Children to the English Government. But before the Injunction thus qualified could be sent to Canterbury, the Mayor and Brethren of that City were put upon a Petition in their behalf, insinuating, among other things, on the great Charge which would fall upon them, if the relief of the poor French, which formerly had been maintained on the common Purse of that Church, should be cast upon the several Parishes; and the great want of Work which
PART II. which would happen to their own Poor in that City, if the Manufac-
tures of the French should be discontinued. To which Petition
they received a favourable Answer in respect of themselves; but with-
out any alteration of his Graces purpose in such other points of it as
concerned those Churches; A Temperament was also used in regard
of the Ministers which did Office in those Churches; it being con-
descended to on the suit of their Deputies, That such of their Min-
isters as were English born should continue in their Place and Ministry,
as in former times: but that hereafter none should be admitted to be
Ministers in their Congregations but such as were Strangers. Which
Condescensions notwithstanding, It was directed by the Cetus of
the London Churches, That by no means the Kentish Foreigners should
publish the said Injunctions in their Congregations; and that if the
prosecution of them should be strictly urged, they would then think
upon some other course to bear off that blow. And by this Tergi-
verfation they gained so much time, that the final Decree was not
palled upon them till, the 26th of September, 1635. when to the for-
mer Injunction they found this Clause or Provif added, viz. That the
Natives should continue to contribute to the maintenance of their Ministry,
and the Poor of their Church, for the subsisting thereof; and that any
Order should be obtained from his Majestys, if it were defired, to maintain them
in their Manufactures, against all such as should endeavour to molest them
by Informations. Some time was spent about the publishing of this
Decree, the Ministers and Elders of those Churches refusing to act any
thing in it: But at the last it was published in the French Church at
Canterbury by one of their Notaries, and in Sandwich by the Chan-
cer or Clerk of the Congregation, with Order to the Ministers and Church-
wardens of the several Parishes, to take notice of such of the Natives
as resorted not diligently to their Parish Churches.

This proved a leading Cafe to all the other French and Dutch
Churches on this side of the Seas, though they opposed at what they
could. For no sooner was the news of these Injunctions first brought
to Norwich, when a Remonftrance was presented to Corbet, (who was
then Bishop of that Dioces) and by him transmitted to the Archbishop;
in which they had expressed such Reasons against the tenour of the same, as we have met with formerly in this Narration. But the Arch-
bi{hops Vifitation of that Dioces in the year next following, Anno
1635. put an end to that business; the Injunction being published in the
Churches of Strangers in that City, before any publication of them
had been made in Canterbury. Nor was the Like done only in all the
Churches of Strangers in the Province of Canterbury, but in those of
Tork, where the Archbishop kept them to a harder Diet; for having
seen what had been done by Corbet in his Vifitation, and having no such
powerful Solicitors as the Cetus of the London Churches to take off
his edge, he denied them the Exercise of any Ecclesiatical Jurisdiction
of their own; enjoins them the use of the English Liturgie in the
French Tongue, with Obedience to all the Laws and Ordinances of
the Church of England; to receive the Sacrament once a year in the
Church of the Parish where they dwell, and to perform all their Chris-
tenings,
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Mentions, Marriages, and Burials there, or else none of their Congregations to be permitted. But notwithstanding all this care of the Metropolitans, the businesse went forward more or less, as the Ministers and Church-wardens stood affected in their several Parishes: And in most Parishes the Ministers and Church-wardens were so well pleased with that indecency which they had amongst them, in respect of any Superiors in Church-concernments, to whom they might be made accountable for Life or Doctrine, that generally they with'd themselves in the same condition: And being freed from their greatest fear, of having the Poor of those Churches cast upon them in their several Parishes, they seemed not much solicitous whether they came to the Church or not, to hear the Sermons, receive the Sacraments, or perform any other part of Publick Worship; especially if they were not scrupulous in paying to the Minster his accustomed Dues, and yielding to such Rates and Taxes as the Church-wardens laid upon them for Parochial uses. If any Minster began to look too strictly to them, they would find some means to take him off by Gifts and Presents, or by some powerful Letter from some of the Grandees residing in London, and sometimes from a neighbouring Justice, whose displeasure must not be incurred. And that they may not want encouragement to stand it out as long as they could, the leading men of the Genevian Faction in most parts of the Realm, did secretly sollicite them not to be too forwards in conforming to the said Injunctions, affuring them of such Asstistances as might save them harmless, and flattering them with this Opinion of themselves, That the Liberty of the Gospel, and the most desirable freedom of the Church from Episcopeal Tyrannoy, depended chiefly on their Courage and Resolution. What was done afterwards in pursuance of the said Injunctions, shall be told elsewhere: all which Particulars I have laid together, that the Proceedings of his Grace in this weighty businesse (so much calumniated and defamed) might be presented to the Reader without interruption.

It was once said by Telephus to Caj. Marinus, That he did well to scour the Country: but Italy would never want Wolves, so long as Rome continued so fit a Forest to afford them shelter. In like manner the Archbishop knew full well how small a Progresse he should make in his Reformation, for reducing the French and Dutch to a Communion with the Church of England, and the Church of England to itself, if London were not brought to some Conformity. Which City having a strong influence on all parts of the Kingdom, was generally looked on as the Compaix by which the lesser Towns and Corporations were to steer their Courfe, the practice of it being pleased upon all occasions, for Vestries, Lectures, and some other Innovations in the State of the Church. And to this nothing more concurred, than that the Beneficed Clergy being but meanly provided for, were forced to undertake some Lectures, or otherwise to connive at many things, contrary to their own Judgment and the Rules of the Church, in hope that gaining the good will thereby of the Chief of their Parishes, they might be gratified by them with Entertainments, Presents, and some other helps to mend their Maintenance. The Lecturers in the mean time,
time, as being Creatures of the People, and depending wholly on the Purse of the wealthier Citizens, not only overtopped them in point of Power and Reputation, but generally of Profit and Revenue also. Not that these Lecturers were maintained so much by the Zeal and Bounty of their Patrons, as by a general Fraud, which for many years last past had been put upon the Regular Clergy; by the diminishing of whole just Dues in Tythes and Offerings, such Lecturers and Trencher-Chaplains had been fed and cherished. For the better understanding whereof, we are to know, That in the year 1226, Roger Niger Bishop of London, ordained by a Synodical Constitution, That the Citizens should pay of every pounds Rent by the year, of all Houses, Shops, &c. the Sum of 3 s. 4 d. as time out of mind had formerly been paid. Which 3 s. 4 d. did arise from the Offerings upon every Sunday and thirty of the principal Holydays in the same year, after the Rate of one halfpenny for every twenty shillings Rent of their Houses, Shops, &c. This Order of Roger Niger remaining in force till the year 1397, and the Clergy being kept to such Rates for the Rents of Houses, as at the first making of the same, it was decreed by Thomas Arundell then Bishop of Canterbury, That as the Rent increased, so the Offerings or Tythes should increase also; That the said Order should be read in every Parish-Church four times in the year, and a Curse laid upon all those who should not obey it. Confirmed by Pope Innocent vii. and Nicholas iv. with a Proviso, That the said Oblations should be paid according to the true yearly value of the Shops and Houses. It so remained until the twenty fifth year of Henry viii. at what time many of the former Holydays being abrogated by the Kings Authority, the yearly Profit of the Clergy found a great abatement; the greater, in regard of the variances which arose betwixt them and their Parishioners, about the payment of their Dues; the People taking the advantage of some Disorders which the Clergy at that present had been brought unto, by acknowledging the King for the Suprem Head of the Church of England. Upon this variance a Complaint is made unto the King, who refers the whole matter to Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Audley Lord Chancellor, Gardiner Bishop of Winton, Cromwell Chief Secretary of Estate, Fitz-James and Norwich Chief Justices of the several Benches, by whom it was concluded, That from thenceforth 2 s. 9 d. only should be paid out of every pound for the Rents of Houses, Shops, &c. And to this Order the Citizens did not only consent, as they had good reason, but bound themselves by an Act of Common Council to perform the same; the said Decree confirmed by Act of Parliament in the twenty seventh, and afterwards in the thirty seventh of that King, with a power given to the Lord Mayor to commit to Prison every person whatsoever who should not pay his Tythes and Dues according to that Proportion.

But contrary to the true intent and meaning of the said Decrees, and the several Acts of Parliament which confirmed the same, the covetous and unconficious Landlords, who had the Fee-simple, or some long Leases at the least, of such Shops & Houses, devised many base and fraudulent ways to put a cheat upon the Law, and abuse the Clergie; referring
referring some small sum in the name of a Rent, and covenanting for other greater Sum to be paid quarterly or half yearly in the name of Fines, Annuities, Pensions, Incomes, Interest-money, &c. Finding these Payments so conditioned and agreed upon to be too visible, a cheat, some were so wise as to take their Fines in groats, when they sealed their Leaves, some inconsiderable Rent being charged upon them; others so cunning as to have two Leaves on foot at the same time, one at a low contemptible Rent to gull the incumbent of his dues, the other with a Rent four or five times as great to keep down the Tenant; and some by a more cleanly kind of conveyance (referring a small Rent as others 'did) caused their Tenants to enter into several bonds for the payment of so much money yearly with reference to the term which they had in their Leaves. By which devices and deceits the house-Rents were reduced to so low a value, that some Aldermen, who do not use to dwell in Sheds and Cottages, could be charged with no more than twenty shillings for a whole years Tythe; the Rent referred amounts after that proportion but to seven pounds yearly. The Clergy by the Alteration of Religion had lost those great advantages, which had before accrued unto them by Obits, Mortuaries, Obventions, to the Shrines and Images of some special Saints, Church-Lands, and personal Tythes according to men's honest gain, which last was thought to have amounted to more than the Tythe of houses. Being deprived of the one, and abused in the other, they were forced in the sixteenth of King James, Anno 1618, to have recourse to the Court of Exchequer, by the Barons whereof it was declared, that according to the true intent of the said Acts the Inhabitants of London and the Liberties thereof ought to pay the Tythe of their houses, ships, &c., after the rate of two shillings nine pence in the pound proportionable to the true yearly value of the rent thereof. In order whereunto it was then ordered by the Court, that a Shed, which had been built and made a convenient dwelling house, should pay twenty four shillings nine pence yearly in the name of a Tythe, as was afterwards awarded by Sir Henry Talbot, upon a reference made unto him, that one Rawlin, who paid forty shillings yearly to his Landlord in the name of a Rent, and twelve pound by the name of a fine, should from thenceforth pay his Tythe to the Incumbent of the Parish in which he dwelt, after the rate of fourteen pound yearly.

This and the like Arbitrations about that time gave them some hope of finding more relief from the Court of Exchequer than they could expect from the Lord Mayor; who being at the first made Judge in the business for the ease of the Clergy, carried himself rather like a party concerned in it than an equal Umpire. But there was no contending with the Purse of the City; for though the proceedings of the City Landlords were declared to be unjust and Sacrilegious under the hands of many Bishops, and most of the Heads of Houses in both Universities, Anno 1630, yet the business going on from bad to worse, they were necessitated to cast themselves at the feet of King Charles, and to petition for a remedy of these growing mischiefs, which otherwise in some tract of time might become insupportable. Which Petition being,
PART II. being taken into consideration by his Sacred Majesty, he was graciously pleased to refer the same to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper Coventry, the Earl Marshal, the Lord Bishop of London, the Lord Cottington, Mr. Secretary Windebank, and Chief Justice Richardfon, or any five, or three of them, of which the Lord Archbishop to be always one, requiring, and thereby authorizing to call before them all parties concerned in the busineses, and after a full hearing and examination thereof, to end if they could, or otherwise to report to his Majesty where the Impediment lay, that so his Majesty might take such further order therein as in his Princely wisdom he should think most meet. Which reference, being made the fifteenth of May of this present year, was carried on with such equality, and moderation, that the rich Landlords had no reason to complain of any obliquity or partiality in the conduct of it: But having been accustomed to feed on the Churches Bread, and to have the poor Clergy obnoxious to them, they could with no patience entertain the thoughts of relinquishing their former dyer, or suffer a deserving Clergy to enjoy their own. Nothing more feared, than that the Clergy by this means would grow too rich; They who conceived two thousand pound of yearly Rent not enough for an Alderman, think one hundred pound per annum (as was affirmed by one of that number) to be too much for a Minifter. And should the Clergy once grow rich, they would become more absolute, and independent, not so obsequious to them as they had been formerly, and consequently more apt to crofs them in their opposition or neglect of establisht Orders. And in this state the busineses stood when Juxon the Bishop of London was advanced to the Treasurers Staff in the end of March 1635. which much encreasht the hopes of the one, and the fears of the other. Some of the Clergy had the hap to better their condition, and improve their Benefices by the appearing of fo many powerful persons in their behalf; and possible enough it is that some expedient would have been resolved on by the Referrees to the general content of both parties (his Grace of Canterbury being very sollicitous in behalf of the Clergy) if the troubles which brake out soon after in Scotland, and the preparations for the War, which ensued upon it, had not put the busineses to a stand, and perfwaded both the King and Council to an unprofitable compliance with that stubborn City, from which he reapt nothing in conclusion but neglect and scorn. So frequently have the best designs been overthrown, not so much by the puiffance and might of the adverse party, as through defect of Constancy and Resolution to go through with them.

Mention was made in the Narrative of our Archbishops late proceeding against the Congregations of the French and Dutch, of something which was done in order to it, in the Metropolitical Visitation of the Province of Canterbury. Concerning which we are to know, that in the beginning of the year 1634. he resolved upon that Visitation. And having some distrust of Brent his Vicar General, he prepared one of his Confidents to be a joyned Commissioner with him, that he might do no hurt, if he did no good. But afterwards, being more assured of
Brent than before he was, he resolved to trust him with himself, and not to fetter him with any such constant Over-seer to attend his actions. The Articles for his Visitation, Printed for the use of Church-wardens and Sides-men in their several Parishes had little in them more than ordinary. But he had given directions to his Vicar General to enquire into the observation of his Majesties Instructions of the year 1629, to command the said Church-wardens to place the Communion Table under the Eastern Wall of the Chancel, where formerly the Altar stood; to set a decent Rail before it to avoid profaneness; and at the Rail the Communicants to receive the blessed Sacrament. It had been signified to the Archbishop, that a Dog in one place or other (but I remember not the name) had run away with the Bread appointed for the whole Communion; and that the Communion Wine had been brought unto the Table in many places, in Pint-pots and Bottles, and so distributed to the People. The placing of a Rail before the Table would prevent all infamies of the first sort; and he hoped the Ministers would take order to reform abuses of the last. Williams, at that time Bishop of Lincoln, had placed the Table of his own Chappel in the state of an Altar, and furnished it with Plate and other costly Utenfils beyond most others in the Kingdom. The Table stood in the fame porture in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, of which he was both Bishop and Resi'dentary; and in the Collegiate Church of Westminister, whereof he was Dean. The Chancel of St. Martin's Church in the Town of Leicester had been made a Library, which he when he was in his good humours persuaded the people to remove, to trim and prepare the said Choire with Rails and fuch other Ornaments as were fitting for it, and then to place therein their Communion Table, all which they accordingly performed. But understanding of the Order of the third of November, made by his Majesty and the Lords of his Council in the Cafe of St. Gregory's, he untwifteth all this Line again. For a Certificate being prefented to him by the Vicar, Church-wardens, and some others of the Parish, That the place where the Table stood before, was far more fit, by reason of the more capacity to receive the Communicants, and the more audible of the Minifters voice, and the Proximity of it to the place where Morning and Evening Prayer had been appointed to be read, than the Chancel was; he gave them leave to remove the Communion Table to the place where it formerly stood, especially at such times as they received the Communion. All which by his Letters of the nineteenth of December 1633, he signifies to Burden, one of Lamb Surrogates in the Archdeaconry of Leicester, requiring him not to be troublesome or moleflifal to the said parties in any thing concerning the Premifes. Which Letter Burden sends to Lamb, and Lamb communicates to his Grace of Canterbury, who thereupon resolves to make that Diocess the Scene of his first Visitation.

The Diocess of Lincoln was anciently larger than it is, the Bishopric of Ely being taken out of it in the Reign of King Henry the Firft, Anno 1109, and thofe of Oxon, and Peterborough by King Henry the Eighth, Anno 1541. But as it is, it is the largest of the Kingdom, both
PART II. for the quantity of ground, and the number of Parishes, containing
in it the whole Counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon, and that part of Hertfordshire which belonged to the Kingdom of Mercia. In which Counties are contained 1255 Parishes divided (though not equally) between six Archdeacons, that is to say, the Archdeacons of Lincoln, How, Leicester, Buckingham, Bedford, and Huntingdon; each of them having his several Commissaries, and every Commissary one or more Surrogates, to officiate under him in times of necessary absence. Within this great Diocese he begins, first laying a Suspension on the Bishop and the six Archdeacons, by which they were inhibited from the exercise of their Jurisdiction, as long as that Visitation lasted. And after sending out a Citation to all the Ministers and Church-wardens of that Diocese, he required them to appear at certain times and places before his Vicar General and the rest of the Commissioners authorized for the several Archdeaconries of the same. But the Bishop was too stout to yield at the first assault, pretending an exemption from such Visitations by old Papal Bulls. The Archbishop being herewith startled, was not long after very well satisfied in that particular, by a Paper which was tendred to him, asserting his Metropolitan Right against those Pretences, collected out of Histories and old Records. Which being compared with the Originals, and found to contain nothing but undoubted truths, the Bishop is commanded to appear before the Lords of the Council, where his Papal Bulls were so well baited by the Archbishop and his Council, that not being able to hold any long play, they ran out of the Field, leaving the Bishop to shift for himself as well as he could. This Bar removed, the Vicar-General proceeds to the Visitation, and in all places gives command to the Church-wardens not only to return their Prefentments, according to the Articles of the Visitation; but to transpose the Communion Table to the East end of the Chancel, and to fence it with a decent Rail to avoid profaneness, according unto such Directions as he had received from the Lord Archbishop. He further signified, That they were to take especial care of certifying the names of all the Lecturers in their several and respective Parishes; as also, Whether the said Lecturers, and all other Preaching Ministers within that Diocese, did carefully observe his Majesties Instructions published in the year 1629. Their knowledge in which Particulars, with a Certificate of their doings about the removing of the Communion Table, together with their Prefentments to the several Articles which were given them in charge, to be returned unto him by a time appointed. Which Charge thus given, and the Visitation carried to another Diocese, he leaves the prosecution of it (as afterwards in all other places) to the care of the Bishop. But the Bishop having other designs of his own, was no sooner discharged of that Suspension which was laid upon him, but he resolves to visit his Diocese in Person, to shew himself to those of his Clergy, and gain the good affections of those especially who adhered to Calvin and Geneva: Infomuch that meeting in the Archdeaconry of Buckingham with one Doctor Bret, a very grave and reverend man, but one who was supposed to incline that way,
way, he embraced him in his Episcopal Arms with these words of St. I B. IV.

Augustine, viz. Quamvis Episcopus maior est Presbytero, Augustinus tu-
men minor est Hierosymo. Intimating thereby, to the great commen-
dation of his modesty amongst those of that Faction, That the said
Bret was as much greater than Williams, as the Bishop was above a Priest
And in compliance with that Party, he gave command for Railing in the
Communion-Table (as appears by the Extract of his proceedings
in the Archdeaconry of Leicesfer), not placed at the East end of the
Chancel, with a Rail before it: but in the middle thereof, as it stood be-
fore, with a Rail about it. And by that kind of half-compliance, as
he retracted nothing from his own Opinion, in his Letter to the Vicar
of Grantham; so he conceived, That he had finely frustrated the de-
sign of his Metropolitan, and yet not openly proceeded against his In-
junction.

The Visitation thus begun, was carried on from year to year, till
it had gone over all the Diocesses in the Province of Canterbury. In
the prosecution whereof, the Vicar-General having given the Charge,
and allowed time to the Church-wardens to return a Certificate of
their doings in pursuance of it, the further execution of it was left to
the Bishops in their several Diocesses; in which it went forwards more
or less, as the Bishops were of spirit and affection to advance the
Work, either in reference to the transposing of the Table, or the ob-
servation of his Majesties Instructions above-mentioned, which had
not the least place in the business of this Visitation. Wright Bishop of
Coventry and Lichfield having given order by his Chancellor for the
transposing of the Tables in most parts of his Dioceses, began at last to
cast his eyes on the Churches of the Holy Trinity and St. Michael the
Archangel in the City of Coventry; concerning which he prescribed
these Orders: 1. That the Ground at the upper end of the Chancels be
handsomely raised by three steps, that the Celebration of the Sacrament
may be conspicuous to all the Church. 2. That the Ground so raised at
both Churches, the Communion-Table should be removed close to the
East-wall of the Chancels. 3. That in both Churches all new Additions
of Seats in the Chancels be taken away, and the fews there reduced as
near as may be to the ancient form. But the Citizens of Coventry found
a way to take off his edge, notwithstanding that he had received not
only his Majesties Command, but encouragements also in pursuance of
it (his Majesty spending at the least a fortnight in that Diocese, in
the year 1626. at such time as the Bishop came to wait upon him in
Tutbury Castle); For they so far prevailed upon him at his being in
Coventry, that in the presence of the Mayor and some others of the
Fraternity, he appointed, That the Communion-Table should be re-
moved from its alcove of three steps unto the Body of the Chancel,
during the Administration of the Blessed Sacrament, commanding Bird,
who had the Officiality of the place, not to trouble them in it. Bird
not being well pleased with so much levity in the Bishop, gives notice
of it unto Latham the Bishops Register in Lichfield, by whom it was
signified to Lamb, by Lamb to the Archbishops, and by him to the Kings
from whom it is to be supposed that the Bishop could receive small
thanks

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PART II. thanks for his dis obedience. In Essex the business met with a greater difficulty. Aylet Official there under the Chancellor of London, had caused many of the Communion Tables within the verge of his Jurisdiction to be transposed and railed in, and the People to come up and kneel and receive at the Rail. Opposed at first in some of the greater Towns, because they found it otherwise in the Churches of London, whose example they conceived might be a sufficient warrant for them in that particular: But much more were they moved to stand out against him, upon sight of one of the Articles for the Metropolitical Visitation, by which they conceived that they had leave to remove their Table at the time of Celebration, and place it as it might be most convenient for the Parisioners to come about it and receive the Sacrament. Aylet complains of this to Lamb, finding himself thereby under an imputation of crouling the Article delivered by his Graces Visitors, and following after his own inventions, without any Authority. For remedy whereof, and to save all that he had done from returning back again to the same estate in which he found it, he desires to know his Graces Pleasure and Lamb's Directions. More constantly, and with better fortune, is the business carried on by Pierce in his Dioces of Bath and Wells. No sooner had his Majesty signified his Pleasure in the Case of St. Gregory's, but he issued out a Commission to some of his Clergy, to inquire into the State of all the Parish Churches within that Diocese; and on the return of their Account, gives Order for the rectifying of such things as they found amiss, especially in the posture of the Holy Table. And that it might be seen, that his Commands were not only countenanced by Power, but backed by Reason, he prepares certain Motives and Considerations to persuade Conformity in, viz. 1. That it was ordered by the Queen's Injunctions, that the Communion Table should stand where the Altar did. 2. That there should be some difference between the placing of the Lords Table in the Church, and the placing of a Mans Table in his House. 3. That it was not fit the People should sit above God's Table, or be above the Priest when he Consecrateth. 4. That when the Communion Table stands thus, the Chancel would be the fairer, and so there would be more room for the Communicants. 5. That the Table standing thus, the face of the Minister would be better seen, and his voice more audibly and distinctly heard, than if it stood upon a Level in the midst of the Chancel. And 6. That it was expedient that the Daughters should be like their Mother, and that the Parochial Churches should conform themselves in that particular to their own Cathedrals. But that which seemed to be the most popular Argument to persuade Obedience, was the avoiding of those Prophane actions which formerly the Holy Table had been subject to; For should it be permitted to stand as before it did, Church-maidsens would keep their Accounts on it, Parisioners would dispatch the Parish business at it, School-masters will teach their Boys to write upon it, The Boys will lay their Hats, Sackcoats, and Books upon it. Many will sit and lean irreverently against it in Sermon time, The Dogs will piss upon it and defile it, and Glassers would knock it full of Nail-holes. By which means he prevailed so far, that of 469 Parishes which were in that Diocese, 140 had
had conformed to his Order in it, before the end of the Christmas L I B. IV. Holydays in this present year, Anno 1635, without any great reluc-
tancy in Priest or People. The first strong Opposition which he
found in the business, came from a great and populous Parish called
Beckington, where Hewif Incumbent of the place, was willing of him-
sell to have obeyed his Directions in it: but the Church-wardens of
the Parish were determined otherwise. For this being sent for by the
Bishop, he gave them Order by word of mouth, to remove the Table
to the East end of the Chancel, and to place a decent Rail before it:
Which they refusing to perform, were cited to appear in the Bishops
Court, before Duck the Chancellor of that Diocess, on the ninth of
June, by whom they were commanded to remove such Seats as were
above the Communion Table, to obey the Bishops former Directions,
and to return a Certificate of all that they had done therein by the
sixth of October then next following: and for default thereof, were on
the same day Excommunicated by the Bishop in person. But the
Church-wardens being rich, well-backed, and disaffected to the Ser-
vice, appealed from their Diocesan to the Dean of the Arches; at whole
request, upon some hope given of their Conformity, they were ab-
solved for a month, and admonished to submit to that which had been
enjoined them. Continuing in their obstinacy, he Excommunicates
them again, and they again appeal to the Dean of the Arches; where
finding no Relief, they presented a Petition to the Archbishop, with
no less than a hundred hands unto it, and afterwards to the King him-
sel, but with like success. Pierce had done nothing in that cause, but
what he had been warranted to do by their Authority, and therefore
was by their Authority to be countenanced in it. There is an
ancient Privilege belonging to the Church of England, That he who
\[\text{...}\]

Lord Archb\[\text{...}\]
PART reference to his Majesties Instrucions, we shall see hereafter, when he is 
Anno Dom. brought upon the stage on that occasion; and we shall see hereafter al-
1625 so, how much or how little was done in order to the purpose of this Vi-
station, by the rest of the Bishops.

Nor was there only care taken for rectifying such things as were 
found amiss in Parochial Churches: but to enquire also into the State 
and Actions of the Mother Cathedrals, by which all other Churches 
which depended on them, were to be regulated and directed. And 
they found work enough in many of them; especially in those where-
in there was a want of Statutes for the Common Government. 
There are in England twenty six Cathedral or Episcopal Sees, of 
which thirteen are reckoned of the old foundation, and the other 
moyety of the new; those of the old foundation such as anciently 
had been founded in Secular Canons, as they still continue. Of which 
fort are the Churches of St. Paul in London, together with those of 
Chichester, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, Lincoln, Lichfield, Hereford, and 
the four Wells-Bishopricks, in the Province of Canterbury, and none but 
the Metropolitical See of York in the other Province, all of which 
had their ancient Statutes, and required no alteration in them except 
Hereford only. Those of the new foundation (as they commonly called 
them) were such as had been founded on Monastic Orders, which 
being dissolved by King Henry the Eighth, he founded them a new 
in a Dean and Chapter of Secular Priests, of which sort were the 
Churches of Canterbury, Winchester, Ely, Worcester, Rochester, Nor-
wich, and the four new Bishopricks by him founded in the Abbeyes of 
Oxon. Peterborough, Gloucester, and Bristol, together with those of Dur-
ham, Carlisle, and Chester, (this last of his foundation also) in the 
other Province. For each of which Churches there was made a 
draft of Statutes, but never perfected or confirmed; and therefore 
either kept or broken at the Deans discretion, as it conducted most to 
his advantage from time to time; which proved the unavoidable oc-
casion of many differences between the Deans and Prelcndaries of 
those several Churches; the Deans affecting an arbitrary and absolute 
Government, and the Prelzndaries looking on themselves as Brethren, not 
as Subjects to him. The perfecting of these Statutes to serve as a stand-
ing Rule to both for the times succeeding, took up much of his 
thoughts, and certainly he had effected it for all those Churches in 
convenient time, if the disturbances which hapned in Scotland first, and 
in England afterwards, had not diverted and disabled him from that 
performance.

He began first with Canterbury his own Cathedral, where he found 
the Table placed at the East end of the Choyre by the Dean and Chap-
ter, and Adoration used toward it by their appointment; as was at-
tested upon Oath by Dr. Blockinden one of the Prelzndaries of that Church 
at the time of his Trial. Which having found in so good order, he 
recommended to them the providing of Candlessticks, Basons, Carpet, 
and other Furniture for the adorning of the Altar, and the more 
solemn celebrating of the blessed Sacrament. And that these things 
might be perpetual to succeeding Ages, he composed a new body of 
Statutes
Statutes for the Government of that Cathedral, which was sent their under the Great Seal, with his own hand subscribed to every leaf. In which there was this Statute amongst the rest, (which the Deans, Prebends, and Officers there were bound by Oath to observe) That at their coming in and going out of the Chöire, and all approaches to the Altar, they should by bowing toward it, make due reverence to Almighty God. The like he did at Winton also, in this present year, where he required them by Brent his Vicar-General, to provide four Copes, to stand in the Communion Table and place it Altarwise, to bow towards it, and daily to read the Epistles & Gospels at it; the said Epistles and Gospels to be read by none but such as were in holy Orders, contrary to the late practice of that Church, where the said Office was performed by their Lay Vicars at the will and pleasure of the Dean. To bind them to it for the present, certain Injunctions were left with them by Brent under the Seal of his Office. And that they might not fall again to their old confusions, a Book of Statutes was composed also to the use of that Church, for the rectifying of such disorders as had grown therein under the Government of Abbot, Morton, and Young the present Dean thereof, a Scot by Nation, and one that never rightly understood the Constitution of the Church of England. The like Injunctions given by Brent to the Church of Chichester, to provide Copes by one a year for Gods publick Service, till they were sufficiently furnished with them; with the like Adorations toward the Communion Table, as before at Winchester. The Statutes of Hereford being imperfect, he caused to be cast in a new mould, and sent them thither under the Broad Seal for their future Regulation, to be there sworn to and observed. In which it was required, First, That every Residentiary should officiate twice every year under the pain of paying forty shillings to be laid out on Ornaments of the Church. Secondly, That they should officiate on Sundays and Holidays in their Copes. Thirdly, That they should stand up at the Creeds and Gospel, and Doxologies, and to bow so often as the name of Jesus was mentioned, and that no man should be covered in the Church. Fourthly, That every one should bow toward the Altar. Fifthly, That the Prayer afore their Sermons should be made according to the 55 Canon, which as it shews to what disorders they were grown in point of practice, and how they had deviated from the Rules of the Church; so may it serve to verify that old Observation, (1) "That many times corrupt manners and evil Customs do beget good Laws. At Worcester Manwaring, who succeeded Juxon in that Deanry, prevented Brent, and acted many things of himself without any Injunction; for having erected a fair Table of Marble, standing on four well-fashioned Columns, he covered the Wall behind the same with hangings of Azure-coloured Stuff, having a white Silk Lace upon every Seam, and furnished it with Palls and Fronts, as he had observed in his Majesties and some Bishops Chappell; and ordered the Kings Scholars, being forty in number, who formerly used to throng tumultuously into the Chöire to go in Rank, by two and two, and make their due obeiances at their coming in. Such Copes as belonged anciently to that Church, which had been lent many times unto common Actors, or otherwise Sacrilegiously profaned,
In many other Churches the Deans and Prebends had been contented to put that money into their Purse, which might better have been expended on some publick Ornaments. And that he might proceed to a Reformation on the better grounds, he took order to be furnished with a just account of their present condition, what Vestments, and Utensils they had, and what they wanted. From Lincoln it was certified, That the Communion Table was not very decent, and the Rail before it worse; that the Organs were old and naught, and that the Copes and Vestments were immolated, and none remained. From Norwich, That the Hangings of the Chaires were old, and the Copes fair, but wanted mending. From Gloucester, That there wanted Copes, and that many things were grown anisf since last that Deanry. From Lichfield, That the Furniture of the Altar was very mean, care therefore to be taken in it for more costly Ornaments. The like account from other places, which drew on by degrees such Reformation in Cathedral Churches, that they recovered once again their ancient splendour, and ferved for an example to the Parish Churches which related to them. Nor did the Archbishop stand alone in point of judgment as to these particulars. He had therein the testimony and assent of two such Bishops than which there could be none more averse from Popery, or any thing that tended to it. A difference haping between the Minister and Church-wardens in a Parish of Wilts, about the placing of the Table, which the Minister defired to transpose to the end of the Chancel, and the Church-wardens to keep it as it stood before, the business was referred to Davenant, then Bishop of Salisbury, who on a full consideration of the matter, declared in favour of the Incumbent, and by a Decree under his Episcopal Seal settled the Table in the place where the Altar stood, as the Minister defired to have it. In which Decree there are these two passages to be observed; First, That by the Injunction of Queen Elizabeth, and by Canon 32. under King James, the Communion Tables should ordinarily be set and stand with the side to the East Wall of the Chancel. And secondly, That it is ignorance to think that the standing of the holy Table in that place doth relieve Popery. This for the placing of the Table. And then as for the bowing and adoring toward it, we have this Authority from the Pen of Morton, then Bishop of Durham, in a Book by him written of the Roman Sacrifice. The like difference (faith he) may be discerned between their manner of Reverence in bowing towards the Altar, for adoration of the Eucharist only, and ours in bowing as well when there is no Eucharist on the Table as when there is, which is not to the Table of the Lord, but to the Lord of the Table, to testify the Communion of all the faithful Communicants therewith, even as the People of God did in adoring him before the Ark his footstool, Psalm 99. And here we also may observe, that though Davenant made not his Decree till the seventeenth of May 1637, when the business of the Table had been settled in most parts of the Kingdom, yet Morton's book came out this year, Anno 1635, at the first breaking out of those oppositions which were made against it.
Yet did not the Archbishops think he had done sufficiently if he L I B. IV. 
should leave the case to be ruled only by Injunctions and Decrees, un-
less he added vigour to them by his own example. When he was Bi-
shop of St. Davids, he built a new Chappel to his House of Aberghull, 
and furnished both the Chappell and the Altar in it with Hangings, 
Palls, Fronts, Plate, and other Utensils, to a very great value. Accord-
ing unto which beginning he continued till the end of his Race. When 
he came first to Lambeth-houfe, where he found the Chappel lyse so 
nastily, (as his own words are) the Windows so defaced, and all things 
in it so disordered, that he was much ashamed to see it, and could not re-
sort unto it without disdain; the Images in the Windows being broken 
in many places, and most deformedly patcht up with ordinary Glafs, 
he caused to be repaired, and beautified according to their former Fig-
ure, his Glasiers Bill amounting to no less than i 4 8 l i. 7 s. 6 d. With 
like care, but with far less Charges, he repaired the ruined Windows 
in the Chappel of his house in Croydon, where he spent the greatest 
part of his Summers, and whither he retired at other times for his cafe 
and privacy. And as for the Communion Table, which he found 
standing in the middle of the Chappell, a very forry one in it self, he 
ordered it to be removed to some other Room, and caused a new one 
to be made, placed where the Altar sometimes stood, shadowed 
over-head with a very fair Frieze, and Fenced with a decent and costly 
Rail, the guidling of the one, and the curious workmanship of the 
other, together with the Table it self, amounting to 33 pounds, and 
upwards; Copes, Altar-cloaths, Plate, and other necessaries which be-
longed to the adorning of it he had been Master of before in his oth-
ner Chappells, and therefore was at the less charge in compleating this. 
He put himself to some cost also in repairing and beautifying the Or-
gans, which he found very much out of tune, and made great use of 
them in the celebrating of Divine Service on Sundays and Holydays, 
when his leisure could permit him to be present at it; some Gentle-
men of his Majesties Chappell asfisting many times to make up the Con-
fort when the solemnity required it. According unto which example 
of their Lord, and Chancellor, the principal Colledges in Oxon. beau-
tified their Chappells, transposed their Tables, fenced them with Rails, 
and furnishd them with Hangings, Palls, Plate, and all other necessa-
rles. Yet neither his own Example, nor the Authority of the said two 
Bishops, nor practice of the Deans and Chapters in so many Churches, 
or the Governours of those principal Colledges, so topt the mouths of 
divers railing Rabshakehs of the Puritan Faction, as not to spit their 
venome and reproaches on them. Witness for all, that scurrilous pas-
sage of H. B. in his Seditions Sermon, called, For God and the King; 
now then (faith he) we will our new Masters, our Innovators, make good 
the bringing in of these things afresh into Cathedrals, and forcing allpetty 
Churches to conform thereunto? Would the Prelates thus make the Mo-
ther Cathedrals (thus by themselves made and adopted Romes daughters) 
their Conuincents, whereon to beget a new breading Generation of sacrificing, 
idolatrous Mi$-Priests throughout the Land, which our good Laws, and 
allow learned and pious Divinities have proclaimed illegitimate? So he.
More of this foul stuff might be found elsewhere, but that I hate the raking in such dirty puddles. The business of the Table going on in so good a way, that of the Declaration about Lawful Sports seemed to be at an stand. Such Ministers as had readily obeyed the Mandates, and published the several Orders of the secular Judges in their several Churches, did obstinately refuse the publishing of this Declaration, when required to do it by their Bishops; and that they might not be thought to stand out against them without some good ground, they alleged some reasons for themselves, which when they came to be examined, had no reason in them. First, they alleged, That there was no express order in the Declaration, that the Minister of the Parish should be preft to the publishing of it. But then withal they should consider, that the Bishops were commanded to take order for the publishing of it in their several Parishes; and whom could they require to publish it in the Parish Churches but the Ministers only? Bound to them by an Oath of Canonical Obedience at their admission to their Cures. So that the Bishops did no more than they were commanded in laying the publication of this Declaration on the back of the Ministers; and the Ministers by doing less than they were commanded infringed the Oath which they had taken, rendering themselves thereby obnoxious to all such Ecclesiastical Censures as the Bishops should inflict upon them. It was alleged secondly, That the publishing of this Declaration was a work more proper for the Constable or Tything-man, or the Church-wardens at the least, than it was for the Ministers: But then it was to be considered, that the Constable or Tything-man were Lay-officers merely, bound by the Law to execute the Warrants of the Judges and Justices, but not the Mandates of the Bishops, so far from being Proper Instruments in such a business, that none of the Judges thought it fit to command their Service in publishing their Orders against Ales and Revels. And though the Church-wardens had some relation to Church-matters, and consequently to the Bishop in the way of Presentments; yet was he not bound to execute any such Commands, because not tied by an Oath of Canonical obedience, as the Ministers were. Or were it otherwise, yet doth it happen many times in Country Villages, that the Church-wardens cannot read, and therefore not to be employed in publishing such Declarations, which require a more knowing man than a silly Villager. And last of all it was alleged, that the Ministers of all others were most unfit to hold the Candle for lighting and letting in such a course of licentiousness, as was indulged on the Lord's day, by the said Declaration. But then it was to have been proved, that any Sports of the allowed of in it, might have been brought within the compass of such Licentiousness, which neither the Word of God, nor the Canons of the Christian Church, nor any Statutes of the Realm had before forbidden. Or had it been as they pretended, that the command was contrary to the Law of God, and could not be obeyed with a safe conscience; yet this was only a pretence, their reading of the Book being no more an argument of their approbation of any thing therein contained, than when a common
mon. Crier reads a Proclamation, the Contents whereof perhaps he L I B. IV. likes not.

The Business being at this stand, it was thought fit that the Bishops should first deal with the Refusers in a Fatherly and gentle way, but adding menaces sometimes to their persuasions if they law cause for it; and that in the mean season some discourses should be writ and published to bring them to a right understanding of the truth, and their several duties: which burden being held of too great weight for any one to undergo, and the necessity of the work requiring a quick dispatch, it was held fit to divide the employment betwixt two. The Argumentative and Scholastical part referred to the right learned Dr. White, then Bishop of Ely, who had given good proof of his ability in Polemical matters in several Books and Disputations against the Papists. The Practical and Historical, by Heylyn of Westminster, who had gained some reputation for his Studies in the antient Writers by Asserting the History of St. George, maliciously impugned by those of the Calvinian Party upon all occasions. Both of them, being enjoyed their tasks, were required to be ready for the Press against Michaelmas Term; at the end whereof both books came out, The Bishops under the Title of A Treatise of the Sabbath day, containing a defence of the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the Church of England against Sab- batarian Novelty. The other called, The History of the Sabbath, was divided into two Books or Parts; the first whereof began with the Creation of the World, and carried on the Story till the destruction of the Temple; the second, beginning with our Saviour Christ and his Apostles, was drawn down to the year 1633. when the publishing of this Declaration was required. But going different ways to work they did not both encounter the like success. The Bishops Book had not been extant very long, when an Answer was returned unto it by Byfield of Surrey, which Answer occasioned a Reply, and that Reply begat a Rejoinder. To Heylyn's Book there was no Answer made at all, whether because unanswerable, or not worth the Answering, is to me unknown. And though it is not to be doubted, but that the Arguments of the one, and the Authorities of the other, prevailed with some to lay aside their former obstinacy and averseness; yet did there still remain too many, who stop'd their ears, like the deaf Adder in the Psalmist, and would not hear the voice of the Charmers, charmed they never so sweetly. By which it did appear too plainly, that there was some Association had and made amongst them, to stand it out to the last, and put some baffle or affront upon their Superiors, by whose Command the reading of the Book was imposed upon them. And thereupon it was resolved, That the Bishops in their several Diocesses should go to work more roundly with them, and either bring them to Conformity, if it might be done; or otherwise, to proceed against them by Ecclesiastical Censures.

But whilst these things were acting on the Stage of England, the Bishops of Scotland were as active in drawing of a Book of Canons, and framing a Publick Liturgie for the use of that Church. Both Undertakings warranted by the Act of a General Assembly held at Aberdeen.
The Life of William

PART II. Anno 1616. And the one brought to a good forwardness before the death of King James: But being discontinued by the Accidents and Debates before-remembered, it pleased his Majesty at the last to yield unto the importunity of the Scottifh Bishops, in having a Liturgie of their own, differing in some things from that of the Church of England, to throw the independency and self-subsistence of their Kirk; but agreeing with it in the main, to testifie the Conformity between the Churches: Which being thus condescended to, they were ordered to proceed with all speed and diligence, which they did accordingly. But the Canons being the shorter work, were first brought to an end; for the compiling whereof, his Majesty gives these Reasons in his large Declaration. First, That he held it but exceeding necessary, that there should be some Book extant to contain the Rules of the Ecclesiastical Government; so that as well the Clergie as the Laity might have one certain Rule, to regulate the Power of the one, the Obedience and Practice of the other. Secondly, That the Acts of General Assemblies were written only, and not Printed; and therefore could not come to the knowledge of many: So large and voluminous, that it was safe to transcribe them, inasmuch that few of the Priests themselves could tell which of them were authentic, which not: So unsafe and uncertainly kept, that they knew not where to address themselves for consulting with them: That by reducing those numerous Acts (and those not known unto themselves) to such a pannity of Canons, published and exposed to the public view, no man should be injured by ignorance, or have just reason to complain of their multiplicity. And finally, That not one in all that Kingdom did either live under the Obedience of the Acts of those General Assemblies, or did know what they were, or where to find them. Upon which grounds, the Book of Canons being drawn up and presented to him, he gave a Warrant under his Hand to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requiring him, together with the Bishop of London, to peruse the same, to see that they were well fitted to the Church-Government, and as near as conveniently might be to the Canons of the Church of England; giving them, and either of them full power to alter any thing in the said Canons, as they found most fitting. Which being done as he commanded, and the Book made ready for the Press, he pass'd his Royal Confirmation of it, under the Great Seal of the Kingdom, in this manner following.

CHARLES REX.

W out of Our Royal Care for the Maintenance of the present Estate and Government of the Church of Scotland, have diligently and with great content considered all the Canons and Constitutions after following; and finding the same such as We are persuaded will be profitable, not only to our whole Clergie, but to the whole Church of that our Kingdom, if so they be well observed, Have for Our, Our Heirs, and Lawful Successors, of Our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, given, and by these presents do give Our Royal Assent unto all the said Canons, Orders, and Constitutions, and to all and everything in them contained, as they are afterwards set down. And
And further, We do not only by Our Prerogative Royal, and Supreme Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, Ratifie and Confirm by these Our Letters Patents, the said Canons, Orders and Constitutions, and all and every thing in them contained: But likewise We command by Our Authority Royal, and by these Letters Patents, the same to be diligently observed and executed by all Our loving Subjects of that Our Kingdom both within the Province of St. Andrews and Glaisow; in all points wherein they do or may concern every or any of them, according to this Our Will and Pleasure hereby expressed and declared. And for the better observation of them, We strictly Charge and Command all Our Archbishops, Bishops, and all others that exercise any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within our Realm, to see the same Canons, Orders and Constitutions to be in all points duly observed; not sparing to execute the Penalties in them severally mentioned, upon any that shall willingly break or neglect to observe the same, as they tender the Honour of God, the Peace of the Church, the Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and their Service and duty to Us their King and Sovereign.

Given at Our Mannor of Greenwich, 23 May 1635.

These Canons when they came abroad, were presently quarrelled and disclaimed by the Scottifhs Presbyters: Quarrelled with in reference to the subject matter comprehended in them: Disclaimed, because imposed upon them without their own approbation and consent. The points most quarrelled at, were these. 1. That whosoever should affirm, That the Kings Majesty had not the same Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, that the Godly Kings had among the Jews, or the Christian Emperors in the Primitive Church; or impugn in any part his Royal Supremacy in Causes Ecclesiastical, was to incur the Censure of Excommunication. 2. The like censure to be inflicted on those who should affirm, That the Worship contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments (though at the making of these Canons there was no such Book of Common-Prayer recommended to them;) or, That the Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, or the form of Makings and Consecrating Archbishops and Bishops, &c. did contain any thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or was corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful in the Service and Worship of God. 3. That the Ordinations were restrained to four times in the year; that is, the first Weeks of March, June, September, and December. 4. That every Ecclesiastical Person at his Admission should take the Oath of Supremacy, according to the form required by Parliament; and the like Oath for avoiding Simony, required in the Book of Consecration. 5. That every Presbyter shall either by himself, or by another Person lawfully called, read or cause Divine Service to be done, according to the form of the Book of that Common-Prayer, before all Sermons; and that he should officiate by the said Book of Common-Prayer, in all the Offices, Parts and Rubricks of it (when as yet none of them had been the said Book or Liturgie.) 6. That no preacher should impugn the Doctrine deliver'd by another in the same Church, or any near adjoining to it, without leave from the Bishop; which they conceived to be the way to pin their whole Religion on the Bishops Sleeves. 7. That
PART II. no Presbyter should hereafter become Surety or Cautioner for any Person whosoever, in Civil Bonds and Contrats, under pain of Suspension. 8. That whatsoever remained of the Bread and Wine prepared for the Communion, should be distributed to the poorer sort which receive that day, to be eaten and drunken of them before they go out of the Church. 9. That Presbyters are enjoyned to minister the Sacrament of Baptism in private Houses, and upon every day alike, in case of infirmity; and that the People were required not to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper but upon their knees. 10. That in all Sentences of Separation &c. Thoro & Men- la, there shall be a Caution inserted (and given accordingly) That the Persons so separated should live continently and chastly, and not contract Marriage with any Person, during each others life (which seemed to put the innocent Party into as bad a condition as the guilty, contrary to the Judgment of the Reformed Churches.) 11. That no private Meeting be kept by Presbyters, or any other Persons whatsoever, for expounding Scripture, or for confounding upon matters Ecclesiastical: Such matters to be handled only in the Lawful Synods held by Bishops. 12. That under pain of Excommunication, no Presbyter or Layman, jointly or severally, make Rules, Orders, or Constitutions in Causes Ecclesiastical; or to add or deduct from any Rubricks or Articles, or other things now established, without the Authority of the King or his Successors. 13. That National or General Assemblies were to be called only by the Kings Authority; That the Decrees thereof should bind as well the Absent as the Present in Matters Ecclesiastical; and, That it should not be lawful for the Bishops themselves, in such Assemblies, or otherwise, to alter any Articles, Rubrick, Canon Doctrinal or Disciplinary whatsoever, without his Majesty's leave first had and obtained. 14. That no man should cover his Head in time of Divine Service, except with a Cap or Night-cap in case of infirmity; and that all Persons should reverently kneel when the Confession and other Prayers were read, and should stand up at the saying of the Creed. 15. That no Presbyter or Reader be permitted to conceive Prayers ex tempore, or use any other form in the Public Liturgie or Service, than is prescribed, under the pain of Deprivation from his Benefice or Cure. 16. That by this Prohibition the Presbyters seemed to be debarred from using their own Prayers before their Sermons, by reason that in c. 3. num. 13. it is required, That all Presbyters and Preachers should move the People to join with them in Prayer, using some few and consequent words, and should always conclude with the Lords Prayer (which in effect was to bind them to the form of bidding Prayer, prescribed in the 55th. Canon of the Church of England.) 17. That no man should teach either in Publick School or Private House, but such as shall be allowed by the Archbishop of the Province, or Bishop of the Diocess, under their Hand and Seal; and those to Licence none but such as were of good Religion, and obedient to the Orders of the Church. 18. That none should be admitted to read in any Colledge or School, except they take first the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. 19. That nothing be hereafter Imprinted, except the same be seen and allowed by the Visitors appointed to that purpos, the Penalty thereof (as in all like Cases in which no Penalty is expressed) being left to the discretion of the Bishops. 20. That no Publick Fast should be appointed
appointed upon Sundays (as had been formerly accustomed) but on the L I R. IV. Week-days only; and them to be appointed by none but His Majesty. 24. Anno Dom. That for the Ministration of the Sacrament of Baptism, a Font should be prepared, and placed somewhat near the entry of the Church, as antiently it used to be, with a Cloth of fine Linnen, which shall likewise be kept all neat. 22. That a comely and decent Table for Celebrating the Holy Communion should be provided, and placed at the upper end of the Chancel or Church, to be covered at the times of Divine Service with a Carpet of decent Stuff, and at the time of Ministration with a white Linnen cloth; And that Basons, Cups, or Chalices of some pure Metal shall be provided, to be set upon the Communion Table, and reserved to that only use. 23. That such Bishops and Presbyters as shall depart this life, having no Children, shall leave their Goods or a great part of them to the Church and Holy Uses; and that notwithstanding their having Children, they should, leave some Testimony of their love to the Church and advancement of Religion. 24. That no Sentence of Excommunication should be pronounced, or Absolution given by any Presbyter, without the leave and approbation of the Bishop: And no Presbyter should reveal or make known what had been opened to him in confession, at any time, or to any Person whatsoever, except the crime be such as by the Laws of the Realm his own Life may be called in question for concealing the same. 25. And finally, That no Person should be received into Holy Orders, nor suffered to Preach, Catechize, Minister the Sacraments, or any other Ecclesiastical Function, unless he first subscribe to be obedient to these present Canons, Ratified and Approved by his Majesty's Royal Warrant, and Ordained to be observed by the Clergie, and all others whom they concern.

There were the matters chiefly quarrelled in this Book of Canons, visibly tending (as they would make the World believe) to subject that Kirk unto the Power of the King; the Clergy to the command of their Bishops; the whole Nation, to the Discipline of a Foreign Church, and all together by degrees, to the Idolatries and Tyrannies of the Pope of Rome. But juster cause they seemed to have for disclaiming the said Book of Canons, because not made nor imposed upon them by their own approbation and consent, contrary to the usage of the Church in all Times and Ages. Had his Majesty imposed these Orders on them by the name of Injunctions, according to the example of King Henry viii. Anno 1536. of King Edward vi. Anno 1547. and of Queen Elizabeth, Anno 1559. he might perhaps have justified himself by that Supremacy which had been vested in him by the Laws of that Kingdom; which seems to have been the Judgment of King James in this very case. At his last being in Scotland, Anno 1617. he had prepared an Article to be passed in Parliament to this effect, viz. That whatsoever his Majesty should determine in the External Government of the Church, with the advice of the Archbishop, Bishops, and a competent number of the Ministry, should have the strength of a Law. But understanding that a Proclamation was prepared against it by some of the most Rigid Presbyterians, he commanded Hay the Clerk or Register, to pass by that Article, as a thing no way necessary; the Prerogative of his Crown giving him more Authority than was declared or defined by it. But
PART II. But as for Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, if they concerned the whole Church, they were to be advised and framed by Bishops, and other Learned men, assembled in a General Council, and testified by the Subscription of such Bishops as were then assembled. Or if they did relate only unto National Churches, or particular Provinces, they were to be concluded and agreed upon by the Bishops and Clergy; that is to say, so many of the Clergy as are chosen and impowered by all the rest for that end and purpose, assembled in a National or Provincial Synod. No Canons nor Constitutions Ecclesiastical to be otherwise made; or if made otherwise, not to bind, without a voluntary and free submission of all Parties to them. And though it could not be denied, but that all Christian Emperors, Kings, and Princes reserved a Power unto themselves of Ratifying and Confirming all such Constitutions as the Bishops and Clergy were agreed on; yet still the said Canons and Constitutions were first agreed on by the Bishops and Clergy, before they were tendered to the Sovereign Prince for his Ratification. The Scotch Presbyteries had formerly disclaimed the Kings Authority either in calling their Assemblies, or confirming the Results and Acts thereof: which they conceived to be good and valid of themselves without any additional power of his to add strength unto them. And therefore now they must needs think themselves reduced to a very great Vassallage in having a body of Canons so imposed upon them, to the making whereof they were never called, and to the passing whereof they had never voted. But as they had broke the Rules of the Primitive Church in acting Sovereignty of themselves without requiring the Kings approbation and consent in the times foregoing; so were they now upon the point of having those old Rules broken on them by the King, in making Canons, and putting Laws and Orders on them for their future Government, to which they never had consented. And therefore though his Majesty had taken so much care (as himself observed) for facilitating and conveniencing their obedience by furthering their knowledge in those points which before they knew not; yet they did generally behold it, and exclaimed against it, as one of the most grievous burthens that ever had been laid upon them.

More clamour, but on weaker grounds, was made against the Book of Common-Prayer when it first came out, which was not till the year 1637. and then we shall hear further of it. Mean while we will return to England, and see what our Archbishop doth, as a chief Councillor and States-man in his Civil Actings. It was about four or five years since, Anno 1631. that he first discovered how ill his Majesties Treasury had been managed between some principal Officers of his Revenue, to the enriching of themselves, to the impoverishing of their Master, and the no small amazement of all good Subjects. But the abuses being too great to be long concealed, his Majesty is made acquainted with all particulars, who thereupon did much estrange his countenance from the principal of them.

For which good service to the King none was so much suspected by them as the Archbishop of Canterbury, against whom they began to practise, endeavouring all they could to remove him from his Majesties ear,
ear, or at the least to lessen the esteem and reputation which his fidelity and upright dealing had procured of him. Factions are height-
ened in the Court. Private ends followed to the prejudice of Publick Service, and every mouth talkt openly against his proceedings. But still he kept his ground, and prevailed at last, appointed by his Ma-
jefty on the fifth of February 1634, to be one of the great Committee for Trade and the Kings Revenue; and seeing Welfons Glories set under a cloud, within few weeks after, Welfon being dead, it pleased his Majesty to commit the managing of the Treasury by Letters Patent under the Broad Seal, bearing date on the fourteenth day of
March, to the Lord Archbishops, Cottington Chancellor of the Exche-
quers, Cooke and Windebank, principal Secretaries, and certain others; who with no small envy looked upon him as if he had been set over them for a Supervisor. Within two daies after his being nominated for this Commission, his Majesty brought him also into the Foreign Committee, which rendered him as considerable abroad as he was at home. This as it added to his power, so it increased the stomach which was born against him. The year 1635, was but new began, when clathing began to grow between him and Cottington about execut-
ing the Commission for the Treasury. And that his grief and trouble might be the greater, his old Friend Windebank, who had re-
ceived his preferment from him, forsook him in the open field, and joyned himself with Cottington and the rest of that Party. This could not choose but put him to the exercise of a great deal of Patience, considering how necessary a Friend he had loft, in whose bofom he had lodged a great part of his Counsels, and on whose Activity he relied for the carrying on of his designs at the Council Table. But for all this he carries on the Commission the whole year about, acquaints
himself with the Mysteries and Secrets of it, the honest advantages which the Lord Treasurers had for inriching themselves (to the va-

lue of seven thousand pound a year and upwards, as I have heard from his own mouth) without defrauding the King, or abusing the Subject. He had observed, that divers Treasurers of late years had raised themselves from very mean and private Fortunes to the Titles
and Estates of Earls, which he conceived could not be done without wrong to both; and therefore he resolves to commend such a man to his Majesty for the next Lord Treasurer, who having no Family to raise, no Wife and Children to provide for, might better manage the
Incomes of the Treasury to the Kings advantage than they had been formerly. And who more like to come into his eye for that prefer-
ment than Juxon, his old and truest Friend, then Bishop of London; a man of such a well tempered disposition as gave exceeding great con-
tent both to Prince and People, and one whom he knew capable of as much instruction as by a whole years experience in the Commission for the Treasury he was able to give him.

It was much wondred at, when first the Staff was put into this mans hand; in doing whereof the Archbishops was generally conceived nei-
ther to have consulted his own present peace nor his future safety. Had he studied his own present peace, he should have given Cotting-
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1625.

The Life of WILLIAM

The Queen about these times began to grow into a greater prævalency over his Majesties affections than formerly she had made shew of: But being too wise to make any open alteration of the conduct of affairs, she thought it best to take the Archbishop into such of her Counsels as might by him be carried on to her contentment, and with no dishonour to himself, of which he gave this intimation in the Breviate (a) on the thirtieth of August 1624. viz. That the Queen sent for him to Oatlands, and gave him thanks for a business which she had trusted him with, promising him to be his Friend, and that he should have immediate access to her when he had occasion. This seconded with the like
like intimation, given us May 18. 1635. of which he writes, that L I B. IV-
having brought his account to the Queen on May 18. WhitSunday, Anno Dom.
the Court then at Greenwich, it was put off till the Sunday after, at
which time he presented it to her, and received from her an assurance
of all that was desired by him. *Panzani's coming unto London in the
Christmas holy-days makes it not improbable that the facilitating of his
safe and favourable reception was the great business which the Queen
had committed to the Archbishops trust; and for his effecting of it
with the King, had given him those gracious promises of access unto
her, which the Breviary spake of. For though Panzani was sent over
from the Pope on no other pretence than to prevent a Schism which
was then like to be made between the Regulars and the Secular Priests,
to the great scandal of that Church; yet under that pretence were
muffled many other designs which were not fit to be discovered unto
Vulgar eyes. By many secret Artifices he works himself into the
favour of Cottington, Windebank, and other great men about the
Court, and at last grew to such a confidence, as to move this questi-
on to some Court-Bishops, viz., whether his Majesty would permit the
residing of a Catholic Bishop of the English Nation to be nominated by his
Majesty, and not to exercise his Function but as his Majesty should limit?
Upon which Proposition, when those Bishops had made this Query to
him, whether the Pope would allow of such a Bishop of his Majesties no-
mination as held the Oath of Allegiance lawful, and should permit the tak-
ing of it by the Catholic Subjects, he puts it off by pleading that he had
no Commission to declare therein one way or other. And thereupon
he found some way to move the King for the permission of an Agent
from the Pope to be addressed to the Queen for the concerns of her
Religion, which the King, with the Advice and Consent of his
Council, condescended to, upon condition that the party sent should
be no Priest. This possibly might be the sum of that account which
the Archbishop tendered to the Queen at Greenwich on the Whitson-
tide after Panzani's coming, which as it seems was only to make
way for Con. (of whom more hereafter) though for the better
colour of doing somewhat else that might bring him hither, he
composed the Rupture between the Seculars and the Regulars above-
mentioned.

I cannot tell whether I have hit right or not upon these particulars;
but sure I am, that he resolved to serve the Queen no further in her
defires than might consist both with the honour and safety of the
Church of England; which as it was his greatest charge, so did he lay
out the chief parts of his cares and thoughts upon it. And yet he was
not so unmindful of the Foreign Churches, as not to do them all good
offices when it came in his way, especially when the Doctrine or Dis-
cipline of the Church of England was not concerned in the same. For
in the year 1634. having received Letters from the Queen of Bohemia
(with whom he held a constant course of Correspondence) about the
furtherance of a Collection for the exiled Ministers of the Palatinate;
he moved the King so effectually in it, that his Majesty granted his
Letters Patents for the said Collection to be made in all parts of the

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King-
PART II. Kingdom: which Letters Patents being sealed and brought unto him for his further Direction in prosecution of the same, he found a passage in it which gave him no small cause of offence, and was this that followeth; viz. "Whole cases are the more to be deplored, for that this extremity is fallen upon them for their sincerity and constancy in the true Religion which we together with them professed, and which we are all bound in conscience to maintain to the utmost of our powers; whereas these Religious and Godly persons being involved amongst other their Countrymen might have enjoyed their Estates and Fortunes, if with other backsliders in the times of Tribulation, they would have submitted themselves to the Antichristian Yoke, and have renounced or dissembled the Profession of the true Religion. Upon the reading of which passage he observed two things: First, That the Religion of the Palatine Churches was declared to be the same with ours. And secondly, That the Doctrine and Government of the Church of Rome is called an Antichristian Yoke; neither of which could be approved of in the same terms in which they were presented to him. For first he was not to be told, that by the Religion of those Churches all the Calvinist Rigors in the point of Predestination and the rest depending thereupon were received as Orthodox; that they maintain a Parity of Ministers directly contrary both to the Doctrine and Government of the Church of England; and that Pauwes, Professor of Divinity in the University of Heidelberg, (who was not to be thought to have delivered his own senfe only in that point) ascribes a power to inferior Magistrates to curb the powers, control the persons and reft the Authority of Soveraign Princes; for which his Comment on the Romans had been publickly burnt by the appointment of King James, as before is said. Which as it plainly proves, that the Religion of those Churches is not altogether the same with that of ours, so he conceived it very unsafe that his Majesty should declare under the Great Seal of England, that both himself and all his Subjects were bound in conscience to maintain the Religion of those Churches with their utmost power. And as unto the other point he looked upon it as a great Controversie, not only between some Protestant Divines and the Church of Rome, but between the Protestant Divines themselves, hitherto not determined in any Council, nor positively defined by the Church of England; and therefore he conceived it as unsafe as the other, that such a doubtful controversie, as that of the Papists being Antichrist, should be determined Positively by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England, of which there was great difference even amongst the Learned, and not resolved on in the Schools. With these objections against that passage he acquaints his Majesty, who thereupon gave order that the said Letters Patents should be cancelled, and new ones to be drawn, in which that clause should be corrected or expunged; and that being done, the said Letters Patents to be new sealed, and the said Collection to proceed according to the Archbishops first desires and proposition made in that behalf.

But before this Collection was finished, and the money returned, Charles
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Charles Lodowick, Prince Elector Palatine, eldest surviving Son of the L I B. IV. Queen of Bohemia, comes into England to bestow a visit on his Uncle, Anno Domini
and to desire his aid and counsel for the recovery of the Electoral Dignity and Estate which did of right belong unto him. On the twenty second of November this present year 1635, he comes to Whitehall, graciously welcomed by the King, who assigned him for his quarters in the Court, the Lodgings properly belonging to the Prince his Son, where he continued whilst he made his abode in England, except such times as he attended his Majesty in his Summers Progress. Knowing how forward the Archbishop had expressed himself in doing all ready Services for the Queen his Mother, and the good offices which he had done for her sake to the distressed Ministers of his Dominions, on the 30 day of the same Month he crossed over to Lambeth, and was present with the Archbishop at the Evening Prayer then very solemnly performed; and upon that day fortnight came unexpectedly upon him, and did him the honour to dine with him. And that he might the better endear himself to the English Nation by shewing his conformity and approbation of the Rites and Ceremonies here by Law established, he did not only diligently frequent the Morning and Evening Service in his Majesty's Closet, but upon Christmas day received the Communion also in the Chappel Royal of Whitehall. For whose accommodation, at the receiving of it, there was a Stool placed within the Traverse, on the left hand of his Majesty, on which he sat while the Remainder of the Anthem was sung, and at the Reading of the Epistle, with a lower Stool and a Velvet Cushion to kneel upon both in the preparatory Prayers, and the Act of Receiving, which he most reverently performed to the great content of all beholders. During his being in the Court he published two Books in Print by the advice of the King and Council, not only to declare his Wrongs, but assert his Rights. The first he called by the name of a PROTESTATION, against all the unlawful and violent proceedings and actions against him and his Electoral Family. The second, called the MANIFEST, concerning the right of his Succession in the Lands, Dignities, and Honours, of which his Father had been unjustly dispossessed by the Emperor Ferdinand the Second. After which Preparatory writings, which served to no other effect than to justify his own and the Kings proceedings in the eye of the world, he was put upon a course for being furnished both with men and mony to try his fortune in the Wars, in which he wanted not the best assistance which the Archbishop could afford him by his Power and Counsels. But as he laboured to advance his Interest in the recovery of his Patrimony and Estates in Germany, so he no les laboured to preserve the Interest of the Church of England against all dangers and disturbances which might come from thence. And therefore when some busy heads, at the time of the Princes being here, had published the Book entituled, A Declaration of the Faith and Ceremonies of the Palgrave Churches; A course was took to call it in, for the same cause, and on the same prudential grounds on which the Letters Patents before mentioned, had been fopt and altered. The Prince was welcome, but the Book might better
PART II. better have stayed at home, brought hither in Dutch, and here translated into English, Printed, and exposed to the publick view, to let the vulgar Reader see how much we wanted of the Purity and simplicity of the Palatine Churches.

But we must now look back on some former Counsels in bringing such refractory Ministers to a just conformity in publishing his Majesty's Declaration about lawful Sports, as neither arguments and persuasions could prevail upon. And that the Suffragan Bishops might receive the more countenance in it, the Archbishop means not to look on, but to act somewhat in his own Diocess which might be exemplary to the rest, some troublesome persons there were in it, who publickly opposed all established orders, neither conforming to his Majesties Instructions, nor the Canons of the Church, nor the Rubricks in the publick Liturgy. Culver and Plither, two men of the same affections, and such as had declared their inconformity in former times, were put unto the publishing of this Declaration; Brent acting in it as Commissary to the Bishop of the Diocess, (not Vicar General to the Archbishop) of the Province of Canterbury. On their refusal so to do, they were called into the Consistory, and by him suspended. Petitioning the Archbishop for a release from that suspension, they were answered by him, That if they knew not how to obey, be knew as little how to grant. He understood them to be men of Factious spirits, and was resolved to bring them to a better temper, or else to keep them from disturbing the publick peace. And they resolving on the other side, not to yield obedience, continued under this suspension till the coming in of the Scottish Army, not long before the beginning of the Long Parliament, Anno 1640, which wanted little of four years before they could get to be released. Wilson, another of the same Crew, was suspended about the same time also, and afterwards severely sentenced in the High Commission, the profits of his Living sequestrated, (as the others were) and liberal assignments made out of it for supplying the Cure. In which condition he remained for the space of four years, and was then released on a motion made by Dering in the House of Commons, at the very opening, in manner, of the Long Parliament; that being the occasion which was taken by them to bring the Archbishop on the Stage, as they after did. And though he suspended, or gave order rather for suspending of no more than these; yet being they were leading-men, and the chief sticklers of the Faction in all his Diocess, it made as much noise as the great Persecution did in Norfolk and Suffolk. By one of which first County we are told in general, That being promoted to this dignity, he thought he was now Plenipotentiary enough, and in full capacity to dominate as he lifted, and to let his protest enemies feel the dint of his Spirit, but more particularly, that he caused the Book of Sports to be published, for no other reason than to gall and vex those Godly Divines, whose Consciences would not vail to so much impiety, as to promote the Work; and finally, That thereupon many of the most sound and orthodox Belief, were compelled to desert their Stations, and abandon their Livings, in which their livelihood con-
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

"confisted, rather than to submit unto it. And here I had taken Leave of Kent, but that I must first pass through the Diocesses of Rochester, where I find one Swelling to have been both Suspended and Excommunicated on the same account (some other Inconformities (as not bowing at the Name of JESUS) being taken into the Reckoning) by Wood then Chancellor of that Diocess under Bishop Bowles, and afterwards Sentenced to a Deprivation on the ninth of February 1637.

But as for that great Persecution in Norfolk and Suffolk (greater, if Burton were to be believed, than any which hapned to the Church in Hen. 6) we shall hear it thus Preached up in that sedulous Sermon of his, which he was pleased to entitle For God and the King; in which he telleth us, That in those Countiess they had made the greatest havoc of good Ministers (and their Flocks now left desolate and exposed to the Wolves, as Sheep without their Shepherd) as our eyes had ever seen; That there were already three score Ministers in that one Diocess Suspended, and between three and fourscore more had time given them till Christ-tide, by which time they must either bid their good Consciences farewell, or else their precious Ministry, and therewith their necessary Means: And finally, That in all Queen Maries Time there was not so great a havoc made (in so short a time) of the faithful Ministers of God, in any part of ye; in the whole Land. Wren had not long before succeeded Corbet in the See of Norwich; a man who very well understood his Work, and resolved to do it: but finding himself more deeply galled with these Reproaches, than he had deserved, he caused his Registrers to be searched, and the Acts of his Court to be examined, out of which we may take this short Account of his Proceedings; that is to say, 1. That the Clergie of that Diocess comprehending all that are in Spiritual Dignity or Office, and all Parsones, Vicars, Curates, and School-Masters (taking in the Lawyers withal) amount unto the number of 1500, or thereabouts. 2. That there were not above thirty of all sorts involved in any Ecclesiastical Cause of what kind soever, and not above sixteen Suspended. 3. That of those sixteen, eight were then Absolved, for a time of further trial to be taken of them, and two did voluntarily resign their Places; so that there were but ten suspended absolutely, and persisting so. 4. That of the Residue, one was deprived, after notorious Inconformity for twelve years together, and final Obstinacy after several Admonitions; eight Excommunicated for not appearing at the Court, and four inhibited from Preaching; of which four, one by Trade had been a Draper, another a Weaver, and a third a Tayler. 5. That for the other number between sixty and eighty, which were Suspended upon day till Christmas, upon the Examination of the Register there appear but eight, and those not all Suspended neither, two being Excommunicated for not appearing in the Court. And 6. Taking it for granted, That sixty of all sorts had been Suspended, as it was suggested in the Libel; yet sixty in so great a number, comes to no more than four in one hundred, which would not have been looked upon as a Persecution in Queen Maries days, nor in a time of better temper and more moderation than the Libeller deserved to live in. And yet the Minister
PART II. Minister of Lincoln Diocess, in his Holy Table must needs fly out against this Bishop, comparing him unto a Wren mounted on the wings of an Eagle, and finding by the Index to the Acts and Monuments, That the Bishop of Norwich sent out Letters of Persecution.

And yet it was not thought sufficient to justify themselves in matter of fact, unless they Advocated for themselves, and the King under whom they acted by strong Reasons also. And first, it was alleged in behalf of the King (who had commanded the said Declaration to be published by Order from the Bishops, in all the Churches of their several and respective Diocesses) That all the Commands of the King, which are not upon the first inference and illusion contrary to a clear passage in the Word of God, or to an evident Sun-beam of the Law of Nature, are precisely to be obeyed. 2. That it was not enough to find a remote and possible Inconvenience that might ensue therefrom; for every good Subject is bound in conscience to rest assured, That his Prince, environed with such a Council, will be able to discover, and as ready to prevent any ill sequel that may come of it, as himself possibly can be. And 3. That we must not by disobeying our Prince, commit a certain Sin, in preventing a probable but contingent Inconvenience. And then it was alleged in behalf of themselves, That the Declaration was commanded to be published by Order from the Bishops in the Parish Churches; That there were none on whom the Bishops could impose the Publishing of it in the Churches of their several Diocesses, but the Ministers only; which was a sufficient warrant for them to enjoy the Ministers to do it. And lastly, That though no Penalty was prescribed in it to such as should refuse to publish the same; yet that some Penalty was implied, or otherwise the Command had been impertinent, and to no purpose and effect whatsoever. Finally, it was alleged, in respect of those who were enjoyed the publishing of it, That there was nothing contained in the said Declaration, which was either plainly contrary to the Word of God, or the Canons of the Church, or the Laws of the Land, or the Practice of the Protestant or Reformed Churches in all parts of the World; That if it should appear otherwise with some scrupulous men, yet even those scrupulous men were bound to obey their Superiors in making publication of it (a), for fear of disdaining the whole frame of Government; That if it should be lawful for particular Persons first to dispute, and afterwards to disobey the Commands of those higher Powers, to which the Lord had made them Subject, the Subject would seem to be in a better condition, and more absolutely at his own disposing, than the Sovereign was; That by the Laws a Sheriff is bound to publish his Majesties Proclamations, though tending to the Apprehension of his dearest Friends, or otherwise containing matter of dangerous consequence to the Publik Interest; That a Prebyter or Minister without any sin, may safely pronounce an Excommunication, legally delivered unto him, though in his own private conscience he be convinced, that the Party is unjustly excommunicated; That when the Jews commanded by Antiochus, gave up the Divine Books to his Officers to be destroy-

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(a) Peremupe obsequis imperii etiam in terciti, Si ubi imperator, que vere sagulis licet. Tacit. Hist. 1. 1.
deceived, it was afterwards adjudged in favour of them by papists L.I.B. IV. 
Bishop of Milevis, a right godly man, to be (a) sin rather in them 
that commanded, than of those who with fear and forrow did obey 
their mandates; That when the Emperor Mauritius had made an 
edict, That no Souldier should be admitted into any Monastery; and 
sent it to be published by Gregory niramed the Great, the Pope forth-
with dispersed it into all parts of the Christian World, (b) because 
he was subject to his command; though in his own judgment he con-
ceived the said edict to be unlawful in itself; and prejudicial unto 
any particular persons, as well in reference to their spiritual as their 
temporal benefit; and finally, That it was resolved by St. Augustin, 
in his Book against Faustus the Manichee, cap. 75. That a Christian 
Souldier fighting under a Heathen Prince, may lawfully pursue the 
War, or exercise the Commands of his immediate or Superior Of-
cers, in the course of his Service, though he be not absolutely assured 
in the justice of the one, or the expedience of the other. Such were 
the Reafons urged in behalf of all Parties concerned in this busines; 
and such the Defences which were made for some of them in matter of 
fact: but neither the one nor the other could allay that storm which 
had been raised against him by the Tongues and Pen of unquiet Per-
sons; of which more anon.

Nor was the Clamour least which was raised against such of the Bi-
shop as either pressed the use of his Majesties Instruictions, concerning 
Lecturers, and silencing the Arminian Controversies; or urged the 
Ministers of their several and respective Dioceses, to use no other 
form of Prayers before their Sermons than that which was prescribed 
Canon 55. It had been prudently observed, That by sufferings such 
long Prayers as had accustomedly been used of late before the Ser-
mons of most Preachers; the Publick Liturgie of the Church had 
been much neglected; That the Puritan Preachers for the most part 
had reduced all Gods Service in a manner to those Pulpit-Prayers; 
That the People in many places had been forbidden to go into the Church 
till the Publick Liturgie was ended, and these Prayers begun; That 
by this means such Preachers prayed both what they lifted, and how 
they lifted; some so feditiously, that their very Prayers were turned 
into Sin; others so ignorantly and impertinently, that they dishonour-
ed God and disgraced Religion. For remedy whereof, it was thought 
convenient by the Archbishop, and some other Prelates, to reduce 
all to the form of Prayers appointed in the Canon above-mentioned, 
according to the like form prescribed in the Injunctions of Queen 
Elizabeth, and before her time by King Edward the Sixth, and before 
his time also by King Henry the Eighth; practised accordingly in the 
times of their several Reigns, as appears by the Sermons of Bishop 
Latimer, Bishop Gardiner, Archbishop Parker, Bishop Jewell, Bishop 
Andrews, , and generally by all Divines of the Church of England, 
still by the artifices and endeavours of the Puritan Faction, these long 
Prayers of their own making had been taken up, to cry down the Li-
turgie. Which being in charge in the Visitation, and afterwards in the 
Articles of several Bishops, made as much noise amongst ignorant
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and factious People, under colour of quenching the Spirit of God, expresst in such extemporary Prayers of the Preachers conceiving, as silencing the Doctrines of Predestination, changing the afternoons Sermons into Catechisings, and regulating the Extravagances of some of their Lecturers, under the colour of a Plot to Suppress the Gospel.

In which last Calumny, as most of the Bishops had a share, he did it fall as heavy on Pierce of Bath and Wells, as on any other, though he did nothing in that kind, but what he was required to do by the Kings Instructions. His crimes were, That he had commanded the Minifters in his Diocefs to turn their afternoons Sermons into Catechisings, and those Catechisings to be made according to the Questions and Answers in the Catechism authorized by Law, and extant in the Book of Common Prayer, which some few absolutely refusing to conform unto; and others (contrary to the meaning of the said Instructions) taking some Catechism point for their Text, and making long Sermons on the same, were by him suspended, and so continued till they found a greater readiness in themselves to obey their Ordinary. But the great Rock of Offences against which they stumbled, and stumbling filled all places with their Cries and Clamours, was, That he had suppressed the Lecturers in most parts of his Diocefs; and some report, That he proceeded so far in it as to make his brags (not without giving great Thanks to God for his good Success) That he had not left one Lecturer in all his Diocefs, of what sort soever, whether he Lectured for his Stipend, or by a voluntary combination of some Minifters amongst themselves. Which if it should be true, (as I have some reason to believe it is not) ought to be rather attributed to some exiliency of humane frailty, (of which we are all guilty more or less) than to be charged amongst his Sins. But for his Actings in this kind, as also for his vigorous proceedings in the Cafe of Beckett, he had as good Authority as the Instructions of the King, and the Directions of his Metropolitan could invest him in. And so far Canterbury justified him in the last particular, as to take the blame (if any thing were blame-worthy in it) upon himself, though then a Prisoner in the Tower, and under as much danger as the Power and Malice of his Enemies could lay upon him: For such was his undaunted Spirit, that when Aby, a Member of the House of Commons, demanded of him in the Tower, Whether the Bishop of Bath and Wells had received his Directions from him in the Cafe of Beckett? he answered roundly, That he had; and that the Bishop had done nothing in it, but what became an obedient Diocesan to his Metropolitan. So careful was he of preferring those who had acted under him, that he chose rather to augment the number of his own misfortunes, than occasion theirs. If all the Bishops of that time had joined their hearts and hands together, for carrying on the work of Uniformity, as they were required, the Service might have gone more happily forwards, and the Envy would have been the less by being divided: but leaving the whole burden upon too few, and turning it over to their Chancellors and Under-Officers (if they did so much), they did not only, for as much
as much as in them was, destroy the business, but expose such as took care of it, to the publick hatred. For such was their desire to ingratiate themselves amongst the people, that some of them being required to return the names of such Ministers as refused the reading of the Book, made answer, That they would not turn Informers against their Brethren, there being enough besides themselves to perform that Office. Others conceived, that they had very well performed their duty, and consulted their own peace and safety also, by waving all Proceedings against them in their own Confessions, wherein they must appear as the principal Agents, and turning them over to be censured by the High Commission, where their Names might never come in question. The like done also in transposing the Communion Table, in which it was believed by many, that they had well complied with all expectations, if they did not hinder it, but left the Ministers to proceed therein as best pleased themselves; or otherwife, to fight it out with the Churchwardens, if occasion were.

And yet the fortune of the Church had not been so wretched, if none of that Order had pulled down more with one hand, than many of the rest had built up with both. The Metropolitical Visitation being held in the Diocess of Norwich, Anno 1635. Order was given by Brent, as in other places, for Railings in the Communion Table at the East end of the Chancel, and there to dispose of it under the Eastern Wall, with the ends of it North and South. In order whereunto, it was found necessary in many places to remove such Seats as had been built in that end of the Chancel, for the use and ease of private Persons. The Churchwardens of St. Mary Towers in the Borough of Ipswich, a Town of great Wealth and Trade in the County of Suffolk, refusing to remove such Seats, and advance the Table in their rooms, were Excommunicated for their obstinacy and contempt, by one of Brent’s Surrogates for that Visitation. The Churchwardens, animated by some of the Town, who had better Purfes than themselves, appeal unto the Dean of the Arches, and after exhibited a Bill in the Star-Chamber against the Surrogate: but without remedy from either. And on these terms the business stand, when Wren succeeded Corbet in the See of Norwich; and looking upon Ipswich as a place of great influence and example on the rest of the Diocess, took up his dwelling in the same. It was not long before he came to understand, that a great part of the opposition which was made as well against himself, as the Vicar-General, about the removing and railing in of the Holy Table, proceeded from a Letter written from the Bishop of Lincoln to the Vicar of Grantham; which though it was written some years since, and had long been dead; yet now it was revived again, and the Copies of it scattered in all parts of the Kingdom (the better to discourage or discountenance the Work in hand): but no where more than in the Diocess of Norwich, being next neighbour unto Lincoln, and under the inspection of a diligent and active Prelate. Some of them coming to his Hand, and an Advertisement withal, That they were ordinarily sold amongst the Bookfellers in Duck-lane in written Copies, it was thought fit that an answer should be made unto it; in

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PART II, which the Sophistry, Mistakes, and Fallhoods of that Letter, whofe ever was the Writer of it, might be made apparent: Which Answer, 

being made ready, approved, and licenced, was published about the middle of May, under the Title of A COAL from the ALTAR, or, An Answer to a Letter not long since written to the Vicar of Grantham, against the placing of the Communion Table at the East end of the Chancel, &c. As it cooled the heat of some, so it inflamed the hearts of others, not with Zeal, but Anger; the Book occasioning much variety of Discourse on both sides, as men stood variously affected in the present Controversie: But long it will not be before we hall hear of a Reply unto it, a Rejoyned unto that Reply, and other Writings pro and con, by the Parties Interested.

But it had been to little purpose to settle a Conformity in Parochial Churches, if Students in the Universities (the constant Seminaries of the Church) were not trained up to a good persuasion of the Publick Counfels: Upon which ground it had been prudently Ordained in the Canons of the year 1603, not only, That the prescribed Form of Common Prayer should be used in all Colledges and Halls; but, That the Fellows and Scholars of the said Houses should wear the Surplice at those Prayers on the Sundays and Holy-days, the better to inure them to it, when they came to any Publick Ministry in thefe several Churches. Many things had been done at Cambridge in fonie years laft past, in order to the Work in hand; as beautifying their Chappels, furnishing them with Organs, advancing the Communion Table to the place of the Altar, adorning it with Plate and other Utensils for the Holy Sacrament, defending it with a decent Rail from all prophanations, and using lowly Reverence and Adorations, both in their coming to those Chappels, and their going out: But in most Colledges, all things ftood as they had done formerly; in fonie there were no Chappels at all, or at the best, fonie places used for Chappels, but never Confecrated. In Sidney Colledge the old Dormitory of the Francifcans (on the Site of which Friary the faid Colledge was built) was after fonie years trimmed and fitted, and without any formal Confecration converted to a Houfe of Prayer; though formerly, in the opinion of thofe who allowed thereof, it had been no better nor worfe than a Den of Thieves. The Chappel of Emmanuel Colledge, though built at the fame time with the rest of the Houfe, was both irregular in the situation, and never Confecrated for Divine and Religious uses. And what lefs could this beget in the minds of the Students of thofe Houfes, than an Opinion touching the indifferency of such Confecrations, whether used, or not? and at the laft a positive Determination, That the continued Series of DIVINE DUTIES in a place fets apart to that purpofe, doth sufficiently Consecrate the fame. And what can follow thereupon in fonie tract of time, but the executing of all Divine Offices in Private Houfes, the Ruine and Decay of Churches, the felling of their Materials, and alienating their Glebe and Tythes to the next fair Chapman? It is therefore thought expedient to carry on the Vifitation to that Univerfity, and put fonie things in order there, as were found in this. But againft this the Univerfity opposed, pretend-
ing an exemption from his Jurisdiction, by their ancient Priviledges; L.I.B. IV and that they had no Visitor but his Majesty only. But Canterbury, Anno Dom. who before had over-ruled the like Plea in the Bishop of Lincoln, 1636, would not give way to this of Cambridge, which caused the matter on both sides to be thoroughly canvased: But neither yielding to the other, and the Earl of Holland stickling strongly for the University (of which he had the Honour to be chosen Chancellor on the death of the Duke) the deciding of the Controversie is referred to his Majesty. On Tuesday June 21. they both appear before the King at Hampton-Court, where the Counsel of both sides being heard, it pleased his Majesty to give Judgment for the Metropolitan, and to submit that University to his Visitation: But before any thing was done in it, the Troubles in Scotland, and the Disturbances at home, kept it off so long, that a greater Visitation fell upon the Visitor, than could have hapned unto them. Howsoever, the bare Reputation of it did prevail so far, that many who were slack or fearful in embellishing their Chappells and publick Places of Divine Worship, went on more confidently then before; insomuch that not only in the Chappells of some private Colleges, but in St. Mary's Church it self, being the Publick Church of that University, the Table was railed in like an Altar, towards which many of the Doctors, Scholars, and others usually bowed.

In October, where he was more absolute, he found less comptrol. Chancellor of the University by their own Election, Visitor of the Colledges of All Souls and Merton in the right of his See, and such a Patron to the rest, that he could hardly recommend that Affair unto them, which they did not expedite. In many of their Letters and Addressses to him, they gave him the Title of His Holines; and most Holy Father; which though appropriated to the Pope in the darker Times, were generally communicated to all Christian Bishops in the clear Sun-shine of the Gospel. And on the other side, in his Missives and Dispatches to them, he recommends himself unto their Devotions, befeeching them, That as often as they made their approaches toward the Altar, they would remember him in their Prayers (a) to Almighty God. He had his breeding (as before was said) in that University, and could not chufe but know, That many of the old Statutes were grown out of use by the change of Religion; others, by long neglect and discontinuance; some never rightly understood; and all so mingled and confounded, that it was very hard to say which of them were in force, which not; and yet all Students bound to keep them under corporal Oaths, if not at their first Matriculations, yet at their taking of Degrees. For remedy whereof, with great pains and judgment, he digested a new Body of Statutes, to serve as a perpetual standing Rule for their future Government, as well in commanding as obeying; Which being first sent down unto them, advisedly confidered of, explained, corrected, and accommodated to their best advantages, were afterward revised by him, and upon full deliberation engrossed in Vellum, fairly bound up, confirmed by his most Sacred Majesty, and so obtained the strength of Laws:

(a) Inter orandum fist memores mei pecatoris, &c.
The Life of William

PART II. Laws: Received and published for such in the Convocation, on Wednesday June 22, being the morrow after the Judgment had passed on his side at Hampton-Court, for the Visitation at Cambridge. And in those Statutes, he took care that the Vice-Chancellor, Professors, and all Proctors, year by year in their several Faculties, should make their Offerings with that due and accustomed Reverence at the Holy Table. He procured also from his Majesty a Confirmation of their former Priviledges over the Town, and an enlargement of them also in respect of the Londoners: By which last they were enabled to print all Books, which either his Majesties Printers or the Company of Stationers had engrossed to themselves, as Bibles, Common-Prayer, Homilies, Grammars, &c. which brought them in a Composition of 200l. per Annum for the times ensuing. Nor could his Care and Providence for the encouragement of Learning, be confin’d to this side of the Sea, the like course being taken by him shortly after, as well for reviving and perfecting the broken Statutes of the Colledge near Dublin, as the enlarging of the Priviledges of that University.

And yet he could not hold his hand, till he had added Bounty and Munificence to his former Cares. The University of Oxon. was long since honoured with the Title of Generale Studium (a), conferred upon none else in the former times, but the Universities of Paris in France, Bononia in Italy, and Salamanca in Spain: In all which, by a Decree of Pope Clement the Fifth, in the Council of Vienna in France, Anno 1511. it was Ordained, That there should be Professors of the Hebrew, Greek, Arabick, and Chaldean Languages: But it was only so Ordained, as no execution following on it till some Ages after. The Arabick Tongue was known in Spain, by reason of the great Command which the Moors had in that Country; but never entertained in any of the other three. And as for the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldee, those times were so extremely ignorant of them, that the Study of the Greek Tongue was sufficient to condemn a man of Herefie; and a small spattering in the Hebrew, made him subject unto some supposition of Heretical Fancies. And so it stood till Reuchlin and Budels in France, Erasmus and Paulus Fagius in England, restored again the Greek and Hebrew to those several Nations. The Greek so coastly entertained in this University, whilst Erasmus taught it quietly enough at Cambridge, that when a (b) Learned young man began publicly to read the Greek Tongue there, he was encountered presently in a poor but popular declamation, with base and barbarous Revilings. But long it was not before Cardinal Wolsey took a course to put this University into a way of Nobler Studies, founding therein two Publick Lectures for the Greek and Hebrew, with a liberal Salary (according to the Standard of that time) of 40l. per Annum to either of them; which afterwards being confirmed by King Henry viii. continued without further encouragement and augmentation, till such time as Land was come to his Ascendant; when by the Power and Favour which he had with his Majesty, a Canony in Christ-Church was annexed perpetually to the Publick Professor for the Hebrew, Doctor John Morris being the first who enjoyed the benefit of that Grant: By means whereof, the Hebrew
Hebrew and Chaldeick Tongues, which few in Oxon. understood when L. B. Jan.
I first came thither, became to be so generally embraced, and so cheerfully studied; that it received a wonderful proficiency, and that too, in a shorter time than a man can easily imagine: So great a Spur the hope of Honour and Preferments, gives to Arts and Languages. But all this while, the Arabick was utterly laid aside in these parts of Europe: till, in conformity to the said Decree of the Council held at Vienna; it came into our Archbishops mind to establish a Publick Lecture in that Language also, which having for a long time taken up his thoughts, was at last effected. The first Lecture in that Language, read publickly on the tenth of August in this present year; a Revenue of 40l. per annum settled upon the University for the maintenance of it; his first Professor in that Tongue being Edward Rocock, Fellow of Corpus Christi Colledge, one who had spent much time in the Factory of Aleppo, and other places of the East, returning home well studied in all the Languages of those Countries. And that Rhetorick might thrive as well under his Encouragements, as Grammar and the Tongues were in a hopeful way to do, he obtained from his Majesty another Canonry in Christ-church, to be annexed for ever to the Orator's place. (whose yearly Pension till that time was but twenty Nobles,) Injoynd first by Dr. William Strode, admitted thereunto on the first of July, Anno 1628. and after his decease by Dr. Henry Hammond, Anno 1644.

Such were the benefits which the University received from him in this present year. And that he might both do himself and the University some honour in the eye of the Kingdom, he invites the King, the Queen, the Prince Elector, and his Brother, to an Academical entertainment; on the twenty ninth day of August then next following, being the Anniversary day, on which the Presidentship of St. John's Colledge was adjudged to him by King James. The time being come, and the University put into a posture for that Royal Visit, their Majesties were first received with an eloquent Speech as he paied by the house, being directly in his way betwixt Woodstock, and Christ-Church, not without great honour to the Colledge, that the Lord Archbifhop, the Lord Treafurer, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and one of the Proctors should be at that time of the fame Foundation. At Christ-Church his Majesty was entertained with another Oration by Strode, the University Oratour; the University presenting his Majesty with a fair and costly pair of Gloves (as their custom was) the Queen with a fair English Bible, the Prince Elector with Hookers Books of Ecclesiasticall Polities, his Brother Rupert with Caflirs Commentaries in English, illustrated by the learned Explanations and Discourses of Sir Clement Edmonds. His Majesty was lodged in Christ-Church, in the great Hall whereof (one of the goodliest in the World) he was entertained, together with the Queen, the two Princes, and the rest of the Court, with an English Comedy, (but such as had more of the Philosopher than the Poet in it) called, Passions Calmed, or the settling of the Floating Islands. On the morrow morning, being Tuesday, he began with a Sermon, Preacht before him in that Cathedral on these words.
PART II. words of St. Luke, viz. Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the
Lord, peace in heaven, and glory in the highest, Luke 19. 38. The Ser-
on being ended, the Archbifhop, as Chancellor of the University,
calls a Convocation, in which he admits the Prince Elector, his Brother
Prince Rupert, and many of the chief Nobility to the degree of
Masters of Art; and that being done, attends the King and Queen to St.
*Johns Colledge. Where in the new Gallery of his own building, he
entertains the King and Queen, the two Princes, with all the Lords and
Ladies of the Court, at a stately and magnificent Dinner, the King
and Queen sitting at one Table at the South end of the Room; the
two Princes, with the Lords and Ladies, at a long Table, reaching al-
most from one end to the other; at which all the Gallantry and beau-
ties of the Kingdom seemed to meet. Nor did he make Provision on-
ly for those two Tables, but every Office in the Court had their se-
veral diets, disposed of in convenient places for their reception with
great variety of *Acbates, not only sufficient for contentment, but for
admiration. After dinner he entertains his principal Guefts with a
pleaftant Comedy, prefented in the publick Hall; and that being done,
attends them back again to *Christ-Church, where they were feafted
after Supper with another Comedy, called, *The Royal Slave; the
Enterludes reprefented with as much variety of Scenes and motions as
the great wit of *Inigo Jones (Surveyor General of his Majesty's
Works, and excellently well skilled in setting out a Court-Masque to
the beft advantage) could extend unto. It was the day of St. Felix
(as himfelf obferveth) and all things went happily. On Wednesday the
next morning the Court removed, his Majefty going that fame night
to *Winchefter, and the Archbifhop the fame day, entertaining all the
Heads of Houses at a solemn Featt, order being given at his depar-
ture, that the three Comedies fhould be acted again, for the content and
fatisfaction of the University, in the fame manner as before, but only
with the Alteration of the Prologues and Epilogues.

But to return unto the publick. On the fame day in which the new
Statutes were received at Oxon, he procured a Supplement to be ad-
ded to the old Statutes of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, touch-
ing the letting of their Lands. Some Informations had been given, that
the Deans and Prebends of those Churches had enricht themselves,
their Wives and Children by taking great Fines, for turning leafes of
twenty one years into leafes for lives, leaving their Succiffeors deftitute
of that growing means, which otherwife might come into to help them.
This was the outside of the business, but the chief motive to it was, that
the Gentry and Yeomanry (and some of the Nobility alfo) holding
Lands of those Churches, might have a greater respect to the Church
and Church-men, when they must depend upon them from time to
time for renewing of their said Estates at the end of every ten or
twelve years at the moft. For though it be alike lawful by the Law
of the Land, 13. Eliz. c. 20. to make Leafes of three lives, or one and
twenty years, at the pleafure of the Dean and Chapter; yet the dif-
ference is so great between them, that once a Tenant to my knowledge,
after a Leaf for three lives had continued 29 years in being, chose
rather
rather to give a Fine for the change of one life than to take a new Lease of 21 years without paying any thing. All which His Majesty, taking into his Princely consideration, he caused Letters under his Royal Signature to be sent to all the Deans and Chapters of this Kingdom respectively, "Calling and commanding them upon pain of his utmost displeasure, that they presumed not to let any Lease belonging to their Church into lives, which was not in lives already; and further that when any fair opportunity was offered (if any such be) they fail not to reduce such as are in lives, into years; requiring further that those his Majesties said Letters should be exemplified in the Register-books of the said Churches, and preserved in the Registeries of the Bishops of their several Diocces, to the end that the said Bishop might take notice of their doing therein, and give his Majesty and his Successors notice thereof, if any presum'd to disobey. And in regard that some of the Deans of the said Cathedrals were a Corporation of themselves, and held their Lands distinct from the rest of the Chapters; a clause was added to those Letters to preserve those Lands for the benefit of their Successors, as formerly in his Majesties Instructions for ordering and disposing the Lands of Bishops on the like occasions. His Majesty therefore first declares, That he had taken order by his late Instructions, that no Bishop should let any Lease after they had been named to a better Bishoprick, but had not therein named the Deans, as he therein intended. And therefore secondly, That no Dean should presume from thenceforth, after his being named to a Bishoprick, or a better Deanry, to renew any Lease either into lives or years: His Majesty having well observed, that at such times of remove many men care not what or how they let their Estates, to the prejudice of the Church and their Successors. Which Letters bear date at Greenwich in the twelfth year of his Reign, June 27.

Nor was he less careful to preserve the Parochial Clergy from being oppressed by their neighbours in rates and taxes than he had been in maintaining the Estates of Capitular bodies, for the greater honour of those bodies at the present time, and the benefit of Succession for the time to come. During the Remiss Government of King James, his Majesties late embroilments with France and Spain, and his entanglements at home, the Hollander had invaded the Regality of the Narrow Seas, and questioned the property of his Dominion in the same; not only growing to such an height of insolency, as to dispute their striking Sail in passing by any of his Majesties Ships: but publishing a Discourse in Latine, called, Mare Liberum, in defence thereof. These affronts occasioned Nay, the Attorney-General, to put his Majesty in mind of setting out a strong power of Ships for the recovery of his Rights against all pretenders. And the better to enable him for it, advised him to set on foot the old Naval Aide, required of the Subject by his Predecessors. He was a man extremly well versed in old Records, with which consulting frequently in the course of his studies, he had excerpted and laid by many notes and precedents for the Kings levying of such Naval Aide upon the Subjects, by his own Authority, whenever the preservation and safety of the Kingdom did require
The Life of William

PART II. require it of them, which Notes and Precedents he had taken as they came in his way, in small pieces of Paper (most of them no bigger than one hand) he kept in the Coffin of a Pye, which had been lent him by his Mother, and kept there till the mouldiness and corruptible had perished many of his Papers. And by these Notes it did appear, that many times in the same years, wherein the Kings had received Subsidies by way of Parliament, they levied this Naval Aide by their own sole power. For if (as he discoursed it to me at his house near Brentford) the King wanted money, either to support his own expenses, or for the enlarging of his Dominions in Foreign Conquests, or otherwise to advance his honour in the eye of the World, good reason he should be beholden for it to the love of his People. But if the Kingdom was in danger, and that the safety of the Subject was concerned in the business, he might, and did raise such sums of money as he thought expedient for the preventing of the danger, and providing for the publick safety of him and his Subjects. According to which precedents he prepares a Writ, by which his Majesty commanded the Maritime Counties to provide a certain number of Ships for defence of the Kingdom, prescribing to each Ship its several burden, the number of Mariners, and great Pieces of Ordnance, with Vitals, Arms, and Ammunition thereunto proportioned. The Subject not daring at the first to dispute the Command, collected money for the Service according to the several rates imposed on them in their several Counties; but dealt so unmercifully with the Clergy in the levying of it, that they laid upon them generally the fifth or sixth part of the sum imposed. The Ice thus broken, and his Majesty finding that provision not sufficient to effect his purpose, issued out his Writs in the next year after, Anno 1635. into all the Counties of the Kingdom for preparing of a Royal Fleet to be in readiness against the beginning of this year, in which the Clergy were as like to suffer as before they did. But the best was, that they had not only a gracious Patron, but a very powerful Mediator. Upon whose humble desire his Majesty was pleased to direct his Letters to all the Sheriffs in England respectively, requiring them that no Tax should be laid upon any Clergy-man, possessor of a Patronage, above the tenth part of the Land-rate of their several Parishes; and that consideration should be had of the poor Vicars in their several Parishes according to their small revenue, compared with the Abilities of the Parishioners amongst whom they lived. The whole Sum levied by this Tax amounted to 236000l. or thereabouts, which came not to 20000l. a month; and being instead of all other payments, seemed to be no such heavy burthen as it was generally made by the Popular Party, many of which quarrelled and refused it.

But his Majesty was too just a Prince to exact any thing by power, when he had neither Law nor Reason to make it good. And therefore as he had the opinion of all his Judges subscribed by their hands for justifying the Legality of this Naval Tax amongst the Subjects; so he thought fit to publish some defence of his Dominion, Right, and Sovereignty in the Narrow Seas for the satisfaction of his Neighbours.
John Selden, of the Inner Temple, a name that stands in need of no titles of honour, had written a Discourse in the time of King James, which (in answer to that of Grotius, called, Mare Liberum) he intituled by the name of Mare Clausum. But stomaching the submission and acknowledgment which he was forced to make in the High Commission for publishing his book of Tythes, and sensible of the smart which he had found from the Pens of Tilleys, Montague, and Nettes, in their Answers to him, he did not only suppress the Book which he had written in the Kings defence, but carried an evil eye to the Court and Church for a long time after. But being a man of great parts, and eminent in the retired walks of Learning, he was worth the gaining, which Canterbury takes upon him, and at last effecteth. By his perswasion he not only perfected, but published that laborious piece, which he dedicated to his Majesty, whose cause he pleaded. By whom it was so well approved, that he sent it by Sir William Beecher (one of the Clerks of his Council) to the Barons of the Exchequer in open Court, by them to be laid up as a most inestimable Jewel amongst the choice Records, which concerned the Crowns. In this book, which came out this year, he first ascertains the Sovereignty or Dominion of the Britifh Seas to the Crown of England. And that being cleared, he proved by constant and continual practice, that the Kings of England used to levy money from the Subjects (without help of Parliament) for the providing of Ships and other necessaries to maintain the Sovereignty which did of right belong unto them. This he brought down unto the times of King Henry the Second, and might have brought it nearer to his own times had he been so pleased, and thereby paved a plain way to the payment of ship-money, as they commonly called it. But then he must have croft the proceedings of the House of Commons in the last Parliament, (wherein he was so great a stickler) voting down under a kind of Anathema the Kings pretensions of right to all help from the Subject, either in Tonnage and Poundage, or any other way whatsoever, the Parliament not cooperating and contributing towards it. Howsoever the Service was as grateful as the Author acceptable, from henceforth both a frequent and a welcome guest at Lambeth House, where he was grown into such esteem with the Archbishop, that he might have chose his own preterment in the Court (as it was then generally believed) had he not undervalued all other employments in respect of his Studies. But possibly there might be some other reason for his declining such employments as the Court might offer. He had not yet forgotten the affronts which were put upon him about his History of Tythes, (for in the notion of affronts he beheld them always) and therefore did but make fair weather for the time, till he could have an opportunity to revenge himself on the Church and Church-men, the King being took into the reckoning. For no sooner did the Bishop begin to sink in power and credit under the first preffures of the late Long Parliament, but he published a book in Greek and Latine by the name Entichyus, with some Notes upon it. In which he made it his chief business to prove, that Bishops did no otherwise differ from the rest of the Presbyters then doth a Master of Q q 2
PART II. of a Colledge from the rest of the Fellows, by consequents, that they differed only in degree, not order. And afterwards, when his Majesty began to decline in the love of the Parliament, and that the heats grew strong between them, he was affirmed to have written the Answer to his Majesties Declaration about the Commission of Array: Which in effect proved a plain putting of the Sword into the hands of the People. So hard it is for any one to discern the hearts of men by their outward actions, but the God that made them.

Thus leaving England for a time we must go for Scotland, in which we find the Canons finished, and the Bishops busie and intent on a publick Liturgie. It was his Majesties first intent to introduce the English Liturgie amongst them; and to that end, had ordered that it should be daily read in his Chappel Royal of that Kingdom, as before was said. But Ballentine, the Bishop of Dumblaine, and Dean of the Chappel (to whom the care thereof had been recommended) was so negligent in it, that the Archbishop found it necessary to remove him to some other Bishopsrick on the next avoidance. The See of Aberdeen proving vacant, he procured his translation thither, and preferred Wederbourne, a Scot by birth, but bred in Cambridge, beneficed in Hampshire, and made one of the Prebends of Ely by the learned Andrewes, to be his Successor in those places. By this new Dean his Majesties design was followed with more care than ever; and possibly might have took effect, if the rest of the Scottish Bishops had been pleased therewith as well as this. But the Scottish Bishops having prevailed with his Majesty, as before was noted, to have a distinct Liturgie of their own, His Majesty commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury to give them the best assistance he could in that way and work; which notwithstanding he delayed as long as he could, in hope to bring them in the end to a better persuasion. But finding them so resolved upon it, that they could not be altered, he contributes his assistance to it, humbly intreated so to do by some Letters brought unto him by Maxwell (not long before made Bishop of Roja) bearing date April 2, 1635, and subscribed by the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishops of Murray, Dumblaine, and Brechin. The Book being first hammered and prepared in Scotland, and from thence transmitted to the Court, his Majesty referred it to the consideration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer Juxton Bishop of London, and Wren Bishop of Norwich: But the Lord Treasurer being taken up with other employments, the burden of the work remained on the other two. They found on the perusal of it that Wederbourne had followed such instructions as he had carried with him about the making of that Book (if it must be made) in keeping so much in it of the English Liturgie, and they found also certain notes which he had sent together with it, to the end that as many of them as his Majesty liked, might be made use of in that book. Thus authorized and instructed they proceed unto the making of such Alterations as were offered to them, consulting for the most part in these Particulars: First, That the Magnificat and the rest of the Hymns, together with the Epistles and Gospels, should be Printed according to
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

the last Translation in the time of King James, conform therein to such L I B. IV. Directions as they had received for printing the Psalms of David in A.D. Dom. 1636. Secondly, That for the better singing of those Psalms to the Organ, a Colon should be made in the middle of every Verse, as it was in the English. Thirdly, That they could not agree to any more Emendations in the Creed of Saint Athanasius, than they had noted in that Book. Fourthly, That though the Bishops there desired some time to consider further of the Holydays, yet it was never otherwife meant, but that the Office appointed for every of them, should be kept in the Liturgy; the Practice and Observation of them being respted for a time to their further thoughts. Fifthly, That though they admitted of all the Sentences which they found in the Offertory, yet they wished that some which were in the English Book, might be added also. Sixthly, That every Prayer or Action through the whole Communion, should be named in the Rubrick before it, that it might be known to the People what it is, as they should find done to their hands in the Prayer of Consecration, and the Memorial of Olation next after following. Seventhly, That the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Sentences, Prefaces, and Doxologie, should be retained in the same place and order which they had in the Liturgy of England; and that the Prayer of humble Access to the Holy Table, would stand very well (as they conceived) before the very Act of Participation. Eighthly, and finally, That in the Margin of the Prayer of Consecration, they should add some Note, directing him that Celebrates, at what words he should take the Patin with the Bread on it, and the Chalice with the Wine in it, into his hands, according to the Practice of the Church of England.

These Alterations being not only made by his Majesties Warrant, and approved by him in a Memorial under his Hand, bearing date the nineteenth day of April in this present year; but confirmed also with the like Royal Signature as they stood in the Book: Of which Particulars, and some others, the Bishop gives an account to Wederbourne by his Letters of the twentieth of April, being the morrow after his Majesty had Signed the said Memorial. It seems that Wederbourne had given our Archbishop notice of some defects which he had found in the Book of Consecration of Archbishops, Bishops, &c. as it was then used amongst the Scots, viz. 1. That the Order of Deacons was made but a Lay-Office at the best, as by that Book might be understood. And 2. That in the Admission to the Priesthood, the very essential words of conferring Orders were left out. With which the King being made acquainted, he gave command to the Archbishop to make known unto them, That he would have them either to admit the English Book, or else to rectifie their own in those two great over-fights. After which, taking the whole business of that Church into his consideration; it pleased him to direct his Further Instructions to the Archbishops and Bishops of it, bearing date on the eighteenth of October following; In which he requires them to take care, "That the Proclamation to be made for Authorising the Service-Book, should not derogate in any thing from his Royal Prerogative. 2. That in their Kalender they should keep such Catholic Saints as were in the English, such of the
PART II. "the Saints as were most peculiar to that Kingdom (especially those
which were of the Royal Blood, and some of the most holy Bishops) being added to them: but that in no case St. George and St. 
Patrick be omitted. 3. That in their Book of Ordination, in giving 
Orders to Presbyters, they should keep the words of the English Book 
without change, Receive the Holy Ghost, &c. 4. That they should
insert among the Lessons ordinarily to be read in the Service, out of 
the Book of Wisdom the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth 
Chapters; and out of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, the first, second, 
fifth, eighth, thirty fifth, and forty ninth Chapters. 5. That every 
Bishop within his Family twice a day cause the Service to be read;
and that all Archbishops and Bishops make all Universities and Col-
leges within their Diocesses, to use daily twice a day the Service.
6. That the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, Signed by his
Majesties Hand, and the Proclamation for Authorising the same,
should be Printed, and inserted in the Book of Common Prayer. 
According to which Injunctions, and the Corrections above-men- 
tioned, this Liturgy at the last (after it had been twenty years in con- 
deration) was fully finished and concluded; and being thus finished and concluded, was Ratified and Confirmed by his Majesties Royal 
Edict, as followeth, viz.

CHARLES By the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France 
and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To Our Subjects

Messengers, Our Sheriffs: in that part conjunctly and severally, specially 
constitute, Greeting. Forasmuch as We, ever since Our entry to the Im-
perial Crown of this Our ancient Kingdom of Scotland, especially since 
Our late being here in the same, have divers times recommended to the 
Archbishops and Bishops there, the publishing of a Publick Form of Service 
in the Worship of God, which We would have uniformly observed therein, 
and the same being now condescended unto: Although We doubt not but 
all our Subjects, both Clergie and others, will receive the said Publick 
Form of Service; yet thinking it necessary to make Our Pleasure known, 
touching the Authority thereof, Our Will is, and We straightforwardly command,
That incontinent these Our Letters, you pass, and in Our Name and 
Authority command and charge all our Subjects both Ecclesiastical and 
Civil, by open Proclamation at the Market-Crosses of the Head Burroughs of 
this Our Kingdom, and other Places needful, to conform themselves to the 
said Publick Form of Worship, which is the only Form which We 
(having taken the Counsel of Our Clergie,) think fit to be used in Gods 
Publick Worship in this Our Kingdom: Commanding also all Archbishops 
and Bishops, and other Presbyters and Church-men, to take a special 
care that the same be duly obeyed and observed; and the Contravencers cons-
dignly confounded and punished; to have special-care that every Parish 
twixt this and Paifhe next; procure unto themselves two at the 
least of the said Books of Common-Prayer, for the use of the Pa-
rihs; The which to do, We commit to you conjunctly and severally Our 
full Power by these Our Letters Patents, delivering the same to be by 

you
Such was the form of Paffing and Confirming the Scottifh Liturgie, never presented to that Kirk, nor tendered to the Approbation of any General Assembly; as in the Restitution of Episcopal Government, and Introduction of the five Articles of Perth, had been done before. And this is that at which the Scottifh Presbyters did seem to be most offended; sufficiently displeased with any Liturgie at all, but more in having such an one as either was so near the English, or so different from it. Which fault, if any fault it were, is rather to be charged upon the Scottifh than the English Prelates. For when the way of introducing it was in agitation, our Archbishop ever advised them, as well in his Majesties presence, as elsewhere, "To look carefully to Hidd. Works **it**, and to be sure to do nothing in it but what should be agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom; and not to fail of taking the Advice of the Lords of the Council, and governing themselves according to it. But as it seems, those Bishops durft not trust their Clergy, or venture the reception or refufal of it to the Vote of a General Assembly, from which they could not promise themselves any good success. So that the Cafe seems to be much like that of King Edward VI. when the first Liturgie was Compofed by some few of the Bishops, and other Learned men (not above thirde in number,) especially thereto Authorized: Or unto that of Queen Elizabeth, when the second Liturgie of that King was fifted and corrected by her appointment.

Neither of which durft trust their Clergy; but acted Sovereignly therein of their own Authority, not venturing either of the said Books to their Convocations: but only giving them the strength of an Act of Parliament; and then the Point in issue will be briefly this; viz.: Whether the King, consulting with a lefser part of the Bishops and Clergie, and having their consent therein, may conclude any thing in the way of a Reformation, the residue and greateft part not advised withal, nor yielding their consent in a formal way? Now for my Answer, that it may be built upon the furer foundations, it is to be considered, 1. Whether the Reformation be in corruption of Manners, or abuses in Government? Whether in matters Practical, or in points of Doctrine. 2. If in matters Practical, Whether such Practice have the Character of Antiquity, Universality, and Consent imprinted on it? or that it be the Practice of particular Churches, and of some Times only? And 3. If in points of Doctrine, Whether such Points have been determined of before in a General Council, or in Particular Councils universally received and countenanced? or are to be defined de novo on emergent Controversies?

And these Distinctions being thus laid, I shall Answer briefly. 1. If the things to be reformed be either Corruptions in Manners, or neglect of Publick Duties to Almighty God, Abuses either in Government, or the Parties governing; the King may do it of himself, by his sole Authority: The Clergy are beholden to him, if he takes any
PART II. of them along with him when he goes about it. And if the Times should be so bad, that either the whole body of the Clergy, or any (though the greatest) part thereof, should oppose him in it, he may go forwards notwithstanding, punishing such as shall gain by him in so good a Work, and compelling others. And this I look on as a Power annexed to the Regal Diadem, and so inseparably annexed, that Kings could be no longer Kings, if it were denied them. And on the other side, if the Reformation be in Points of Doctrine, and in such Points of Doctrine as have not been before defined, or not defined in form and manner as before laid down, the King only, with a few of his Bishops and Learned Clergy (though never so well studied in the Point disputed) can do nothing in it. That belongs only to the whole body of the Clergy in their Convocation rightly called and constituted; whose Acts being Ratified by the King, bind not alone the rest of the Clergy, in whose name they Voted: but all the residue of the Subjects of what fort soever, who are to acquiesce in their Resolutions. But if the thing to be Reformed be a matter Practical, we are to look into the usage of the Primitive Times: And if the Practice prove to have been both ancient, and universally received over all the Church, though intermitted for a Time, and by Time corrupted, the King, consulting with so many of his Bishops, and others of his most able Clergy, as he thinks fit to call unto him, and having their Consent and Direction in it, may in the case of intermission revive such Practice, and in the case of corruption and degeneration, restore it to its Primitive and Original Lustre. Now that there should be Liturgies for the use of the Church, and that those Liturgies should be Celebrated in a Language understood by the People, That in those Liturgies there should be some prescribed Forms, for Giving the Communion in both Kinds, for Baptizing Infants, for the reverent Celebration of Marriage, performing the last Office to the Sick, and the decent Burial of the Dead; as also, for feet Fast and appointed Festivals, hath been a thing of Primitive and General Practice in the best times of the Church: And being such, though intermitted and corrupted as before is said, the King advising with his Bishops and other Church-men (though not in a synodical way) may cause the same to be revised and revived; and having fitted them to Edification and encrease of Piety, either commend them to the Church by his sole Authority, or else impose them on the People under certain Penalties by his Power in Parliament. (a) The Kingdom of Heaven (said the Reverend Isidore de Sevil) doth many times receive increase from these Earthly Kingdoms; in nothing more, than by regulating and well ordering of Gods Publick Worship. Add hereunto what was before alleged, for passing the Canons in the same way; and then we have the sum of that which was, and probably might have been pleaded in defence hereof. 

The prosecution of this Liturgie on the one side, and the exaction of those Publick Orders on the other, kindled such fires in the breasts of some of the Puritan Faction, that presently they brake out into open Flames. For first the Scots scattered abroad a virulent and sedulous Libel in the year 1634. wherein the King was not only charged with altering
altering the Government of that Kingdom, but traduced for very strong inclinations to the Religion of the Church of Rome. The chief Abettor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord Balmerino; for which he was Legally convicted, and condemned of Treason: but pardoned by the Kings great Goodness, and by that Parson kept alive for the mischiefs following. And as the English had scotized in all their Practises (by railing, threatening, and stirring up of Sedition) for bringing in the Genevian Discipline in Queen Elizabeth's Time; so they resolve to follow their Example now. Balfwick, a Doctor of Physick (the second part of Leighton) first leads the Dance, beginning with a Pestiilent Pamphlet called Flagellum Episcoporum Latialis, maliciously venomous against the Bishops, their Function, Actions, and Proceedings. But this not being likely to do much hurt amongst the People, becaufe writ in Latine, he seques it with another, which he called his Litany, in the English Tongue: A Piece so silly and contemptible, that nothing but the Sin and Malice which appeared in every line thereof, could possibly have preferred it from being ridiculous. Pryme follows next, and publifheth two Books at once (or one immediately on the other) one of these called The Quench-Coal, in answer unto that called A Coal from the Altar, against placing the Communion-Table Altar-wife: The other named The Unbishoping of Timothy and Titus, against the Apostolical Institution of Diocesan Bishops. But that which was entituled to him by the name of a Libel, was, The News from Ipswich; intended chiefly against Wren then Bishop of Norwich, who had taken up his dwelling in that Town, as before is said: but falling as scandalously foul on the Archbifhop himself, and some of the other Bishops also, and fuch as acted under them in the present Service. For there he decants very trimly (as he conceived) on the Archbifhop himfelf, with his Arch-Piety, Arch-Charity, Arch-Agent for the Devil; that Beelzebub himfelf had been Archbifhop, and the like to those, a most triumphant Arch indeed to adorn his victories. With like reproach he falls on the Bishops generally, calling them Luciferian Lord Bishops, execrable Traytors, devouring Wolves, with many other odious names not fit to be used by a Christian; and more particularly on Wren, telling us, That in all Queen Maries time no such havock was made in so short a time of the Faithful Ministers of God in any part, nay, in the whole Land, than had been made in his Dioces. And then he adds with equal Charity and Truth, That Corbet, Chancellor to this Bishop, had threatened one or two godly Ministers with Pifrolling, and Hanging, and I know not what, because they had refufed to read his Majesties Declaration about lawful Sports. More of this difh I could have carved, but that this may serve sufficiently for a taffe of the whole.

But the great Master-piece of mischief, was fet out by Burton (so often mentioned before) who Preaching on the fifth of November, in his own Parish-Church of St. Matthew's in Friday Street, took for his Text thofe words in the Proverbs, viz. My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change, Chap. 24: 22. In this Sermon (if I may wrong the Word fo far as to give it to

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The Life of William

PART II. lewd a Libel) he rails most bitterly against the Bishops, accuses them of innovating both in Doctrines and Worship, impeacheth them of exercising a Jurisdiction contrary to the Laws of the Land, 1. Edw. 6. c. 2. and for falsifying the Records of the Church by adding the first clause to the twentieth Article; arraigneth them for oppressing the Kings Liege people, contrary unto Law and Justice, exciting the people to rise up against them; magnifying those disobedient Spirits, who hitherto have stood out in defiance of them; and seems content in case the Bishops lives might be called in question, to run the hazard of his own. For this being taken and imprisoned by a warrant from the High Commission, he makes his appeal unto the King, justifies it by an Apology, and seconds that by an Address to the Nobility: In which last he requires all sorts of People, Noblemen, Judges, Courtiers, and those of the inferior sort, to stand up stoutly for the Gospel against the Bishops. And finally Prints all together with an Epistle Dedicatory to the King himself; to the end that if his Majesty should vouchsafe the reading of it, he might be brought into an ill opinion of the Bishops and their proceedings in the Church. Whole actionstands only (as he telleth us) to corrupt the Kings good peoples hearts, By casting into them fears and jealousies, and misstir opinions toward the King as if he were the prime cauе of all those Grievances, which in his name they oppress the Kings good Subjects withal. Thus also in another place, These Factors of Antichrist (faith he) practice to divide Kings from their Subjects, and Subjects from their Kings, that to between both they may fairly erect Antichrists Throne again. For that indeed, that is to say, the new building of Babel, the setting up again of the Throne of Antichrist, the bringing in of Popery to subvert the Gospel, is made to be the chief design of the Prelates and Prelatical party, to which all innovations, usurpations, and more dangerous practices, which are unjustly charged upon them, served only as preparatives and sublervient helps.

Such being the matter in the Libel, let us next look upon the ornaments and dressings thereof, consisting most especially in those infamous Attributes, which hecribes unto the Bishops. For Fathers he calls them Step-fathers; Pillars, for Caterpillars; their houses haunted, and their Episcopal Chairs poisonec, by the Spirit that bears rule in the Air. They are (faith he) the Limbs of the Beast, even of Antichrist, taking his very curses to bear, and beat down the hearing of the Word of God, whereby men might be saved; p. 12. Their fear is more toward an Altar of their own invention, towards an Image or Crucifix, toward the sound and syllables of Jesus, then toward the Lord Christ, p. 15. He gives them the reproachful Titlers of Miserants, p. 28. The trains and miles of the Dragons dog-like flattering tail, p. 30. New Babel Builders, p. 32. Blind Watchmen, Dumb Dogs, Thieves and Robbers of Souls, False Prophets, Ravening Wolves, p. 48. Factors for Antichrist, p. 75. Antichristian Mofums, and that it might be known what they chiefly aimed at, we shall hear him say that they cannot be quiet, till (res nova molendo) they set up Popery again, in her full equipage, p. 95. Tooth and nail for setting up Popery again, p. 96. Trampling under feet

Christ's
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Christ's Kingdom, that they may set up Antichrist's Throne again, p. 99. L I B. IV. According to the Spirit of Rome which breathes in them, by which they Ann. Dom. are so strongly biaffed to wheel about to their Roman Mistress, p. 108. I 63 6. The Prelates confederate with the Prefists and Jesuites for rearing up of that Religion, p. 140. Calling them upon that account in his Apologie, Jesuitic Polypragmaticicks, and Sons of Beelial. Having thus luftily laid about him against all in general, he declens to some particulars of moft note and eminence, Reviling White of Ely, with railing and perverting, in fighting against the truth, which he makes to be his principal quality, p. 127. And Mountague of Chichester for a tried Champion of Rome, and the devoted Votary to his Queen of Heaven, p. 126. And fo proceeding to the Archbishop (for of Wren he had spoken enough before) he tells us of him, That he faved to fet his foot on the Kings Laws, as the Pope did on the Emperor's neck, p. 54. That with his right hand he was able to sweep down the third part of the Stars in Heaven, p. 121. And that he had a Papal infallibility of Spirit, whereby, as by a divine Oracle, all Questions in Religion are finally determined, p. 132. These are the principal flowers of Rhetorick which grew in the Garden of H. B. sufficient questionless to shew how sweet a Champion he was like to prove of the Church and Gospel.

And yet this was not all the mischief which the Church sufferted at that time, for presently on the neck of these came out another, entitled, The holy Table, name and thing, intended purposely for an Answer to the Coal from the Altar, but cunningly pretended by him to be written long ago by a Minister in Lincolnshire against Dr. Coale, a judicious Divine in Queen Maries days; Printed for the Dioceses of Lincoln; by the Bishop whereof, under the name of John Lincoln, Dean of Westminster, it was authorized for the Prefbs. In managing whereof, the point in Controversie was principally about the placing of the Holy Table according to the practice of the Primitive Church, and the received Rules of the Church of England at the first Reformation of it. In prosecution of which point he makes himself, an Adversary of his he knows not whom, and then he feth him he cares not how, mangling the Authors words whom he would confute, that so he might be sure of the eafier conquest; and practising on those Authors whom he was to use, that they may serve his turn the better to procure the victory. Of the composure of the whole we may take this Character from him who made the Answer to it, viz. That he that confequenced of the house by the trim or drefs, would think it very richly furnished; the Walls whereof (that is the Margin) richly set out with Antick hangings, and whatsoever costly workmanship all nations of these times may be thought to brag of; and every part adorned with flourishes and pretty pastimes, the gay devices of the Painter: Nor is there any want at all of Ornaments, or Utensils to set out the fame, such especially as may serve for ostentation, though of little use; many a fine and subtle Carpet, not a few idle couches for the cedulous Reader, and every where a pillow for a Puritan's elbow; all very pleasing to the eye, but flight of substance; counterfeit stuff, mot of it, & wrought with so much fraud & fallhood,
PART II. "that there is hardly one true stitch in all that work from the very beginning to the end. Hardly one testimony or authority in the whole Discourse which is any way material to the point in hand: but is as true and truly cited, as that the Book itself was writ long ago in answer unto D. Coale of Queen Maries days. The King tacitly upbraids with the unfortunacies of his Reign by Deaths and Plagues, the Governors of the Church with carrying all things by strong hand, rather by Canon-shot than by Canon-Law. The Bishop of Norwich he compares (as before was noted) to a Wren mounted on the feathers of an Eagle, and falls upon his Adversary with as foul a mouth as Burton doth upon the Prelates; the Parable betwixt him and Burton being very well fitted, as appears by the Preface to the Mini-
Antid. Lic.-
ers of Lincoln Diocess in the Answer to him. Obliquely and upon the by he hath some glancings against bowing at the name of Jesus, Adoring toward the East, and Praying according to the Canon; and makes the transposing of the Table to the place where the Altar stood, to be an Introduction for ushering in the whole body of Popery. Which Elenchian Doctrine (for so he calleth it) thought these new Reformers (for fear of so many Laws and Canons) dare not apparently profess; yet (faith he) they prepare and lay grounds for it, that the out-works of Religion being taken in, they may in time have a bout with the Fort itself.

To these two Books his Majesty thought fit that some present Answer should be made, appointing the same hand for both which had writ the History of the Sabbath. The one being absolutely destructive of the uniformity in placing the Communion-Table, which was then in hand; The other labouring to create a general hatred unto all the Bishops, branding their person, blasting their Counsels, and decrying the Function. And hard it was to say whether of the two would have proved more mischievous if they were not seasonably prevented. The Answer unto Burton was first commanded and prepared: That to the Lincoln Minifter, though afterwards enjoined, was the first that was published. This of the two, the subtler and more curious piece, exceedingely cried up when it first came out; the disaffection of the times, and subject matter of the Book, and the Religious estimation which was had of the Author, concurring altogether to advance the Reputation of it to the very highest, fold for four shillings at the first, when conceived unanswerable; but within one month after the coming out of the Answer (which was upon the twentieth of May) brought to less than one. The Answer published by the name of Antidotum Lincol-

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nienfic, with reference to the Licenser and Author of the Holy Table. The publishing of the other was delayed upon this occasion: A Re-

olution had been taken by command of his Majesty to proceed against the Triumvirate of Libellers (as one fitly calls them) to a publick Censure, which was like to make much noise amongst the ignorant People. It was thought fit by the Prudent Council of Queen Elizabeth upon the execution of some Priests and Jesuits, that an Apology should be published, by the name of Justitia Britannica, to vindicate the publick Justice of the State from such aspersions, as by the
the Tongues and Pens of malicious, persons should be laid upon it. L I B. 4 V.
And on the like prudential grounds it was thought expedient, that an
answer should be made to the Book which seemed most material; and
being so made, should be kept in readiness till the execution of the
Sentence; to the end that the people might be satisfied, as well in
the greatness of the Crimes, as the necessity and justice of the Pun-
ishment, inflicted upon one of the Principals, by whom a judgment
might be made of all the rest. But the Censure being deferred from
Easter until Midsummer Term, the Answer lay dormant all the while at
Lambeth in the hands of the Licensor, and was then published by the
name of A brief and moderate Answer to the seditious and scandalous
challenges of H. B. &c. Two other Books were also published about
that time, the one about the name and situation of the Communion-
Table, which was called, Altere Christianum, writ by one Picklington,
then beneficed in Bedfordshire, and seconded by a Chapell Determi-
nation of the well studied Joseph Mede; The other against Burton by
name, published Dow of Bafell in Sussex, under the Title of Innovati-
ons unjustly charged, &c. And so much for the Pen Combates, managed
on both sides in the present Controversies.

But whilst these things were in agitation, there hapned toward the
end of this year, such an Alteration in the Court, as began to make
no lefs noise then the rest before. It had been an antient custom in
the Court of England to have three Sermons every week in the time
of Lent. Two of them Preached on Wednesdays and Fridays, the
third in the open Preaching place near the Council Chamber on Sun-
days in the Afternoon. And so it continued till King James came to
this Crown. Who having upon Tuesday the fifth of August eschapt the
hands and treasons of the Earl of Gowrie, took up a pious resolution,
not only of keeping the Anniveruary of that day for a publick Festi-
val in all his Dominions, but of having a Sermon, and other divine
Offices every Tuesday throughout the year. This custom he began in
Scotland, and brought it with him into the Court of England; and
thereupon translated one of the Lent Sermons from Wednesday to
Tuesday. This Innovation in the Court, where before there were no
Sermons (out of Lent) but on Sundays only, came in short time to
have a very strong Influence upon the Country, giving example and
defence to such Lectures and Sermons on the working days, as fre-
quently were appointed and continued in most Corporations, and
many other Market-Towns in all parts of the Kingdom. In which
respect it was upon the point of being laid aside at the Court on the
death of that King, in reference to whose particular concerns it
was taken up, and therefore his Successor not obliged to the obser-
vation. But then withal it was considered, that the new King had mar-
rried with a Lady of the Roman Religion, that he was engaged in a
War with Spain, which could not be carried on without help from
the Parliament, wherein the Puritan Party had appeared to be very
powerful. The discontinuing of that Sermon in this conjuncture,
might have been looked on in the King as the want of zeal toward the
Preaching of the Gospel, and a strong tendency in him to the Religi-
PART II. on the Church of Rome, and a betraying of the Court to Ignorance and Superstition by depriving them of such necessary means of their Instruction. Upon these grounds it stood as before it did, as well in the holy time of Lent as in other Weeks. But now Land being Archbishop of Canterbury, and Wren Dean of the Chappel, it was resolved to move his Majesty, that the Lent Sermons might be preached on Wednesday as they had been Anciently. To which his Majesty condescending, and the Bill of Lent-Preachers being drawn accordingly, it was first muttered secretly, and afterwards made a publick clamour, that this was one of the Archbishops Artifices, a trick devised for putting down the Tuesday Sermons, of which you should never hear more, when this Lent was over: Which Cry growing lowder and lowder, as the Lent continued, was suddenly hush'd and still'd again on the Easter Tuesday, when they saw the Preacher in the Pulpit, as at other times. So usual is it with some men to be afraid of their own shadows, and terrified with fears of their own devising.

This Interruption thus past over, I shall unwillingly resume my former Argument concerning Bawstwick and the rest of his fellow-Criminals, who being called unto their Answer, used so many delays, that the Cause could not come to Sentence before Midsummer Term. Some Answers they had drawn: but they were so Libellous and full of Scandal, that no Counselor could be found to put his hand to them, according to the course of that Court; Instead whereof, they exhibited a cross Bill against Canterbury and his Confederates, (as they called them) charging them with the greatest part of those Reproaches, which had been made the Subject-matter of their former Libels; which being signed by no hands but their own, and tendered so to the Lord Keeper, was by him rejected, and themselves taken pro confessis, their obstinacy in not answering in due form of Law, being generally looked on by the Court as a Self-conviction. On the fourteenth of June they received their Sentence, which briefly was to this effect: to be Fined 5000l. to the King, to lose the remainder of his ears in the Pillory, to be branded on both cheeks with the Letters S. L. for a Schismatical Libeller, and to be perpetually imprisoned in Carlawean Castle: Bawstwick and Burton condemned in the like Fine of 5000l. to be Pilloried, and lose their Ears; the first to be imprisoned in the Castle of Lancaster in Cornwall, and the second in the Castle of Lancaster. On the thirtieth of the same Month, Burton being first degraded of his Ministry in the High-Commission, they were brought into the Palace-yard of Westminster to receive their punishment, not executed on them with such great severity as was injuriously given out: But being executed howsoever, it was a great trouble to the spirits of many; very moderate and well-meaning men, to see the three most Eminent Professions in all the World (Divinity, Law, and Physick) to be so wretchedly dishonoured in the Persons of the Malefactors, as was observed by the Archbishop himself in his Epistle to the King. Which part of the Punishment being inflicted, they were conveyed with care and safety to their several Prisons, the People either foolishly or factiously resorting to them as they passed, and seeming to bemoan their Sufferings.
Lord Archbishops of Canterbury.

ings as unjustly Rigorous. And such a haunt there was to the several LIB. IV. Castles, to which they were condemned of purpose for preventing all intelligence and Correspondence to be held between them, that the State found it necessary to remove them further; Prynne to the Castle of Mont Orgueil in the Isle of Jersey, Burton to Castle Cornet in the Road of Guernsey, and Bastwick to Saint Marie Castle in the Isle of Wight. Which last remembrance I of the like Confinement, to which Infantius a professed Priestian (a very near Kinsman of the English Puritan) had been condemned by the Justice of the Primitive Times.

At the pronouncing of this Sentence the Archbishop made a long and elaborate Speech, in vindication of himself and the rest of the Bishops from any Design to bring in Popery, or innovating in the Government and Forms of Worship, here by Law established. "He made his Introduction to it in a brief Discourse touching the nature of the Crime, shewing how odious a thing it was to think of defend-"ing Religion in the way of Libels; a thing not used by any of the Primitive Christians, in the greatest heats of Persecution; and then professing for his own part, That he had done nothing as a Bishop, "but with a sincere intention for the good Government and Honour "of the Church of England, and the maintenance of the Orthodox "Truth and Religion professed and established in it; adding withal, "That nothing but his Care of reducing the Church into Order in the "External Worship of God, and the setting of it on the Rules of its "first Reformation, had raised this Storm against himself and the rest "of the Bishops, for which alone they stood accused of Innovations; "by those which were the greatest Innovators in the Christian world.

He spake next touching the Calling of Bishops, which he main-"tained to be Jure Divino, though not all the Adjuncts of that Calling; averring further, That from the time of the Apostles, to the days of Calvin, the Government of the Church was by Bishops only; Lay "Elders being never heard of; which Claim by Divine Right, deco-
gate not from the King either in Right or Power (as the Libellers made it) no more then the Calling of the Presbyters by the fame "Right, could be thought to do; in regard they exercised not any "Jurisdiction in the Kings Dominions, but with his License for doing: Or were it otherwise, yet that the Bishops stood in England in "as good a case as the present Laws could make them; and therefore "they that Libelled against them, Libelled against the King and State, "by the Laws whereof they were established; and consequently, "could aim at no other end, than the stirring of Sedition amongst the "People. As touching the design of bringing in Popery (by which Ar-
stifice they chiefly hoped to inflame the People) he first acquitted "the King of it, by shewing his Sincerity and constancy in his Religion, "exemplified by his Carriage in Spain, where he wanted no tempta-
tions to draw him from it; and his Department since in England, "in which he had so often declared a settled Resolution, to maintain "the same: Or were it otherwise: and that the King had any mind to "change Religion, he must seek for other Instruments than himself to "effect.
PART II. "effect that purpose; most humbly thanking God, That as yet he knew not how to serve any Man, against the Truth of Christ; so he hoped he should never learn; professing further, for the satisfaction of all which he heard: That he knew of no plot nor purpose of altering the Religion here established; and that for his own part he had ever been far from attempting any thing which might be truly said to tend that way, in the least degree; to both which he was ready to take his oath. Which said in general, he briefly touch'd on those Innovations which in those Libels, had been charged on him and the rest of the Bishops, in order unto that Design.

"To the first Innovation, touching the supressing of Sermons (during the time of the late Fast) in infected places, contrary to the Orders in former times, he answered, First, That after-Ages might without offence learn to avoid any visible inconvenience observed in the former: And secondly, That the supressing of those Sermons was no Act of the Bishops, but a Command proceeding (on a full debate) from the Lords of the Council, the better to avoid the spreading of the Contagion: And thirdly, That as Sermons on the Fast-days had been used of late, they were so far from humbling men in the sight of God, that they were fitter for other operations, as the raising of Sedition amongst the People, of which there could not be a clearer instance, than in that of Burton. To the second, That by appointing the Weekly Fasts to be on Wednesdays, and those Fasts to be kept without any Sermons, there was a plot for supressing all Wednesday Lectures for ever after: It was answered, That Wednesday was the usual day for such Publick Fasts; That it was named by the Lord Keeper, no great Friend to Popery; and that those men had lived to see the Fast ended, and the Wednesday Lectures still continued. To the third, That the Prayer for Seasonable Weather was left out of the last Book; and that the leaving of it out, was one cause of the Shipwrecks and Tempeftuous Weather which followed after: He answered generally, First, That all Fast-Books are made by the command of the King (who alone had Power to call such Fasts); and that the Archbishops and Bishops, who had the ordering of those Books, had also Power under the King, of putting in and leaving out of those Books, whatsoever they think fit for the present occasion. Secondly, as to this particular, That when the Fast-Book was made, the Weather was very Seasonable, and the Harvest in; and that it was not the Custom of the Church to pray for Seasonable Weather when they had it, but when it was wanting. Thirdly, That it was very boldly done, to ascribe the cause of those Tempefts to the leaving out of that Prayer, which God had never revealed unto them, and they could not otherwise know but by Revelation. To the fourth, touching a clause omitted in the first Collect, in which Thanks had been given to God for delivering us from Popish Superstition; He answered, That though our Fore-fathers had been delivered from such Superstitions; yet (God be bleffed) that for our parts, we were never in them, and therefore could not properly be faid to have been delivered. To the fifth,
fifth, touching the leaving put of a pallage in one of the Orders for L I B. IV. the Fall, concerning the abuse thereof in relation to Merit, He answered, That it was left out, because in this Age and Kingdom there was little opinion of Merit by fasting; infomuch that all Falls were contemned and scorned (both at Lent, and all other set times) except such as some Innumerable men called for of themselves, to promote their ends. The sixth Innovation charged upon them, was the leaving of the Lady Elizabeth and her Children, out of one of the Colledts: And the seventh, That out of the same Colledts the words, Father of thine Elect, and of their Seed, was expunged also: To which it was answered, That the said Colledt was not in the Common-Prayer-Book confirmed by Law, neither King Edward vi. nor Queen Elizabeth having any Children. Secondly, That it was added to the Book at the coming in of King James, who brought a Princely Issue with him; and left out again in the beginning of the Reign of King Charles, who at that time, and for four years after, had no Issue neither. Thirdly, That as the Lady Elizabeth and her Children were put into the Colledt when the King had no Issue of his own; so when the King had Issue of his own, there was much reason to leave them out. Fourthly, For the leaving out of that Clause, Father of thine Elect, &c. it was done by his Predecessor; and that the leaving out of the Lady Elizabeth and her Issue, was done by the Command of the King. The eighth Innovation charged upon them, was bowing at the Name of Jesus, and altering to that end the words in the Epistle on the Sunday next before Easter, by changing IN the Name of Jesus, to AT the Name of Jesus. And it was answered unto this, That bowing at the Name of Jesus, was no Innovation made by the Prelates of this Age, but required by the Injunction of Queen Elizabeth, in the very first beginning of the Reformation: And secondly, Though it be IN the Name of Jesus, in the old Editions of the Liturgy; yet it is AT the Name of Jesus, in the Translation of Geneva, Printed in the year 1567. and in the New Translation Authorized by King James. The ninth relates to the Alteration of two Pallages in the Form of Prayer set forth by Act of Parliament, for the Fifth of November; in which Form it is thus expressed, Root out the Babylonish Sect, which say of Jerusalem, Down with it, &c. And in the other place, Cut off those Workers of Iniquity, whose Religion is Rebellion: Which are thus altered in the Books which came out last, viz. Root out that Babylonish and Antichristian Sect (of them) which say, &c. And in the other, Cut off those Workers of Iniquity, who turn Religion into Rebellion, &c. To which it was replied, That the Book of Prayer appointed for the Fifth of November, was neither made, set forth, or commanded to be read by Act of Parliament; but only made and appointed to be read by the Kings Authority, Secondly, That being made and appointed to be read by no other Authority than the Kings, the King might alter in it what he thought convenient; and that he had the Kings hand for those Alterations. (What Reasons there might be to move his Majesty to it, we
PART II. "we may enquire into hereafter on another occasion.) To the tenth, for the leaving out the Prayer for the Navy, he answered, that the King had then no Fleet at Sea, nor any known enemy to assault, as he had when that Prayer was first put in; and that howsoever, if there had been any design to bring in Popery (to which these Innovations must be made subservient) they should rather have kept in that Prayer than have left it out.

Concerning the Communion Table there were three Innovations urged, the placing of it Altarwise, reading the second Service at it, and bowing towards or before it. For answer to the first, "It was prov\-ed to have been no Innovation in regard of Practice, because it had stood in his Majesties Chappels, and divers Cathedrals of this Kingdom since the first Reformation. Which posture if it be decent and convenient for the Service of God, either in the Kings Chappels or Cathedrals, it may be used also in other Churches: but if it ferved to bring in Popery it was not to be used in them. Nor was it any Innovation in regard of Law, the holy Table being appointed to be placed where the Altar stood by the Queens Injunctions, Anno 1559. and that position justified by an order of Dr. Da-venant Bishop of Sarum (of which we have already spoken) whom the Libellers themselves were not like to accuse for a man that pur-posed the ushering in or advancing of Popery, The setting of a Raile before it, or about it, howsoever placed, was only for avoiding of Prophanation, and for that cause justifiable. As for the reading of the Second (or Communion) Service at the holy Table, it was no more than what had formerly been used in many places to his own re-\membrance; first altered in those Churches where the Emissaries of that Faction came to preach, and therefore the Innovation to be laid on them. Secondly, That it is not only fit and proper for that part of the Divine Service to be read at the Communion Table, but that it is required so to be by the Rules and Rubrics of the Church: It being laid in the first Rubrick after the Communion, that on the Holy Days (if there be no Communion) all shall be read which is appointed at the Communion; and in the last Rubrick before the Communion, that the Minister standing at the North side of the ho-ly Table, shall say the Lords Prayer with that which follows. And finally, as to that of bowing towards it at their first entrance in the Church, or approaches to it, it is anwered, that it was agreeable to the Practice of Moses, David, Hezekiah, recorded in the holy Scriptures, and that Venite Adoremus, O come let us worship and fall down, &c. was used constantly in the beginning of the Ancient Liturgies, and preferred in the beginning of ours in England, and therefore that the people may as well refuse to come, as at their coming not to Worship: he added, that by the Statutes of the noble Order of St. George, called the Garter, the Knights whereof were bound to do their Reverence versus Altare, toward the Altar; that it had so continued ever since the time of King Henry the fifth; that if there were any Idolatry in it, neither Queen Elizabeth (who drove out Popery) nor King James (who kept out Popery) would have
Lord Archbifhop of Canterbury.

have suffered it to remain in Practice; and in a word, that if it were God's Worship and not Idolatry, he ought to do it as well as they: but if it were Idolatry, and no Worship of God, they ought to do it no more than he. But the fourteenth and laft charge which most concerned him and the rest of the Bishops to make answer to, was the forming of a new Article of Religion brought from Rome (to justify their proceedings and Innovations) and foysting it to the beginning of the twentieth Article. The Clause pretended to be added, is, That the Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith, because not found (lay they) in the Latine or English Articles of King Edward the sixth, or Queen Elizabeth, ratified by Parliament; adding, that if to forge a Will or Writing be censurable in the Star-Chamber, though it be but a wrong to a Private man: how much more should the forgery of an Article of Religion be censured there, which is a wrong to the whole Church? And unto this he answered, that the Articles made in the time of King Edward the sixth were not now in force, and therefore not material whether that Clause be in or out; that in the Articles as they passed in Queen Elizabeth's time this Clause was to be found in the English Edition of the year 1612, of the year 1615, of the year 1593, and in Latine in the year 1563, being one of the first Printed Copies after the Articles had been agreed on in the Convocation; that it was to be found in the same terms in the Records of Convocation, Add. 1562. as he proved by a Certificate under the hand of a publick Notary; and therefore finally, that no such forgery in adding that Clause unto that Article had been committed by the Prelates to serve their own turns by gaining any power to the Church: but that the said Clause had been razed out by some of those men, or some of that Faction to weaken just the power of the Church, and to serve their own.

These Innovations thus passed over and discharged, he signifies unto their Lordships, That some other Charges were remaining in matter of Doctrine; that they should presently be anwered, juro volumine, to satisfy all well-minded people; and that when Burtons Book was anwered, (his Book he said, but not his raylings) none of the rest should be anwered either by him or by his care; leaving that Court to find a way for stopping the mouths of such Libelers, or else for him, they should rail on as long as they lifted. And thus beginning to draw toward and end, he declares himself to be in the same cafe with Saint Cyprian, then Bishop of Carthage, bitterly railed upon by a pack of Schismatics, and yet conceiving himself bound (which he made his own Resolution also) not to anwer them with the like Levites or Revilings, but to write and speak only as becomes a Priest of God; that by Gods grace the Reproaches of such men should not make him faint or start aside, either from the right way in matter of Practice, or à certa Regula, from the certain rule of Faith. Which said, and craving pardon of their Lordships for his necessary length, he thanks them for their just and honourable.
PART II. "able censure of those men in their unanimous dislike of them, and in defence of the Church; Makes his excuse from passing any censure of them, in regard the business had some reflection on himself; and so leaves them to God's mercy and the King's Justice.

Thus I have acted Phocion's part in cutting short the long and well-studied Speech of this grave and Eloquent Demosthenes; which I have been the more willing to reduce to so brief an Abstract, that the Reader may perceive, without the least loss of time and labour, on what weak grounds the Puritan Faction raised their outcry against Innovations, and what poor trifles many of those Innovations were, against which they clamoured and cried out. But for the Speech in its full length, as it gave great satisfaction unto all that heard it: so by his Majesties Command it was afterwards Printed, for giving the like satisfaction to all those who should please to read it. In obedience unto which Command he caused the said Speech to be Printed and Published, although he was not ignorant (as he declares in his Epistle to the King) that many things while they are spoken, and past by the ears but once, give great content, which when they come to the eyes of men, and their open scanning, may lie open to some exceptions. And so it proved in the event; for though the Speech was highly magnified as it came from his mouth; yet it had not been long published in Print, when it was encountered with a safe and Libellous Answer, without the name of any Author, Place, or Printer, or any Book-seller (according to the usual Custom) where, and of whom it might be bought. I shall not trouble my self any more about it than by a Transcript of the Title, which was this that followeth: viz. DIVINE and POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS newly translated out of the Dutch Language, wherein they were lately divulged, upon some lines in the Speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury, pronounced in the STAR-CHAMBER the fourteenth of June, 1637. VERY expedient for preventing all prejudice which as well through ignorance, as through malice and slavet, may be incident to the judgment which men make thereby, either of his Graces power over the Church, and with the King: or of the Equity, Justice and Wisdom of his ENDS in his said Speech, and of the reasons used by him for attaining to his said ENDS. And though he took great care and pains concerning that supposed additional clause to the 20th Article, so much as might satisfy any man, not extremely partial; yet find I a late Writer to unsatisfied in it, that he leaves it to the State-Arithmeticians to decide the Controversie, whether the Bishops were more faulty in the addition, than the opposites in their subatraction of it.

One other Charge there was, and a great one too, which I find not touched at in this Speech; and that is, that the Prelates neither had, nor sought to have the Kings Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England for their keeping Courts and Visitation; &c. but did all in their own Names, and under their own Seals, contrary to the Law in that behalf. Concerning which we are to know, that by a Statute made in the first year of King Edward the Sixth, it was Enacted, "That all Summons, Citations, and other Processe Ecclesiastical in all Suits and causes of Instance, and all causes of Correction, and all causes of Basta
or Bigamy, or De iure Patronatus, Probates of Testaments, and L f B. IV.
Committions of Administrations of persons deceased, be made in Anno Dom.
the name, and with the Style of the King, as it is in Writs Original 1 6 3 7.
or Judicial at the Common Law, &c. As also that no manner of
person or persons who hath the Exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdicti-
on, use any other Seal of Jurisdiction but wherein his Majesties
Arms be engraven, &c. on pain of incurring his Majesties indignation,
and suffering imprisonment at his will and pleasure. Which
Statute, and every branch thereof, being repealed by Queen Mary,
and not revived by Queen Elizabeth in all her Reign, the Bishops
of her time were safe enough from any danger of that side. But in
the first Parliament of King James there passed an Act, for continuing
and reviving of divers Statutes, and for repealing of some others, 1 Jac.
c. 25. Into the Body whereof a Clause was cunningly conveyed (his
Majesties Council learned, not considering, or fraudulently conniving
at it) for the repealing of that Statute of the Reign of Queen Mary,
by which King Edwards stood repealed; of which no notice being
taken for some while by those whom it chiefly did concern, it was now
discovered, and made use of as a Rod to affright the Prelates from
exercising their Jurisdiction over obituate and incorrigible Non-con-
formists, as formerly they had been accustomed. For remedy where-
of, and for encouraging the Bishops to perform their duties, it was
declared by the Judges with an unanimous consent, and (o delivered
by the Lords Chief Justices in the Star-Chamber, the fourteenth of
May in this present year, That the said Act of Repeal, 1 of Queen
Mary, did still stand in force as unto that particular Statute by them
so much pressed. This was sufficient for the present, but the Arch-
bishop would not trust to it for the time to come; and thereupon in
his Epistle to the King, before remembred, He humbly desired his Ma-
jesy in the Churches name, That it might be resolved by all the Reverend
Judges of England, and then published by his Majesty, that the Bishops
keeping of their Courts, and issuing Processes in their own names, and the
like exceptions formerly taken, and now renewed, were not against the
Laws of this Realm, that so the Church Governors might go on cheerfully
in their duty, and the peoples minds be quieted by this assurance, that ne-
ither their Law, nor their Liberty, as Subjects, was thereby infringed.
A motion favourably heard, and graciously granted; his Majestys illing
out his Royal Proclamation, on the eighteenth day of August then
next following, For declaring that the proceedings of his Ecclesiastical
Courts and Ministers were according to Law. The Tenour of which
Proclamation or Declaration was as followeth:

By the K I N G.

WHereas in some of the Libellous Books and Pamphlets lately pub-
lisht in the most Reverend Fathers in God, the Lord Archbishops
and Bishops of the Realm are said to have usurp upon his Majesties Prer-
ogative Royal, and to have proceeded in the High Commissiion, and
other Ecclesiastical Courts contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the
Realm:
PART II. Realm: It was Ordered by his Majesties High Court of Star-Chamber, the twelfth of June last, that the opinion of the two Lords Chief Justices, the Lord Chief Baron, and the rest of the Judges, and Barons should be had and certified in these particulars, viz. Whether Processses may not issue out of the Ecclesiastical Courts in the names of the Bishops? Whether a Patent under the Great Seal be necessary for the keeping of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and enabling Citations, Suspensions, Excommunications, and other Censures of the Church? And whether the Citations ought to be in the King's Name, and under his Seal of Arms; and the like for Institutions and Inductions to Benefices, and correction of Ecclesiastical offences? And whether Bishops Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical persons may or ought to keep any Visitations at any time, unless they have express Commission or Patent under the great Seal of England so to do; and that as his Majesty's Visitors only, and in his name and right alone.

Whereupon his Majesties said Judges having taken the same into their serious consideration, did unanimously agree and concur in opinion, and the first day of July last certified under their hands as followeth: That Processses may issue out of Ecclesiastical Courts in the name of the Bishops, and that a Patent under the Great Seal is not necessary for the keeping of the said Ecclesiastical Courts, or for the enabling of Citations, Suspensions, Excommunications, and other Censures of the Church. And that it is not necessary that Summons, Citations, or other Processses Ecclesiastical in the said Courts, or Institutions, and Inductions to Benefices, or correction of Ecclesiastical offences by Censure in those Courts be in the King's name, or with the Style of the King, or with the King's Seal, or the Seals of the Office have in them the King's Arms; And that the Statute, 1 Edw. 6. c. 2. which enacted the contrary, is not now in force; And that the Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical persons, may keep their Visitations, as usually they have done, without Commission under the Great Seal so to do. Which opinions and resolutions being declared under the hands of all his Majesties said Judges, and so certified into his Court of Star-Chamber, were there recorded: And it was by that Court further ordered the fourth of the said July, That the said Certificate should be enrolled in all other his Majesties Courts at Westminster, and in the High Commission and other Ecclesiastical Courts for the satisfaction of all men; That the proceedings in the High Commission and other Ecclesiastical Courts are agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

And his Royal Majesty hath thought fit, with the Advice of his Council, that a publick Declaration of these the Opinions of his reverend and learned Judges, being agreeable to the Judgment and Resolution of former times, should be made known to all his Subjects, as well to vindicate the Legal Proceedings of his Ecclesiastical Courts and Ministers from the unjust and scandalous imputation of invading or intrenching on his Royal Prerogative, as to settle the minds and stop the mouths of all unquiet Spirits, that for the future they presume not to confute his Ecclesiastical Courts, or Ministers in these their just and warranted proceedings. And hereof
Having carried on this business as far as we can without breaking the rule of time in too gross a manner, we must go back to the Star-Chamber, where we left the Bishop of Lincoln ready to put in his Answer after many delays. In which event the business stood, when Kilvert, a Proctor in the Arches, who had been formerly employed in hunting Bennet, a corrupt Judge of the Prerogative Court, to his final Sentence, was entertained to prosecute this Bishop to the like confuision; who having found by diligent enquiry, and subtle practices, that the Bishops purgation depended most upon the testimony of one Prigeon, the Register of the Court of Lincoln, he made it his chief work, by difcrediting the witness, to invalidate and make void his evidence, he lays a Baftard to his charge, and there appeared sufficient ground to indict him for it. The Bishop apprehending himself necessitated to weight up Prigeon his repute, engaged himself more zealously therein than was consistent with the gravity of so great a Prelate for so inconsiderable a person. The Fathering of this Baftard is bandied betwixt Prigeon and one Boone from Sessions to Sessions, and from one year unto another, till the Mother of the Child was found to have been tampered with by some of the Bishops Creatures to charge it wholly upon Boone. On the discovery of which practice Kilvert lets go his former hold, and exhibits a new Bill against the Bishop for subornation of Witness, a crime most proper for that Court. The Bishop now finds himself at a loss, and endeavours a Composition with his Majesty, being willing to lay down a good Sum of Money, for the purchasing of his own Peace and his Majesties Favour; which afterwards was urged against him, to prove him conscious of the Crime which he stood accused for. On Tuesday the eleventh of July he received his Doom, which was to pay 3000 l. unto the King, to be Suspended to Benefices & Offices, and stand committed unto Prison at his Majesties Pleasure. To this Sentence the Archbishop contented amongst the rest, aggravating the fault of Subordination of Perjury, with a pathetical Speech of almost an hour long, shewing how the World was above three thousand years old, before it was ripe enough to commit so great a Wickedness; That Jezabel was the first in Scripture, which had been branded with that Infamy, whole Witnesses could find no other name in Ch. Hist. lib. Scripture than the Sons of Belial: And therefore, That considering the greatness of the offence, though before he had been five times on his knees before his Majesty in the Bishops behalf, yet now he could not but agree to the heaviest Censure. To which Sentence the whole Court concurred, his best Friends amongst them, who gave themselves not a little hope, that the rigour of it (especially as unto the Fine) might receive mitigation; though in the end, his Majesty looking on him, both as adjudged to be guilty, and well known to be solvent, it was no wonder if the utmost penny of it were exacted.
PART II. He had not lain long under this Sufpicion and Imprisonment, but he began to find how dreadful a thing it was to fall into a Kings displeasure; and thereupon made use of all his Friends at Court, for the re-obtaining of his own Liberty, and his Majesties Favour: And to that end, he made means by the Queen to be admitted to a Reconciliation with him, offering both his Bishopprick, and Deany of Westminister, in confidence that the King would provide for him, that he should not go much less than he was. The King, upon the Queens desire, sent the Earl of Dorset (from whose mouth I had it.) to accept the Bishops Offer on the one side; and on the other side, to promise him in his Majesties Name, the next good Bishopprick should fall in Ireland. Which Proposition being made, the Bishop absolutely refused to hearken to it, telling the Earl of Dorset, That he had made a shift, by the Power and Mediation of his Friends, to hold out against his Enemies here for seven years together: but if they should send him into Ireland, he should there fall into the hands of a man, who once in seven Months would find out some old Statute or other to cut off his head. Which double dealing did so cool the Affections of his Friends in Court, that for three years and more there were no further Endeavours used for his Enlargement: During which time, he never went unto the Chappel of the Tower, where he was Imprisoned, to attend the Divine Service of the Church, or hear the sermon there, or receive the Sacrament, as all other Protestant Prisoners had been used to do: but kept himself only to his Private Devotions, to which his nearest Servants were not often admitted: Which whether it gave the greater scandal to the Protestants, Puritans, or Papists, it is hard to say.

But great Persons must not fall alone. Three of his Servants which had been most active in the busines, were censured at the same time also: Walker his Secretary, fined at 300l. Powell an Officer of his Housel, fined no more than he: But Land, who left his Business in the Court of Lincoln to attend his Suit, at 1000 Marks. All of them censured to Imprisonment, which none suffered but he, and that but for a short time neither. Nor were their Fines exacted of them, which (as the Bishop after found to his cost) were in short time to be commuted into such other Offices as they were to do: for Kilvert against their Mafter: The Story whereof, desireth the Readers further patience, though it come somewhat out of time and is briefly this. Osbeslon the late Schoolmaster, and then Prebend of Westminister, a professed Creature of the Bishops, and much employed by him in his greatest busineses, had written a Letter to him about Christmas, in the year 1635. touching some Heats which hapned in that cold Seafon, betwixt the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Treasurer Westmon: Osbeslon conceiving this to be a fit opportunity for the Bishop to close in with Westmon, and by his means to extricate himself out of those Perplexities, in which this Star-Chamber Suit had so long intangled him. This Intelligence he disgused in these expressions, viz. The little Vermin, the Urchin and Hocus Pocus, is this stormy Christmas attune and real variance with the great Leviathan. And this conceit the Bishop
I, who, elfe, For, and For, the names of Little Vermin, Archib, and Focns Focns, the writer of that Letter designed no other than the Archibishop, and the Lord Treasurer West- on by the Great Leviathan. Both being made Parties to the Bill, Or- belfon answers for himself, That by Leviathan, he intended Chief Justice Richardson; and Spicer a Doctor of Laws, by the other Chra- racter: The differing features of the men, seeming to make good this Con- struction, which the Grammar of the Text might bear, as well as the other. The Bishop pleaded for his part, That he remembered not the receiving of any such Letter; and that if any such Letter had come unto him, it could not be brought within the compass of a Libel, because not written in such plain and significant terms as might appa- rently decipher and set forth the Person intended in it. But all this proved to be but shifts on either side; for Kilvert had a Letter ready (which Walker was supposed to have put into his hands) to make sure work of it; a Letter which the Bishop had writ to the said Walker, being then his Secretary, at the time of that falling out betwixt Land and Weston. Here is a strange thing (faith that Letter) Mr. Osbefton importunes me to contribute to my Lord Treasurer's use, some Charges upon the Little Great Man, and assures me they are mortally out. I have utterly refused to meddle in this business; and I pray you learn from Mr. S. and Mr. H. if any such falling out be, or whether somebody hath not gulled the Schoolmaster in these three last Letters; and keep it un- to your self, what I write unto you. If my Lord Treasurer would be served by me, he must use a more neer, solid, and truly Messenger; and free me from the Bonds of the Star-Chamber; else let them fight it out for me.

This secret thus discovered, and the Mystery opened, it was not long before the Cause was brought to Censure: For the two Letters being compared with the Time and Circumstances, it was no hard matter to the Lords (who had their own concernment in it) to con- clude both of them to be guilty of the Crime called Scandalum Mag- num, a Libelling and defaming the Great men of the Realm, prohi- bited and punishable by the Laws of the Land. So that no Buckler being found to bear off the Blow, a Fine of another 5000 l. was impos- ed on the Bishop, Orbeflon fined 5000 l. to be deprived of his Eccle- siatical Preferments, his Ears to be tack'd to the Pillory in the Palace- yard, and Damages or Costs of Suit to be paid by both to the Arch- bishop of Canterbury. A Censure greater than the Crime (as most men conceived) in respect of Orbeflon, whose Indifference might have been corrected with far less severity; and less severity was intended, then the Sentence intimated; For though Orbeflon at that time con- cieved the Archbishop to be his greatest Enemy, yet the Archbishop was resolved to shew himself his greatest Friend, affuring the Author of this History (before any thing was known of his supposed flight) that he would call himself at the Kings feet, for obtaining a discharge
PART II. of that corporal punishment unto which he was Sentenced. Which may obtain the greater credit, first, in regard that no course was taken to stop his flight, no search made after him, nor any thing done in order to his Apprehension. And secondly, by Obediones readiness to do the Archbishop all good Offices in the time of his Troubles, upon the knowledge which was given him (at his coming back) of such good intentions: For Obediones not hoping for so much favour, and fearing more the shame of the Punishment, than the loss of Preference had reasonably withdrawn himself to a Friends House in London, where he lay concealed, causing a noise to be spread abroad of his going beyond Sea, and signifying by a Paper which he left in his Study, That he was gone beyond Canterbury. But this hapned not till the latter end of the year next following though I have laid it here together, because of the coherence which it hath with the former Story.

To look back therefore where we left; The Bishop of Lincoln was no sooner Suspended by the High-Commission (that part of the Sentence being executed July 24) but all the Profits of his Preferments in the Church, were Sequestr'd to the use of the King: A Privy Seal is sent to the Sub-Dean and Prebends of the Church of Westminister, requiring them to set apart all the Profits, certain and uncertain, which of right accrued unto that Dean, and to pay the same from time to time into the Receipt of the Exchequer. And that his Majesties Profits might not suffer any diminution, nor the Prebends of that Church be punished for the fault of their Dean, a Commision was issued under the Great Seal of England, enabling them to Let and Sell, to Renew Leafes, keep Courts and make Grants of Offices; and finally, to act and do all manner of things which concerned the Government of that Church, in as ample manner as if the Dean himself had been present at the doing of them. The like course also taken, in gathering in the Profits of his other Promotions; those of the Bishoprick of Lincoln, naturally flowing into the Exchequer as in times of Vacancy. And as for his Episcopal Jurisdiction, that fell as naturally to the Archbishop of the Province, as the Temporal Revenue to the King; the Archbishop of Canterbury exercising all kind of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction throughout the Dioceses of Lincoln, not only as Ordinary of that Dioceses, but as Visitor of all those Colleges which had any dependence on that See. Amongst which Colleges, as that of Eaton was the chief, so there was somewhat in it which was thought to want a present Remedy; some Information being given, that they had diminished the number of their Fellows from Ten to Seven. This being a matter easily to be prooved, they were required to make up their number, according to their first Foundation by King Henry vi. But against this, the Fellows pleaded, That out of an hatred to their Founder a great part of their Lands had been taken from them by King Edward iv. conferred by him upon the Abby of Westminster and the Church of Windsor, and by them enjoyed untill this day; and that they hoped his Grace would not tie them to maintain the whole number of their Fellows, with little more than half their Lands. To which so reason-
This year, being quickly posted to the Scots, became a principal Incentive of those Combinations, which not long after inflamed that Kingdom; for it could be no hard matter for the Presbyterians there, to posset the People with the sense of the like smart Sufferings, by the Pride and Tyranny of their Bishops, if they permitted them to grow great and powerful, and did not cast about in time to prevent the mischief. And to exasperate them the more, the Superstitions of the Liturgy, now at the point of being put in execution, were prented to them; which if once settled amongst them, as was then intended, would in short time reduce them under the Obedience of the Church of Rome. They could not but confes, That many things were found fault with in the English Liturgy, were in this altered unto the better, the name of Priest (so odious unto them of the Puritan Faction) changed to that of Presbyter; no fewer than sixty Chapters, or thereabouts, taken out of the Apocrypha, appointed to be read by the Church in the English Book, reduced to two, and those two to be read only on the Feast of All Saints; The new Translation Authorised by King James, being used in the Psalms, Epistles, Gospels, Hymns, and Sentences, instead of the old Translation so much complained of in their Books and Conferences. But what was this compared with those Superstitions, those horrible Corruptions, and Idolatries, now ready to be thrust upon them, in which this Liturgy as much exceeded that of England, as that of England had departed from the simplicity and purity of the holier Churches? Now therefore somewhat must be done to oppose the entrance of the Popish Superstitious Service-Book, either now or never: But the Presbyterian Ministers, who had gone thus far, did not alone bring fewel to feed this flame, to which some men of all degrees and qualities did contribute with them. The Lords and Gentry of the Realm, who feared nothing so much as the Commission of Surrendries above-mentioned, laid hold on this occasion also; and they being seconded by some male-contented Spirits of that Nation, who had not found the King to be as prodigal of his bounties to them as his Father had been before, endeavoured to possess them with Fears and Jealousies, that Scotland was to be reduced to the Form of a Province, and governed by a Deputy, or Lord Lieutenant, as Ireland was. The like done also by some Lords of secret Counfel, who before had governed as they listed, and thought their power diminished, and their perfons under some neglect, by the placing of a Lord President over them to direct in Chief. So that the People generally being fooled into this opinion, that both their Christian and Civil Liberty was no small danger, became capable of any impression which the Presbyterian Faction could imprint upon them; nor did they want encouragements from the Faction in England, to whom the Publication of the Book for Sports, the transposing of the holy Table, the suppressing of so many Lectures, and Afternoon Sermons, and the inhibiting of Preaching, Writing, Printing, in defence of Calvinism, were as distasteful.
The Life of William

PART II. distasteful and offensive, as the new Liturgie with all the supposed su-
perfitions of it, was to those of Scotland.

1637. This Combination made, and the ground thus laid, it is no wonder
if the people brake out into those distempers, which soon after followed. Sunday the 23. of July was the day appointed for the first reading
of the New Liturgie in all the Churches of that Kingdom; and how it
sped at Edinburg (which was to be exemplary to all the rest) shall
be told by another, who hath done it to my hand already, "July 23,
being Sunday, the Dean of Edinburg began to read the Book in St.
Giles his Church (the chief of that City) but he had no sooner
entred on it than the inferior multitude began in a tumultuous
manner to fill the Church with uprore, whereupon the Bishop of
Edinburg swept into the Pulpit, and hoping to appease them by
minding them of the Sanctity of the place, they were the more en-
raged, throwing at him Cudgels, Stools, and what was in the way
of Fury, unto the very endangering of his life. Upon this the Arch-
bishop of St. Andrews, Lord Chancellor, was enforced to call down
from the Gallery the Provost, Bailiffs, and other Magistrates of the
City to their assistance, who, with much ado, at length thrust the un-
usually Rabble out of the Church, and made fast the doors. This
done, the Dean proceeded in reading the Book, the multitude in
the mean while rapping at the doors, pelting the Windows with
stones, and endeavouring what in them lay to disturb the Sacred Ex-
ercise: but notwithstanding all this clamour the Service was ended,
but not the peoples rage, who waiting the Bishops retiring to his
Lodging, so assaulted him, as had he not been rescued by a strong
hand, he had probably perished by their violence. Nor was Saint
Giles his Church thus only peffeted and profaned, but in other
Churches also (though not in so high a measure,) the peoples disor-
ders were agreeable. The morning thus past, the Lord Chancellor
and Council assembled to prevent the like darings in the Afternoon,
which they expected as the Liturgie was read without any distur-
bance: Only the Bishop of Edinburg was in his return to his Lodg-
ing rudely treated by the people, the Earl of Roxbroughs Coach,
in which he passed, serving for no pretence to him; though Rox-
brough himself was highly favoured of the People, and not with-
out some cause suspected to have had a hand in the Commotions of
that day.

The business, having thus miscarried in Edinborough, stood at a
stand in all other Churches of that Kingdom; and therefore it will
not be amis to enquire in this place into the cauases and occasions of it:
it seeming very strange to all knowing and diercening men, that the
Child that had so long lain in the Womb, perfectly formed, and now
made ready for the birth, should not have strength enough to be deli-
vered. Amongst which cauases, if disposed into rank and order, that
which appears first is the confidence which Canterbury had in the Earl
of Traquaire, whom he had raised from the condition of a private Laird
to be a Peer of that Realm, made him first Treasurer-Deputy (Chanc-
cellor of the Exchequer we should call upon him in England) afterwards

Lord

Hift. K. C.
P. 153.
Lord Treasurer and Privy Councillor of that Kingdom. This man he L I B. IV. wrought himself so far into Lauds good liking, when he was Bishop of London only, that he looked upon him as the fittest Minister to promote the Service of that Church, taking him into his nearest thoughts, communicating to him all his Counsels committed to his care the conduct of the whole Affair, and giving order to the Archbishops and Bishops of Scotland not to do any thing without his privy and direction. But being an Hamiltonian Scot (either originally such, or brought over at last) he treacherously betrayed the cause, communicated his Instructions to the opposite Faction from one time to another, and conscious of the plot for the next days tumult, withdrew himself to the Earl of Morton house of Dalkeith, to expect the issue. And possible it is, that by his advice, the executing of the Liturgy was put off from Easter; at what time the reading of it was designed by his Majesty, as appears by the Proclamation of December 20. which confirmed the Book. By which imprudent delay he gave the Presbyterian Faction the longer time to confederate themselves against it, and to poffefs the people with Fears and Jealousies, that by admitting of that book they should lose the Purity of their Religion, and be brought back unto the Superstitions and Idolatries of the Church of Rome. And by this means the People were inflamed into that Sedition, which probably might have been prevented by a quicker prosecution of the Cause at the time appointed, there being nothing more destructive of all publick Counsels than to let them take wind amongst the People, cooled by delays, and finally blown up (like a strong Fortres undermined) by some subtle practice. And there were some miscarriages also amongst the Prelates of the Kirk in not communicating the design with the Lords of the Council, and other great men of the Realm, whose Countenance both in Court and Country might have sped the business. Canterbury had directed the contrary in his Letters to them, when the first draughts of the Liturgy were in preparation, and seems not well pleased in another of his to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, bearing date September 4. that his advice in it was not followed, nor the whole body of the Council made acquainted with their Resolutions, or their advice taken, or their power called in for their assistance till it was too late. It was complained of also by some of the Bishops, that they were made strangers to the business, who in all Reason ought to have been trusted with the knowledge of that intention, which could not otherwise than by their diligence and endeavours amongst their Clergy, be brought to a happy execution. Nor was there any care taken to aduice the Ministers, to gain them the Cause by fair hopes and promises, and thereby to take off the edge of such Leading men as had an influence on the rest; as if the work were able to carry on it itself, or have so much Divine assistance as counterbalanced the wants of all helps from men. And which perhaps conducted as much to the destruction of the Service as all the rest, a publick intimation must be made in all their Churches on the Sunday before, that the Liturgy should be read on the Lords day following, of purpose, as it were, to unite all such as were not well affected to it, to disturb the same.
PART II. And there were some miscarriages also, which may be looked on as Accessories after the Fact, by which the mischief grew remediless, and the malady almost incurable. For first, The Archbishops and Bishops most concerned in it, when they saw what hapned, consulted by themselves apart, and sent up to the King without calling a Council, or joyning the Lay Lords with them; whereas all had been little enough in a business of that nature, and so much opposed by such F útious persons as gathered themselves on purpose together at Edenborough to disturb the Service. A particular in which the Lay Lords could not be engaged too far; if they had been treated as they ought. But having run upon this error they committed a worse in leaving Edenborough to it self, and retiring every one to his own Diocesi, except those of Galloway and Dumblaine, For certainly they must needs think (as Canterbury writes in one of his Letters to Traquaire) that the Adverse party would make use of the present time to put further difficulties upon the work; and therefore that they should have been as careful to uphold it, the Bishop of Ro's especially, whose hand had been as much in it as the most. But possibly the Bishops might conceive the place to be unsecure, and therefore could not stay with safety, neither the Lords of the Council, nor the Magistrates of the City having taken any course to bring the chief Ringleaders of the Tumult to the Bar of Justice; which must needs animate all disaffected and seditious persons, and almost break the hearts of those who were well inclined. And such indeed was the neglect of the Civil Magistrate that we hear of no man punished, scarce so much as questioned, for so great a Riot, as was not to be expiated but by the death, or some proportionable punishment of the chief offenders. Which had it been inflicted on some three or four for a terror to others, it might have kept that City quiet, and the whole Kingdom in obedience for the time to come, to the saving of the lives of many thousands (some hundreds of thousands at the least in all the three Kingdoms) most miserably lost in those long and cruel Wars, which ensued upon it. But the Lords of Scotland were so far from looking before them, that they took care only for the present, and instead of executing Justice on the Malefactors, suspended the Liturgy it self as the caufe of the Tumult, conceiving it a safer way to calm the differences than to encrease the storm by a more rigorous and strict proceeding. All that they did in order to his Majesties Service, or the Churches peace, was the calling in of a scandalous Pamphlet, intituled, A dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies obtused on the Kirk of Scotland, which not being done till October 20 following, rather declared their willingness to suffer the said Book to be first dispersed and fet abroad, then to be called in and suppressed.

Nor seemed the busines to be much taken to heart in the Court of England, from whom the Scots expected to receive Directions: Nor Order given them for unleathing the Sword of Justice, to cut off such unfound and putrified Members, which might have saved the whole Body from a Gangreen: the drawing of some Blood in the Body Politick, by the punishment of Malefactors, being like letting Blood in the Body Natural, which in some strong Distempers doth preferve the
the whole. Or granting that the Tumult had been grown so high, L.I.B. IV. Anno Dom. 1637. and so strongly backed, that Justice could not safely have been done upon them; a way might have been found to have cooled the Fever, without loss of Blood, by bringing the whole Corporation under the danger of a forfeiture of their Lands and Liberties in a Legal way; which course proved so successful unto King James on the like occasion, Anno 1597. Or finally, supposing that the Cause admitted not such a long delay, if then his Majesty had but sent a Squadron of the Royal Navy which he had at Sea, to block up their Haven, he had soon brought the Edinburgers unto his devotion, and consequently kept all the rest of the Kingdom in a safe Obedience. This was the way to keep them under; and of this course the People of the City were more afraid, than of any other. Somewhat they are to do, which might make his Majesty hope better of them than they had deferred; and nothing they could do which might better please him, than to express their cheerfulness in admitting the Liturgie. To this end they addressed their Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as more concerned in this Affair than any other of the Lords which were near his Majesty, expressing in the same their great dislike of the late Tumult; for their Innocency therein, they refer themselves to his Majesties Council in that Kingdom, declaring further their concurrence with the Bishops which remained in the City, and the Ministrv of the same, for settling the Service-Book; and offering Means above their Power, to such as should undertake the Reading of it; and finally, desiring his Grace to make known to his Majesty, how ready they were at all points to advance the Service, which they promised to accept as an accumulation of his Graces Favours unto them and their City. And that this Letter of theirs, which bears date the nineteenth of August, might bear the greater credit with him, they did not only seem industrious for the apprehending of some, and the inquiring after others of the Principal Actors; but bound themselves by an Obligatory Act of Hift. K.C. the Common-Council, both for the Indemnity and Maintenance of by H.L. such as should read the Book, the Ministers of Edinborough refusing to P. 154. do their parts in it, without such Encouragements. But the danger was no sooner over, by the coming home of the Fleet, but they Petitioned the Lords of the Council to put them into the same condition with the rest of the Subjects; and that the Service-Book, should be no further pressed on them, than it had been in all the other parts of the Kingdom: To which they were encouraged by a general confluence of all parts of People, such most especially, as had most shown their disaffection to the work in hand.

For the Harvest was no sooner in, and the People at more leisure than before to pursue that Quarrel; but the City swarmed with throngs of People from all parts, even to a formidable number, which moved the Lords to publish two Proclamations on the seventeenth of October; the first commanding all of them to repair to their Dwellings, except such as should shew sufficient reason for their stay and continuance there: The second, for Adjourning the Seffions from Edinborough, to the Town of Linlithgow. But this served rather like the powring
POWING ON OF OYL, to encrease the Flame; than of Water to quench it: For the next day the Bishop of Galloway being to sit with the Lord Chief Justice upon some especial Business in the Council-House, he was pursued all along the Street with bitter Railings to the very Door; and being drawn in from the rage of the People, they immediately befet the House, demanding the delivery of him, and threatening his destruction. The Earl of Traquair being advertised of the Bishops danger (who formerly had been his Tutor) came to his Relief, and with much ado forced an Entrance through the Press: But being got in, he was in no better plight than the Bishop, the Clamour still increasing more and more, and encompassing the Council-House, with terrible Menaces. Hereupon the Provost and City-Council was called to raise the Siege: but they returned an answer, That their condition was the same; for they were surrounded with the like Multitude, who had enforced them, for fear of their Lives, to sign a Paper importing, First, That they should adhere to them, in opposition to the Service-Book; Secondly, To restore to their places Ramsey and Rolloch two silenced Ministers, and one Henderson a silenced Reader. No better answer being returned, the Lord Treasurer, with the Earl of Wigton, went in Person to the Town-Council-House where they found the heat of the fury somewhat abated, because the Magistrates had signed the Paper; and returned with some hope that the Magistrates would calm the Disorders about the Council-House, so as the Bishop might be preserved: But they no sooner presented themselves to the Great Street, than they were most boisterously assaulted, the Throng being so furious, as they pulled down the Lord Treasurer, took away his Hat, Cloak, and White Staff, and so haled him to the Council-House. The Lords seeing themselves in so great danger, at length pitch upon the best expedient for their safety, and sent to some of the Noblemen and Gentry, who were disaffected to the Service-Book, to come to their Aid. These Lords and Gentlemen came, as was desired, and offered both their Persons and Power to protect them; which the Lords and the Council-House readily embraced, and so were quietly guarded to Holy-Rood-House, and the Bishop to his Lodging. The Lords of the Council not thinking themselves to be secure, published a Proclamation the same day in the afternoon, for repelling such Disorders for the time to come: But they found slender Obedience yielded to it, Commissioners being sent unto them from the Citizens, in an insolent manner, for demanding the Restitution of their Ministers to their Place and Function, and performing all such Matters as had been agreed on at the Pacification.

These Riots and Seditions might have served sufficiently in another Reign, to have drawn a present War upon them, before they were provided in the least degree to make any resistance: But the Edinburghers knew well enough what they were to do, what Friends they had about the King, and what a Party they had got among the Lords of his Council, which Governed the Affairs of that Kingdom: And they were apt enough to hope, by the unpunishing of the first Tumult on July 23. That the King might rather have patience enough to bear such
such Indignities, than resolution to revenge them: so that he came L I B. IV. at last to that perplexity, which a good Author speaks of, (a) That he must either out-go his Nature, or fore-go his Authority. For instead of using his just Power to correct their Infolencies, he courts them with his Gracious Proclamation of the Seventh of December, in which he lets them know, How unwilling he was that his Loyal and Faithful Subjects should be posseffed with groundles and unnecessary doubts and fears touching their Religion; and therefore was pleased to declare, That as he abhorreth all Superstitions of Popery, so he would be most careful that nothing should be allowed within his Dominions, but that which should most tend to the Advancement of the true Religion, as it was presently professed within his Ancient Kingdom of Scotland; and that nothing was nor should be done therein, against the laudable Laws of that his Native Kingdom. The Rioters perceived by this Proclamation, that the King was more afraid than hurt: And seeing him begin to shrink, they resolved to put so many fears upon him one after another, as in the end might fall him to their desires. First therefore they began with a new Petition, not of a rude Multitude but of Noblemen, Barons, Ministers, Burgesses and Commons (the very Flower of the whole Nation) against the Liturgie and Canons. This Petition being sent to the Court, could do no less (and it did no more) than produce another Proclamation in Reply to the Substance of it, some Menaces being intermingled: but sweetened in the close, to give them the better relish. His Majesty first lets them know the Piety of his intent in appointing the Liturgie, assuring them, "That he had no other end in it, than the maintenance of the true Religion there already professed, and the beating down of all Superstition; That nothing passed in the said Book, but what was seen and approved by himself, before the same was either divulged or Printed; and that he was assured, That the Book itself would be a very ready means to preserve the Religion there professed, of which he doubted not to give them satisfaction in his own time. Which said, he lets them know, That such as had Assembled for subscribing the said Petition, had made themselves liable to his highest Censures, both in Life and Fortune; That notwithstanding, he was pleased to dispence with the error (upon a confidence that it proceeded rather from a preposterous Zeal, than a disaffection to Soverainty,) on condition that they retired themselves upon notice hereof, as became good and dutiful Subjects. He interdicted also the like Concourse as had been lately made at Edenborough, upon pain of Treason; commanding that none of them should repair to Starling (to which the Term was then Adjourned) or any other place of Counsel and Seffion, without Warrant from the Lords of the Council; and that all such, of what sort soever (not being Lords of the Council or Seffion) which were not Inhabitants of the Town, should within fix hours after publication thereof, depart the same, except they were so Licensed and Warranted as before is said, under pain of Treason; And finally, he concludes with this, he would not shut his ears against any Petition, upon this or any other subject, which they should hereafter tender to him; provided that
PART II. "that the matter and form thereof be not prejudicial to his Regal Authority.

Had his Majesty followed at the heels of this Proclamation, with a powerful Army, according to the Custom of his Predecessors, Kings of England, it might have done some good upon them. But Proclama-
tions of Grace and Favour, if not backed by Arms, are but like Can-
ons charged with Powder, without Ball or Bullet, making more nois-
ter than execution; and serve for nothing in effect, but to make the
Rebel insolent, and the Prince contemptible, as it proved in this: For
on the very day, and immediately after the reading of it, it was en-
countered with a Protestation, published by the Earl of Hume, the
Lord Lindsay, and others, justifying themselves in their Proceed-
ings, disclaiming all his Majesties Offers of Grace and Pardon, and
positively declaring their Resolution to go on as they had begun,
till they had brought the business to the end intended. And in pur-
suit hereof, they erected a new Form of Government amongt
themselves, despoticall enough in respect of those who adhered unto
them, and unaccountable to his Majesty for their Acts and Orders.
This Government consisted of four Tables, for the four Orders of
the State, that is to say, the Noblemen, Barons, Burgesies, and Mi-
nisters: each Order consulting at his own Table, of such things as
were necessary for the carrying on of the Design; which being re-
duced into Form, were offered, debated, and concluded at the Ge-
neral Table, consisting of a choice number of Commisioners out of
all the rest. And that this new Government might be looked on
with the greater reverence, they fixed themselves in Edenborough,
the Regal City, leaving the Lords of Council and Session to make
merry at Sterlings, where they had little else to do than to follow their
Pleasures. The Tables were no sooner formed, but they resolved
upon renewing of the Ancient Confession of that Kirk, with a Band
thereunto subjoined, but fitted and accommodated to the present
occasion, which had been signed by King James on the 28th of Ja-

uary, Anno 1580. after there Account, and generally subscribed by
all the Nation. And by this Band they entred Covenant for Main-
tenance of their Religion then professed, and his Majesties Person:
but aiming at the destruction of both; as appeareth both by the Bandit
self, and their Gloss upon it: For by the one they had bound themselves
to defend each other against all Perfons whatsoever, the King him-
self not being excepted; and by the other they declared, That under
the general Names of Popery, Heresie and Superstition, which were
there expressed, they had abjur'd (and required all others so to do)
not only the Liturgie and Canons lately recommended to them, but
the Episcopal Government, and the five Articles of Perth, though confirm-
ed by Parliament. And to this Covenant, in this sense, they required
an Oath of all the Subjects, which was as great an usurpation of the
Regal Power, as they could take upon themselves, for confirming
their own Authority and the Peoples Obedience, in any Project what-
soever which should afterwards issue from those Tables.
In this Estate we leave the Scots, and return to England, where we shall find all things in a better condition, at least as to the outward appearance, whatsoever secret workings were in agitation amongst the Grandees, and chief Leaders of the Puritan Faction. Little or no noise raised about the publishing of the Book for Sports, or silencing the Calvinian Doctrines, according to his Majesties Declaration before the Articles: No clamour touching the transposing of the Holy Table, which went on leisurely in most places, vigorously in many, and in some itood still. The Metropolitical Visitaton, and the Care of the Bishops had seiet these Particulars into good a way, that mens Passions began to calm, and their thoughts to come to some repose, when the Commands had been more seriously considered of, than at first they were. And now the Visitaton having been carried into all parts of the Realm of England, and Dominion of Wales, his Grace began to cast his eye upon the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey, two Islands lying on the Coast of Normandy, to the Dukedom whereof they once belonged, and in the Right of that Dukedom to the Crown of England. Jersey, the bigger of the two, more populous, and of richer soil: but of no great Trading. Guernsey the lesser, the more barren: but nourishing a wealthier People, Masters of many stout Barques, and managing a rich Trade with the neighbouring Nations. Attempted often by the French, since they seied on Normandy: but always with repulse and los, the People being very affectionate to the English Government, under which they enjoy very ample Privileges, which from the French they could not hope for. As parts of Normandy, they were subject in Ecclesiastical Matters to the Bishops of Constance in that Dukedom, and so continued till the Reformation of Religion here in England, and were then added to the Diocess and Jurisdiction of the Bishops of Winchester. But the Genevian Discipline being more agreeable to such Preachers as came to them from France, they obtained the Exercise thereof in the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth, Anno 1565. The whole Government diptinguished into two Classes or Colonies, that of Jersey of it self being one and that of Guernsey, with the Islands of Sark and Alderney, making up the other; both Classes meeting in a Synod every second or third year, according to the Order of their Book of Discipline, digested by Snape and Cartwright, (the two greatest Ring-leaders of that Faction here in England) in a Synod held at Guernsey, June 28. 1576. And this manner they continued till the time of King James, when the Churches in the Isle of Jersey falling into some disorder, and being under an immediate Governor who was no great Friend to Calvin's Plat-form, they were necessitated, for avoiding of a great mischief, to cast themselves into the Armes of the Church of England. The principal Ecclesiastical Officer, whilst they were under the Bishops of Constance, had the Title of Dean; for each Island one; the several Powers both of the Chancellor and Archdeacon, being united in his Person. This Office is restored again, his Jurisdiction marked out, his Fees appointed, his Revenue settled: but made accountable for his Administration, to the Bishops of Winchester. The English Liturgie is Translated also into French.
PART II. French, to be read in their Churches; Institutions first, and afterwards a body of Canons framed, for Regulating both the Ministers and People in their several Duties; those Canons bearing date the last of June, in the one and twentieth year of that King.

For the confirming of this Island in their Conformity to the Government and Forms of Worship there established, and the reducing of the others to the like condition, it was resolved, That the Metropolitan Visitation should be held in each of them, at the next opening of the Spring. And that it might be carried on with the greater assurance, the Archbishop had designed a Person for his Principal Visitor, who had spent some time in either Island, and was well acquainted with the Bayliffs, Ministers, and men of special note amongst them: But the Affairs of Scotland growing from bad to worse, this Counsel was discontinued for the present, and at last laid by for all together.

But these Islands were not out of his mind, though they were out of sight, his care extending further than his Visitation. The Islanders did use to breed such of their Sons as they designed for the Ministry either at Saumur or Geneva, from whence they returned well seasoned with the Leaven of Calvinism. No better way to purge that old Leaven out of the Islands than to allure the People to send their Children to Oxford or Cambridge; nor any better expedient to effect the same than to provide some preferments for them in our Universities.

It hapned, that while he was intent on these considerations, that one Hubbard, the Heir of Sir Miles Hubbard, Citizen and Alderman of London, departed this Life; to whom, upon an inquisition taken after his death in due form of Law, no Heir was found which could lay claim to his Estate. Which falling to the Crown in such an unexpected manner, and being a fair Estate withal, it was no hard matter for the Archbishop to perfwade his Majesty to bestow some small part thereof upon pious uses. To which his Majesty consenting, there was so much allotted out of it, as for the present served sufficiently to endow three Fellowships for the perpetual Education of so many of the Natives of Guernsey and Jersey; not without some probable hope of doubling the number, as the old Leaves of it should expire. These Fellowships to be founded in Exeter, Jesus, and Pembroke Colleges; that being dispersed in several Houses, there might be an increafe both of Fellows, and Revenues of the said foundations. By means whereof he did both piously and prudently provide for these Islands, and the advancement of Conformity amongst them in the times to come. For what could else ensue upon it: but that the breeding of some Scholars out of those Islands in that University, where they might thoroughly acquaint themselves with the Doctrine, Government, and Forms of Worship established in the Church of England, they might afterwards at their return to their native Countries, reduce the Natives by degrees to conform unto it; which doubtless in a short time would have done the work with as much honour to the King, and content to himself, as satisfaction to those People.

It is not to be thought that the Papists were all this while asleep, and that neither the disquiets in England, nor the tumults in Scotland were
were husbanded to the best advantage of the Catholick Cause. *Pan* L I E IV.

zant, as before is said, had laid the foundation of an Agency or con-
fant correspondence between the Queens Court and the Popes; and
having fo done, left the pursuit of the design to *Con a Scotia* by birth,
but of a very busy and pragmatical head. Arriving in England about
the middle of Summer, *Anno 1636.* he brought with him many pre-
tended reliques of Saints, Medals and Pieces of Gold with the Popes
Picture stamped on them, to be distributed amongst those of that
Party, but principally amongst the Ladies of the Court and Coun-
try, to whom he made the greatest part of his applications. He found
the King and Queen at Holdenby Houfe, and by the Queen was very
graciously entertained, and took up his chief Lodgings in a house
near the new Exchange. As soon as the Court was returned to White-
hall, he applied himself diligently to his work, practising upon some
of the principal Lords, and making himself very plausible with the
King himself, who hoped he might make some use of him in the Court
of Rome for facilitating the restitution of the Prince Elector. And
finding that the Kings Councils were much directed by the Archbifhop
of Canterbury, he used his best endeavours to be brought into his ac-
quaintance. But Canterbury neither liked the man, nor the Message
which he came about, and therefore kept himself at a distance, neither
admitting him to Complement, nor Communication. Howsoever
by the Kings Connivance, and the Queens Indulgence, the Popish Faksi-
on gathered not only strength, but confidence; multiplying in some
numbers about the Court, and retorting in more open manner to the
Malles at Somerset-houfe, where the Capuchins had obtained both a
Chappel and Convent. Of this none bears the blame but *Laund,* who is
traded in Libels and common talk for the principal Architeft in the
Plot, and the Contriver of the mischief.

On this account, and the proceedings of the *Star-Chamber,* before
remembred, one Libel is dropt at the South Gate of St. Pauls, on Au-
ugst 23. declaring that the Devil had left that house to him for the
faying of Mafs, and other abominations of the Church of Rome; another
two days after aftined to the North Gate of it, signifying that the
Church of England was like a Candle in a Snuff, going out in a stem.
His Speech in the *Star-Chamber* put into a kind of Pillory, and hang-
ed up at the Standard in *Cheapfihe*; and another short Libel made a-
gainst him in Verfe four days after that. Awakened by fo many Alarms
he had good cause to look about him, but more at the great noife, not
long after raised, about the seducing of the Countefs of Newport, a
Kinswoman of the late Duke of Buckinghams, to the Church of Rome;
effected by the Practices of Walter Mountague, a younger Son of the
Earl of Manchester, and the importunities of Toby Matthews, an unde-
serving Son of a worthy Father) *Con* interposing in it as he found oc-
casion. The Archbifhop had long stramckt at the Infolencies of Mat-
thews, and Mountague, and had forborn the taking of any publick no-
tice of them, till he had almost loft himself in the sight of the people.
But laying hold on this opportunity, he passionately declares himself
at the Council-Table, on October 22. in a full and free Speech to the
King,
King, concerning the increase of the Roman Party, the frequent resort of Papists to Somerset-house, the unfeurable mid demeanors of Matthews, and Mountague, in practising upon his Subjects, and chiefly upon those which lived within the verge of the Court, and were nearest to him, humbly beseeching him to put some strong restraint upon them, whereby they either might be barred from coming into the Court at all, or to give no offence and scandal by their misbehaviours. Of this the Queen had notice that very night, who seemed much displeased at the matter, and let him see it in her Countenance, whensoever he had any caufe of coming where she was. But the Pill was given in a very good hour, and wrought so effectually with the King, that Mountague and Matthews was purged out of the Court; the one betaking himself to his Country practice, the other for a time to his former travels in France and Italy. Which the Queen finding to be past remedy, and knowing how necessary a Servant the Archbifhop was to his Great Master, and how useful he might be to her in her own affairs, she admitted him to her speech again in December following; and after some expostulations concerning Mountague, she began to clear her Countenance, and to part fair with him.

Follow this business into the next year, and we shall find him moving for a Proclamation, about the calling in of a Popish Book, written in French by Francis Sales Bishop of Geneva, translated into English, and published by the name of an Introduction to a devout Life, which Book being brought to Haywood, the Archbishops Chaplain, and by him purged of divers unfound passages apparently tending unto Popery before it was licenced to the Press, was notwithstanding published as it came to his hands, without alteration, the Translator inserting the same passages into it again, and the Printer conniving at the same. The Printer was thereupon apprehended, and the Translator diligently sought for to be brought to Justice; his Majesties care for maintaining the Religion professed in the Church of England in its natural purity, being so remarkable that he caused the said Book to be called in, and as many as could be seized on, to be publicly burned. But that which did most generally vindicate his Reputation, was the enlarging and reprinting of his Conference with Fisher the Jesuite, to which he had been moved by some of his private friends (none of them knowing that any other but himself had made the motion) when the Libellers were most fierce against him, and afterwards advised to it by the King himself at the Council-Table. The former Propositions had disposed him to it, and this desire of the Kings served for a command to confirm him in it: But multiplicity of business gave him so little leisure to attend his Studies, that the year was almost ended before the Book could be made ready for the publick view. But at the last it came from the Press, and was presented to his Majesty on Sunday the tenth of February, and the next day exposed unto open sale. A Piece so solidly compacled, that one of our Historians (who shews himself to be none of his greatest Friends) gives it the commendation of being the exadtest Master-piece of Polemique Divinity of any extent at that time; further confirming, That he declared himself therein to be as little theirs (he means
means the Papifts) as he had for ever disabled them from being so much L I B. IV. their own as before they were. And DERING, his most profelid Annos Dom. Adversary, in the Preface to his Book of Speeches, could not but confefs, but that in his Book, especially the laft half of it, he had muzzled the Jefuite, and fhould strike the Papifts under the fifth Rib, when they were dead and gone. And being dead, that wherefover his grace should be, Pauls would be his perpetual Monument, and his own Book his Epitaph.

But fuch was his unhappy Fate, that many obfinate and malicious Puritans would not be otherwife perfwaded of him, than before they were; which they spared not to exprefs upon this occasion: One of his Majefties Chaplains in Ordinary had Preached two Sermons in January foregoing on Mat. 13. 26. which being brought into discourse at fuch time as the Archbishops Book was newly published, it was af- firmed by fome moderate men, that the Doctor in thofe two Ser- mons had pulled up Popery by the very roots; one of the company replying thereunto, That the Archbishop might Print, and the Doctor might Preach what they pleafed againft Popery, but that he should never think them, or either of them to be the lefs Papifts for all that. A Cenfure of fo strange a nature, and fo little favouring of Chriftianity, that I believe it is not easie to be paralleled in the worft of times. And when no Prieff nor Jefuite could be found fo confident as to venture on an Anfwer to it, one of the Presbyterian Scots (for fuch he was then generally afcribed to be) published an un- licenfed Piece againft him, under the Title of A Reply to a Relation of the Conference betwixt William Laud and Mr. Filber the Jefuite,faid to be writ by a Witness of Jefus Chrift. In the whole courfe whereof the Author, whofoever he was, moft miferably perverts his words, and miftakes his meaning, wraftling the moft Orthodox and innocent truths to his wicked ends, and putting his own corrupt Glofs and fenfe upon them. And which is yet moft strange of all, with an un- paralleled impudence he dedicates it to his Sacred Majefty, calling upon him, To fend out his Royal Edict for the taking down of all Altars, (which where ever they stand, are by him faid to stand in open defiance of Chrift;) Another for calling in the Book for Sports on the Lords day; A third, for calling in his Declaration be- fore the Articles of Religion; A fourth for calling in of all Orders for the Restraint of Preaching; A fifth, for reftrorting to their place and Miniftry all thoſe who out of Confcience of their duty to God had by the Prelates been threfut out of all for refufing to read the faid Book: And finally, for releafing and fetting at liberty the three poor banifhed prifoners, the loud cry of whose oppreffions might other- "wise provoke the thunderbolt of Divine Revenge to blast the beauty of his State.

Now as he laboured by these means to prefervre the Church of England from the growth of Popery, fo he took care for preventing the subversion of it, by the spreading of the Socinian Heresies. He had be- fore took care for suppressing all Books of that nature which had been imported into England out of other Countries, and had received thanks for it from the Pen of a Jefuit: But Burton chargeth it upon him among
PART II. his Crimes, reproaching him for suppressing those books for no other
reason but because they magnified the Authority of the holy Scriptures;
and by the late Decree for Printing (of which more anon) he had
taken such order, that no Eggs of that pestiferous Brood should be laid
in England, or if they were, should ever peep out of the Shell, or appear
in sight. There had been published a Discourse, called, Disquisitio
Brevis, in which some of the principal Socinian Tenants were cunningly
inferted, pretending them for the best Expedients to appease
some Controversies betwixt us and Rome: The Book ascribed in
common Speech to Hales of Eaton; a man of infinite reading, and no
less ingenuity; free of Discourse, and as communicative of his know-
ledge as the Celestial Bodies of their light and influences. There part
also up and down a Discourse of Schifius, not Printed, but tranmitted
from hand to hand in written Copies (like the Bishop of Lincoln's Let-
ter to the Vicar of Grantham) intended chiefly for the encouragement
of some of our great Masters of Wit and Reason, to dispute the
Authority of the Church. Which being dispersed about this time, gave
the Archbishops occasion to send for him to Lambeth, in hope that he
might gain the man, whose abilities he was well acquainted with when
he lived in Oxon. An excellent Greekian in those days, and one whom
savil made great use in his Greek Edition of St. Chrysostomics Works.
About nine of the Clock in the Morning he came to know his Graces
pleasure, who took him along with him into his Garden, commanding
that none of his Servants should come at him upon any occasion.
Therefore he continued in discourse till the Bell rang to Prayers, and
after Prayers were ended, till the Dinner was ready, and after that
too, till the coming in of the Lord Conway and some other Persons
of honour, put a necessity upon some of his Servants to give him notice
how the time had passed away. So in they came, high coloured, and
almost panting for want of breath; enough to shew, that there had
been some heats between them, not then fully cooled. It was my
chance to be there that day, either to know his Graces pleasure, or
to render an account of some former commands, but I know not which;
and I found Hales very glad to see me in that place, as being himself
a mere stranger to it, and unknown to all. He told me afterwards,
that he found the Archbishops (whom he knew before for a nimble
Disputant) to be as well versed in books as business; That he had been
ferretted by him from one hole to another, till there was none left
to afford him any further shelter; That he was now resolved to be
Orthodox, and to declare himself a true Son of the Church of England,
both for Doctrine and Discipline; That to this end he had obtained
leave to call himself his Graces Chaplain, that naming him in his Pub-
lick Prayers for his Lord and Patron, the greater notice might be
taken of the Alteration. Thus was Hales gained unto the Church,
and gained a good preferment in it; promoted not long after by the
Archbishops Commendation to be Prebend of Windsor, and to hold
the same by special dispensation, with his place in Eaton.

Not was the Archbishop less intent upon all Advantages for keeping
down the Geneva Party; and hindring them from Printing and Pub-
lishing
lilting any thing which might disturb the Churches Peace, or corrupt L I B. IV. her Doctrine. To this end he procured a Decree to be pass'd in the Anno Dom. Star-Chamber, on July 1.* Anno 1637. to Regulate the Trade of Printing, and prevent all Abuses of that Excellent Art, to the disturbance of the Church. By which Decree it had been Ordered, That the Master-Printers from henceforth should be reduced to a certain number; and that if any other should secretly or openly pursue that Trade, he should be set in the Pillory, or whipped through the Streets, and suffer such other Punishment as that Court should inforce upon him; That none of the said Master-Printers should from henceforth Print any Book or Books of Divinity, Law, Physick, Philosophy, or Poetry, till the said Books, together with the Titles, Epistles, Prefaces, Tables, or Commentatory Verses, shall be lawfully Licensed, either by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London for the time being, or by some of their Chaplains, or by the Chancellors or Vice-Chancellors of either of the two Universities, upon pain of loosing the Exercise of his Art, and being proceeded against in the Star-Chamber, or the High-Commission Court respectively; That no Person or Persons do hereafter Re-print, or cause to be Re-printed, any Book or Books whatsoever (though formerly Printed with Licence) without being reviewed, and a new Licence obtained for the Re-printing thereof: That every Merchant, Book-seller, or other Person, who shall Import any printed Books from beyond the Seas, shall present a true Catalogue of them to the said Archbishop or Bishop for the time being, before they be delivered, or exposed to Sale, upon pain of suffering such Punishment as by either of the said two Courts respectively shall be thought fit; That none of the said Merchants, Book-sellers, or others, shall upon pain of the like Punishment, deliver any of the Books so Imported, till the Chaplains of the said Archbishop or Bishop for the time being, or some other Learned Man by them appointed, together with the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers, or one of them, shall take a view of the same, with Power to seize on all such Books which they found to be Schismatical and Offensive, and bring them to the said Archbishop or Bishop, or to the High-Commission Office: And finally, That no Merchant, Book-seller, &c. should Print, or cause to be Printed beyond the Seas, any Book or Books, which either totally, or for the greatest part, were written in the English Tongue, whether the said Books have been here formerly Printed, or not; nor shall willingly nor knowingly Import any such Books into this Kingdom, upon pain of being proceeded against in either of the said two Courts respectively, as before is said. By means of which Decree he had so provided both at home and abroad, That neither the Patience of the State should be exercised (as in former times) with continual Libels; nor the Church troubled by unwarrantable and Out-landish Doctrines.

But good Laws are of no effect without execution; and if he took no care for that, he had lost his labour. King James had manifested his dislike of the Genevian Bibles, and the Notes upon them; some of which did not only teach Dishobedience to Kings and Princes, but the murthering of them also, if they proved Idolaters; and others did not only teach the Lawfulness of breaking Faith and Promise,
PART II. when the keeping of it might conduce to the hurt of the Gospel: but
ranked Archbishops, Bishops, and all men in Holy Orders, or Academical Degrees, amongst the Locuts in the Revelation, which came
out of the Pit. That King gave Order thereupon, that the Bible of
the New Translation should be printed with no Notes at all; which
course he also recommended to the Synod of Dort, to be observed
in the new Translation of the Bible into the Dutch or German Tongue,
which was then intended. Upon this ground, the Printing of those
Bibles with Notes upon them had been forbidden in this Kingdom:
but were printed in Holland notwithstanding, and brought over hi-
ther, the better to keep up the Faction, and affront Authority. Some
of them had before been seised in Holland, by the care of Boswell
the Refident at the Hague: And in the beginning of this year, he received
Advertisement of a new Impression of the same designed for England,
if the terror of this Decree did not stop their coming. Because Hol-
land, and the rest of the Provinces under the Government of the
States, was made the Receptacle of many of our English Male-con-
tents, who there and from thence vented their own Passions, and the
Discourses of their Party in this Kingdom, to the disturbance of the
Church; it concerned him to keep a careful watch over them and their
Actions. Of these he had Advertisement from time to time, by one
John de Maire; and thereupon, by the means of Boswell his right trusty
Friend, he dealt so effectually with the States-General of those Pro-
vinces, that they made a Proclamation against the Printers and
Spreaders of Libellous and Seditious Books against the Church and
Presbiteries of England; and took Order with the Magistrates of Amster-
dam and Rotterdam (two great Towns in Holland) for apprehending
and punishing of such Englishmen as had Printed any of the said Law-
less and Unlicenfed Pamphlets.

There was a time when Queen Elizabeth beheld the Pope as her
greatest Enemy; in reference to her Mothers Marriage, her own Birth,
and consequently her Title to the Crown of England; and many of
the Books which were Printed in and about that time, were full of
bitterness and revilings against the Church of Rome itself, and all the
Divine Offices, Ceremonies, and Performances of it. There was a
time also when the Calvinian Doctrines were embraced by many for
the Genuine Doctrines of this Church, to the great countenancing of
the Genevan Discipline and Forms of Administration: And not a
few of the Books then Printed, and such as afterwards were Licenfed in
Abbot's Time, aimed principally at the Maintenance of those Opin-
ions, which the latter Times found inconsistent with the Churches
Doctrines. With equal diligence he endeavoured by his Decree to
hinder the Reprinting of the one and the other, that so the Church
might rest in quiet, without any trouble or molestation in her self, or
giving offence to any other.

As little Trouble could be feared from Lecturers, as they now were
Regulated. The greatest part of those who had been Superinduced
into other Mens Cures (like a Doctor added to the Pastor in Calvin's
Plan-form) had deserted their Stations, because they would not read
the
the Common-Prayers in their Hoods and Surplices, according to the 1628 Instructions before remembranced such as remained being either founded on a constant or certain Maintenance, or seeing how little was to be gotten by a fiery and ungoverned zeal, became more pliant and conformable to the Rules of the Church: Not a Lecturer of this kind found to stand out in some great Diocesses, to keep up the Spirits of the Faction, and create disturbances. And as for Combination-Lecturers, named for the most part by the Bishops, and to them accountable, they also were required in some places to read the second Service at the Communion-Table, to go into the Pulpit at the end of the Nicene Creed, to use no other form of Prayer than that of the 55 Canons, after the Sermon ended, to go back to the Table, and there read the Service. All which being to be done in their Hoods and Surplices, kept off the greatest part of the Rigid Calvinists from exercising their Gifts, as formerly in great Market-Towns. And as for the position of the Communion-Table, it was no longer left to private Instructions, as it was at the first, when the Inquiry went no further, than, Whether the Lords Table was so conveniently placed, that the Minister might best be seen and heard of the Congregation? The more particular disposing of it, being left to Inference, Conjecture, or some private Directions. It now began to be more openly avowed in the Visitation-Articles of several Bishops and Archdeacon, some of which we shall here produce, as a light to the rest: For thus we find it in the Articles for the Archdeaconry of Buckingham, Anno 1627. Art. 5. Have you a decent Table, or a Frame for the Holy Communion, placed at the East end of the Chancel? Is it Railed in or Enclosed, so as Men or Boys cannot sit upon it, or throw their Hats upon it? Is the said Rail and Enclosure so made with Seats and kneeling-Benches, at the foot or bottom thereof, as the Communicants may sitly kneel there at the Receiving of the Holy Communion? The like for the Diocesses of Norwich in the year before, where we find it thus, viz. Have you in your Church a Communion-Table, a Carpet of Silk? &c. Is the same placed conveniently, so as the Minister may best be heard in his Administration, and the greatest number may reverently Communicate? To that end, Doth it ordinarily stand up at the East end of the Chancel, where the Altar in former times stood, the ends thereof being placed North and South? And in another Article it is thus inquired, viz. Do all your Parishioners, of what sort soever, according as the Church expressly then commandeth, draw near, and with all Christian Humility and Reverence, come to the Lords Table, when they are to receive the Holy Communion? But because these Articles might be thought too general, if not otherwise limited, certain Injunctions were annexed in Writing, in one of which it was required, That the said Tables should be Railed in, to avoid Prophanations; and secondly, That all Communicants should come up by Files, and Receive the Sacrament at the same. Which was performed in this manner: As many as could well kneel close to the Rails, came up out of the Church or Chancel, and then upon their knees received (from the Priest standing within the Rails) the Bread and Wine; who being thus Communicated, retired into the Church or Chancel, and made room for others. Which...
PART II. Which course was constantly observed, till they had all received the Sacrament in their ranks and forms, according to the ancient Custom of the Church of England; till Novelties, and Compliance with the Forms of Geneva, had introduced a deviation from their own appointments.

In this condition stood that Diocesan, as to these particulars, when Wren, translated unto Ely, left the place to Montague; who though he was as zealous, and as forward as he in railing in the Communion-Table at the East end of the Chancel where the Altar stood, (as appears by his Visitations Articles for this present year) yet he had fancied to himself a middle course between receiving at the Rail and carrying the Communion to all parts of the Church, as had been most irreverently used in too many places. And therefore that he might do somewhat to be called his own, he caused a meeting of the Clergy to be held at Ipswich for the parts adjoining, where he prescribed these following Orders:  That is to say, 1st, After the words, or Exhortation pronounced by the Minister (standing at the Communion-Table, the Parishioners as yet standing in the body of the Church) draw near, &c. all which intended to Communicate should come out of the Church into the Chancel. Secondly, That all being come in, the Chancel door should be shut, and not opened till the Communion be done; That no Communicant depart till the Difmission; That no new Communicant come in amongst them; And that no Boys, Girls, or Gazers be suffered to look in as at a Play.

Thirdly, That the Communicants being entred should be disposed of orderly in their several Ranks, leaving sufficient room for the Priest or Minister to go between them, by whom they were to be communi cated one Rank after another, till they had all of them received.

Fourthly, and finally, That after they had all received, the Priest or Minister should dismiss them with the Benediction: Which thought it differed very little from the Rules prescribed by his Predecessor, yet some diversity there was, for which he rendred an account to his Metropolitan, and was by Wren sufficiently answered in all points thereof. It was not coming up to the Rail, but going into the Chancel, which had been stoned, and opposed by the Puritan Faction, who loved to make all places equal, and to observe as little reverence in the Participation as in all other Acts of Worship: Which Montague either not considering or fancying to himself some hopes which he had no ground for, resolved to fall upon this course, which he conceived to be more agreeable to the course of Antiquity, and most consistent as he thought with the Rules of Politie. For by this condescension he presumed, as himself informs us, to keep many men at home with their Wives and Families, in obedience to his Majesties Laws, who otherwise were upon a resolution of departing the Kingdom, wherein how much he was deceived, the event discovered.

For so it was, that the people in many great trading Towns, which were near the Sea, having been long discharged of the Bond of Ceremonies, no sooner came to hear the least noise of a Conformity; but they began to spurn against it. And when they found that all their striving,
striving was in vain, that they had lost the comfort of their Lecturers, and that their Ministers began to shrink at the very name of a Visitation, it was no hard matter for those Ministers and Lecturers to persuade them to remove their dwellings, and transport their Trades. The Sun of Heaven, say they, doth shine as comfortably in other places, the Son of Righteousness much brighter: Better to go and dwell in Golgotha, find it where we can, than tarry in the midst of such an Egyptian darkness as was then falling on this Land. The sinful corruptions of the Church (said they) were now grown so general, that there was no place free from that Contagion, and infections of it; and therefore go out of her my people, and be not partaker of her sins. And hereunto they were the more easily persuaded by seeing so many Dutchmen with their Wives and Children to forsake the Kingdom; who having got Wealth enough in England, chose rather to go back to their Native Countries, than to be obliged to return to their Parish Churches, as by the Archbishops Injunctions they were bound to do. Amongst the first which separated upon this account were Goodwin, Nye, Burroughs, Bridge, and Symphon; who taking some of their followers with them, betook themselves to Holland, as their City of Refuge. There they filled up their Congregations to so great a number, that it was thought fit to be divided; Goodwin and Nye retiring unto Arnheim, a Town of Gelderland; Symphon and Bridge fixing at Rotterdam in Holland: but what became of Burroughs I am yet to seek. These men affecting neither the severe Discipline of Presbytery, nor the Licentiousness incident to Brownism, embraced Robinson’s Model of Church-Government in their Congregations, consisting of a Co-ordination of several Churches for their mutual comfort, not a Subordination of the one to the other, in the way of direction or command. Hence came that name of Independents, continued unto those amongst us, who neither associate themselves with the Presbyterians, nor embrace the Frenzies of the Anabaptists. But they soon found the Folly of their Divisions, Rotterdam growing too narrow a place for Bridge and Symphon, so that this last was forced to leave it, and Ward who succeeded him could not tarry long. More unity there was at Arnheim, where their Preachers did not think they had done enough in confirming their new Church to the Pattern which they saw in the Mount, if it were not Apostolical in the highest perfection: To which end they not only admitted of Hymns, and Prophecies which the Sifter-Congregations had not entertained: but of Widdoms, and the holy Kiss, ca'flired for the avoiding of Scandal in the Primitive times; yea, and of the Extreme Union also, the exercise whereof by Kissin and Patients I had rather the Reader should take out of the Gangrena, than expect from me.

The curteous entertainment which these people found in the Bel-gick Provinces, might easily have served for a strong temptation to bring over the rest to enjoy the like: But the Country was too narrow for them, and the Brethren of the Separation desired elbow-room for fear of Enterfearing with one another. New-England was chiefly in their eye, a Puritan Plantation from the first beginning, and there-
PART II. therefore fitter for the growth of the Zuinglian or Calvinian Gospel than any Country whatsoever. A Country first discovered to any purpose by one Captain Gofnold, Anno 1602. and in the next year more perfectly surveyed by some of Bristol; afterwards granted by King James, Anno 1606. unto a Corporation of Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants to be planted and disposed of for the Publick, under the Ordering and Direction of Chief Justice Popham, by whom a Colony was sent thither in the year next following; at what time they built St. George's Fort to secure their Haven, that they might have a door open for their going thence, which soon after followed. And though the Adventurers made a further attempt in the year 1616, yet it never settled into Form till the building of New-Plymouth, in the year 1620. and some encouragements being sent thence to bring others on, it came in very short space to flourish a growth, that no Plantation for the time ever went beyond it; New Bristol, new Epsom, and new Barnstable, being quickly added to the other. (a) The growth of old Rome and new England had the like foundation, both Sanctories for such of the neighbouring Nations as longed for Novelties and Innovations both in Church and State. But let the Reader take their Character from (b) de Laet a right good Chorographer, in the third Book of his Description of America, where he informeth us, that the first Planters, and those which followed after them were altogether of that Sect, which in England were called Brownists or Puritans; many of which had formerly betaken themselves to Holland, but afterwards departed thence to joyne with their brethren in New-England. The Churches cast into the same mould with those before, all of them following the device of Robinson, that notorious Schismatick, at the spawning of the second separation in Amsterdam: Who, to distinguish his followers from the brethren of the first separation governed by a Tryformed Presbytery of Pastors, Elders, and Deacons, introduced a new way of his own, leaving as much Exercise of Church Discipline to the whole Congregation, as was elsewhere enjoyed by the Pastors and Elders.

In this estate they stood in the year 1633. at what time John de Laet made that Character of them: Exceedingly increased in short time after, both in Men and Buildings, by those who frequently flocked thither from most parts of this Kingdom, either for fear of Punishment, or for danger of Debt, or to enjoy the folly of their Schism with the greater safety. But whatsoever were the causes of the Separation, certain I am, the crime was laid on the Archbishop of Canterbury, amongst the Articles of whose Impeachment by the House of Commons, I find this for one, viz. That in his own Person, and his Suffragans, Visitors, Surrogates, Chancellors, or other Officers by his Command, he had caused divers Learned, Pious and Orthodox Preachers of God's Word to be silenced, suspended, deprived, degraded, excommunicated, or otherwise grieved and vexed without any just and lawful cause; whereby, and by divers other means he hath hindered the Preaching of God's Word, and caused divers of his Majesties Subjects to forsake the Kingdom. So is the Judge to be accused for all those mischief, which the
condemned Malefactors, when they once brake Prison may design L I B. IV. and execute. The principal Bell-weather of these flocks, were Cotton, Chancy, Wells, Hooker, and perhaps Hugh Peters; the rest, let them look after, who affect such Company. Not much took notice of at the first, when they were few in Numbers, and inconsiderable for their Powe  but growing up so fast both in strength and multitude, they began to carry a face of danger. How unsafe must it be thought both to Church and State, to suffer such a constant Receptacle of discontented, dangerous, and schismatical Petitions, to grow up so fast; from whence, as from the Bowels of the Trojan Horse, so many Incendiaries might break out to inflame the Nation? New-England, like the Spleen in the Natural Body, by drawing to it so many full, fad, and offensive Humours, was not unuseful and unserviceable to the General Health: But when the Spleen is grown once too full, and empieith it felf into the Stomach, it both corrupts the Blood, and disturbs the Head, and leaves the whole man wearifom to himself and others. And therefore to prevent fuch mischiefs as might thence ensue, it was once under Consultation of the chief Phyfitians, who were to take especial care of the Churches Health, to fend a Bifhop over to them, for their better Government; and back him with fome Forces to compel, if he were not otherwife able to perfwade Obedience. But this Design was strangled in the firft Conception, by the violent breakings out of the Troubles in Scotland, which call upon us from this place to look towards them.

And now again we are for Scotland, where we spent the laft year in doing nothing, and hall spend this in doing that which was worse than nothing. The Infolencies of the Covenanters were now grown fo great, that some advised the King to take the Sword into his hand, and to reduce them to Obedience by force of Arms, before they had ripened their Intelligences, and formed a Party to their will both at home and abroad: But the King would not hearken to it, resolved upon his Fathers way of fending Commissioners, and trying what he might effect by Treaty and Negotiation. Which Resolution being taken, the next Confederation was for the choice of the man. The well-affected Scots pitched on the Marquifs of Huntley, a man of great Power in his own Country, true to the King, and a profefled Enemy to the Presbyterians. And to this end the Earl of Sterling, Principal Secretary of Estate, the Bishops of Ross and Brechin Privy-Counsellors both, Hay the Clerk-Register, and Spottwood Lord President of the Seffions (a most deferving Son of a Reverend Father) made a journey thence unto the King, and urged their beft Endeavours with him, to commit the managing of that great Truft into Huntley's hands: But the Court-Faction carried it for the Marquifs Hamilton, whose Head was better than his Heart, a notable Difsembler, true only to his own ends, and a moft excellent Actor in the Art of Infination, by which he frewed himfelf fo far into his Majefties good opinion, that whofoever undertook the unriveting of him, made him falter in it. And fo far had the man prevailed by his Arts and Instruments, that the Duke of Lenox was brought over to contribute his Affiftances.
PART II. to him; and rather chose to commend the known Enemy of his House
Anne Douglas to that great Employment, than that a private Country-Gentleman
1638. (such as Huntley was) should carry the Honour from them both. And
therefore briefly in this place to speak of Hamilton, and his Proceed-
ings in the weighty Charge committ'd to him (in which he hath been
generally suspected to betray his Master) we will fetch the Story some-
what higher, that we may see what ends he aimed at for himself, and
what inclined him rather to foment than quench the flames which had
been kindled in that Kingdom.

Know therefore, That the Hamiltonian Family derives it self from
one Hamilton an Englishman, who went to try what Fortunes he could
find in Scotland: Neither himself nor his Posterity of any great note,
till James III. bearing a great affection to Sir James Hamilton, married
him to one of his Sisters whom he had forcibly taken from the Lord
Boyd her former Husband. From this unlawful Marriage descended
another James, the Grandchild of this, as impious and adulterous in
his second Marriage, as his Grandmother had been before: For having
married a Wife of one of the Noble Houses of Scotland, he put her
shamefully away, and took into his Bed, a Niece of Cardinal Berton's,
who then swayed all things in that Kingdom. Of this last Marriage
came John Earl of Arran, Created by King James VI. the first Marquis
of Hamilton, the Father of John, and Grandfather of James Marquifs
of Hamilton, of whom we now speak. This man considering with
himself, that he was descendent from a Daughter of King James II. (but
without taking notice of any intervenient Flaws which, occurred in
the Pedigree) conceived by little and little, That a Crown would look
as lovely upon his Head, as on the Heads of any which descended
from a Daughter of James V. To give some life unto his Fancies,
he found the Great Men amongst the Scots in high discontentments,
about the Revocation of Church-Lands, which the King then buily
intended: The Popular Party in England no less discontented,
by the Dissolving of three Parliaments one after another; and the
Puritans in both, by the great Power and Credit which some Bishops
had attained unto, in either Kingdom. In which conjuncture, it was not
hard for him to conceive, That he might make unto himself a
strong Party in That, without fear of any opposition to be made
from This. And so far had his hopes gone with him, when he ob-
tained the Conduct of an Army, intended by his Majesty for affil-
ing of the King of Sweden in the Wars of Germany: An Army for
the most part raised in Scotland, and most of the Commanders of that
Nation also, whom he had obliged unto him by his Arts and Flatter-
ties, that a Health was openly begun by David Ramsay (a boisterous
Ruffian of that Court) to King James the Seventh: And so much of
the Design was discovered by him unto Donald M'knie, Baron of Rich,
than being in the Marquisses Camp, that the Loyal Gentleman
thought himself bound in duty to make it known unto the King. Rams-
sey denying the whole matter, and the Lords having no proof thereof
(as in such secret Practices it could hardly be) more then a confident
affeervation, and the engagement of his Honour, the King thought good
to
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

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to refer the Controversie to the Earl of Lindsey, whom he made Lord L I B. IV. High-Constable to that end and purpose. Many days were spent ac-
cordingly in pursuance of it: But when most men expected that the
matter would be tried by Battel, as had been accustomed in such cases,
the Business was hushed up at Court, the Lord Kee dismissed to his
Employment in the Wars, and, contrary to the mind of all good men,
the Marquis did not only continue in the Kings great Favour: but
Ramfey was permitted to hold the Place of Gentleman of the Privy-
Chamber, which had been formerly procured for him.

As for the Army of Scots, consisting of 7000. if my memory fail not,
transported into Germany in the Summer before, Anno 1631. they
mouldred away by little and little, without acting any thing; the
King of Sweden being then in a prosperous condition, and not desiring
the Scots should carry away any part of the Spoil and Honour which
he doubted not of acquiring to his own Nation in the course of the
War. This puts the Marquis upon new Counsels; and in the course
of these new Counsels, he was not only to foment those Animosities
which had been raised in that Nation against the King, but to remove
all those Impediments which might lye in the way betwixt him and his
affected Greatnes. Two men there were whom he more feared than
all the rest, both of the House of Graham, and both descended from
a Son of King Robert the Second; and that too by a clearer Descent,
than the Hamiltons could pretend from the Daughter of King James ii.
The first was William Earl of Menteith, descended from an Heir-ge-
genral of David Earl of Stratherne, one of the younger Sons of King
Robert ii. as before was said: A man of sound Abilities and approved
Affections, and therefore by the King made President of the Council
in Scotland: In which Office he behaved himself, and stood fo stolutely
in behalf of the King his Master upon all occasions, that nothing could
be done for Advance of Hamiltons Designs, till he was removed from
that Place. In order whereunto it was put into his head by some of
that Faction, that he should fie unto the King to be Created Earl of
Stratherne, as the first and most honourable Title which belonged to
his House; That his Merits were fo great, as to affume him not to
meet with a denial; and that the King could do no less than to give
him some nominal Reward for his real Services. On these Sugges-
tions, he repaired to the Court of England 1632. where without any
great difficulty, he obtained his Suit, and waited on the King the
most part of the Summer-Progres; no man being so openly honoured,
and courted by the Scottif Nation, as he seemed to be: But no soon-
er was he gone for Scotland, but the Hamiltonians terrifed the King
with the Dangers which he had run into by that Creation, whereby
he had revived in that proud and ambitious Person, the Rights which
his Ancestors pretended to the Crown of Scotland: That the King
could not choose but fee how generally the Scots flock’d about him
(after his Creation) when he was at the Court, and would do so
much more when he was in Scotland: And finally, That the proud
man already had so far declared himself, as to give it out, That the
King held the Crown of him. Hereupon a Commission was speedily
posted

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PART II. anno Dom. 1638.

posted into Scotland (in which those of Hamiltons Faction made the greatest number) to inquire into his Life and Actions, and to consider of the Inconveniences which might redound unto the King by his affecting this new Title. On the Return whereof, the poor Gentleman is removed from his Office, from being one of the Privy Council; and not only deprived of the Title of the Earl of Strathberrne, but of that also of Monteith, which for a long time had remained in his Ancestors. And though he was not long after made Earl of Arrth, yet this great fall did so discourage him from all Publick Business, that he retired to his own House, and left the way open to the Hamiltonians to play their own Game as they lifted. Faithful for all this to the King, in all changes of Fortune; neither adhering to the Covenanters, nor giving the least countenance to them, when he might not only have done it with safety, but with many personal Advantages which were tendered him.

The other Bar to be thrust back, was the Earl of Montross, of the same House, and descended from the same Original, as plausible with the Souldiers and Men of War, as his Cozin of Monteith was powerful at the Council-Table. This man returning out of France in the flower and Bravery of his Age, had an intent of putting himself into the Kings Service, and was advised to make his way by the Marquis of Hamilton; who, knowing the Gallantry of the Man, and fearing a Competitor in his Majesties Favour, cunningly told him, That he would do him any Service: but that the King was so wholly given up to the English, and so disincentenced and slighted the Scottish Nation, that were it not for doing Service to his Country (which the King intended to reduce into the form of a Province) he could not suffer the Indignities which were put upon him. This done, he repairs unto the King, tells him of the Earls return from France, and of his purpose to attend him at the time appointed: but that he was so Powerful, so Popular, and of such esteem amongst the Scots, by reason of an old Descent from the Royal Family, that if he were not nipped in the bud (as we use to say) he might endanger the Kings interest and affairs in Scotland. The Earl being brought unto the King, with very great demonstrations of affection on the Marquis his part, the King without taking any great notice of him, gave him his hand to kiss, and so turned aside; which confirmed him in the Truth of that false Report, which Hamilton had delivered to him: So that in great displeasure and disdain, he makes for Scotland. There finds he Colonel Alexander Leffy (an obscure fellow, but made rich with the Spoils of Germany) as discontented as himself, for being denied the honourable Title of a Baron, which he ambitiously sought for at the Kings being there. And he found them there also, who perceived on what foot he halted, and knew well how to work on such humours as he brought along with him, till by seconding the Information which he had brought from Hamilton, they had fashioned him wholly to their will: For they prevailed so far upon him, that at the first he cordially espoused their Quarrel against the Liturgie and Canons, and whatsoever else they found fault withal in the Publick Government; he being one of thole
Great Persons (and as forward as any of them all) who published a L.I.B. AV; Proclamations at the Cross in Edenborough, against one of his Majesties Anno Dom., Proclamations of Grace and Favour. But afterwards being displeased that Lefty was preferred before him in Commanding the Army, and looking thereupon more carefully into the depth of the Design than at first he did, he estranged himself from them by degrees, and at last became the most eminent Instrument that ever his Majesty employed in his Wars with that People.

But Hamilton had another remove to make, without which all the rest were nothing; and that was the removing of the Earl of Mar from the Custody and Command of the Castle of Edenborough (some time Hereditary to that House) and gaining it unto himself. To this Remove the Earl contented, because he found how earnestly his Majesty desired it of him; from whom he received a Compensation in Money for it. At so great charge was the King, to put Hamilton into as full possession of the Strengths of that City, as he had got before in the hearts of the Citizens. The way being thus prepared, and all Rubs removed, on Saturday May 26. he set forwards for Scotland, and in short time came to Dalkeith, an Houfe of the Earl of Mortons four Miles from Edenborough, where he repose himself a while; that he might make his Entry into the City with the greater honour. After some seeming diffidences betwixt him and the Covenanters, he puts himself into Holy-Rood House, where the first thing he did, was the waving of his Attendance at the Reading of the English Liturgie, which had been settled in the Chapel-Royal of that Houfe by the care of King James, Anno 1617. and after some neglects and intermissions, restored by the Piety of King Charles, Anno 1633. as before was signified. It was no hard matter to discern by his acts in this, whole Game it was he meant to play, for what it was that he had held the shuffling of the Cards so long, and who was like to win the Set, when none but he had the dealing of them: For he supplied the King from one time to another, sometimes by representing the extreme difficulties, and sometimes the apparent dangers in which his Affairs there stood involved; that he drew him to fling up all in less than three Months, which King James and he had been projecting above thrice ten years. For first, by his Proclamation bearing date June 28. he suspends the present execution of the Canons and Liturgies, dischargeth all Acts of Council made, for the establiſhment of them, and promiseth to regulate the High-Commission, that it should neither impugn the Laws, nor be a jurt grievance to the Subject. By a second, bearing date September 9. he dischargeth the Liturgie, Canons, and High-Commission (this last being of King James his instituting, Anno 1610.) recinding all Proclamations and Acts whatsoever, which had been made for the establiſhment of the fame; and by the fame, suspends the executing of the Five Articles of Perth, though confirmed by Parliament. By the fame also he subjecteth all his Ministers, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, to the Cenſure of Parliaments, General Assemblies, or any other competent Judicatory: And frees all Ministers at their Entry from taking the Oath of Canonical Obedience, that againſt Synonie, or any other not enjoined by Acts of Parliament.

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PART II. By the same also he commands the Subscribing of the Confession of Faith, with the Band thereunto annexed, which the Covenanters before had press'd on the People, and upon which they had placed such a great part of their confidence, that they solemnly protested to Hamilton at his first coming thither, That they would rather renounce their Baptism, than relinquish their Covenant. And this he did for no other Reason, as appears by a Letter of the same date to the Lords of the Council, than to legitimate the Rebellion; because not being warranted before by Regal Authority, it must needs be in it self ineffectual, and prejudicial to the Antient Form of Government kept within that his Kingdom of Scotland. And finally, by his Royal Edict, bearing date the 22d. of the same month, he gives Order for a General Assembly, to be held at Glasgow on November 21. next following; in which he could not but be sure, that after so many previous Condeccensions on his part, they would be able to do whatsoever they listed in defiance of him.

For, before the assembly was Indicted, the Covenanters had so laid the Plot, that none but those of their own Party should have Suffrage in it; as afterwards by several Orders from their Tables, they directed that no Chaplain, nor Chapter-man, nor any who have not subscribed the Covenant, should be chosen to it; not suffering the Archbishops or Bishops to sit as Moderators in their Presbyteries, where the Elections were to pass; and citing them to appear as Criminal Persons at the said Assembly: by means of which Exclusions and Prelimitations, the greatest part of the Assembly did consist of such as either were irregularly chosen by the over-ruuling Voices of Lay-Elders which were thrust upon them, or else not capable of being Elected, some of them being under the Censures of the Kirk of Scotland, others under the Censures of the Church of Ireland, and some not having taken the Oath of Supremacy required by the Laws of the Land. Upon which just and weighty Reasons, as also the Admission of the Schismatical Clergy to sit as Judges over their Bishops; the intrusion of so many Lay-Elders, contrary to the Constitution of former General Assemblies; the countenancing of a scandalous Libel against their Function and Persons; and the prejudging of their Cause in their several Presbyteries, by excluding them from having any Vote in the said Assembly, when they were not present to interpose or speak any thing in their own behalf, the Archbishops and Bishops, in the name of themselves, and all which did adhere unto them, prepared their Declinator or Protestation against the said General Assembly, and all the Acts and Conclusions of it, as being void, and null in Law to all intents and purposes whatsoever. The day being come, Hamilton marcheth to the place appointed for the Sessyon, in the equipage of a High-Commissioner, the Sword and Seal being carried before him, the Lords of the Council, and all the Officers of State, attending on him like a King indeed. The reading of his Commission, the putting in and rejecting of the Declinator, the chusing of Henderson to be Moderator of the Assembly, the constituting of the Members of it, and some Debates touching the Votes and Suffrages, challenged by Hamilton for such as were Assailers to
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

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to him, took up all the time between their first Meeting and their

L.I.B. IV.

Diffolution, which was by Proclamation solemnly declared on the

Anna Dom.

twenty ninth of the same Month, having sate one eight days by the

1638.

Kings Authority.

For notwithstanding the said Diffolution, the Members of the said

Assembly continued and kept their Session, and therein paffed many

Acts for the utter overthrow of the Politie and Government of the

Church, the infringing of his Majesties Prerogative Royal, and viol-

ating the Authority of Parliaments. For they not only Excommu-

nicated the Bishops and their Adherents, but condemned the very

Function it felf to be Antichriftian, and utterly to be abolished out of

the Church; notwithstanding that several Parliaments had confirmed

the fame. The like Censure they also past on the Service-Book and

Canons, with the five Articles of Perth; though the two first received

the Stamp of Royal Authority, and the five laft were confirmed in

Parliament also. They condemned in one breath all the Arminian

Tenents, in cafe of Predestination, without examining the Arguments

on which they were built; and declared all men subject to Excommu-
nication, and other Cenfures of the Church, whofould refuse to yield

obedience to all their unlawful Actings and Determinations. And

though his Majesty by the fame Proclamation had commanded all his

faithful Subjects not to yield any obedience to their Acts and Ordi-
nances, and bound onfelf in the Word of a King to defend them in

it; yet tho' of the Assembly were resolved to maintain their Au-

thority. For notwithstanding his Majesties late Declaration and Com-
mands, not only the Bishops and Clergy, but also as many of the Lay as

had refused to fubfcribe to the Acts thereof, were deprived of their

Offices and Preferments, banifhed their Country, and forced to flye

into England, or other places, the King not being able to protect them

from the power and malice of their Adverfaries. For having loft the

opportunity of suppressing them in their first Infurrection in the year

precedent, and afterwards of reducing them by force of Arms in the

year next following, he was forced to shuffle up fhuch a Pacification in

the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, Anno 1641, as left his Party desti-

tute of all protection, but what they found in England by his Majesties

Favour in providing the Clergy of fome small Benefices for their pre-

sent subsittance, which possibly might amount to more than formerly

they enjoyed in their own Country.

And yet the Covenanters did not play all parts in this Assembly, the

King and his Commissioner had one part to act, which was the present-

ing of a Declaration, containing the sum and substance of all his Majes-
ties gracious Condefcensions, expref in the feveral Proclamations be-

fore remembred, and a Command to have it registred in the Acts

and Records thereof. But upon what considerations and reaons of

State his Majesty might be moved to commit that Paper to be registred

amongft the Acts of Assembly, is beyond my reach. For though many

times the wisefl Princes have fent out Proclamations of Grace for re-
drefs of Grievances, and pardoning of fore-palt offences; yet were

those Proclamations and Acts of Grace beheld no otherwife than as
PART II. temporary and occasional Remedies for the present mischiefs, not to be drawn into Example, and much less put upon Record for the times ensuing: his Majesties Condefcensions had been large enough, and too much to the prejudice of his Crown and Dignity, without this Enrollment. Nor wants it somewhat of a Riddle, that at such time as Hamilton tendred the Paper of his Majesties gracious Condefcensions for discharging of the Service-Book, &c. to be enrolled amongst the Acts of the Assembly, he both declared, and protested that his fo doing should be no acknowledgment of the lawfulness and validity of that Convention which was instantly to be disfolved: or that his Majesty should give order to have those Acts of Grace and Favour enrolled in the Records of the Assembly, to stand full and sure to all his good Subjects for their assurance of and in the true Religion; which Assembly at the same time he declared to be illegal, and all the Acts thereof to be null and void. I must confess I am not Oedipus enough for to dark a sphinx, and must therefore leave this depth of State-craft to more able heads. Only I cannot chuse but note, how little his Majesty got by those Condefcensions; the stubborn and rebellious Scots being so far, unsatisfied with thes Acts of Grace, that they not only forced all those who adhered unto him to fly the Country: but intercepted his Revenues, feazed on all his Forts and Castles, and put themselves into a posture of open War. And that they might be able to manage it with the greater credit, they called home some of their Commanders out of Germany, and some which served under the Pay of the States General: so far prevailing with those States as to continue such Commanders in their Pay and Places as long as they remained in the Service of the Scotch Covenanters. A favour which his Majesty could not get at their hands, nor had he so much reason to expect it as the others had, if considered rightly. It had been once their own case; and they conceived they had good reason to maintain it in others.

It may defervingly be a matter of no small amazement, that this poor and unprovided Nation, should dare to put such bafles and affronts upon their Lawful King; the King being back by the united Forces of England and Ireland, obeyed at home, and rendred formidable unto all his Neighbours by a puissant Navy, they must have some affurances more than ordinary which might enflame them to this height; and what they were it may not be amid to enquire into. First then they had the King for their natural Country-man, born in that Air, preferring a good affection for them to the very last; and who by giving them the Title of his Antient and Native Kingdom (as he did most commonly) gave them some reason to believe, that he valued them above the English. They had in the next place such a strong Party of Scots about him, that he could neither stir or speak, scarce so much as think, but they were made acquainted with it. In the Bed-Chamber they had an equal number of Gentlemen, and seven Grooms for one; in the Presence-Chamber more than an equal number amongst the Gentlemen Ushers, Quarter-Waiters, &c. In the Privy-Chamber, besides the Carvers and Cup-bearers, such a disproportion of the Gentlemen belonging to it, that once at a full Table of Waiters, each
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

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each of them having a Servant or two to attend upon him, I and my L I B. IV. man were the only English in all the Company. By which the King was so observed, and betrayed withal, that as far as they could find his meaning by Words, by Signs, and Circumstances, or the silent language of a fhrug, it was posted presently into Scotland, some of his Bed-Chamber being grown so bold and saucy, that they used to Ran-fack his Pockets when he was in bed, to transcribe such letters as they found, and send the Copies to their Countrymen in the way of intelligence. A thing so well known about the Court, that the Archbishop of Canterbury in one of his Letters, gave him this memento, that he should not trust his Pockets with it. For Offices of trust and credit they were as well accommodated as with those of service, Hamilton Master of the Horfe, who stocked the Stables with that People; The Earl of Morton, Captain of his Majefties Guard; The Earl of Acre, Keeper of the Privy Purfe; The Duke of Lenox, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle; Balfore Lieutenant of the Tower, the Fortrefs of moft power and command in England; And Wemmys, the Master Gunner of his Majefties Navy, who had the felling of the Stores, and Ammunition, designed unto it. Look on them in the Church, and we shall find fo many of that Nation befieged and preferred in all parts of this Country, that their Ecclefaftical Revenues could not but amount to more then all the yearly Rents of the Kirk of Scotland; and all of these scarce one in ten, who did not cordially efpoufe and promote their Cause amongft the People. They had bedefide no lefs affurance of the English Puritans than they had of their own; those in Court (of which there was no very small number) being headed by the Earl of Holland) those in the Country by his Brother the Earl of Warwick; the fift being aptly called in a Letter of the Lord Conway to the Lord Archbifhop, The spiritual, and invisible head, the other, The visible and temporal head of the Puritan Faction. And which was more than all the reft, they had the Marquif of Hamilton for their Lord and Patron, of fo great power about the King, fuch authority in the Court of England, fuch a powerful influence on the Council of Scotland, and fuch a general Command over all that Nation, that his pleafure amongft them paft for Law, and his words for Oracles; all matters of Grace and Favour acribed to him, matters of harshness or diflaffeci the King or Canterbury. To speak the matter in a word, he was grown of Scots in Fact, though not in Title; His Majefty being looked on by them as a Cypher only in the Arithmetick of State.

But notwithstanding their confidence in all these Items, taking in the Imprimis too, they might have reckoned without their Hofl in the Summa Totalis, the English Nation being generally difaffecteci to them, and passionatiely affecting the Kings quarrel againft them. The feme and apprehenfion of fo many indignities prevailed upon the King at laft to unfeath the Sword, more juftly in it felf, and more juftifiably in the right of others; the Rebels having rejected all his offers of Grace and Favour, and growing the more insolent by his Condefeantions. So that resolved, or rather forced upon the War, he must
PART II. bethink himself of means to go thorow with it: To which end Bar-

Anne Dom. rows the Principal King of Arms, is commanded to search into the

1638. Records of the Tower, and to return an Extract of what he found re-

lating to the War of Scotland; which he presented to the Archbishop in the end of December, to this effect, viz. 1. "That such Lords and o-

thers as had Lands and Livings upon the Borders, were commanded 

to reside there with their Retinue; and those that had Castles there, 

were enjoined to Fortify them. 2. That the Lords of the King-

dom were Summoned by Writ, to attend the Kings Army with Horfe 

and Armour at a certain time and place, according to their Service 

due to the King; or repair to the Exchequer before that day, and 

and make Fine for their Service: As also were all Widows, Dow-

agers of such Lords as were deceased; and so were all Bishops and 

Ecclesiastical Persons. 3. That Proclamations were likewise made 

by Sheriffs in every County, That all men holding the King by 

Knights-service or sergeanty, should come to the Kings Army, or 

make Fines as aforesaid; with a strict command, That none should 

conceal their Service under a great Penalty. 4. As also, That all 

men having 40l. Land per annum, should come to the Kings Army 

with Horfe and Armour; of which if any failed to come or to make 

Fine, their Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels were distrain-

ed by the Sheriff upon Summons out of the Exchequer. 5. That 

Commissions should be issued out for Levying of Men in every 

County, and bringing them to the Kings Army; That the like be 

done for Musterling and Arraying the Clergy throughout England; 

or otherwise, to furnish the King with a proportion of Ar-

med Men for the present Service. 6. That Writs be issued out 

into all Counties, for certifying the King what number of Horse and 

Foot every County could afford him in his Wars with Scotland. 

7. The like alfo to the Borders, requiring them to come unto the 

Kings Army well armed; Commissions to be made for punishing such 

as refused. 8. That the Sheriffs of the Counties were commanded 

by Writ to make Provisions of Corn and Victuals for the Kings Ar-

my, and to cause them to be carried to the place appointed. The 

like Command sent to the Merchants in the Port-Towns of England 

and Ireland; and the Ships of the Subject taken to Transport such 

Provisions to the place assigned. 9. Several Sums of Money raised 

by Subsidies and Fifteens from the English Subject, and Aid of Mo-

ney given and lent by the Merchant-Strangers, toward the Mainte-

nance of the War. 10. That the King used to suspend the payment 

of his Debts for a certain time, in regard of the great occasions he 

had to use Money in the Wars of Scotland. Other Memorials were 

returned to the same effect: but these the principal.

According to these Instructions, his Majesty directs his Letters to the 

Temporal Lords, his Writs to the High-Sheriffs, his Orders to the 

Lord-Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants in their several Counties, 

his Proclamations generally to all his Subjects; Requiring of them all 

such Aids and Services in his present Wars, as either by Laws, or An-

tient Customs of the Land, they were bound to give him. He caused 

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an Order also to be made by the Lords of the Council, directed to the two Archbishops, January 29. by which they were Required and Commanded, "To write their several and respective Letters to all the Lords Bishops in their several Provinces respectively, forthwith to convene before them all the Clergy of Ability in their Diocesses, and to incite them by such ways and means as shall be thought best by their Lordships, to aid and assist his Majesty with their speedy and liberal Contributions, and otherwise, for defence of his Royal Person, and of this Kingdom: And that the same be sent to the Lord Treasurer of England with all diligence: Subscribed by the Lord Keeper Coventry, the Bishop of London Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Manchester Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Lindsey Lord great Chamberlain, the Earl of Arundel Earl-Marshal, the Earl of Dorset Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, the Earl of Pembroke Lord Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of Holland Chancellor of Cambridge, Cottington Master of the Wards, Vane Treasurer of the Houhold, Cook and Windebank the two Principal Secretaries. Which Warrant, whether it proceeded from the Kings own motion, or was procured by the Archbishop himself to promote the Service, is not much material: Certain I am, that he conformed himself unto it with a cheerful diligence, and did accordingly direct his Letters to his Suffragan Bishops in this following form.

My very good Lord,

I have received an Order from the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, giving me notice of the great Preparations made by some of Scotland, both of Arms and all other Necessaries for War: And that this can have no other end, than to invade or annoy this his Majesties Kingdom of England. For his Majestys having a good while since, most graciously yielded to their Demands for securing the Religion by Law established amongst them, both made it appear to the World, That it is not Religion but Sedition that stirs in them, and fills them with this most irreligious Disobedience, which at last breaks forth into a high degree of Treason against their Lawsful Sovereign. In this Case of so great danger both to the State and Church of England, your Lordships, I doubt not, and your Clergie under you, will not only be vigilant against the close Workings of any Pretenders in that kind: but very free also to your Power and Proportion of means left to the Church, to contribute toward the raising of such an Army, as, by Gods Blessing and his Majesties Care, may secure this Church and Kingdom from all intended Violence. And according to the Order sent unto me by the Lords (a Copy whereof you shall herewith receive) these are to pray your Lordship to give a good Example in your own Person, and with all convenient speed to call your Clergie, and the able Schoolmasters (as well those which are in Peculiars as others) and excite them by your self, and such Commissioners as you will answer for, to contribute to this Great and Necessary Service; in which if they give not a good Example, they will be much too blame. But you are to call no poor Curates, nor Stipendaries: but such as in other Legal ways of Payment...
PART II. have been, and are by Order of Law bound to pay. The Proportion I know not well how to prescribe you: but I hope they of your Clergie whom God hath blessed with better Estates than Ordinary, will give freely, and thereby help the want of Means in others. And I hope also your Lordship will so order it, as that every man will at the least give after the Proportion of 3s. 10d. in the Pound, of the valuation of his Living, or other Preferments, in the Kings Books. And this I thought fit to let you further know, that if any man have double Benefices, or a Benefice and a Prebend, or the like, in divers Diocesses; yet your Lordship must call upon them only for such Preferments as they have within your Diocese, and leave them to pay for any other which they hold, to the Bishop in whose Diocese their Preferments are. As for the time, your Lordship must use all the diligence you can, and send up the Moneys if it be possible by the first of May next. And for your Indemnity, the Lord Treasurer is to give you such discharge, by striking a Tally or Tallies upon your several Payments into the Exchequer, as shall be fit to secure you without your Charge. Your Lordship must further be pleased to send up a List of the Names of such as refuse this Service within their Diocese: but I hope none will put you to that trouble. It is further exprest, that your Lordship, and every other Bishop, express by it itself, and not in the general Sum of his Clergie, that which himself gives. And of this Service you must not fail. So to God's blessed Protection I leave you, and rest,

Lambeth, Jan. ult. 1638.

Your Lordships very Loving Friend and Brother,

WILL. CANT.

On the receiving of these Letters, the Clergy were Convented in their several Diocesses, encouraged by their several Ordinaries not to be wanting to his Majesty in the Present Service, and divers Preparations used before hand to dispose them to it; which wrought so powerfully and effectually on the greatest part of them (those which with'd well unto the Scots, seeming as forward in it as any other) that their Contributions mounted higher than was expected. The Benevolence of the Diocese of Norwich only amounting to 2016l. 16s. 5d. The Archdeaconry of Winchester only, to the sum of 1305 l. 5s. 8d. And though we may not conclude of all the rest by the greatness of these, yet may it be very safely said, that they did all exceeding bountifully in their several proportions, with reference to the extent of their Diocesses, and the ability of their Estates. Nor were the Judges of the several Benches of the Courts at Westminister, and the great Officers under them, Protonotaries, Secondarys, and the like, deficient in expressing their good affections to this general cause; in which the safety of the Realm, was as much concerned as his Majesties honour. And for the Doctors of the Laws, Chancellors, Commissaries, Officials, and other Officers belonging to the Ecclesiastical Courts, they were spurred on to follow the example of the Secular Judges (as having a more particular concernment in it) by a Letter
fent from the Archbishop to the Dean of the Arch, on February 11, 1638. and by him communicated to the rest. By which Free-will offerings on the one side, some commanded duties on the other, and the well- husbanding of his Majesty's Revenue by the Lord Treasurer, he was put into such a good condition, that he was able both to raise and maintain an Army with no charge to the Common Subject: but only a little Coat and Conduit mony at their first setting out. These preparations were sufficient to give notice of a War approaching without any further denouncing of it by a publick Herald; and yet there was another accident which seemed as much to fore-signify it as those preparations. Mary de Medices, the Widow of King Henry IV. of France, and Mother to the Queens of England and Spain, arrived at Harwich on October 19, and on the last of the same was with great State conducted through the Streets of London to his Majesty's Palace of St. James. A Lady which for many years, had not lived out of the smell of Powder, and a guard of Muskets at her door, embroyled in wars and troubles when she lived in France, and drew them after her into Flanders, where they have ever since continued. So that most men were able to presage a Tempest, as Mariners by the appearing of some Fish, or the flying of some Birds about their ships, can foresee a storm. His Majesty had took great care to prevent her coming, knowing full well how chargeable a guest she would prove to him, and how unwelcome to the Subject. To which end Bofwel was commanded to use all his wits for persuading her to stay in Holland, whither she had retired from Flanders in the year precedent. But she was wedded to her will, and possibly had received such invitations from her Daughter here, that nothing but everlasting foul weather at Sea, and a perpetual cross wind, could have kept her there.

All things provided for the War, his Majesty thought fit to satisfy his good Subjects of both Kingdoms, not only of the Justice which appeared in this Action: but in the unavoidable necessity which enforced him to it. To which end he acquaints them by his Proclamation, of the 20. of February, "How traiterously some of the Scottifh Nation had practiced to pervert his Loyal Subjects of this Realm, by scattering abroad their Libellous and Seditious Pamphlets, mingling themselves at their publick meetings, and reproaching both his Person and Government, That he had never any intention to alter their Religion or Laws, but had condescended unto more for defence there of than they had reason to expect; That they had rejected the Band and Covenant which themselves had prefixed upon the people, because it was commended to them by his Authority; and having made a Covenant against God and him, and made such Hostile preparations, as if he were their sworn Enemy, and not their King; That many of them were men of broken Fortunes, who because they could not well be worse, hoped by engaging in this War to make themselves better; That they had assumed unto themselves the power of the Pref, one of the chief marks of the Regal Authority, prohibiting to Print what he commanded, and commanding to Print what he prohibited, and dismissing the Printer whom he had established
PART II. "in that Kingdom; That they had raised Arms, blockt up and be-

sieg'd his Castles, laid Impositions and Taxes upon his people,
threatened such as continued under Loyalty, with force and violence;
That they had contemned the Authority of the Council-Table, and
set up Tables of their own, from which they send their Edicts
throughout all parts of the Kingdom, contrary to the Laws therein
established, pretending in the mean time that the Laws were vi-
olated by himself; That the question was not now, whether the Ser-
vice-Book should be received or not, or whether Episcopacy should
continue or not, but whether he were King or not; That many of
them had denied the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance (for
which some of them had been committed) as inconsistent, and in-
comptable with their holy Covenant; That being brought under a
necessity of taking Arms, he had been traduced in some of their
writings for committing the Arms he had then rais'd, into the hands
of profecled Popifls, a thing not only dhillonourable to himself, and
the said noble persons, but false and odious in itself; That some of po-
wer in the Hierarchy had been defamed for being the cause of his taking
Arms to invite that Kingdom, whom on the contrary had been only Counsil-
ers of peace, and the chief persinaders (as much as in them lay) of
the undeserved moderation wherewith he had hitherto proceeded toward
some offendours; That he had no intent by commending the Ser-
vice-Book unto them, to innovate any thing at all in their Religion,
but only to create a conformity between the Churches of both King-
doms, and not to infringe any of their Liberties which were accord-
ing to the Laws; That therefore he required all his loving Subjects
not to receive any more of the said seditious Pamphlets, but to de-
liver such of them as they had received, into the hands of the next
Justice of the Peace, by him to be sent to one of his Majesties prin-
cipal Secretaries; And finally, That this his Proclamation and De-
claration be read in time of Divine Service in every Church within
the Kingdom, that all his People to the meanest, might see the noto-
rious carriages of these men, and likewise the Justice and Mercy of
all his proceedings.

And now his Majesty is for Action, beginning the Journey towards
the North, March 27, being the Anniversary day of his Inauguration.
His Army was advanced before, the best for quality of the Persons,
compleatness of Arms, number of serviceable Horse, and necessary
Provision of all sorts, that ever waited upon a King of England to a War
with Scotland. Most of the Nobility attended on him in their Per-
sions; and such as were to be excused for Age and indisposition, testi-
fied their affections to his Majesties Service in good Sums of Money.
The Flower of the English Gentry would not stay behind, but cheer-
fully put themselves into the Action, upon a confidence of getting ho-
our for themselves, as well as for their King or Country; many of
which had been at great charge in furnishing themselves for this Ex-
pedition, on an assurance of being repaid in Favours what they spent
in Treasure. And not a few of our old Commanders, which had
been trained up in the Wars of Holland, and the King of Sweden,
defserted.
deserted their Employments there to serve their Sovereign, whether L I B. IV. with a greater gallantry or affection, it is hard to say. The Horfe computed to 6000., as good as ever charged on a standing Enemy; 1638. The Foot of a sufficient number, though not proportionable to the Horfe, stout men, and well affected for the most part to the Cause in hand; the Cannon, Bullets, and all other sorts of Ammunition, nothing inferior to the rest of the Preparations. An Army able to have trampled all Scotland under their feet, (Gods ordinary providence concurring with them) and made the King as absolutely Master of that Kingdom as any Prince could be of a conquered Nation. The chief Command committed to the Earl of Arundel, who, though not baffled toward Rome, (as the Scots reported him) was known to be no friend to the Puritan Faction: The Earl of Holland having been Captain of his Majesties Guard, and formerly appointed to conduct some fresh Recruits to the Isle of Rhee, was made Lieutenant of the Horfe. And the Earl of Essex, who formerly had been some service in Holland, and very well understood the Art of War, Lieutenant-General of the Foot. Besides which power that marcht by Land, there were some other Forces embarqued in a considerable part of the Royal Navy, with plenty of Coin and Ammunition, which was put under the command of Hamilton (who must be of the Quorum in all busineses) with order to ply about the Coasts of Scotland, and thereby to surrifice their Ships, and destroy their Trade, and make such further attempts to Landward, as opportunity should offer, and the nature of affairs require.

It is reported (and I have it from a very good hand) that when the old Archbishop of St. Andrews, came to take his leave of the King, at his setting forward toward the North, he desired to give his Majesty three Advertisements before his going. The first was, That his Majesty would suffer none of the Scottish Nation to remain in his Army, affuring him that they would never fight against their Countrymen: but rather hazard the whole Army by their tergiverfation. The second was, that his Majesty would make a Catalogue of all his Counsellors, Officers of Household, and domestick Servants; and having fo done, would with his Pen obliterate and expunge the Scots, beginning first with the Archbishop of St. Andrews himself who had given the Counsel conceiving (as he then declared) that no man could accuse the King of Partiality, when they found the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had fo faithfully servd his Father and himself, about sixty years, should be expunged amongst the rest. A third was, That he must not hope to win upon them by Condefcenfions, or the sweetness of his disposition, or by Acts of Grace: but that he should resolve to reduce them to their duty by such ways of Power as God had put into his hands. The Reaon of which Counsel was, because he found upon a fad experience of sixty years, that generally they were a people of fo crofs a grain, that they were gained by Punishments, and lost by Favours. But contrary to this good Counsel, his Majesty did not only permit all his own Servants of that Nation to remain about him: but suffered the Earls of Roxburgh and Traquaire, and other

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Noble-
Noblemen of that Kingdom with their several Followers and Retinues to repair to Torquay under pretence of offering of some expedient to compose the differences. Where being come, they played their business so well, that by representing to the Lords of the English Nation the dangers they would bring themselves into by the Pride and Tyranny of the Bishops, if the Scots were totally subdued, they mitigated the displeasures of some, and so took off the edge of others, that they did not go from Torquay, the same men they came thither. On the discovery of which Practice, and some intelligence which they had with the Covenants, they were confined to their Chambers (the first at Torquay, the other at Newcastle) but were presently dismissed again, and sent back to Scotland. But they had first done what they came for, never men being so suddenly cooled as the Lords of England, or ever making clearer shews of an alteration in their words and gestures.

This change his Majesty soon found, or had cause to fear; and therefore for the better keeping of his Party together, he caused an Oath to be propounded to all the Lords, and others of chief Eminency which attended on him, before his departure out of Torquay, knowing full well, that those of the inferior Orbs would be wholly governed by the motion of the higher Spheres. The Tenor of which Oath was this that followeth.

I A. B. do Swear before the Almighty and Ever-living God, That I will bear all faithful Allegiance to my true and undoubted Sovereign King CHARLES, who is lawful King of this Island, and all other his Kingdoms and Dominions both by Sea and Land, by the Laws of God and Man, and by Lawful Succession; And that I will most constantly and most cheerfully, even to the utmost hazard of my Life and Fortunes, oppose all Seditious, Rebellious, Conjurations, Conspiracies whatsoever, against his Royal Dignity, Crown, and Person, raised or set up under what pretence or colour soever: And if it shall come vailed under pretence of Religion, I hold it more abominable both before God and Man. And this Oath I take voluntarily, in the Faith of a good Christian and Loyal Subject, without Equivocation or mental Reservation whatsoever, from which I hold no Power on Earth can absolve me in any part.

Such was the Tenour of the Oath; which being refused by two, and but two of the Lords, of which one would not Say it, nor the other, Brook it, the said Refusers were committed to the Custody of the Sheriffs of Torquay; and afterwards, for their further Tryal, Interrogated upon certain Articles touching their approbation or dislike of the War: To which their Answers were so doubtful and unsatisfactory, that his Majesty thought it safer for him to dismiss them home, than to keep them longer about him to corrupt the rest: by means whereof he furnished them with an opportunity of doing him more difference at home, where there was no body to attend and observe their Actions, than possibly they could have done in the Army, where there were so many eyes to watch them, and so many hands to pull them back if they proved extravagant.
As to the carrying on of the War, the Earl of Essex was Commanded by his Majesty, at his first coming to York, to put a Garrison into Berwick, and to take with him such Provisions of Canon, Arms and Ammunition as were aligned for that Employment, which as he cheerfully undertook, so he courageously performed it, notwithstanding all the terrous and affrightments which he found in his March. For being encountered in his way with the Earls of Roxborough, Traquair, and the rest of the Scots then going to York, they laboured all they could to dissuade him from it, affuring him, That either the Scots would be in the Town before him; or that their whole Army would be so near, that he must needs run the hazard of losing all, without doing anything. Which notwithstanding, he went on, entred the Town, repaired the Breaches in the Walls, and placed his Canon on the same, proceeding in the Work as become a Souldier. With less fidelity and courage dealt the Earl of Holland, at the Kings coming near the Borders, where long he had not been encamped, when he had Intelligence that the Scots Army was advancing; on which Advertisement, he dispatch'd Holland with a great Body of Horse to attend upon them. Left had drawn his Army into a very large Front, his Files exceeding thin and shallow; but intermingling with so many Ensigns, as if every twenty or thirty men had been a Regiment; and behind all, a great Herd of Cattel, which raised up so much dust with their feet, as did cloud the Stratagem. Holland dismayed with such a formidable appearance, or being afraid that his great Horse would be under-ridden with the Galloway Nags, sent Messenger after Messenger to acquaint the King with his present condition, who sent him order to draw off and retire again; and not to hazard himself and the Forces under him, on such a visible disadvantage. How Hamilton behaved himself, we are next to see; who having anchored his Fleet in the Frith of Edenborough, and landing some of his spent men in a little Island, to give them breath, and some refreshments, received a Visit from his Mother, a most rigid and pragmatical Covenant; the Scots upon the shore laying with no small laughter, That they knew the Son of so good a Mother, could not do them hurt; And so it proved; for having loyetered thereabouts to no purpose, till he heard that the Treaty of the Pacification, was begun near Berwick, he left his Ships, and came in great haste, as it was pretended, to disturb the business, which was to be concluded before he came thither.

For so it hapned, That as soon as Essex had brought his Forces into Berwick, the Scots began to fear the approaching danger which they had drawn upon themselves; and thereupon some Chiefs amongst them addressed their Letters to him on the 15th. of April, Laying the cause of all these Troubles to some ill Countrymen of their own, whom they conceived to have provoked the King against them; endeavouring to make the Remedy of their Evils, and the scope of their deserved Punishment, the beginning of an incurable Disease between the two Nations, to whom the Quarrel should in no way extend. They complained also, That there were many of the English in Place and Credit, whose Private Ends did run clean contrary to the Publick Good; such as did rise early to poison
PART II. the Publick Fountain, and to sow the Tares of unhappy Jealousies and Discord between the Kingdoms, before the good Seed of our Love and Respect to the English Nation, could take place in their hearts. They declared next, how strange and unexpected it was unto them, to see his Forces drawn toward the Borders, which they could not but interpret as a pregnant presumption of some further Project against their Nation by his Power; which must needs causethem to besitthemselves in times for their own preservation. And though they gave themselves some assurance, grounded upon the Reputation of his former Life, that his Lordship would be very wary to begin the Quarrel, at which Enemies only would rejoice and catch advantage; yet at the last (fearing that neither Threats nor Complements would do the business) they fall to a downright begging of a Pacification. For having taken God to witness, That they desired no National Quarrel to arise betwixt them, or to take any of the bitter Fruit, which might set their Childrens Teeth on edge; They professed themselves obliged in conscience to God, their Prince, Nation, and Lictionaries, to try all just and lawful means for the removal of all Causes of difference betwixt the two Nations, and to be always ready to offer the occasion of greater Satisfaction, for clearing of their Loyal Intentions to their Prince, and to all those who may concern: but more particularly to his Lordship, in regard of his Place and Command at that time: And this to be done by any means whatsoever, which should be thought expedient on both sides. But Essex, though perhaps he might like their Cause, did not love their Nation (the Affront put upon him by Carr Earl of Somerset running still in his mind;) so that the Practice edified very little with him; for ought I can find; whatsoever it might do with others about the King; to whom the Letter was communicated, which in duty he was bound to do on the first receiving.

With greater comfort they applied themselves to the Earl of Arundel, whom at first they feared more than all the rest: but had now placed the greatest part of their confidence on him. For whilft the Puritans in both Kingdoms stood at a gaze upon the Issue of this War, one Mofely Vicar of Newark upon Trent, obtained leave to pass through the Army into Scotland: A man of zeal enough to be put upon any business which the wiser ones durst not be seen in; and of such skilliness, that no body could fear any danger from him. By this Man (as appears by their Letter) they understood of his Lordships particular affection to the continuance of the Common Peace betwixt the Nations, being before assured of his Noble Disposition in the general (as the Letter words it.) And this being said, they signifie unto him, and with that they could do the like to all the good Subjects of England, "That they were neither weary of Monarchical Government, nor had entertained the least thoughts of casting off the yoke of Obedience, or invading England; That they desired nothing else than peaceably to enjoy their Religion, and the Liberties of their Country, according to the Laws; and that all Questions about the same, might be decided by Parliament and National Assemblies, which they conceived his Lordship would judge to be most equitable, and for which no National Quarrel (as they hoped) could justly arise. 
Was and finally, That they had sent him a Copy of the Supplica-

tion, which they intended to present unto the King, as soon as he

was prepared for it, to the end that by the mediation of his Lord-

ship, and other Noble Lords of England, to whom they had written

in like manner, his Majesty might be pleased to hear them at large,

and grant such things as they had desired; which they conceived to

tend to his Majesties great Glory, to put an end to all the present

Questions to their mutual rejoicing, and to make the blessed In-

struments of so good a work to be thankfully remembered to Poster-

ity. In their letter to the Earl of Holland, of the seventh of June,

they express more confidence (as being more assured of him then of

any other) not only justifying themselves in their former proceedings:

but requesting his assistance to promote their desires in a petition ten-

dred to his Majesties hands, descending by degrees to this particular,

That by a meeting in some convenient place, and of some prime and

well affected men to the Reformed Religion and the Common

Peace, all matters might be so well amended, and with such expedi-

tion, that their evils (through further delays) might not prove

incurable.

These preparations being made, they found an easier business of it,

then they had any reason to expect or hope, to bring his Majesty to

meet them in the middle way: who was so tender of their case that he

was more ready to accept their supplication, then they were to offer

it. It was not his intent to fight them, (as I have heard from a person

of great trust and honour) but only by the terror of so great an Ar-

my to draw the Scots to do him reason. And this I am the more apt

to credit, because when a Noble and well experienced Commander

offered him (then being in Camp near Berwick) that with two thou-

sand horse (which the King might very well have spared) he would

so waste, and spoil their Country, that the Scots should creep upon

their bellies to implore his mercy, he would by no means hearken to

the proposition. And having no purpose of out-going Musett and

Orientation, it is no wonder if he did not only willingly give way to

the presenting of their Petition, and cheerfully embraced all Overtures

tending to a Pacification: but make choice also of such persons, to

Negotiate in it, who were more like to take such terms as they could

get, then to fight it out. Commissioners being on both sides appointed,

they came at last to this conclusion on the seventeenth of June, viz.

First, That his Majesty should confirm whatsoever his Commissioner have

already granted in his Majesties name, and that from thenceforth all mat-

ters Ecclesiastical should be determined by the Assemblies of the Kirk,

and all matters Civil by the Parliament; and to that end a General Assem-

bly to be Indicted on the sixth of August, and a Parliament on the twen-
tieth of the same Month, in which Parliament an Act of Oblivion was to

pass for the common peace and satisfaction of all parties; that the Scots

upon the publication of the accord, should within forty eight hours disband

all their Forces, discharge all pretended Tables, and Conventicles, restore

unto the King all his Castles, Forts and Ammunition of all sorts; the like
PART II. Restitution to be made to all his good Subject, of their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods, and Means whatsoever, taken and detained from them, since the late pretended General Assembly held at Glafco; that thereupon his Majesty should presently recall his Fleet, and retire his Land Forces, and cause Restitution to be made of all persons of their Ships and Goods Detained and Arrested since the first of February. But as for the proceedings of the Assembly of Glafco, as his Majesty could not allow them with Honour on the one side; if neither do I find that they were condemned, or that the Scots were bound to abandon the conclusions of it, so that it seems to have been left in the same condition, (as to all the Acts, Determinations, and Results there) in which it stood before his Majesties taking Arms; Which as it was the chief ground of the Quarrel, so the King doing nothing in Order to the Abrogating of it, and the conclusions therein made, when he was in the head of a powerful Army, he could not give himself much hopes, that the Scots could yield to any such Abrogation, when he had no such Army to compel obedience.

And this appeared immediately on his Majesties signing the Agreement, and the discharging of his Forces upon the same. For the Declaration of this accord was no sooner published, but the Covenanters produced a Protestation; “First, of adhering to their late General Assembly at Glafco, as a full and free Assembly of their Kirk, and to all the proceedings there; especially the sentences of Derivation, and Excommunication of the sometines pretended Bishops of that Kingdom: And secondly, of adhering to their Solemn Covenant, and Declaration of the Assembly, whereby the office of Bishop is abjured. Thirdly, that the pretended Archbishops and Bishops, that usurp the title and office abjured by the Kirk and Covenanters of the sentences of the Kirk, have been malicious Incendiaries of his Majesty against this Kingdom, by their wicked calumnies; and that if they return to this Kingdom, they be esteemed and used as accursed, and they delivered up to the Devil; and cast off from Christ his body, as Ethnicks, and Publicans: And fourthly, that all the entertainers of the Excommunicated Bishops, should be orderly proceeded against with Excommunication, conform to the Acts, and Constitutions of this Kirk. And this they did as well to justify their proceeding in the said Assembly, as to terrific and affright the Bishops from presenting themselves and members of Assembly and Parliament at the next Conventions. Which done they dispersed abroad a scandalous Paper, pretending to contain the heads of the late Agreement; but drawn so advantageously for themselves, so disagreeable to the true intention of his Majesty, that he could do no less in honour then call it in, and cause it to be publicly burnt by the hand of the Hangman. And being conscious to themselves how much his Majesty must be incensed with their Indignities, they continued their meetings and Consultations as before they did, maintained their Fortifications at Lelth the Port Town to Edinborough, disquieted, molested, and frightened all of different inclinations, and kept their Officers and Commanders in continual pay, to have them in a Readiness on the next
next occasion. With which disorders his Majesty being made ac-
quainted, he sent for some of the Chiefs of them to come to him to
Amity Dom-
Berwick: but was refused in his Commands under pretence, that there
was some intention to entrap them at their coming thither; and that
his Majesty might be flaved off from being present at the next Assemly
in Edenborough, as he had both promised, and resolved, they com-
mit a riotous assault on the Earls of Kinnoul, and Traquaire, Chief
Justice Elphinston, and Sir James Hamilton, all Privy Counsellors of that Kingdom. These they pulled violently out of their Coach,
on a suspicion that some Bishops were disguised amongst them; but
really that the King might have some caufe to suspect that there
could be no safety for him in such a place, and amongst people so
enrag'd, notwithstanding his great clemency shewed unto them in the
Pacification.

His Majesty was now at leisure to repent the loss of those Advantages
which God had put into his hands. He found the Scots so unprovided
(not having above 3000 compleat Arms amongst them) that he
might have scattered them like the dust before the wind at the very
onset. By making this agreement with them he put them into such a
stock of Reputation, that within the compass of that year they fur-
nished themselves out of Holland with Cannon, Arms, and Ammuni-
tion upon days of Payment without disbursing any money, which he
knew they had not. He came unto the borders with a gallant Army,
which might affure him (under God) of a very cheap and easy victory;
an Army governed by Colonels, and other Officers of approved
Valour, and mingled with the choicest of the English Gentry, who
stood as much upon his honour as upon their own. This Army he
disbanded without doing any thing which might give satisfaction to
the world, himself, or them. Had he retired it only to a further dis-
ance, he had done as much as he was bound to by the Capitulations:
But he disbanded it before he had seen the least performance on their
parts of the points agreed on; before he had seen the issue and suc-
cess of the two Conventions, in which he did expect a settling of his
peace and happiness; which had he done, he had in all reasonable pro-
babilities preferred his honour in the eye of Foraignt Nations, secured
himself from any danger from that people, and cruft these Practices
at home which afterwards undermined his Peace, and destroyed his
Glories. But doing it in this form and manner, without effecting any
thing which he seemed to Arm for, he animated the Scots to commit
new Infolencies, the Dutch to affront him in his own Shores, by fighting
and destroying the Spanish Navy, lying under his protection, and
(which was worst of all) gave no small discontentment to the English
Gentry. Who having with great charge engaged themselves in this
Expedition out of hope of getting honour to the King, their Country,
and themselves by their faithful service, were suddenly dismissed, not
only without the honour they aimed at, but without any ac-
knowledgment of their Love and Loyalty. A matter so unpleasing
to them, that few of them appeared in the next year's Army; many of
them turned against him in the following troubles, the greatest part
looking
PART II. looking on his Successes with a carelesse eye, as unconcerned with his Affairs, whether good or bad.

1629. In this condition of Affairs he returned toward London in the end of July, leaving the Scots to play their own Game as they listed; having first nominated Traquair as his High Commissioner for managing both the Assembly, and the following Parliament. In the first meeting of the two, they acted over all the parts they had paid at Glasgow, to the utter abolition of Episcopacy, and the destruction of all those which adhered unto it; their Actings in it being confirmed in his name by the High Commission. In the Parliament they altered the old form of choosing the Lords of the Articles, erected a third Estate out of Lard and Barons, instead of the Bishops; invaded the Sovereign power of Coynage; Resolved upon an Act for abrogating all former Statutes concerning the Judicature of the Exchequer for making of Proxies, and governing the Estates of Wards; and finally, conceived the King to be much in their debt by yielding to a prorogation till a further time. The news whereof reduced the King to such a stand, that he was forced to send for Wentworth out of Ireland, where he had acted things in settling the Estate of that broken Kingdom, beyond expectation or belief. This charged on Canterbury, as a project and crime of his, and both together branded for it in a Speech made by the Lord Falkland, in the first year of the Long Parliament, where speaking first of the Bishops generally, he tells the Speaker, "That they had both kindled and blown the fire in both Nations; and more particularly, that they had both sent and maintained that book, of which the Author hath no doubt long since wished with Nero("Utinam nefrissem Literar"") And of which more than one Kingdom hath cause to wish, that he who writ it, had rather burned a Library, though of the value of Italomies. And then he adds, We shall see then (faith he,) who have been the first and principal cause of the breach, I will not say of, but since the Pacification at Berwick. We shall find them to have been the almost sole Abettors of my Lord of Stafford, whilst he was practicing upon another Kingdom that manner of Government which he intended to settle in this, where he committed so many, so mighty, and so manifest enormities, as the like have not been committed by any Governor in any Government since Verres left Sicily. And after they had called him over from being Deputy of Ireland to be in manner Deputy of England (all things here being governed by a Juntillo, and that Juntillo governed by him,) to have afflicted him in the giving of such Counsels, and the pursuing of such courtes, as it is a hard and measuring cast, whether they were more unwife, more unjust, or more unfortunate, and which had infallibly been our destruction, if by the grace of God their share had not been as small in the subtlety of Serpents as in the innocence of Doves. But these were only the Evaporations of some Discontents, which that noble Orator had contracted; of which more elsewhere.

Wentworth being called unto this Service, was presently made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and not long after with great solemnity Created
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Created Earl of Strafford in the County of York. As Lord Lieutenant L. I B. IV. he had Power to appoint a Deputy, that so he might the better attend the Service here, without any prejudice to that Kingdom; which Office he committed to Wentford a Yorkshire Gentleman, and an especial Confident of his, whom he had took along with him into Ireland at his first going thither. And because great Counsels are carried with most faith and secrecy, when they are entrusted but to few, his Majesty was pleased to commit the Conduct of the Scotch Business to a Junto of three; that is to say, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the new Lord Lieutenant, and the Marquis of Hamilton; which last the other two knew not how to trust, and therefore communicated no more of their Counsels to him, than such as they cared or feared not to make known to others. By these three join'd in Consultations, it was conceived expedient to move his Majesty to try his fortune once more in calling a Parliament, and in the mean time to command some of the Principal Covenanters to attend his Pleasure at the Court, and render an account of their late Proceedings. In order to the first, they had no sooner signified what they thought fit for his Majesty's Service, but it was cheerfully entertained by the Lords of the Council, who join'd together with them in the Proposition; promising his Majesty to assist him in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament should fail him in it, as they after did. Upon these Terms his Majesty yielded to the Motion on the fifth of December, causing an Intimation to be publickly made of his Intent to hold a Parliament on the 13th of April, then next following: An Intimation which the Loadiners received with great signs of joy, and so did many in the Country: but such withal, as gave no small matter of disturbance unto many others, who could not think the calling of a Parliament in that point of time, to be safe or seasonable. The last Parliament being dissolved in a Rupture, the Closets of some Members searched, many of them imprisoned, and some fined; it was not to be thought but that they would come thither with revengeful Spirits. And should a breach happen betwixt them and the King, and the Parliament be Dissolved upon it, as it after was, the breach would prove irreparable, as it after did. Besides which fear, it was presumed, that the interval of four Months, time, would give the discontented Party opportunity to unite themselves, to practice on the Sheriffs and Burroughs, to elect such Members as they should recommend unto them; and finally, not only to consult, but to conclude on such Particulars as they intended to insist upon, when they were Assembled. In which Respects, the calling a Parliament at that time, and with so long warning before-hand, was conceived unsafe: And if it was unsafe, it was more seasonable. Parliaments had now long been discontinued, the People lived happily without them; and few took thought who should see the next: And which is more, the Neighbouring Kings and States beheld the King with greater Veneration, than they had done formerly, as one that could stand on his own Legs, and had raised up himself to so great Power both by Sea and Land, without such discontent and brabbles as his Parliaments gave him. So that to call a Parliament, was feared
PART II, feared to be the likeliest way to make his Majesty seem less in estimation both at home and abroad, the eyes of men being distracted by so many objects.

But whatsoever others thought, it was thought by Wentworth, that he could manage a Parliament well enough to the King's Advantage; especially by setting them such a Lesson as should make them all ashamed of not writing after such a Copy. Two ends they had in advising the Intimation of the Parliament to be given so long before the Sitting. First, That the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland might in the mean time hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he did accordingly, and governed the Affair so well, that an Army of 8000 Horse and Foot (some of our Writers say, 10,000) was speedily raised, and Money granted by the Parliament to keep them in pay, and furnish them with Ammunition, Arms, and all other Neceffaries. Secondly, That by the Reputation of a following Parliament, he might be the better enabled to borrow Money for the carrying on of that War, if the Parliament should chance to fail of doing their Duty: wherein the Lords performed their parts, in drawing in great Sums of Money upon that account. For causing a Lift to be made of most of the Persons of Ability, which had relation to the Courts of Judicature, either Ecclesiastical or Civil, of such as held Officers of the Crown as attained unto his Majesty's Service, or otherwise were thought to be well affected to the present Cause, and had not formerly contributed toward it, they called them to the Council-Table, where they endeavoured, by the prevailing Rhetoric of Power and Favour, to persuade them to a bountiful Contribution, or a careful Loan, according to the Sums proportioned and requested of them. In which they did proceed so well, that money came flowing in space, enough to put the King into a condition of making new Levies of Men both for Horse and Foot, Lifting them under their Commanders, and putting them into a Posture for the War approaching. And that they might be sure to speed the better, by the encouragement of a good Example, the Lord Lieutenant subscribed for a Loan of 20,000 l. the other Lords with the same Loyalty and Affection proportioning their Engagements to their Abilities, and thereby giving Law to most of the Noblemen in all parts of the Kingdom. Nor was the Queen wanting for her part to advance the Service; for knowing how great a share she had in his Majesty's Fortune, she employed her Secretary Winter, Mountague, Digby, and others of her Confidants of that Religion, to negotiate with the rest of her party, for being Assistant to his Majesty in this just a quarrel. In which design she found such a liberal correspondence from the Roman Catholics, as shewed them to be somewhat ambitious of being accounted amongst the most Loyal and best affected, of his Majesty's Subjects.

These preparations being Resolved on and in some part made, it was thought convenient that his Majesty should take the opportunity of the coming of some Commissioners from the Scots to call for an account of their late proceedings. According unto which advice his Majesty appointed a Select Committee from the rest of the Council, to
to bring those Commissioners to a reckoning, to hear what they could say for themselves and the rest of their Fellows, and to make report thereof to his Majesty; The Commissioners were the Earl of Dunfermilling, the Lord Loudon, Douglas and Barkley, both of inferior rank, but of like Authority; Of which the Speakers part was performed by Loudon, A confident bold man, of a Pedantical expression, but one that loved to hear himself above all men living. Being Commanded to attend the Committee at the time appointed, they ranted high, touching the Independency of the Crown of Scotland, and did not think themselves obliged to treat with any, but his Majesty only. His Majesties vouchsafing his presence at the said Committee; Loudon begins with a defence of their proceedings, both in the General Assembly, and the late Parliament held at Edenborough by his Majesties Order; Allledged that nothing was done in them contrary to the Laws of the Land, and the Precedents of former times, and finally brought his Majestie to ratifie and confirm the Acts, and Results of both Commissions. They could shew none to qualifie them in the nature of Publick Agents; Nor had they any power to Oblige their party in the performance of any thing which might give his Majesty full satisfaction for the time to come, whatsoever satisfaction he was able to give them in debating the busines, his Majestie endeavoured not by reason only, but by all fair and gentle means, to let them fee the unreasonablenenes of their demands, the legality of their proceedings, and the danger which would fall upon them, if they continued obdinate in their former course. But Loudon governed all the rest, who being of a fiery nature in himself, and a dependent on the Earl of Argile, who had declared himself for the Covenanters at the Assembly at Glascow, resolved to stand to the Conclusion which he brought along with him, though he found himself unable to make good the Premisses; So that some days being unprofitably spent in these debates, the Archbishop and the rest of the Committee, made a report of the whole business to the rest of the Council, who upon full consideration of all particulars, came to this Result: That since the Scots could not be reclaimed to their obedience by other means, they were to be reduced by Force.

This was no more then what the Scots could give themselves Reason to expect; and therefore they bestrird themselves as much on the other side. Part of the Walls of the Castle of Edenborough, with all the Ordnance upon it, had fallen down on the nineteenth of November last, being the Anniversary day of his Majesties Birth (not without some preface of that ill-fortune which befell him in the course of this War) for the Repair whereof, they would neither suffer Timber, nor any other Materials to be carried to it: but on the contrary, they began to raise Works and Fortifications against it, with an intent to block it up, and render it unuseful to his Majesties Service: And to keep the Soldiers therein Garrisoned (most of them English) to hard meats, they would not suffer them to come into the Market to recruit their Victuals. They made Provisions of great quantity of Artillery, Munition and Arms from Foreign Parts; laid Taxes of ten Marks in the hundred
PART II. dreed upon all the Subjects, according to their several Revenues, which they Levied withall curs'd Rigour, though bruizing them abroad to be Free-will Offerings; scattered abroad many Seditious and Scandalous Pamphlets, for justifying themselves and seducing others, some of which were burnt in England by the hand of the Hangman; Fortified Inchgarvie and other places, which they planted with Ordnance; Imprisoned the Earl of southesk, and other Persons of Quality, for their Fidelity to the King; took to themselves the Government of the City of Edenborough, contrary to their Charters and Immunities, by which the Citizens were disabled from serving his Majesty in any of his just Commands; and finally, employed their Emiaries in all Parts of England, to dissuade those who were too backward of themselves, from contributing to the War against them, and to solicit from them such several Aids as might the better enable them to maintain the War against their Sovereign.

But their chief Correspondence was with France and Ireland. In France they had made sure of Cardinal Richelieu, who Governed all Affairs in that Kingdom. Following the Maxim of Queen Elizabeth, in securing the Peace of his own Country by the Wars of his Neighbours, he practis'd the Revolt of Portugal, and put the Catalonians into Arms against their King, to the end that he might waft the fiery Spirit of the French in a War on Flanders, with the better fortune and success. But knowing that it was the interest of the Crown of England, to hold the Balance even between France and Spain; and that his Majesty by removing the Ships of Holland, which lay before Dun-kirk, Anno 1635. had hindred the French from making such a Progress by Land, as might have made them Masters of the Spanish Netherlands; he held it a chief piece of State-Craft (as indeed it was) to excite the Scots against their King, and to encourage them to stand it out unto the last, being so excited. Upon which ground he sent Chamberlain, a Scot by Birth, his Chaplain and Almoner, to aflift the Confederates in advancing the business, and to attempt all ways for exasperating the first heat; with Order not to depart from them, till things succeed as he wished he might return with good News: And on the same appointed one of his Secretaries to reside in Scotland, to march along with them into England, to be presented at all Councils of War, and direct their busines. And on the other side, Hamiltons Chaplains had free access to con the same Countryman also, at such time as Chamberlain was Negotiating for the Cardinal, to foment the Flames, which had begun to rage already. And by a Letter subcribed by the Earl of Rothes, and others of chief note amongst the Covenanters, they craved the Affittance of that King, cast themselves upon his Protection, befeching him to give credit to Colvill the Bearer thereof, whom they had intrusted in all Particulars which concerned their Condition and Desires. In Ireland they had a strong Party of Natural Scots, planted in Ulster by King James, upon the forfeited Estates of Tir-Owen, Tir-Couzel, Ogilbirtie, &c. not Scots in Birth and Parentage only, but Design and Faction. But Wentworth was not to be told of their secret Practice; he saw it in their general disposition to Schism
Schism and Faction, and was not unacquainted with their old Rebellion. It must be his care that they brake not into any new; which he performed with such a diligent and watchful eye, that he crushed them in the very beginning of the Combination, seizing upon such Ships and Men as came thither from Scotland, Imprisoning some, Fining others, and putting an Oath upon the rest: By which Oath they were found to abjure the Covenant, not to be aiding to the Covenanters against the King, nor to profess against any of his Royal Edicts, as their Brethren in Scotland used to do. For the refusing of which Cath he fined one (a) Sir Henry Steward and his Wife (Persons of no less Power than Disaffection) at no less than 5000 l. a piece; two of their Daughters, and one James Gray of the same Confederacy, at the Sum of 3000 l. a piece; committing them to Prison for not paying the Fines imposed upon them. All which he justified when he was brought unto his Tryal, on good Reasons of State: There (b) being at that time one hundred thousand Souls in Ireland of the Scotch Nation, most of them passionately affected to the Cause of the Covenanters, and some of them conspiring to betray the Town and Castle of Carrickfergus to a Nobleman of that Country, for which the Principal Conspirator had been justly Executed. Nor shall he there, but he gave finally a Power to the Bishop of Down and Connor, and other Bishops of that Kingdom, and their several Chancellors, to attach the Bodies of all such of the meaner sort, who either should refuse to appear before them upon Citation, or to perform all Lawful Decrees and Orders made by the said Bishops and their Chancellors; and to commit them to the next Gaol, till they should conform, or answer the Contempt at the Council-Table. By means whereof, he made the poorer sort to pliant, and obedient to their several Bishops, that there was good hopes of their Conformity to the Rules of the Church.

Having thus carried on the Affairs of Scotland till the end of this year, we must return to our Archbishop; whom we shall find intent on the preservation of the Hierarchy, and the Church of England; against the Practices of the Scots, and Scotizing English: and no less busy in digesting an Apology for vindicating the Liturgy commended to the Kirk of Scotland. In reference to the last, he took order for translating the Scotch Liturgy into the Latine Tongue; that being published with the Apology, which he had designed, it might give satisfaction to the world of his Majesty's Piety, and his own great care, the Orthodoxy and simplicity of the Book itself, and the perverseness of the Scots in refusing all of it. Which Work was finished and left with him, but it went no further; the present distemper of the times, and the troubles which fell heavily on him putting an end to it in the first beginning. But the best was, that the English Liturgy had been published in so many Languages, and the Scotch so agreeable to the English in the Forms and Offices, that any man might judge of the one by perusing the other. The first Liturgy of King Edward vi. translated into Latine by Alexander Aleman, a learned Scot, for the better information of Martin Bucer, when he first came to live amongst us; the second Liturgy of that King with Queen Elizabeth's Emendation: (b) Relation of the Answers of the Earl of Straff. p. 34.
PART II. by Walter Haddon, President of Magdalen Colledge in Oxon. and Dean of Exeter; and his Translation rectified by Dr. Market, in the times of King James, according to such Explications and Additions as were made by order from the King. The same translated into French, for the use of the Isle of Jersey, by the appointment of the King also; into the Spanish for the better satisfaction of that Nation, by the prudent care of the Lord Keeper Williams; And finally, by the countenance and encouragement of this Archibishop, translated into Greek by Petely, much about this time, that fo the Eastern Churches might have as clear an information of the English Piety as the Western had.

In order to the other he recommended to Hall, then Bishop of Exon, the writing of a book in defence of the Divine Right of Episcopacy, in opposition to the Scots and their Adherents. Exeter undertakes the Work, and sends him a rude draught or skeleton of his design, consisting of the two main points of his intended discourse, together with the several Propositions which he intended to infit on in pursuance of it. The two main points which he was to aim at, were, "First, That Episcopacy is a lawful, most ancient, holy, and divine Institution (as it is joyned with imparity, and superiority of Jurisdiction) and therefore where it hath through Gods providence obtained, cannot by any humane power be abdicatet without a manifest violation of Gods Ordinance. And secondly, That the Presbyterien Government, however vindicated under the glorious names of Christs Kingdom, and Ordinance, hath no true footing either in Scripture or the Practice of the Church in all Ages from Chrifts time till the present; and that howsoever it may be of use in some Cities or Territories, wherein Episcopal Government through iniquity of times cannot be had; yet to obstruct it upon a Church otherwise settled under an acknowledged Monarchy, is utterly incongruous and unjustifiable: In which two points he was to predispose some Propositions (or Positulata as he calls them) to be the ground of his proceedings; which I shall here present in his own conceptions, that so we may the better judge of those corrections which were made upon them. The Positulata were as followeth, viz. 1. That Government which was of Apostolical Institution, cannot be denied to be of Divine Right. 2. Not only that Government which was directly commanded and enacted, but also that which was practiced and recommended by the Apostles to the Church, must justly pass for an Apostolical Institution. 3. That which the Apostles by Divine Inspiration instituted, was not for the present time, but for continuance. 4. The universal Practice of the Church, immediately proceeding the Apostles, is the best and surest Commentary upon the Practice of the Apostles, or upon their Expressions. 5. We may not entertain so irreverent an opinion of the Saints and Fathers of the Primitive Church, that they who were the immediate Successiors of the Apostles, would, or durst set up a Government, either faulty, or of their own heads. 6. If they would have been so presumptuous, yet they could not have diffused an uniform form of Government through the world in so short a space. 7. The ancient Hi-
The first Delinations of the Poutafture being sent to Lambeth, in the end of October, were generally well approved of by the Metropolitan. Some lines there were which he thought to have too much shadow and umbrage, might be taken at them, if not otherwise qualified with a more perfect Ray of Light. And thereupon he takes the Penif in his hand, and with some Alterations of the Figure, accompanied with many kind expressions of a fair acceptance, he sent them back again to be compleatly Limned and Coloured by that able hand. Which alterations, what they were, and his reasons for them, I shall adventure to lay down, as they come before me, that so the Reader may discern as well the clearness of his apprehension, and the excellency of his judgment in the points debated. The Letter long, and therefore disposed of without further coherence, that so it may be perused or pretermitted without disturbance to the sequel; some preparations being made by the hand of his Secretary, he proceeds thus to the rest.

The rest of your Letter is fitter to be answered by my own hand, and so you have it. And since you are pleased so worthily and brother-like to acquaint me with the whole plot of your intended work, and to yield it up to my censure, and better advice (so you are pleased to write) I do not only thank you heartily for it, but shall in the same brotherly way, and with equal freedom put some few Animadversions, such as occur on the sudden to your further consideration, aiming at nothing but what you do, the perfection of the work in which so much is concerned, And first, for Mr. Bbb 2 George
PART II. George Graham (whom Hall had signified to have renounced his Episcopal Function) I leave you free to work upon his business, and his ignorance as you please, affuring myself that you will not depart from the gravity of your self, or the cause therein. Next, you say in the first head, That Episcopal is an antient, holy, and divine Institution. It must needs be antient and holy, if divine. Would it not be more full, went it thus? So antient as that it is of Divine Institution. Next you define Episcopacy by being joined with supravity and superiority of Jurisdiction, but this seems short; for every Archbishops or Archdeacon's place is so, yea, and so was Mr. Henderson in his Chair at Glasco, unless you will define it by a distinction of Order. I draw the superiority, not from the Jurisdiction which is attributed to Bishops, but positively, in their Audience of Ecclesiastical matters: but from that which is intrinsic and original in the power of Excommunication. Again, you say in the first point; That where Episcopacy hath obtained, it cannot be abdicated without violation of God's Ordinance. This Proposition I conceive is interminable; for never was there any Church yet, where it hath not obtained. The Christian Faith was never yet planted any where, but the very first feature of a Church was by, or with Episcopacy; and wherefoever now Episcopacy is not suffered to be, it is by such an Abdication, for certainly there it was a Principio. In your second head you grant that the Presbyterian Government may be of use, where Episcopacy may not be bad. First, I pray you consider whether this conversion be not needless here, and in itself of a dangerous consequence: Next I conceive there is no place where Episcopacy may not be bad, if there be a Church more then in Title only. Thirdly, since they challenge their Presbyterian Fiction to be Christ's Kingdom and Ordinance (as you express) and cast out Episcopacy as opposite to it, we must not use any minging terms, but unmask them plainly; nor shall I ever give way to hamper our selves for fear of speaking plain truth, though it be against Amsterdam or Geneva: and this must be sadly thought on.

Concerning your Postulata I shall pray you to allow me the like freedom; amongst which the two first are true (but are express) two restrictive. For Episcopacy is not to be abdicated unto Apostolical Institution, as to bar it from looking higher and from fetching it materially and originally in the ground and Intention of it, from Christ himself; though perhaps the Apostles formalized it. And here give me leave a little to enlarge. The adveraries of Episcopacy are not only the furious Arian Hereticks (out of which are now raised, Prynne, Bayle, and our Scotch Master) but some also of a milder and subtler alloy both in the Genevian and Roman Faction. And it will become the Church of England so to vindicate it against the furious Puritans as that we may not lay it open to be wounded by either of the other two, more cunning and more learned adversaries. Not to the Roman faction for that will be content; it shall be Juris Divini mediata, by, far, from, and under the Pope, that so the Government of the Church may be Monarchical in him; but not Immediate, which makes the Church Aristrocratical in the Bishops. This is the Italian Rock, not the Genevian; for that will not deny Episcopacy to be Juris Divini,
For you will take it, ut studentis vel aprobantibus but not imperantibus; for L I B. IV, then they may take and leave as they will, which is that they would be at. Anno Dom. Nay (if much forget not) Beza himself is said to have acknowledged Episcopacy to be Juris Divini Imperantis, so you will not take it as univerfalter imperantibus, for then Geneva might escape: & cita considerationem durantis; for then though they had it before, yet now upon vifer thoughts they may be without it, which Scotland says now, and who will say it after, if this be good Divinity; and then all in that time shall be Democratical. I am bold toaffe, because in your second Postulatum I find, that Episcopacy is directly command- ed: but you go not so far as to meet with this subtity of Beza, which is the great Rock in the Lake of Geneva. In your ninth Postulatum, that the Accession of Honourable Titles, or Privileges makes no difference in the substance of the calling, you mean the titles of Archbishops, Primates, Metropolitans, Patriarchs, &c. ’Tis well, and I premise you do so: But then in any cafe take heed you assert it so, as that the Fadion lay not bold of it, as if the Bishops were but the Title of Honour, and the same calling with a Priest’s. For that they all aim at, &c. The eleventh Postulatum is larger, and I shall not repeat it; because I am sure you retaine a Copy of what you write to me, being the Ribbs of the work, nor shall I say more to it, then that it must be warily handled for fear of a saucy An- Swer, which is more ready with them a great deal then a Learned one. I premise I am pardonned already for this freedom by your submission of all to me. And now I heartily pray you to send me up, (keeping a Copy to your felf against the accidents of Carriage,) not the whole work together, but each particular head or Postulatum, as you finish it; that so we here may be the better able to consider of it, and the work come on faster. So to Gods blessed Protection, &c.

Such was the freedom which he used in declaring his judgment in the cafe, and fuch the Authority which his reafons carried along with them, that the Bishop of Exon found good caufe to correct the obli- quity of his opinion according to the Rules of these Animadversions; agreeably unto which the book was writ and published not long after, under the name of Episcopacy by Divine Right, &c.

Such care being taken to prevent all inconveniences which might come from Scotland, he cafes his eye toward the Execution of his former Orders for Regulating the French and Dutch Churches here in England. It had been to no purpose in him to endeavour a Confor- mity among the Scots, as long as such examples of separation did continue amongst the English. If the post-nati in the Churches, born and bred in England, should not be bound to repair with other of their Neighbours to their Parish Churches, it might create a further mischief then the preuent Scandal, and come up clofe at last to formal Schism. His Order had been published in all the Congregations of Strangers within his Province, as before is said: but Executed more or les, as the Minifter and Church-Wardens stood affected to those Congregations. And therefore that the Church-Wardens might more punctually proceed in doing their duty, It was thought fit that certain Articles
PART II. Articles should be framed and commended to them for their future
direction. The Reformation being pursued in his own Dioceses, and the
Metropolitan City first, it was to be presumed, that those in other
places would gladly follow the example. Of laying Taxes on those
strangers in their several Parishes for repairing of, and adorning their
several Parish-Churches, and providing Ornaments for the same they
were in all places careful enough; because their own profit was con-
cerned in it. And for their proceedings in the rest they were directed by
these Orders to inquire of all such strangers as lived amongst them, the
names of all married persons in their Congregations as of the second de-
fendant in their several Parishes, to the end that order might be taken for
decree seats for them, according to their Estates and qualities: that they
should return the names and ages of those unmarried of the second defendant,
and whose children and servants they were; to the end that the like care
might be taken of their due resort to the Church, there to be Catechised,
and Communicate according to their ages: that those at sixteen years
and upwards, that had not already Communicated should prepare them-
selves to receive the blessed Sacrament in their Parish-Church at the next
Communion; and from thence forward thrice in the year afterwards as
the Canons of the Church require, as they would avoid presentment to their
Ordinary for their neglect therein: that such as were Parents and Ma-
fathers of Families of the first and second defendant, did thenceforth every
Lords day, half an hour after Evening Prayer, send all such, their Chil-
dren and Servants as were under sixteen to their Parish-Church, there
to be Catechised according to the Orders of the Church, as they themselves
upon presentment would answer the Contrary. These Articles being
given in the middle of April, were Executed for the rest of the year
more punctually in any of those before. But it held not much
longer then the rest of that year: The troubles which the Archbishop
fell into, in the year next following dissolving all his Orders and In-
junctions of this kind, as if never made.

With equal constancy he governed his Councils in all other parti-
culars. Some informations had been given him of certain misde-
meanours and corruptions in Merton College, of which he was the
Ordinary, and immediate Visitor, in the Right of his See; and in that
Right he resolves-upon a Visitation both in Head, and Members. To
this employment he deputes his Right Trusty Friend and Affured
Servant, The Dean of the Arch; who entering on his charge in the
year forgoing 1638, made this Enquiry, amongst others, viz. Wheter
they made due Reverence (by bowing towards the Altar or Communion
Table) when they came into the Chapel. And finding by a return to
this enquiry, that Corbet, and Cheyne two of the Fellows, not only
had neglected but refused to make any such Reverence, he tried all
fair and plausible persuasions by himself and others to induce them to
it. But not prevailing either way, he certified the Archbishop of his
Proceedings, who thereupon caused some Injunctions to be sent to
the College for their future Governance, Amongst which I find this
for one, that they use due and lowly Reverence towards the Lords
Table, at their first entrance into the Quire. Upon the coming where-
of there was no more dispute about it, those Reverences being made L.I.B. IV. by most, and constantly continued by them till the Parliament of November 3. In matters which concerned the Warden, it was thought fit by Lamb the Chief Commissioner, to do nothing without further direction, but only to acquaint the Archbishop, in what State he found them; who thereupon recalled the business to himself. The parties to appear before him other following, at which time he spent three days in hearing and examining the Points in difference between Brent the Warden, and such of the Fellows of the College as complained against him: But for determining the Cause (the Warden appearing very foul, as himself acknowledgeth) he took time till the first of July in this present year, that Brent might have the better opportunities to content his Fellows, for the Errors of his Government in the times precedent, and give them some assurance of a Reformation for the time to come. Which noble Favour notwithstanding, and that he went off with no other Censure than a fair and Fatherly Admonition: yet Brent unmindful of so great a moderation toward him, express'd more readiness in contributing towards his Condemnation in the time of his Trial, than any of those who did most eagerly desire his Ruine.

The course and method of my business having brought me to Oxford, I cannot depart thence, without taking notice of his further Bounty and Munificence to that University. He had before entertained some thoughts of clearing the great Square betwixt Saint Mary's and the Schools, intending to have raised a fair and capacious Room, advanced on Pillars; the upper part to serve for Convocations and Congregations, which till that time were held in the Church it self; the lower for a Walk or place of Conference, in which Students of all sorts might confer together, at their repairing to the Schools, the Library, or any other business which concerned the Publick. But finding the Owners of those Houses not so willing to part with them, as he had probably presumed, he was fain to shift the Scene, though he held his purpose, which fell out very happily for that University: For being resolved to free St. Mary's Church from those Inconveniences, which the continual keeping of the Publick Convocations and Congregations must of necessity carry with it, he erected a stately and most elegant Pile at the West end of the Divinity School, and Publick Library; The lower part whereof was fitted and accommodated for the Convocations, and other Publick Meetings of that Famous Body: The upper part, opening into the Bodleian Library, he trimmed with all the Curiosities of Art and Cost, to serve as a Repository for such Learned Writings, as the Piety of ensuing Times might confer upon it. And that it might not be reported, that he had given them nothing but an empty Box, he furnished it with no fewer than 1276 Manuscripts in several Languages, 700 whereof had been sent before at divers times; when this beautiful Structure was in rais ing: The rest were sent on June 28. in this present year; 100 of these left being in the Hebrew, Greek, Arabick and Persian Tongues. And that he might make some Acknowledgment to the Town of Reading, in which he
PART II. he was born, and in the Grammar-School whereof he had received
Ave Dom. the first part of his Education, he bestowed upon it about this time also
1639. a Revenue of no less than 200l. per Annum, to be thus disposed of;
that is to say, 120l. thereof to be parcelled out every two years, for
the placing of Apprentices, and setting up of young Beginners who
had honestly served out their Times; and every third year, for the
Marriage of five young Maidens which had lived with one Master or
Mistresses for seven years together; 50l. of it to be yearly added for
an Augmentation to the Minister of the Parish-Church of St. Lawrence
in which he was born, whose means before was miserably short of that
which some call a Competency; and having purchased the perpetual
Parsonage of it, he conferred it on St. John's College in Oxon. to be
a fit Preferment for any one of the Fellows of that House for the time
to come: 20l. of it be allotted yearly to increase the Stipend of the
Schoolmaster there; 3l. for the yearly Entertainment of the President
and Fellows of St. John's College, whom he made his Visitors, to see
that all things should be carried as fairly on, as by him piously in-
tended; the remaining 40l. being added as a yearly Fee to the Town-
Clerk, for Registering the Names of those who should from time to
time enjoy the benefit of so great a Charity. Some other great De-
signs he had, but of a far more Publick and Heroick Nature; as the
encreasing of the Maintenance of all the poor Vicars in England. To
see the Tythes of London settled between the Clergy and the City;
For setting up a Greek Press at Oxon. and procuring Letters and Mat-
trices for the same, wherewith to Print and Publish all such Greek Ma-
nuscripts as were to be found in that Library; For obtaining the like
Grant from his Majesty for buying in all Impropiations, as had been
made for the Repairing of St. Paul's: but not to take beginning till that
Work was finished; For procuring an Extract of all the Records of the
Tower relating to the Church and Clergy, to be written in a fair Vel-
lom Book, which had been drawn down from the 20th of Edward I.
to the 14th of Edward IV. with an intent to carry on the Work till the
last year of King Henry VIII. that so the Church might understand her
own Power and Privileges. But the prosecution of this Work from the
said 14th of King Edward IV. and of all the rest before-mentioned,
which he had hammered in design, were most unfortunately inter-
minated, by the great alteration of Affairs which soon after followed. I
cannot tell whether Posterity will believe or not, That so many great
and notable Projectments could be comprehended in one Soul; most of
them Ripened in a manner, the residue in the Bud or Blossom, and some
of them bringing forth the Fruits expected from them. But the best
is, that none of his Designs were carried in so close a manner, or left
in so imperfect a condition, as not to give some visible Remem-
brances, as well of his Universal Comprehensions, as his Zeal and
Piety.

For notwithstanding the present Diftractions which the Faction and
Tumultuousness of the Scots, had drawn upon him (enough to have
deeded a right Constantine) let us look on him in the pursuit of his
former purposes; and we shall find him still the same. The Bishop of
Exeter's
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Exeter's Book being finished, and recommended by the Author to his Lordship, last perusal before it went unto the Press, he took the pains to read it over with care and diligence; in the perusal whereof he took notice, amongst other things, that the strict Superstition of the Sabbathians was but lightly touch'd at; whereas he thought, that some smarter Pfuller to that Sore, might have done no harm. He observed also, that he passed by this Point, viz. Whether Episcopacy be an Order or Degree, as not much material; whereas in the Judgment of such Learned Men as he had consulted, it was the main ground of the whole Cause; And therefore he desired him to weigh it well, and to alter it with his own Pen as soon as might be. But that which gave him most offence was, That the Title of Antichrist was positively and determinately bestowed upon the Pope; Which being so contrary to the Judgment of many Learned Protestants, as well as his own, he allowed not of; but howsoever thought it fit to acquaint his Majesty with the Business; and having so done, to submit it to his Will and Preasure. Concerning which, he writes thus to the Bishop in his Letter of Jan. 14. this present year, viz. The last (with which I dare not but acquaint his Majesty) is about Antichrist, which Title in three or four places you bestowed upon the Pope positively and determinately; whereas King James of Blessed Memory, having brought strong proof in a Work of his, as you well know, to prove the Pope to be Antichrist; yet being afterwards challenged about it, he made this Answer, when the King that now is went into Spain, and acquainted with it: That he writ, that not concluding, but by way of Argument only, that the Pope and his adherents might see, there was as good and better Arguments to prove him Antichrist, than for the Pope, to challenge Temporal Jurisdiction over Kings. The whole Passage being known to me, I could not but speak with the King about it, who commanded me to write unto you, that you might qualify your Expression in these Particulars, and so not differ from the known Judgment of his Pious and Learned Father. This is easily done with your own Pen; and the rather, because all Protestants join not in this Opinion of Antichrist. According to which good advice, the Bishop of Exon. qualified some of his Expressions, and deleted other, to the Contentment of his Sovereign, the Satisfaction of his Metropolitan, and his own great Honour.

But whilst the Archbishop laboured to support Episcopacy on the one side, some of the Puritan Party did as much endeavour to suppress it, by lopping off the Branches first, and afterwards by laying the Axe to the root of the Tree. Bagshaw a Lawyer of some standing of the Middle Temple, did first prepare the way to the ruins of it, by questioning the Bishops Place and Vote in Parliament, their Temporal Power, and the Authority of the High Commission. For being chosen Reader by that House for the Lent Vacation, he first began his Readings on February 24. selecting for the Argument of his Discourses the the Statute 25 Edw. 3. cap. 7. In prosecuting whereof, he had distributed his Conceptions into ten Parts, and each Part into ten several Cases; by which account he must have had one hundred blows at the Church in his ten days Reading. His main design was in the first place,
PART II. intended chiefly for the defence of such Prohibitions as formerly had been granted by the Courts in Westminster-Hall to stop the Proceedings of the Court Christian, and specially of the High-Commission; and in the next place, to deny the Authority of the Commission it self, as before was noted. In order whereunto, he began first to state these Questions, viz. 1. Whether it be a good Act of Parliament without the Assent of the Lords Spiritual? which he held affirmatively. 2. Whether any beneficed Clerk were capable of Temporal Jurisdiction at the time of making that Law? which he held in the negative. And 3. Whether a Bishop, without calling a Synod, have Power as Diocesan to convalidate an Heretic? which he maintained in the negative also. The news whereof being brought to Lambeth, there was no need of warning the Archbishop to look about him, who was not to be told what a strong Faction some of the Scottish Lawyers had made against the Church in Queen Elizabeth's Time; carried it on under the Government of King James, and now began to threaten as much danger to it as in former times. He thereupon informs his Majesty both of the Man and his Delign, and how far he had gone in justifying the Proceedings of the Scottish Covenanters, decrying the Temporal Power of Churchmen, and the undoubted Right of Bishops to their Place in Parliament. His Majesty hereupon gives Order to Finch the new Lord Keeper, to interdict all further Reading on those Points, or any others of like nature, which might administer any further Flame to the present Combinations. The Lord Keeper having done his part, and the Reader addressing himself to him, that by his leave he might proceed in the course of his Exercise, it was soon found, that nothing could be done therein without leave from the King; and no such leave to be obtained, but by the Approbation and Consent of the Lord Archbishop. To Lambeth therefore goes the Reader, where he found no admittance till the making of his third Address, and was then told, That he was fallen upon a Subject neither safe nor seasonable, which should stick closer to him then he was aware of. Bagshawe endeavoured something in his own defence, as to the choice of the Argument; and somewhat also, as to the impossibility of settling to any other Subject in the present Conjuncture desiring his Grace to be a means unto the King, that he might proceed in performance of the Task he had undertaken. To which the Archbishop stoutly answered, That his Majesty was otherwise resolved in it; and that perhaps it had been better for the Reader himself to have given over at the first, than have incurred his Majesties Royal Indignation by that unseasonable Adventure. No better Answer being given him, away goes Bagshaw out of Town, accompanied with forty or fifty Horfe, (and it was a great Honour to the House that he had no more, who seemed to be of the same Faction and Affections also, as their designed Reader was, being instructed, though too late, that they could not have so great a care of their Courts and Profit, as the Archbishops had of the Churches power. Such was the constancy of his spirit, that notwithstanding the Combinations in Scotland, heill prosecuting of the last Summers Action, and the uncertainties of what might happen in the next, he always steered his course with a steady
steady hand to the Port he aimed at; though it pleased God to let him suffer Shipwrack in the month of the Haven.

The interrupting of this man in the course of his Reading, the holding of so strikèt an hand over the Congregations of the French and Dutch within his Province, and these compliances on the other side with the Church of Rome, were made occasions of the clamour, which was raised against him concerning his design to suppress the Gospel, and to bring in Popery and Arminianism; or at the least to make a Reconciliation betwixt us and Rome, towards which the Doctrine of Arminius was given out for a certain Preamble. Which general clamour being raised against him and the rest of the Bishops, I find thus flourithec over by one of their Oratours in the Houfe of Commons. A little search (faith he) will find them to have been the destruction of Unity under pretence of Uniformity; To have brought in Superflition and Scandal under titles of Reverence, and Decency; To have defiled our Church by adorning our Churches; To have slackened the strictnes of that Union which was formerly between us and those of our Religion beyond the Seas, An Action as unpolitick as ungodly: Or we fhall find them to have resembled the Dog in the Manger, to have neither preached themselves, nor employed thofe that should, nor suffered thofe that would; To have brought in Catéchising only to thrust out Preaching, and cried down Lectures by the name of Actions, either because their industry in that duty appeared a reproof to their neglect of it, or with intention to have brought in darknes, that they might the easier fow their tares while it was night: and by that introduction of ignorance, introduce the better that Religion which accounts it the Mother of Devotion. In which (faith he) they have abufed his Majesty, as well as his People; for when he had with great wisdom silenced on both parts thofe opinions which have often tormented the Church, and have, and always will trouble the Schools, They made use of this Declaration to tye up one fide, and to let the other loose, whereas they ought either in defereration to have been equally restrained, or in justice to have been equally tolerated. And it is obfervable, that the party to which they gave this Licence, was that, whose Doctrine, though it was not contrary to Law, was contrary to Custom, and for along while in this Kingdom was no oftener Preached than Recanted, &c.

We find them introducing fuch Doctrines, as admitting them to be true, the truth could not recompence the Scandal; or fuch as were fo far false, as Sir Thomas More lays of the Caffinets, their business was not to keep men from finning, but to inform them, Quam prope ad peccatum, fine peccato liceat accedere. So it feemed their work was to try how much of a Papist might be brought in without Popery, and to destroy as much of the Gospel without bringing themselves into danger of being defroyed by Law. To go yet further, some of them have fo induftriously laboured to deduce themselves from Rome, that they have given great suspicion that in gratitude they designe to return thither, or at leaft to meet it half way; some have evidently laboured to bring in an English, though not a Roman Popery.
The Life of William

PART II. "I mean not only the outside and dress of it, but equally absolute, a blind dependance on the people upon the Clergy and of the Clergy upon themselves; and have opposed the Papacy beyond the Seas, that they might settle one beyond the water.

Such being the general charge which was laid against him, we will consider in this place what may be said in order to his defence, as to some seeming Innovations into the Worship of God, his design to bring in Popery by the back-door of Arminianism, and his endeavours of a Reconciliation betwixt us and Rome. And first, as touching such Innovations in the Worship of God, he makes a general purgation of himself in his Speech made in the Star-Chamber, the sum and substance whereof you have seen before. Out of which I shall only take this short and pithy Declaration which he makes of himself, in relation to this part of his charge, viz. "I can say it clearly and truly, as in the presence of God, that I have done nothing, as a Prelate, to the utmost of what I am conscious, but with a single heart, and with a sincere intention for the good Government and honour of the Church, and the maintenance of the Orthodox truth, and Religion of Christ, professed, established, and maintained in the Church of England. For my care of this Church, the reducing it to Order, the upholding of the External Worship of God in it, and the settling of the Rules of its first Reformation, are the cause (and the sole cause, whatsoever is pretended) of this malicious storm that hath lowed of black upon me, and some of my Brethren. The like Declaration he also makes in his first Speech to the Lords, at the time of his trial, where we find it thus: "Ever since I came into place (faith he) I have laboured nothing more than that the External Worship of God (so much slighted in divers parts of this Kingdom) might be preferred; and that with as much Decency and Uniformity as might be. For I evidently saw, that the publick neglect of God's Service in the outward face of it, and the nasty lying of many places dedicated to that Service, had almost cast a damp upon the true and inward Worship of God, while we live in the body needs External helps, and all little enough to keep it in any vigour. And this I did to the utmost of my knowledge according both to Law and Canon, and with the consent and liking of the People; nor did any Command issue out from me against the one or the other. And finally, we shall find the like Declaration made by him on the Scaffold at the time of his death, in which did hour there was no dissembling (and I conceive all charitable men will believe of it) before God or man. But because it relates also to the next particular, we shall there meet with it.

And for the next particular, concerning the design ing to bring in Popery, it hath been further aggravated by his correspondence with the Popes Ministers here in England, and his indulgence to that Party upon all occasions. But of this he cleansed himself sufficiently in the Star-Chamber Speech before remembred, in which he publickly avowed: "First, That he knew of no plot or purpose of altering the Religion established. Secondly, That he had never been far from attempt-
attending any thing that may truly be said to tend that way in the L I B. IV.
leaf degree. And thirdly, having offered his Oath for the other
two, that if the King had a mind to change Religion (which he knew
he had not) his Majesty must seek for other Instruments, how baely
soever those men had conceived of him. The like assurance he
gives also in the last hour of his life, when he was going to render an
account of all his Actions before Gods Tribunal. "Here is a Cla-
mour that I would have brought in Popery, but I was born and bap-
tized (faith he) in the bosom of the Church of England, established
by Law; in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come
now to dye. This is no time to dissemble with God, leaf of all in
matters of Religion; and therefore I desire it may be remembred, I
have always lived in the Protestant Religion established in England,
and in that I come now to dye. And then he adds with reference
"to the point before, "What Clamours and Ílanders I have endured
for labouring to keep an Uniormity in the External Service of God,
according to the Doctrine and Discipline of this Church, all men
know; and I have abundantly felt. His Conference with Fijiher the
Jefuite, in the year 1622. and his enlarging of that Conference, Anno
1637. with Derings attestation to it, which before we had, do most
abundantly evince this truth, that he approved not the Doctrine of
the Church of Rome. And as he approved not of their Doctrines, so
he as much disliked their practices for gaining Profelytes, or multipl-
ing their followers in all parts of the Kingdom: concerning which he
tells his Majesty, That though he never had advis'd a perfecon of the
Papist in any kind, yet God forbid (faith he) that your Majesty should
let both Laws and Discipline sleep for fear of a Persecution, and in the
mean time let Mr. Fijiher and his Fellow Angler in all parts of your Do-
minions for your Subjects. If in your Grace and Goodness you will spare
their persons; yet I humbly beseech you to see to it, that they be not suffer-
ed to lay either their Weels, or bait their Hooks, or cast their Nets in
every stream, least the Temptation grow both too general, and too strong.
So he in the Epistle Dedicatory to his Large Relation of the Conference
between him and Fijiher, published in the end of the year foregoing.
Affuredly it must needs seem extremely ridiculous to others, and con-
tradictory to itself, to confute the chief Doctrines of the Papiers, and
oppose their prac{ics, if he had had any such design to bring in
Popery.

And being thus averse from them in point of Doctrine he declined
all corre}onse and acquaintance with them, whereby he might
come under the suspicion of some secret Practice. I hold it probable
enough, that the better to oblige the Queen unto him (of whose Pre-
valency in the Kings affections he could not be ignorant) he might
content to Con's coming hither over from the Pope, to be affilient to
her in such affairs as the nature of her Religion might occasion with
the See of Rome: But he kept himself at such a distance, that neither
Con, nor Panzani before him (who acted for a time, in the same ca-
pacity) could fatten any acquaintance on him. The Pamphlet called,
The Papes Nuncio, Printed in the year 1643. hath told us, "That Pan-
zani
PART II. "Zani at his being here, did desire a Conference with the Archbishops of Canterbury, but was put off; and procrastinated therein from day to day; That at the last he departed the Kingdom without any Speech with him. The like we find in the discovery of Andreas ab Habernfield, who tells us of his Con. "That finding the Kings Judgment to depend much on the Archbishops of Canterbury, his faithful Servant, he resolved to move every stone, and bend all his strength to gain him to his side: being confident he had prepared, the means. For he had a command to make offer of a Cardinals Cap to the Lord Archbishop in the name of the Pope of Rome; and that he should allure him also with higher promises, that he might corrupt his sincere mind; yet a fitting occasion was never offered whereby he might intiminate himself into the Lord Archbishop, to whom free access was to be impetrated by the Earl and Countess of Arundel, as also by Secretary Windebank, all whose intercessions he neglected, and did shun (as it were the Plague) the company or Familiarity of Con. He was also solicited by others of no mean Rank, well known to him, and yet he continued unmovable: And whereas some found a way to help at last by making Windebank the Intervenio betwixt him and them, that only servesto make the matter rather worse than better, there being a great strangness grown betwixt him and Windebank, not only before Con's coming into the Realm: but before Panzani had settled any course of intelligence in the Court of England.

As for his favours towards those of the Catholick Party, and his connivence of their Practices, which is next objected; as he had good reason for the one; so there could be no reason to object the other. He had good reason for the one, viz. That by shewing favours to the Papists here, they might obtain the like favours for such Protestants as lived in the Dominion of Popish Princes. Upon which ground King James extended many favours to them in his time, as appears by the letter written on their behalf by the Bishop of Lincoln then Lord Keeper. And yet perhaps he had a better reason for it then this, which was, That seeing the Puritans grown so strong even to the endangering of our Peace both in Church and State, by the negligence and remissness of the former Government, he thought it necessary to throw some countenance to the Papists; that the balance being kept even between the parties, the Church and State might be preserved (as indeed they were) in the greater safety. And this appeareth to be his chief inducement to it, in regard, that when the Protestant party was grown strong enough to stand and go without such Cruutches, he then declared himself openly before the King at a Council-Table against Mountague, Matthews, and the like; and wrought so far, that he removed them from the Court to learn more moderation: and this may sufficiently abolve him from all such connivence as without Reason is objected. And yet I have another Demonstration to discharge him of it. In the November of this year I received a message from him to attend him the next day at two of the Clock in the Afternoon. The Key being turned which opened the way into his Study, I found him sitting
fitting in a Chair holding a Paper in both hands, and his eyes so fix-LI.E. IV.-
ed upon the Paper that he observed me not at my coming in. Finding him in that Posture I thought it fit in manners to retire again; but the noise I made by my retreat, bringing him back unto himself, he recalled me to him, and told me after some short pause, that he well remembered he had sent for me, but could not tell for his life what it was about. After which he was pleased to say (not without tears in his eyes) that he had then newly received a letter, acquainting him with the Revolt of a Person of quality in North Wales to the Church of Rome; that he knew that the increase of Popery, by such frequent Revolts would be imputed unto him, and his brethren the Bishops, who were least guilty of the same; that for his part he had done his utmost so far, forth as it might conduce with the Rules of prudence, and the preservation of the Church, to suppress that party, and to bring the chief sticklers in it to condign punishment. To the truth whereof (lifting up his wet eyes to Heaven) he took God to witness; conjuring me (as I would answer it to God at the day of Judgment) that if ever I come to any of those places, which he and his Brethren by reason of their great age were not likely to hold long, I would employ all such abilities as God had given me, in suppressing the Romish party, who by their open undertakings, and secret practices were like to be the ruin of this flourishing Church.

Finally touching the design of working a Reconciliation betwixt us and Rome. If I find it charged upon him by another writer who holds it as lawful, to be undertaken, As it was impossible to be effected, it was apparent it is (faith he) by several passages in his life, that he endeavoured to take up many controversies betwixt us and the Church of Rome, so to compriate the difference, and to bring us to a vicinage, if not contiguity therewith. An impossible design (if granted lawful) as same every way his equals, did adjudge. For composition is impossible with such, who will not agree unless all they sue for, and all the charges of the suit be to the utmost farthing awarded to them. Our Reconciliation with Rome is clogged with the same impossibilities; she may be gone to, but will never be met with; such her pride or Prevaileance, not to stir a step to obviate any of a different Religion. Rome will never so far Unpope her self, as to part with her pretended Supremacy, and Infallibility, which cuts off all possibility of Protestants treating with her; if possible without prejudice to God's glory and truth, other controversies might be composed. Which done England would have been an Island as well in Religion, as situation, cut off from the Continent of Foreign Protestant Churches, in a singular posture by itself, hard to be imagined, but harder to be effected.

But unto this it hath been Answered, that if it be a Crime, it is No-Animad. enim Crimen, that is to say, a Crime of a new stamp never couynd before. I thought, when our Saviour said, Beati Pacifici, it had been sufficient warrant unto any man to endeavour peace, to build up the breaches in the Church, and to make Jerusalem like a City which is
PART II. at unity in itself; especially where it may be done not only salus
Anno Dom. Charitate, without breach of Charity; but salva fide too, without
wrong to faith; the greatest part of the controversies betwixt us and
the Churf of Rome not being in the Fundamentals, or in any Effential
point in the Chriftian Religion, I cannot otherwise look upon it, but
as a moft pious work, to endeavour an attrovement in the superstru-
cures. But hereof the writer feems to doubt: firt whither fuch
endeavours to agree and compofe the differences be lawful or not, and
fecondly whither they be possible. As for the Lawfulness thereof, I
could never fee any Reafon produced againft it, not fo much as any
question made of it, till I found it here: Against the Possibility there-
of it hath been objected, that fuch and fo great is the pride of the
Church of Rome that they will condefend to nothing; and therefore
if any fuch composition be made, it muft not be by their meeting us,
but by our going to them: But as that Writer fays, that many of the
Archbishops Equals adjudged the design of his to be imposible; fo may
I fay (without making any fuch odious comparisons) that many men
of eminence for their parts and piety have thought otherwise of it.
It was the Petulancy of the Puritans on the one fide, and the Pragma-
ticalnefs of the Jesuites on the other, which made the breach wider
then it was at firft; and had fuch hot spirits on both fides been calm-
ed a while, moderate men might poiffeibly have agreed upon fuch equal
terms, as would have laid a fure foundation for the peace of
Chriftendom. Now that all thofe in the Church of Rome are not fo
fiffly wedded to their own opinions as that Writer makes them,
appears firft by the Testimony of the Archbiffhop of Spalato,
declaring in the High Commission a little before his going hence,
that he acknowledged the Articles of the Church to be true, or profitable at
the leaft; and none of them to be Heretical. It appears fecondly by a
Tractate of Francisca, a Sacra Clara, (as he calls himfelf) in which
he putteth fuch a gloss upon the 39 Articles of the Church of England
as rendreth them not inconfiftent with the Dogmefes of the Church of
Rome. And if without prejudice to the truth, the controversies might
have been compofed, it is moft probable, that other Protestant
Churches would have fued by their Agents to be included in the Peace:
if not, the Church of England had loft nothing by it, as being hated
by the Calvinifts, and not loved by the Lutherians.

Admitting then that fuch a Reconciliation was endeavoured betwixt
the Agents for both Churches, Let us next fee what our great States-
men have didcourfed upon that particular, upon what terms the
Agreement was to have been made, and how far they proceeded
in it. And firft the book entitled the Popes Nuncio, affirmed to have
been written by a Venetian Ambaffadour at his being in England, both
discourfe it thus. "As to a Reconciliation (faith he) between the
"Churches of England and Rome, there were made fome general Pro-
"poftions and overtures by the Archbiffsop Agents, they affurinf
"that his Grace was very much disposed thereunto; and that if it was
"not accomplifh in his life time, it would prove a work of more
"difficulty after his death; that in very truth for the laft three years,
"the
The Archbishop had introduced some innovations approaching near 1. 1 B. IV. the Rites and Forms of Rome; that the Bishop of Chichester a great Confident of his Grace, the Lord Treasurer and eight other Bishops of his Graces party, did most passionately desire a Reconciliation with the Church of Rome; that they did day by day receed from their Ancient Tenents to accommodate with the Church of Rome; that therefore the Pope on his part, ought to make some steps to meet them, and the Court of Rome Remit something of its Rigor in Doctrine, or otherwise no accord would be. The composition on both sides in so good a forwardness, before Panzanly left the Kingdom, that the Archbishop, and Bishop of Chichester had often said, that there were but two sorts of People likely to impede and hinder the Reconciliation to wit, the Puritans amongst the Protestants, and the Jesuits amongst the Catholicks.

Let us next see the Judgment and Relation of another Author in a Glos or Comment on the Former, intituled the English Pope Printed at London in the same year 1643. And he well tells us that after Con had undertook the managing of the affairs, matters began to grow toward some agreement. The King required faith, (a b) such a dispensation from the then Pope, as that his Catholick Subjects might refer to the Protestant Churches, and to take the oaths of Supremacy, and Fidelity: and that the Popes Jurisdiction here should be declared to be but of humane Right. "And so far had the Pope consented, that whatsoever did concern the King therein, should have been really performed, so far forth as other Catholick Princes usually enjoy, and expect as their due; and so far as the Bishops were to be Independent both from King and Pope: there was no fear of breach on the Popes part. So that upon the point the Pope was to content himself amongst us in England with a Priority instead of a Superiority over other Bishops, and with a Privity instead of a Supremacy in these parts of Christendom: which I conceive no man of Learning, and Sobriety would have grudged to grant him. It was also conceded to the name of the Pope that marriage might be permitted to Priests; that the Communion might be Administered sub utraque specie; and that the Liturgy might be officiated in the English tongue. And though the Author adds not long after, that it was to be suspected, that so far as the inferior Clergy, and the people were concerned, the after performance was to be left to the Popes Discretion; yet this was but his own suspicion, without ground at all. And to obtain a Reconciliation upon these Advantages, the Archbishop had all the Reason in the world to do as he did, in ordering the Lords Table to be placed, where the Altar stood, and making the accustomed Reverence in all approaches towards it, and accessess to it; in beautifying and adorning Churches, and celebrating the Divine Service with all due Sobemnities; in taking care that all offensive and exasperating passages should be expunged out of such Books as were brought to the Press; and for reducing the extravagancy of some opinions to an even temper. His Majesty had the like Reason alfo for tolerating Lawful Recreations on the Sundays and Holy-days.
PART II. The rigorous Restraint whereof made some Papists think (those most especially of the vulgar sort, whom it most concerned) that all honest Papists were incompatible with our Religion. And if he approved Auricular Confession, and shewed himself willing to introduce it into the use of the Church, as both our Authors say he did; it is no more than what the Liturgy Commends to the Care of the Penitent (though we find not the word Auricular in it) or what the Canons have provided for in the point of security for such as shall be willing to confess themselves: But whereas we are told by one of our Authors, that the King should say, he would use force to make it be received, were it not for fear of Sedition amongst the People: Yet is it but in one of our Authors neither, who hath no other Author for it than a nameless Doctor. And in the way towards so happy an agreement (though they all stand accused for it by the English Pope, pag. 15.) Sparrow may be excused for placing it with Auricular Confession; and Watts for Penance; Hoplyn for Adoration toward the Altar; and Mountague for such a qualified praying to Saints, as his books maintain against the Papists.

If you would know how far they had proceeded towards this happy Reconciliation, the Popes Nuncio will allure us thus; That the Universities, Bishops, and Dioces of this Realm, did daily embrace Catholick Opinions; though they professed not so much with Pen or Mouth for fear of the Puritans. For example, they hold, That the Church of Rome is a true Church; That the Pope is Superior to all Bishops; That to him it appertains to call General Councils; That it is lawful to pray for the Soul of the Departed; That Altars ought to be erected of Stone. In sum, That they believe all that is taught by the Church, but not by the Court of Rome. Another of their Authors tells us (as was elsewhere noted) That

Direction to N. N. pref. N. victim. fech. 20. those amongst us of greatest Worth, Learning, and Authority, began to love Temper and Moderation; That their Doctrines began to be altered in many things, for which their Progenitors forsook the Visible Church of Christ; as for example, The Pope not Antichrist, Prayers for the Dead, Limbus, Patrum, Pictures; That the Church hath Authority in determining Controversies of Faith, and to interpret Scriptures about Free-will, Predestination, Universal Grace; That all our Works are not Sins, Merit of Good Works, Inherent Justice. Faith alone doth justify, Charity to be preferred before Knowledge, The Authority of Traditions, Commandments possible to be kept; That in Exposition of the Scripture, they are by Canon bound to follow the Fathers; and that the once fearful Names of Priests and Altars are used willingly in their Talk and Writings. In which Compliances so far forth as they speak the truth (for in some Points, through the ignorance of the one and the malice of the other, they are much mistaken) there is scarce anything which may not very well confit with the established (though for a time discontinued) Doctrine of the Church of England, as the same Jesuit hath observed, seem patient, or ambitious rather, of some fence wherein they may seem Catholick: And such a fence is put upon them by him that calls himself Francois a Salis Claris, as before was said. And if upon such Compliances as those before, on the
part of the English, the Conditions offered by the Pope might have been confirmed, Who seeth not, that the greatest Benefit of the Reconciliation would have redounded to this Church, to the King and People? His Majesty's Security provided for, by the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, so far as it concerned his Temporal Power; The Bishops of England to be independent of the Popes of Rome; The Clergy to be permitted the use of Marriage; the People to receive the Communion in both Kinds, and all Divine Offices officiated in the English Tongue; No Innovation made in Doctrine: but only in the qualifying of some Expressions, and discharging some Out-landish Glosses as were put upon them. And seeing this, What man could be so void of Charity, so uncompassionate of the Miseries and Distractions of Christendom, as not to wish from the very bottom of his Soul, That the Reconciliation had proceeded upon so good Terms? as not to magnify the men to succeeding Ages, who were the Instruments and Authors of so great a Blessing?

But then admitting, as we may, That no such Reconciliation was upon the Anvil; and that our two Discoursers have proceeded only upon Suppositions: yet Canterbury had good ground for what he did, were it no other then the settling of the Church of England upon the first Principles and Positions of her Reformation. But he had further aims than so. He had some thoughts (and I have reason to believe it) by Conferences first; and if that failed, by the ordinary course of Ecclesiastical Censures, (a) of gaining the Papists to the Church; and therefore it concerned him in point of Prudence, to smooth the way, by removing all such Blocks and Obstacles which had been laid before them by the Puritan Faction. He knew, that from their Infancy they had been trained up in a Regular Order of Devotion; and that they loved that Religion best, which came accompanied with Decency and External Splendour: That they objected nothing more against us, than the Novelty of our Doctrine, the Heterodoxies maintained in Publick by some of our Preachers, the slovenly keeping of our Churches, the Irreverence of the People in them, the rude and careless flubbering over of our Common Prayers. And what Encouragements had they for retiring to the Congregation, when they should hear the Pope defamed, whom they beheld with Reverence as their Common Father; their Ceremonies to be counted Antichristian, their Mass Idolatrous, their whole Religion worse then that of the Turks and Moors; conformity to whom in Rites and Ceremonies, was held to be more tolerable by the Puritan Preachers, than to those of Rome. These Rubs were first to be removed, before they could have any thoughts of uniting to us. And for the removing of those Rubs, he fell upon the courses before-mentioned; which being Renovations only of some ancient Usages, were branded by the odious name of Innovations, by some of those who out of cunning and design had long diffused them. Some zealous Protestants beheld his Actings with no small fear, as byaffing too strongly toward Rome; that the Puritans exclaimed against him for a Papist, and the Papists cried him up for theirs, and gave themselves some flattering hopes of our coming.

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(a) Cant. 3; 1640.
PART II. towards them: But the most knowing and understanding men amongst them, found plainly, That nothing could tend more to their destruction, than the introducing of some Ceremonies which by late negligence and practice had been discontinued. For I have heard from a Person of known Nobility, That at his being at Rome with a Father of the English College, one of the Novices came in and told him with a great deal of joy, That the English were upon returning to the Church of Rome; That they began to set up Altars, to Officiate in their Copes, to Adorn their Churches, and to paint the Pictures of the Saints in the Church Windows: To which the old Father made Reply, with some indignation, That he talked like an ignorant Novice; That these Proceedings rather tended to the Ruine, than Advancement of the Catholic Church; That by this means the Church of England coming nearer to the ancient Usages, the Catholics there would sooner be drawn off from them, than any more of that Nation would fall off to Rome.

In reference to Doctrinal Points, Heterodoxies, and new Opinions, and such extravagant Expressions, both from Press and Pulpit, he took as much care as in the other. And to that end, he was not pleased that the Pope should be any longer stigmatized by the name of Antichrift; and gave a strict Charge unto his Chaplains, That all exasperating Passages (which edificie nothing) should be expunged out of such Books as by them were to be Licensed to the Press; and that no Doctrines of that Church should be writ against: but such as seemed to be inconsistent with the established Doctrine of the Church of England. Upon which ground it was, that Baker Chaplain to the Bishop of London refused to Licence the Reprinting of a Book about the Gunpowder-Treason, saying to him that brought the Book, That we were not so angry with the Papists now, as we were about twenty years since; and that there was no need of any such Books to exasperate them, there being now an endeavour to win them to us by fairnes and mildness. And on the same ground, Bray Chaplain to the Archbishop, refused the Licenfing of another, called, The Advice of a Son, unless he might expunge some unpleasing Expressions, affirming, That these Passages would offend the Papists, whom we were now in a fair way of winning, and therefore must not use any harsh Phrases against them. The Chaplains not to be condemned for their honest care, and much less their Lords; though I find it very heavily charged as a Crime in all. In the English Litany set out by King Henry viii. and continued in both Liturgies of King Edward vi. there was this Clause against the Pope, viz. From the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord, &c. Which being considered as a means to affright those of the Romish Party from coming diligently to our Churches, was prudently expunged by those who had the Revising of the Liturgie, in the first year of the Queen. In imitation of whose Pity and Christian Care, it was thought fit by the Archbishop to change some Phrases which were found in the Books of Prayer appointed for the Fifth of November. The first was this Root out the Babylonish and Antichristian Sect, which say of Jerusalem, Down with it, &c. Which he changed only
only unto this, Root out the Babylonish or Antichristian Selfs, (of them) L I B. IV. which say, &c. The second was, Cut off those Workers of Iniquity, Anno Dom. whose Religion is Rebellion, and whose Faith is Faction; which he changed no otherwise than thus, Cut off those Workers of Iniquity, who turn Religion into Rebellion, &c. The Alterations were but small, but the clamour great which was raised about it. The Puritans complaining, That the Prayers so altered, were intended to reflect on them, seemed to be conscious to themselves of turning Religion into Rebellion, and saying of Jerualem (like the old Babylonish Self) Down with it, down with it to the ground. But he had better reason for it, than they had against it. For if the first Reformers were so careful of giving no offence to the Romish Party, as to expunge a Passage out of the Publick Liturgie, when the Queen was a Protestant; much greater reason had the Archbishop to correct those Passages in a formal Prayer not confirmed by Law, when the Queen was one of that Religion.

Nothing in this or any of the rest before, which tends to the bringing in of Popery, the prejudice of the true Protestant Religion, or the suppressing of the Gospel. Had his Designs tending to the Advancing of Popery, he neither would have took such pains to confine their Doctrines, nor they have entertained such secret practices to destroy his Person (of which more hereafter.) Had he directed his endeavours to suppress the Protestants, he would not have given so much countenance to Dury a Scot, who entertained him with some hopes of working an Accord betwixt the Lutheran and Calvinian Churches. In which Service, as he waited a great deal of time to little purpose; so he received as much Encouragement from Canterbury, as he had reason to expect. Welcom at all times to his Table, and speaking honourably of him upon all occasions, till the times were changed; when either finding the impossibility of his Undertaking, or wanting a Supply of that Oyl which maintained his Lamp, he proved as true a Scot as the rest of the Nation; laying the blame of his miscarriage in it, on the want of Encouragement; and speaking disgracefully of the man which had given him most. Had he intended any prejudice to the Reformed Religion, Reformed according to the Doctrine of Calvin, and the Genevian Forms, both of Worship and Government, he would not have so cordially advanced the General Collection for the Palatine Churches, or provided so heartily for the Rockellers and their Religion; touching which laft, we find this Clause in a Prayer of his for the Duke of Buckingham, when he went Commander of his Majesties Forces for the Isle of Rhen, viz. Bless my dear Lord the Duke, that is gone Admiral with them, that Wisdom may attend all his Counsels, and Courage and Success all his Enterprises; That by his and their means thou wilt be pleased to bring Safety to this Kingdom, Strength and Comfort to Religion, Victory and Reputation to our Country. Had he projected any such thing as the suppressing of the Gospel, he would not have shewed himself so industrious in preventing Socinianiſmæ from poysoning those of riper years, in turning afternoon Sermons into Catechizing for the instruction of Children; in prohibiting all Assemblies of Anabaptists, Familists, and other Sectaries, which oppose the Common Principles of
the Christian Faith. For that his silencing of the *Arminian Controversies*, should be a means to suppress the Gospel; or his favouring of those Opinions, designed for a back-door to bring in *Papery*, no wise man can think. The Points in Controversie between the *Calvinists* and *Arminians*, in the Reformed Churches of Calvin’s Plat-form, are agitated no less fiercely by the *Dominicans* on the one side, the *Jesuits* and *Franciscans* on the other side, in the Church of Rome; the Calvinists holding with the Dominicans, as the Arminians do with the Jesuit and Franciscan Friars. And therefore, why any such compliance with the Dominicans (the principal Sticklers and Promoters in the Inquisition) should not be looked on as a back-door to bring in Papery, as well as a Compliance in the same Points with the other two Orders, is beyond my reach. With which I shut up my Discourse touching the Councils and Designs which were then on foot, and conclude this year.

The next begins with a Parliament and Convocation; the one assembled on the thirteenth, the other on the fourteenth of April. In Calling Parliaments, the King directs his Writs or Letters severally to the Peers and Prelates, requiring them to attend in Parliament to be holden by the Advice of his Privy Council, at a certain Time and Place appointed, and there to give their Council in some great and weighty Affairs, touching himself, the safety of the Realm, and the defence of the Church of England: A Clause being added in all those to the several Bishops, to give notice to all Deans and Archdeacons to attend the Parliament in their own Persons, all Chapters by one Proxie, and the Diocesan Clergy by two; for yielding their Consent and Obedience to such Laws and Ordinances as by the Common Council of the Kingdom shall be then Enacted: Which Clause remains still in those Letters, though not still in practice. Writs are sent out also to the several Sheriffs, acquainting them with his Majesties purpose of consulting in a Parliamentary way with the Peers and Prelates, and other Great Men of the Realm (the Judges and Officers of State, &c.) and then requiring them to cause two Knights to be elected for every County, two Citizens for every City, or more Burgesses for every Burrough (according as the place is privileged) in their several Shires. All of them to attend in Parliament at the time appointed; no otherwise empowered than the Deans, Archdeacons, and the rest of the Clergy by their formal Writs. But in the calling of a Convocation, the form is otherwise; for in this case the King directs his Writs to the two Archbishops, requiring them for the great and weighty Reasons above-mentioned, to cause a Convocation of the Clergy, to be forthwith called, leaving the nominating of the Time and Place to their discretion; though for the ease of the Bishops and Clergy, commanded to attend in Parliament, as before was said, the Archbishop used to nominate such Time and Place as might most fort with that Attendance. On the receiving of which Writ, the Archbishop of Canterbury sends his Mandate to the Bishop of London, as Dean of the Episcopal Colledge, requiring him to Cite and Summon all the Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Capitular Bodies, with the whole Clergy
Clergy of the Province, according to the usual form, to appear be-
fore him at such place and time as he therein nominated; and that the
Procurators for the Chapter and Clergy be furnished with sufficient
powers by those that sent them, not only to treat upon such points as
should be propounded for the peace of the Church, and defence of the
Realm of England, and to give their Counsel in the same, but also to
(a) consent both in their own names, and in the names of them that
sent them unto all such things as by mature deliberation, and consent,
should be there ordained. Which Mandate being received by the Bi-
shop of London, he sends out his Citations to the several Bishops of
that Province, and they give intimation of it to the Clergy of their se-
veral Diocesses; according whereunto the Chapters and Parochial
Clergy do elect their clergys, binding themselves (b) under the for-
feiture of all their goods, movable, and immovable, to stand to and
perform whatsoever the said Clerks shall say or do in their behalf.
Both Bodies, being thus assembled, are to continue their attendance in
the publick Service during the pleasure of the King; the Acts of
both to be invalid till confirmed by his Majesty; the one most com-
monly by himself, sitting upon his Royal Throne in open Parlia-
ment; the other always by Letters Patents under the Great Seal; ne-
nether of the two to be dissolved but by several Writs, That for the
Parliament directed to the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, (as the
case may vary) That for the Convocation issued out to the Metropo-
litans of the several Provinces. In this, and this alone, they differ as
to matter of Form, that the Peers and People assembled in Parliament
may treat, debate, and conclude of any thing which is to be tendred
to the King for his Royal Assent without any other power than the
first Writ, by virtue whereof they are assembled: But the Bishops and
Clergy are restrained in their Convocation by the Statute of the 25
Henry viii. from treating, debating, forming, and concluding of any
Canons or Constitutions, or doing any Ecclesiastical Acts, tending to
the determination of Controversies, or decreeing Ceremonies, till they
are licensed thereunto by the King's Commission. All which particu-
lar I have thought fit to touch at in this present place, because we are
to relate unto them in the course of our business.

At the opening of the Parliament the Sermon was Preached before
his Majesty, the Peers and Prelates, by the Bishop of Ely. The Ser-
mon being done, they passed in the accustomed State to the Parliament
House: to which the Commons being called, his Majesty acquainted
them with the indignities and affronts, even to the taking up of Arms
against him, which he had suffered from some of his Subjects in Sco-
land, required their assistance to reduce them to their due obedience,
advising them to go together for chusing their Speaker, and to pro-
ceed unto their business. But all they did in order to his Commands,
was the admitting of Glanville, a right learned Lawyer, whom his Ma-
Jesty had commended to them, to be the Speaker for their House.
Their Grievances must first be heard, and the safety of Religion pro-
vided for before the matter of supply was to be considered. This was
enough to give an hint to the Archbishop, that an enquiry would be
made.
PART II. made into all his Actions, to the disturbance of the work which he had begun, and was no small hope to perfect. For remedy whereof he was resolved to make use of a friend in the House of Commons for offering this motion to the rest, viz. That a certain number of that House would join in Conference with as many of the Clergy assembled in Convocation, touching all doubts and differences which might happen to arise amongst them in matters which concerned the Church. And this he did upon this reason, that if the motion were accepted, the Committee for the Clergy in Convocation, might give satisfaction to that of the House of Commons in all such matters Doctrinal, or points of Ceremony which should come before them: But if the motion were rejected, he should then get the start in point of Reputation amongst knowing men; the refuling of so fair an offer, bearing witness for him that their Proceedings were directed rather by power and interest, than by truth and reason. But the short life of this Parliament made that Counsel useless. For the Commons doing nothing which the King desired, and the King desiring nothing more, than that they would speedily resolve one way or other, the Lords agreed upon a Vote for desiring a Conference with the Commons, the better to dispose them to this point, that his Majesties supply should have precendancy of the Subjects Grievances. This voted by the Commons for a breach of their Privilegges, and the Peers censured for it, as having been transported beyond their bounds. To calm which heat his Majesty made offer, for twelve Subsidies, to relinquish all his right to the Naval aid, of late called ship-money, which had been antiently enjoyed by his Predecessors; But the Proposition, though it came but to three years purchase, would not down amongst them. At last they came unto a resolution of yielding somewhat toward his Majesties supply; but in the grant thereof, blotted his Majesties Expedition against the Scots, whole Cause they resolved to make their own, and received thanks from them for that favour in their next Remonstrance. Which coming to his Majesties ears on Monday the fourth of May, he called his Council together on the next Morning betimes, by whose unanimous consent he dissolved the Parliament.

On Tuesday, April 14. the Convocation assembled in the Chapter-house of the Church of St. Paul, from whence they waited on his Grace and the rest of the Bishops, to hear the Sermon in the Quire. The Sermon preach'd by Turner, Residentiary of the Church. His Text was taken out of Mat. 10. 16. Behold I send you forth as Sheep in the midst of Wolves, which he followed home unto the Purpose. In the close of the Sermon he had a paffage in these words, or to this effect, that all the Bishops held not the Reins of Church Discipline with an even hand, but that some of them were too easie and relents in the ordering thereof. Whereby though they fought to gain to themselves the popular plaine of meekness and mildness, they occasionally cast on other Bishops (more severe than themselves) the unjust imputation of Rigour and Tyranny; and therefore he advised them withal, with equal strictness to urge an universal Conformity. The
Sermon ended, the Clergy fell to the electing of their Prolocutor (as L1 B. IV before commanded) pitching unanimously on Dr. Richard Steward Anno Dom. Clerk of his Majefties Clofet, and Dean of Chichefter to be prefented the next day to the Archbifhop and the rest of the Prelates in the Chappel of King Henry viii. at Westminster, to which the Synod was ad-journed. The next day being come (after a Proteftation made in writing by the Sub-Dean and Prebendaries of that Church for not acknowledging the Archbifhop of Canterbury, or the rest of the Bifhops, to have any Jurifdiction in that place, and the admitting of the fame for good and valid) they were permitted to proceed in their Convocation. The buinfefs of that day was the prefenting of the Prolocu-tor by Sheldon, Warden of All-Souls, his Admission by the Archbifhop, and Stewards unwilling readiness to discharge the Office; each of them delivering their conceptions in Elegant Latine Speeches, as the cuftom is, but the Archbifhops longer than both the rest. Which Ceremonies being performed, his Grace produced a Commiffion under the Great Seal, by which they were enabled (according to the faid Statute of King Henry viii.) to propofe, treat, confult, and agree upon the Expofition or Alteration of any Canon then in force, and upon fuch new Canons, Orders, and Constitutions, as the faid Bifhops and Clergy (of which the Lord Archbifhop to be always one) should think fit, neceffary, and convenient for the honour and service of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better Government thereof to be performed and kept by the faid Archbifhops, Bifhops, and the rest of the Clergy in their feparate places; as alfo by the Dean of the Arches, and by all others having Ecclefaftical Jurifdiction in the Province of Canterbury, and by all other persons within this Realm, fo far as being Members of this Church they may be concerned. Provided always that no fuch Canons, Orders and Constitutions, fo to be considered on as aforefaid, be contrary or repugnant to the Liturgy established, or the Rubrics in it, or the 39 Articules, or any Doctrinal Orders, and Ceremonies of the Church of England, already established; alfo that nothing fhould be done in execution of the fame, till being exhibited to his Majefty in writing, to be allowed, approved, confirmed, and ratified; or otherwife disallowed, annihi-lated, and made void as he fhould think fit, requisite, and convenient; and then to be allowed, approved, and confirmed by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England, Alfo the faid Commiffion to continue and remain in force during the prefent Session of Parliament, and to expire together with it.

For the procuring of this Commiſion, as the Archbifhop had good reason, as well for countenancing and conforming his former Actings, p. 287, as for rectifying many other things which required reformation fo had 295. his Majefty as good reasons for the granting of it, the grounds where-of contained in his Commiſion of June 13. for confirming all the Acts of this Convocation, are to this effect: "He had been given to under-stand, that many of his Subjects being milled againft the Rites and Ceremonies then used in the Church of England, had taken of-

fence at the fame upon an unjust Suppoſal, That they were not only
PART II. "contrary to Law": but also introductive unto Popish Superstitions; whereas it well appeared unto him upon mature deliberation, that the said Rites and Ceremonies, which were then so much quarreled at, were not only approved of, and used by those godly and learned Divines to whom, at the time of the Reformation under King Edward vi. the compiling of the Book of Common-Prayer was committed (divers of which suffered Martyrdom in Queen Mary's days) but also again taken up by this whole Church under Queen Elizabeth. Which Rites so taken up, had been so duly and ordinarily practiced for a great part of her Reign (within the memory of divers living) as that it could not then be imagined, that there would need any Rule or Law for the observance of the same, nor that they could be thought to favour of Popery. He found too plainly, that since those times, for want of an express Rule therein, and by the subtle practices of some men, the said Rites and Ceremonies began to fall into disuse; and in place thereof other Foreign and unfitting usages by little and little to creep in: But being he found withal that in the Royal Chapels, and in many other Churches most of them had been ever constantly used and observed, his Majesty could not but be very sensible of the inconvenience. And he had cause also to conceive, that the Authors and Fomenters of those Jealousies, though they coloured the fame with a pretence of zeal, and did seem to strike only at some supposed iniquity in the said Ceremonies: yet aimed at his Royal Person, and would have his good Subjects think, that he himself was perverted, and did worship God in a superstitious way, and that he did intend to bring in some alteration in the Religion here established. From which how far he was, and how utterly he detested the very thought thereof, he had by his many Declarations, and upon sundry other occasions, given such assurance to the World, that no man of Wisdom and Discretion could ever be so beguiled as to give any serious entertainment to such brain-sick Jealousies. And as for the weaker sort, who were prone to be misled by crafty seducers, he always assured himself, that as many of them as had loyal, or but charitable hearts, would from thenceforth utterly banish all such causeless fears and surmises up upon those his Sacred Professions so often made, as a Defender of the Christian Faith, their King and Sovereign. He perceived in the next place, that the King's leaders of many well-minded people, did make the more advantage (for the nourishing of such dissenter-samongst them) because the aforesaid Rites and Ceremonies, or some of them, were now insinued upon but only in some Dioceses, and were not generally received in all places, nor constantly nor uniformly practiced throughout all the Churches in the Kingdom; and thereupon have been liable to be quarreled and opposed by them who use them not. In imitation therefore of the pious Examples of King Edward vi. Queen Elizabeth, and King James of Blessed Memories, he thought it most agreeable to his own Honor, and the good of his People, to Licence the Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergie in their several Convocations, to make such further Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, as should be
The Sacraments. And this he did to this end and purpose, That as he had been ever carefull and ready to cut off Superfition with the one hand, so he might also expel Profaneness and Irreverence with the other: By means whereof it might please Almighty God to bless him, and this Church committed to his Government, that it might at once return to the true former splendour of Uniformity, Devotion, and Holy Order; the last whereof, for many years past, had been much obscured by the devices of some ill affected to it, where it had long stood from the very beginning of the Reformation, and through inadvertency of some in Authority in the Church under him.

Such were the Motives which induced his Majesty to grant this Commission, which was exceeding acceptable to the greatest and best affected part of the whole Assembly, as being an evident demonstration of the trust and confidence which his Majesty had reposed in them. In a grateful acknowledgment whereof, for the support of this Majesty's Royal Estate, and the effectual furtherance of his most Royal and Extraordinary Devices abroad, they gave him six Subsidies, after the rate of four shillings in the pound, to be paid in the six years then next following, by two equal parts or moyeties in every year; appointing a Committee to put the Grant into form, and make it ready for a Confirmation by Act of Parliament. But the first thing in which they acted by this Commission, was the tendering of a Canon to them by the Archbishop of Canterbury. For suppressing the further growth of Popery, and reducing Papists to the Church, with Order to the Proctor or inferior Clergy, to enlarge and perfect it as to them seemed most conduiteable to the end desired: But afterward considering how much it might redound to his estimation, that the said Canon should proceed entirely from himself alone, here called the Paper into his own hands; and after some time of deliberation, returned it back unto the Clergy in the very same words in which it paffed.

By which so framed and enlarged, it was Ordained, That all and every Person or Persons, of what Rank soever, having and exercising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, as also all Persons entrusted with the Cure of Souls, should use respectively all possible care and diligence, by open Conference with the Parties, and by Censures of the Church in inferior and higher Courts, as also by Complaints unto the Secular Power, to reduce all such to the Church of England, who were misled into Papish Superfition. Those publick Conferences to be managed by the Bishop in person (if his Occasion will permit it) or by some one or more Learned Men of his especial appointment. The time and place of such Conferences, with the Names of the Persons to be admitted to the same, to be of the Bishops nomination. Such Papists as refuse to appear, at any of the said Conferences to be counted obstinate; and such Ministers as should refuse to act therein, without a reasonable Cause approved by the Bishop, to be Suspended for six Months: Provided, That the place appointed for the said Conferences be not distant above ten miles from their dwelling houses: That in such case Conferences produce not the effect desired, all
Ecclesiastical Persons shall then be careful to inform themselves of all Recusants, above the age of 12 years, in their several Parishes, as well concerning their not coming to the Church, as their referring to other places to hear Mass; of all such as be active in seducing the Subjects from coming to Church, and dissuading them from taking the Oath of Allegiance; the Names of all such to be presented, that being cited, and found obstinate, they might be publickly Excommunicated, as well in the Cathedral as their Parish Churches. The like course to be also taken by the Diocesans, in places of exempt Jurisdiction, and the Offenders to be turned over to the High-Commission. That the Names of all such as are presented in any Inferior Jurisdiction, be transmitted within fix Months to the Diocesans, by them to be returned, together with the Names of such as have been presented in their own Visitations, to his Majesties Justices of Assize in their several Circuits. And the same course to be also taken in returning the Names of all such persons as have been either Married or Buried, or have had their Children Christened in any other form, than according to the Rules of the Church of England; to the intent they may be punished according to the Statutes in that behalf. That Information be given by all Churchwardens upon their Oaths, what persons are employed as Schoolmasters in Recusants Houses; to the end that if they have not or will not subscribe, they may be forbidden and discharged from teaching Children any longer: And the Names of all Persons which entertain such Schoolmasters, to be certified at the next Assizes. Such Schoolmasters to incur the publick Censure of the Church, as do not carefully instruct the Children committed to them, in the publick Catechism; and the Names of such Parents, as either thereupon shall take away their said Children, or otherwise send them to be educated beyond the Seas, to be presented upon Oath at the Visitations, and certified also to the said Justices, as before is said, that the said Parents may be punished according to the Law: The said Certificate to be presented to the Judges by the Bishops Registrars, immediately on the Reading of the Commission, or at the end of the Charge, upon pain of Suspension for three Months from their several Offices: The said Judges and Justices being entreated and exhorted, not to fail of putting the said Laws in execution; and not to admit of any vexatious Suit or Suits, against any Churchwardens, or other sworn Officers, for doing their duty in this kind: That a Significant be made in Chancery by all the several Bishops, of the Names of all such persons as have stood Excommunicated beyond the time limited by the Laws, defering that the Writ De Excommunicato capiendo may be issued against them ex officio. And finally, That no person or persons subject to the said Writ shall be Absolved by virtue of an Appeal into any Ecclesiastical Court, till they have first taken in their own persons the usual Oath De parendo juri, etc. standing mandatis Ecclesiæ; With a Petition to his Majesty, in the Name of the Synod, to give command both to his Officers in Chancery, and the Sheriffs of the several Counties, for sending out and executing the said Writs from time to time, without any Charge to the Diocesans (whofe...
Another Canon was brought against Socinianism, by the spreading of which damnable and cursed Heresy, much mischief had already been done in the Church: For the suppressing whereof, it was ordained by the Synod (after some explication and correction of the words and phrases,) "That no Stationer, Printer, or other person, should print, buy, sell, or dispire any Book, broaching or maintaining the said Abominable Doctrine or Positions, upon pain of Excommunication ipso facto, and of being proceeded against by his Majesty's Attorney-General, on a Certificate thereof to be returned by the several Ordinaries to their Metropolitan, according to the late Decree of Star-Chamber against Sellers of prohibited Books; That no Preacher should presume to vent any such Doctrine in any Sermon, under pain of Excommunication for the first Offence, and Deprivation for the second: That no Student in either of the Universities, nor any person in Holy Orders, excepting Graduates in Divinity, or such as have Episcopal or Archidiaconal Jurisdiction, or Doctors of Law in Holy Orders, shall be suffered to have or read any Socinian Book or Discourse, under pain (if the Offender live in the University) that he shall be punished according to the strictest Statutes provided there against the publishing, reading, and maintaining of false Doctrines; or if he lived in the City or Country abroad, of a Suspension for the first Offence, Excommunication for the second, and Deprivation for the third, unless he should absolutely and terminis abjure the same. That if any Lay-person should be seduced unto that Opinion, and be convicted of it, he should..."
PART II. "should be Excommunicated, and not Absoleved but upon due Re-
penance and Abjuration, and that before his Metropolitan, or his
own Bishop at least: With several Clauses for seizing and burning
all such Books as should be found in any other hands than those before
limited and expressed. Which severcourse being taken by the Convoy-
ction, makes it a matter of no small wonder, That Cheynell the
Uffruchtuary of the rich Parsonage of Petworth, should impute the Rife
and Growth of Socinianism, in a Pamphlet not long after Printed, un-
to many of those who had been principal Actors in suppressting of those
wicked and detestable Hereies. Another Canon was prefentd to the
Prelocutor, by one of the Members of that Body, advanced the next
year to a higher Dignity, for Restraint of sectaries: By which it was
decreed, "That all tho Procedings and Penalties which are men-
tioned in the Canon against popish Recusants, so far forth as may be
appliable, should be in full forse and vigour against all Anabaptifts,
Brownifts, Separatifis: Familifs, or other Sect or Sects, Pefon or
Person whatsoever, who do or shall either obstinately refuse: or
ordinarily, not having a lawful impediment (that is, for the space of
a Month) neglect to repair to their parish Churches or Chappels
where they inhabit, for the hearing of Divine Service established,
and receiving of the Holy Communion according to Law: That
the Claufe in the former Canon against Books of Socinianism, should
also extend to the Makers, Importers, Printers, and Publishers or Dif-
persters of any Book, Writing, or Scandalous Pamphlet, devised a-
gainst the Discipline and Government of the Church of England;
and unto the Maintainers and Affectors of any Opinion of Doctrine
against the same. And finally, That all defpers and depravers of
the Book of Common-Prayer, who reforted not according to Law
to their Church or Chappel, to joyn in the Publick Worship of God
in the Congregation, contenting themselves with the hearing of
Sermons only, should be carefully inquired after, and prefented to
their several and respective Ordinaries: The fame Proceedings and
Penalties mentioned in the aforesaid Canons, to be used against them,
unless with one whole Month after they are first Denounced, they
shall make acknowledgment and Reformation of their fault.

So far the Bishops and Clergy had proceeded in the Work recom-
mended to them, when the Parliament was most unhappily Dissolved:
And possibly the Convocation had expried the next day also, accord-
ing to the usual custom, if one of the Clergy had not made the Arch-
bishop acquainted with a Precedent in Queen Elizabeths Time, for
the granting a Subfidy or Benevolence by Convocation, to be Taxed
and Levied by Synodical Acts and Constitutions, without help of the
Parliament; directing to the Records of Convocation where it was to
be found. Whereupon the Convocation was Adjournd from Wed-
nesday, till the Friday following, and then till the next day after, and
from till Monday, to the great amazement of many of the Members of it,
who expected to have been Dissolved when the Parliament was, ac-
cording to that claufe in the Commiffion aforesaid, by which it was
restrained to the Time of the Parliament only. Much pains was taken
by
by some of the Company, who had been studied in the Records of Convocation, in shewing the difference betwixt the Writ for calling a Parliament, and that for assembling a Convocation; their different Forms, and the independence of the one upon the other: but more especially betwixt the Writ by which they were made a Convocation, and that Commission by which they were enabled to the making of Canons; That though the Convocation was expired with the Parliament, yet the Writ continued still in force; and by that Writ they were to remain a Convocation, until they were dissolved by another. With which Distinction, the greatest part of those who before had scrupled at their Sitting, did appear well satisfied; but better satisfied on the Monday, by a Paper which was sent unto them from the Court.

For the King being made acquainted with these scrupulosties, proposed the question on Sunday May 10. to the greatest Lawyers then about him, who gave their Judgment in these words, viz. The Convocation called by the King’s Writ, is to be continued till it be dissolved by the King’s Writ, notwithstanding the Dissolution of the Parliament. Subscribed by Finch Lord Keeper, Manchester Lord Privy Seal, Littleton Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Bancky Attorney-General, Whitfield and Heath two of his Majesties Counfel Learned in the Laws of this Land. Encouraged with which assurance, and Animated by a New Commission to remain in Force during the Pleasure of the King, they set to their work again on Wednesday the thirteenth of that Month, but not without some trouble of mind in regard of the Apparent Danger which seemed to threaten them. The Archbishops house at Lambeth had been assaulted on Monday by a Rabble of Anabaptists, Brownists, and other Sectaries, to the number of five hundred, and upwards, who seeing they could not force that house resolved to turn their fury on the Convocation. Of which his Majesty being Informed, he caused a guard to be set about them consisting of some Companies of the Trained Bands of the County of Middlesex under the Command of Endymion Porter, one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber; an honest man, and of good affections to the Church and his Majesties Service. To such extremities were the poor Clergy brought during these confusions; in danger of the Kings displeasure if they Roke; of the Peoples fury if they Sat; in danger of being beaten up by tumults, when they were at their work, of being beaten down by the following Parliament, when their work was done. But they went forward howsoever to the end of their journey, and did the business as they went, dispatching more work in so short a time then could be easily imagined.

Three things there were which Canterbury was to take special care of: in reference to the Publick peace of the Church and State; That is to say, the Reparation of the breaches made in the Regal; and Episcopal Power by, the late batteries of the Scots, and their adherents, on the commending of the Uniformity to all parts of the Kingdom, which had been happily begun in so many places. In reference to the first, some propositions touching the institution, Power and Privileges of Sovereign Princes, were recommended to the consideration of the
PART II. Prolator and the Rest of the Clergy, by them to be corrected if they saw occasion; and being so corrected to pass into a Canon. The Propositions six in number, and were these that follow.

I. The most High, and Sacred Order of Kings is of Divine Right, being the Ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime Laws of Nature, and clearly established by Express Texts, both of the Old and the New Testaments. A Supream Power is given to this most Excellent Order by God himself in the Scriptures, which is, That Kings should Rules, and Command in their several Dominions, all Persons of what Rank or Estate whatsoever, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, and that they should Restrain and Punish with the Temporal Sword all Stubborn and wicked doers.

II. The care of God's Church is so committed to Kings in Scripture, that they are commanded when the Church keeps the Right way, and taxed when it Runs Amiss; and therefore her Government belongs in Chief unto Kings: For otherwise one man would be commended for another's care, and taxed but for another's negligence, which is not God's way.

III. The Power to Call and Dissolve Councils both National and Provincial, is the true Right of all Christian Kings within their own Realms, and Territories. And when in the first time of Christ's Church, Prelates used this Power, 'twas therefore only because in those days they had no Christian Kings, And it was then so only used as in time of persecution, that is, with suppression (in case it were required) of submitting their very lives, unto the very Laws and Commands, even of those Pagan Princes, that they might not so much as seem to disturb their Civil Government, which Christ came to confirm but by no means to undermine.

IV. For any Person or Persons to set up, maintain or avow in any the said Realms, or Territories Respectively, under any pretext whatsoever any Independent Co-active Power, either Papal or Popular (whether directly or indirectly) is to undermine their Great Royal Office, and cunningly to overthrow the Most Sacred Ordinances which God himself hath established: And so it is Treasonable against God as well as against the King.

V. For Subjects to bear Arms against their Kings, Offensive or Defensive upon any pretence whatsoever, is at least to Resist the Powers which are ordained by God. And though they do not invade but only Resist, St. Paul tells them plainly, They shall receive to themselves damnation.

VI. And although Tribute, and Customs, and Aid, and Subsidies, and all manner of necessary Support, and Supply, be respectively due to Kings from their Subjects by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations for the Publick Defence, care and Protection of them: yet nevertheless Subjects have not only possession of, but a true and Just Right, Title, and Property, to, and in, all their Goods, and Estates, and ought for to have: And these two are so far from crossing one another, that they mutually go together, for the Honourable and Comfortable support of both. For as it is the duty of Subjects to supply their Kings; so is it part of the Kingly office to support his Subjects, in the Propriety and Freedom of their Estates.

These Propositions being Read and Considered of, were generally palt
part and approved without contradiction, but that a little stop was made touching the Necessity of Aid and Subsidy to Kings from their Subjects, which some thought fitter to leave at large according to the Laws of several Countries then to entitle it to the Law of God. Nature and Nations: but after a very light dispute that clause was allowed of with the Rest, and a Canon presently drawn up by a ready hand, according to the Vote of the House to make them Obligatory to the Clergy in the course of their Ministries. The preamble which was sent with the Propositions, required them to be read distinctly and audibly by every Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher upon some one Sunday in every Quarter of the year at Morning Prayer. And it was added by the Canons that if any Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, should voluntarily or carelessly neglect his duty in publishing the said Explications and Conclusions according to the Order above prescribed, he should be suspended by his Ordinary till his Reformation; That all Bishops, Priests and Minifters, should Teach, Preach, and Exhort their People to Obey, Honour, and Serve their King; and that they presume not to speak of his Majesty's Power, any other way than in the Canon is expressed; with reference to Excommunication, and a Suspension of two years for the first Offence, and Deprivation for the second, to be inflicted by his Majesties Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical upon all Persons whatsoever which in any Sermon, Lecture, Determination or Disputation should maintain any point of Doctrine, contrary to the said Propositions, and Explications.

In reference to the preservation of the Episcopal power, an Oath was drawn up in the Upper, and sent down to the Lower House of Convocation, by them to be debated, approved, and ratified upon Approval; Which Oath was required to be taken by all Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, before the second day of November then next following to be tendered in the presence of a publick Notary, to all Priests and Deacons by the Bishop in person, or his Chancellor or some grave Divines named and appointed by the Bishop under his Episcopal Seat. In the first words of the Oath as it came from the Lords, it was expressed in these words, that every man should swear to the Doctrine and Discipline established in the Church of England. And this occasioned some dispute, concerning the extent of the word Discipline, whither it comprehended the Episcopal Government, and the publick Forms of Divine Worship; or was to be restrained only to the use of the Keys, as it was practiced in Ecclesiastical Courts. Some would have had the words run thus, I. A. B. do swear that I approve the Doctrine, Discipline, or Government established, &c. But against this it was objected, First, That the Government of the Church was sufficiently provided for by the following clause, in which there was an especial Enumeration of all Offices empowered in the Government of the Church; and it was incongruous to make that Discipline and Government to be the same, and that Government should be said to contain all things, or any thing which was necessary to Salvation. And they that thus objected, would have
had it pass in these words, &c. I approve the Doctrine, Discipline, and
Forms of Worship established in the Church of England, as containing all
things necessary unto Salvation. Which though it seemed, more plausible and intelligible then the other was; yet being put unto the vote,
it was carried for Discipline or Government, under pretence of not
clogging the Oath with things unnecessary and such as might be made
capable of a variation. According to which Vote the Canon was
drawn up with this title, &c. An Oath enjoyned for the preventing of all
Innovations in Doctrine and Government; and the Oath it self enjoyned
in this form, following, that is to say, I. A. B. Do swear that I do Ap-
prove the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church
of England; as containing all things necessary to salvation. And that I
will not endow, by my self, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring
in any Popish Doctrine, contrary to that which is established. Nor will
I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbi-
shop, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. As it stands now established,
and as by Right it ought to stand; nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpa-
tions and Superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these things I do
plainly and sincerely acknowledge, and swear, according to the plain and
Common sense and understanding of the same words, without any Invoca-
tion; or mental Equivocation, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I
do heartily, willingly, and truly upon the faith of a Christian. So help me
God in Jesus Christ.

The Oath being past, the Canon was drawn up by the former hand
according to such Instructions as were sent along with it. By which it
was required that all Masters of Art, (the Sons of Noblemen only
excepted) all Bachelors or Doctors in Divinity, Law or Physick, all
that are licensed to practice Physick, all Registrers Actuaries, and
Proctors, all School-masters, all such as being Natives or Naturalized,
do come to be incorporated into the Universities here, having taken
any Degree in any Foreign University should be bound to take the
said Oath; the same Oath to be Administered to all such of the persons
abovenamep refiding in any University, by the Governors of their
several Houses; and by the Bishop Respectively, to all which should
from henceforth be admitted to Holy Orders, or receive any Institu-
ton, Collation, or License for the serving of any cure: with several
Penalties to all Beneficed Parsons, and all such as were then in any
Ecclesiastical dignity, for their refusal of the same; that is to say, a
suspension ab officio for the first Refusal, a beneficio & officio, for the
second, and Deprivation for the third, a Months deliberation being
granted betwixt each Refusal.

These two great matters being thus concluded, A message is deli-
vered by the Prolocutor from the house of Bishops, by which the
Clergy were desired to consider of the best expedient for inducing an
Uniformity in the Church about the situation of the Lords Table, the
Receiving of the blessed Sacrament, and the due Reverence to be used
in the house of God, and to prepare a Canon to that purpose if they
found it necessary. On the Receiving of which message a grand
Committee was selected out of the Ablest men of the House, to take
that
that great and weighty business into consideration, and to Report L. B. IV. unto the House whatsoever they should do therein, that it might pass or be rejected as the House thought fit. The Committee con-
stituted of twenty seven, the Prolocutor being reckoned into the num-
ber, their meeting to be held the same afternoon in the Chappel of
King Henry 7. Where being met, and sitting about the table pro-
vided for the use of the Bishops, the points were seriously debated,
every man speaking his opinion in them when it came to his turn
without interruption; beginning with the Prolocutor, and so pro-
ceeding from man to man till it concluded with the Clerk for the
Church of Westminister; So placed of purpose that he might answer
all such arguments, as had been brought against any of the points
proposed, and were not answered to his hand. The Prolocutor
having taken the sum of every man's Judgment, declared that the
Major part had appeared for placing the Lords Table where the Altar
stood, the drawing near unto it to receive the Sacrament, and the
making of due Reverences at the entering into the Church and going
out of it; and thereupon put it to the question, whether they thought
it convenient that a Canon should be prepared to that purpose or
not? Which being carried in the affirmative, without any visible
dissent, one of the Clerks for the Diocess of Bristol presented a Canon
ready drawn for the same effect, but drawn in such a commanding,
and imperious Style, that it was disliked by all the company but him-
self; and thereupon a Sub-committee was appointed to prepare the
Canon, and make it ready with as much dispatch as they could con-
veniently. Which was no sooner agreed on, and the Committee
continued for some following business; but the Archdeacon of Hun-
tington who was one of the number, made his first appearance, so ex-
tremely discontented that he was not stayed for, and that the busi-
ness was concluded before he came, and earnestly pressing the Prolocutor,
that the debate might be Resumed, or at the least his Reasons might be
heard against the Vote: which when the Prolocutor upon very good
Reasons had refused to yield to, he fell upon him with such heats, and
used him so exceeding courtly; that on complaint made thereof and
of some other intervening harshness, made by the Prolocutor in a full
House of the Clergy, he was ordered by the far Major part to quit the
House, though afterwards Restored again on the acknowledgment
of his Error, when his heats were down. Which Rub removed, the
Canon went very smoothly on without opposition, commended Gen-
erally for the Modesty and Temper of it; in which Respect I hold it
worthy to be presented to the Reader in its full proportion, without
any Abbreviation of it as of those before.
A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.

Because it is generally to be wished, that Unity of Faith were accompanied with Uniformity of Practice in the outward Worship and Service of God; chiefly for the avoiding the groundless suspicion of those who are weak, and the malicious Aspersions of the professed enemies of our Religion; the one, fearing Innovations; the other, flattering themselves with a main hope of our back-fiddling unto their Popish Superstition by reason of the situation of the Communion-Table, and the approaches thereunto, the Synod declareth as followeth: That the standing of the Communion-Table side ways under the East Window of every Chancel or Chappel, is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the Word of God, either expressly, or by immediate deduction; and therefore that no Religion is to be placed therein, or scruple to be made thereon. And albeit at the time of reforming this Church from the grofs superstition of Popery, it was carefully provided, that all means should be used to root out of the Minds of the People both the inclination thereof, and memory thereof; especially of the Idolatry committed in the Mass, for which cause all Popish Altars were demolished: yet notwithstanding it was then ordered by the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, that the holy Table should stand in that place where the Altar stood, and accordingly, have been continued in the Royal Chappels of three famous and pious Princess, and in most Cathedrals, and some Parochial Churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said Tables from any illegality or just suspicion of Popish Superstition or Innovation. And therefore We judge it fit and convenient that all Churches and Chappels, do conform themselves in this particular to the example of the Cathedrals, or mother Churches, saving always the general liberty left to the Bishop by Law during the time of the Administration of the holy Communion. And We declare, that this situation of the holy Table, doth not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper Altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed: But it is, and may be called an Altar by us, in that sense which the Primitive Church called it an Altar, and no other.

And because experience hath shewed us, how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing at, and others sitting under the Communion-Table in the time of Divine Service; For the avoiding of these and the like abuses, it is thought meet and convenient by this present Synod, that the said Communion-Table in all Churches or Chappels be decently surmounted with Rails to preserve them from such or worse propagations.

And because the Administration of holy things is to be performed with all possible decency and reverence, therefore we judge it fit and convenient, according to the word of the Service-Book, established by Act of Parliament, Draw near, &c. that all communicants with an humble reverence shall draw near and approach to the holy Table, there to receive the divine mysteries, which have herebefore in some places been unseemly carried up and down by the Minister, unless it should be otherwise appointed in respect of the incapacity of the place, or other inconvenience, By the
Bishop himself in his Jurisdiction; and other Ordinarys respectively in their.

And lastly, whereas the Church is the House of God, dedicated to his holy Worship, and therefore ought to mind us both of the greatness and goodness of his divine Majesty; certain it is, that the acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardly in our hearts, but also outwardly with our bodies, must needs be pious in itself, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others. We therefore think it very meet and becomely, & heartily commend it to all good and well-afflicted people, Members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgment, by doing reverence and obedience both at their coming in and going out of the said Churches, Chancels, or Chapells, according to the most antient custom of the Primitive Church in the purest times, and of this Church also for many years of the Reign of & Eliz. The receiving thereof of this antient and laudable Custom we heartily commend to the serious consideration of all good People, not with any intention to exhibit any Religious Worship to the Communion-Table, the East, or Church, or anything therein contained, in so doing; or to perform the saidGEFsauce in the Celebration of the holy Eucharist, upon any opinion of the Corporal presence of the Body of Christ on the holy Table, or in the mystical Elements: but only for the advancement of Gods Majesty, and to give him alone that honour and glory that is due unto him, and no otherwise. And in the practice or omission of this Rite we desire that the Rule of Charity, prefixed by the Apostle, may be observed, which is, That they which use this Rite, despise not them that use it not; and that they who use it not, condemn not those that use it.

No sooner was this Declaration passed, and sent up to the Lords, but on the same day, or the next, an Address was made to the Prolocutor by the Clerk for Westminister concerning the confusion which hapned in most parts of the Church for want of one uniform body of Articles to be used in Visitations; those of the Bishop many times thwarting the Archdeacons: one Bishops differing from others, the Successors from his Predecessors; and the same person not constant to the same Articles which himself had published. By means whereof the people were much disturbed, the Rules of the Church contemned for their multiplicity, unknown by reason of their uncertainty, and despised for the inconstancy of them that made them. Of all which he desired the Convocation to provide a remedy, by setting out one Uniform Book of Articles to be the standing Rule of all Visitations for the time to come. The motion pleased the Prolocutor, and the rest of the Clergy, who thereupon desired him (in pursuit of his own project) to undertake the compiling of the said Book of Articles, and to present it to the House with convenient speed. Which notwithstanding, there wanted not some secret practices to illude the motion, and frustrate the design, approved of by the general Vote. Some who observed the moderation of the Articles which had been drawn for the Metropolitical Visitatiun, and finding them to leave a greater liberty about placing the Communion-Table, and the order of officiating the Divine Service, than the new Articles might allow of, address-
PART II. If. themselves unto his Grace, desiring that those Articles might be commended to the Convocation, to be a standing Rule for all Visitations in the times succeeding; which Proposition was thought to relish well enough with him at the first proposal, though afterwards on further consideration he suffered the business to proceed in the former course. It was not long before another Canon was tendered to the Prolocutor for advancing a more general Conformity than that which was contained in the Declaration. And it was tendered by the same hand which had before presented that against Salaries, in reference to whom it passed without opposition or alteration. "It was enjoyed by that "Can. 9. "Canon under pain of suspension, that all Preachers, as well ben- "eficed men as others, should positively and plainly Preach and instruct "the People in their publick Sermons, that the Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England were lawful and commendable; and that "the People ought, not only to conform themselves to those Rites and Ceremonies, but cheerfully to submit themselves unto the Gov- "ernment of the Church, as it was then established under his Maje- "fty. Another was brought in, but by whom I know not, "Concerning "the Conversation of the Clergy, by which it was desired in compliance "to the ancient Canons of the Church, and in particular to Canon "74, 75: of the year 1603. That all Clergymen in this Church, set- "ting before their eyes the glory of God, the holiness of their Calling, "and the edification of the People committed to them, should care- "fully avoid all excess and disorders, that by their Christian and "Religious Conversation they might shine forth, as lights unto others, "in all godliness and honesty; and that all those to whom the Gov- "ernment of the Church was committed should set themselves to "countenance and encourage godliness, gravity, sobriety, and all "unblamable conversation in the Ministers of it; and diligently la- "bour by the due execution of the Canons aforesaid, and all other "Ecclesiastical Provisions made for that end, to reform all offensive "and scandalous persons which were in the Ministry. Which Canon was so well approved of, that it past without any stop or resistance. All matters going thus calmly on, the Clergy began to take into consideration the great excesses, and abuses, which were complained of in many Offices of Ecclesiastical Courts. They found the Exorbi- "tances of the Chancellors to be grown so great, that they commended the lower Clergy, and thought themselves independent of the Bishops under whom they served. They found that many abuses had been committed in the Sentences of Excommunication and Absolution, (the lovenly executing whereof had been very offensive) as also in Commutation of Penance, and commingling at unlawful Marriages, out of which some Officers in those Courts raised no small advantage; Complaint was also made of some oppressions which had been laid up- "on the Subject, by concurrent Jurisdictions partly, and partly by vexatious Citations, in which nothing was more aimed at, than the Offi- "ciers Fees which must be paid, though nothing could be proved against the Party when he came before them. The consideration and redress of all which grievances being referred to the Committee of twenty fix, the
the said Committee was desired by the Prolocutor to hold their meet-
ings in his house, situate under the North-side of the Abbey-Church, and therefore most convenient both for himself and them. The Grievances were great, and yet not greater than the Glamour which was raised about them, which made the Committee very intent upon the stilling of the noise; by providing better for themselves, their Brethren, and the rest of the Subjects; but not without all due respect to the Professors in that honourable Faculty of the Civil Laws. Lamb Dean of the Arches, and Heath Judge of the Audience, being both Members of the Convocation, were taken into that Committee; not only to assist their Consultations in point of Law; but to moderate the fervor of their Proceedings by the Fan of Reason. The whole Reformation brought within the compass of these seven Canons:

1. Concerning Chancellors Patents. 2. Chancellors not alone to confirme any of the Clergie in sundry cases. 3. Excommunication and Absolution not to be pronounced but by a PRIEST. 4. Concerning Commutations, and the disposing of them. 5. Touching current Jurisdictions. 6. Concerning Licences to marry. 7. Against vexatious Citations.

In the first of the seven it was required, "That no Bishop should grant any Patent to any Chancellor, Commisary, or Official, for any longer time than the life of the Grantee only; That in all such Patents the Bishops should refer to themselves and their Successors the power of giving institution to Benefices, of giving Licenses to teach School or Preach, as also of exercising their Jurisdiction, either alone, or with the Chancellor, at his own discretion, all the accustomed Fees to be reserved unto the Chancellor, &c. as in former times; That no Dean and Chapter should confirm any Patent to any Chancellor, &c. wherein the said conditions were not expressed, under pain of Suspension to be inflicted on them severally, by their Metropolitan; And finally, That under the heaviest Censures no reward should be taken for any of the Offices and Places abovementioned. In the compoure of which Canon, as the first branch was made to cut off Reversions, so was the last added to prevent corruptions; For he most commonly sells Justice that hath bought his Office." 

In the second it was ordered, That no Chancellor, Commisary, or Official, unless he be in Holy Orders, should proceed to Suspension, or any higher Censure against any of the Clergy in any criminal cause other than neglect of appearance upon legal Citing: but that all such cases should be heard by the Bishop in person, with the assistance of his Chancellor, or Commisary, or if the Bishops themselves will not permit, then by his Chancellor, or Commisary, and two grave dignified or benised Ministers of the Dioces to be assigned by the Bishop, under his Episcopal Senal, who shall hear and censure the said cause in that Consistory. By the third it was ordained, That no Excommunications or Absolutions should be good or valid in Law except they be pronounced either by the Bishop in person, or by some other in holy Orders having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, or by some grave Minister beneficed in the Dioces, being a Master of Arts at least, and appointed by the Bishop, the name of..."
PART II. "The said Priest or Minister being expressed in the Instrument under
Ann. Dom. "the Seal of the Court; And that no such Minister should pronounce
"any such Sentence but in open Consistory, or at least in some Church
"or Chappel, the Penitent humbly craving and taking Absolution up-
"on his knees. By the fourth it was provided, That no Chancellor,
"&c. should have power to commute any Penance in whole or in part,
"but either together with the Bishop in person, or with his privity in
"writing; That if he do it by himself, he should give up a full and just
"account of such Commutations once every year at Michaelmas to
"the Bishop, under pain of being suspended from his Jurisdiction for
"the space of a year; the said Commutations to be disposed of by the
"Bishop and Chancellor in such charitable and pious uses as the Law
"requires; and that Commutation to be signified to the place from
"whence the complaint proceeded, in case the crime were publicly
"complained of, and approved notorious.

For preventing those vexations and inconveniences which formerly had been occasioned by concurrent Jurisdictions, It was decreed by the fifth Canon, under the several penalties therein contained; "That no Register or Clerk should give, nor Apparitor execute a Ci-
"tation upon any Executor to appear in any Court or Office till ten
days after the Death of the Testator; And that nevertheless it
"might be lawful for any Executor to prove such Wills when they
"think good, within the said ten days before any Ecclesiastical Judge
"respectively, to whose Jurisdiction the same might or did appertain.

By the sixth it was ordained for the better preventing of any fur-
"ther invasions to be made on the Prerogative of the See of Canter-
bury, and of many other inconveniences which did thence arise; "no License of Marriage should be granted from any Ordinary, in
"whose Jurisdiction one of the parties hath not been Commorant for
"the space of a month, immediately before the same shall be desired,
"under pain of such Censure as the Archbishop should think fit to in-
"flict; And that the said Parties being commorant in the said Juris-
diction, as before is said, shall be made one of the Conditions of the
"Bond accustomedly given for securing that Office. And for pre-
"venting vexatious Citations for the time to come, it was required
"by the last Canon, That no Citation should from thenceforth be
"issued out of any Ecclesiastical Court, except it be upon Prefen-
tment, but such as should be sent forth under the Hand and Seal of
"the Chancellor, within thirty days after the fault committed; the
"Return thereof to be made on the first or second Court-day after
"the serving of the same: And that the Party so cited, not being con-
"vinced by two Witnesses, on his denial of the Fact by his corporal
"Oath, should be forthwith dismissed without any payment of Fees.

Provided, That this Decree extend not to any grievous Crime; as "Schism, Incontinence, Misbehaviour at the Church in the time of
"Divine Service, obstinate Inconformity, or the like. Finally, For
"preventing all unnecessary Tautologies and Repetitions of the same
"thing, it was declared once for all, "That whatsoever had been de-
"clared in the former Canons, concerning the Jurisdiction of the
"Bishops;..."
Bishops, their Chancellors, or Commissaries, should be in force (as far L I B. IV. as by Law it was applicable) concerning all Deans, Deans and Chap- ters, Collegiate Churches, Archdeacons, and all in Holy Orders, hav- ing exempt of peculiar Jurisdiction, and their several Officers re-

respectively.

To the Proceedings of this Committee in digesting these Canons, the interposing of another business gave no stop at all, though it seemed to be of more weight then all the rest. His Majesty on the twenti
ty six of May directed his Letters sealed with his Royal Signet, and at-
tested by his Sign Manual, to the Bishops and Clergy assembled in Convocation, Requiring and thereby Authorising them to proceed in making synodical Constitutions, for Levying the six Subsidies formerly

Granted. This the most ease Task of all. The Grant of the six Sub-

sidies had been drawn before; and there was nothing now to be altered in it, but the changing of the name of Subsidy into that of Benevolence, according to the Advice of the Council-Learned; by whom it was

resolved, That no Moneys could be raised in the name of a Subsidy, but by Act of Parliament. And for the Synodical Acts or Constitutions for the Levying of it, they were made to their hands; So that there was nothing left for them to do, but to follow the Precedent which was laid before them out of the Record of Convocation, Anno 1585, and to transfer the same (the names and Sums being only changed) without further trouble. So that it was dispatched by the Committee, Voted by the Clergie, and sent up to the Bishops before the end of the next day. Nor did the framing or compiling of the Book of Articles, give any stop at all to him, to whom the digesting of them was com-

mitted, from attending the Service of the Committee and the House upon all occasions; though for the better Authorising of them he had placed in the Margin before every Article, the Canon, Rubrick, Law, In-

junction, or other Authentick Evidence upon which it was grounded. Which being set forth in good time was by him openly read in the House, and by the House approved and passed without alteration: but that an Exegetical or Explanatory Clause, in the fourth Article of the fourth Chapter, touching the Reading of the Second or Communion-Ser-

dice at the Lords Table, was desired by some to be omitted, which was done accordingly. Which Articles being too many and too long to be here inserted, the Reader may consult in the Printed Book, first pub-

lished for the Visitations of the Bishop of London, and by him fitted in some points for the use of that Diocese. The said Clerk brought a Canon also with him, “For enjoying the said Book to be only used in all Parochial Visitations, for the better setting of an Uniformity in the outward Government and Administration of the Church, and for the preventing of such just Grievances, which might be laid upon Churchwardens and other sworn men, by any impertinent, inconvenient, or illegal Inquiries in the Articles for Ecclesiastical Visitation: The fame to be deposited in the Records of the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury. To which a Clause was added in the House of Bishops, giving a Latitude to themselves for adding some Arti-

cles peculiar to their several Jurisdictions, for the space of three years;
PART II. "The same to be allowed by their Metropolitan: And afterwards to content themselves with the said Articles, so enlarged and accommodated, for all times succeeding.

Some other things there were in Proposition and Design, that never ripened into Act or Execution. There had been a Design in deliberation, touching the drawing and digesting of an English Pontifical, to be approved by this Convocation, and tendered to his Majesties Confirmation. Which said Pontifical was to contain the form and manner of his Majesties late Coronation, to serve for a perpetual standing Rule on the like occasions; Another form to be observed by all Archbishops and Bishops, and Confecrating Churches, Church-yards, and Chapels; and a third for Reconciling such Penitents as either had done open Penance, or had Revoluted from the Faith to the Law of Mahomet. Which three, together with the form of Confirmation, and that of Ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, which were then in force, were to make up the whole Body of the Book intended. But the Troubles of the Time growing greater and greater, it was thought expedient to defer the Prosecution of it till a fitter conjuncture. Many had took exception against the tying up of Preachers to the Form of Prayer appointed to be used before their Sermons, Cap. 55. For whose Relief therein, a short Prayer was drawn, containing all the Heads of that in the Canon: And being so drawn up, it was to have been tendered by the hands of one of the Clergie, who would have undertaken that it should be universally received by all those which disliked the other. But the Archbishops chose rather to adhere to the Canon, than to venture on any new Experiment; that Canon being founded on the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth and King Edward vi. at the first Reformation. And so the Proposition fell without moving further. Gryffith a Clerk for one of the Welsh Dioceses, a moderate and sober man, proposed unto the Houfe, That a new Edition might be made of the Welsh Church-Bible, the old one being corrupt in some places and defective in others, which he instanced in. The Motion well aproved by the Clergie, and by the Houfe of Bishops committed to the care of the four Welsh Bishops; of whose proceeding in the Work, by reason of the following Troubles, there was little hope. Nor did the Archbishops speed much better in a Motion of his, which was, That his Majestie might be moved for the new Printing of the Common-Prayer Book in the Latin Tongue, to the end (though I cannot positively say that he expressed so much at that time) that it might be used in all Colledges and Halls, in Officiating the Morning-Prayer, at which none are bound to be present, but such as are presumed to understand the Language. For doing whereof, he conceived he had good ground in the first Rubrics after the Preface to the Common-Prayer Book, in which it is declared, That though it be appointed in the aforesaid Preface, that all things should be Read and Sung in the English Tongue, to the end that the Congregation may be thereby Edified: yet it is not meant, but when men say Morning and Evening Prayer privately, they may say the same in any Language that they themselves do understand. And he had also the constant example of Christ-Church in Oxon.
in which the first Morning-Prayers were continually officiated in the Latin Tongue, for the Probes, Students, and others of the Foundation; and at the Cathedral-hours, in the English only, for Instruction and Devotion of the Choir-men, Alms-men, Servants, and all others which resort unto them.

It is a matter which deserves no small Admiration, That these Canons (like the first building of the Temple, without the noise of Ax and Hammer) should pass the House with such a general calm and quiet, and be received with so many Storms and Tempests when they went abroad. The very sitting of the Convocation condemned for an illegal Act; as if it were a Crime to outlive the Parliament. And much sport made by ignorant and malicious men, touching the Metamorphosis of an old Convocation, into a new Synod, as they scoffed it; which hath sufficiently been answered in that before. The whole Body of the Canons Voted by the House of Commons in the following Parliament, to be against the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, against the Kings Prerogative, Property of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments, and to tend to Faction and Sedition; which shall be answered as sufficiently in that which follows. The seven last passionately opposed by Martin, and some other Ecclesiastical Judges, before they paid the Royal Assent, as tending to the visible discouragement, if not the plain overthrow of their Profession. To which it was answered by the Archbishop, and the Council too, That nothing but their Extravagances and Exorbitances, were by those Canons parted away; all their Preferments, with the Profits and Lawful Fees which belonged unto it, remaining as before they were. Yet the Civilians made not so much noise as some Common Lawyers, who looked upon the Granting of a Benevolence by Convocation, and the Levy of it by Synodical Acts and Constitutions, as being an Incroachment on the Privileges and Rights of Parliament, without the Midwifery whereof, the Clergie could not act no Canons to bind the Subject, in such Pecuniary Payments as were laid upon them. Which were it so, and that the Clergie could not give away their own without leave from others, they must needs be the greatest Slaves the Sun ever shined on: Whereas in truth, the Clergie in Convocation have as much power to give away the money of the Clergie by whom they are chosen to that Employment; as the Commons in Parliament have to command the money of the Cities, Towns, and Counties for which they serve. For in the chooing of the Clerks for the Convocation, there is an Instrument drawn and sealed by the Clergie, in which they bind themselves to the Archdeacons or Archbishops of their several Diocesses, upon pain of forfeiting all their Lands and Goods, to allow, stand to, and perform whatsoever their said Clerks or Proctors shall say, do, or condescend to on their behalf, Greater Authority than this, as the Commons have not; so why the Clergie in the Convocation should not make use of this Authority as they see occasion, I can find no reason. Nor is it a Speculative Authority only, and not reducible unto Practice; an Authority which was then in force, but not in use, as is distinguished in some Cases. They had a Precedent for it in Queen Elizabeth's time, as...
PART II. as before was noted: not then beheld as an Incroachment on the Right of Parliaments. But then was then, and now is now; the change of Times (without any alteration of the Laws) diversifying the same Action into good and bad.

But nothing raised so much noise and clamour, as the Oath required by the sixth Canon; Exclaimed against both from the Pulpit and the Press; Reproached in Printed Pamphlets, and Unprinted Scribbles; and glad they were to find such an excellent Advantage, as the discovering of an &c. in the Body of it, did unhappily give them. This voiced abroad to be the greatest Mystery of Iniquity which these last Ages had produced, containing in it so much of the Depths of Satan; that as no man could see the bottom of the Iniquity: so neither they that made the Oath, nor they that were to take it, understood the Mystery. But unto this it hath been answered, as unto the fact, That in all the Canons which were made before this being five in number) there was a particular enumeration of all the persons, vested with any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; that is to say, Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Deans and Chapters, and other persons having peculiar or exempt Jurisdiction; which having been repeated distinctly or particularly in such of the Canons as were first made, was in the first drawing of their Oath, for avoiding of a Tautology so often iterated, cut off with this &c. with an intention nevertheless to make the Enumeration perfect (and consequentially to expunge this unlucky &c.) before it came to be Engrossed. But the King being weary of the Charge and Clamour, which the keeping of a Guard on the Convocation did expose him to, did hasten them to a Conclusion by so many Messages brought by Vane and others, that in the haste this unlucky &c. was forgotten, and so committed to the Press accordingly. It hath been secondly answered, as in point of Reason, That the &c. as it stands in that part of the Oath, is so restrained and limited by the following words, viz. as it stands now established, that there can be no danger of any Mystery of Iniquity in it: So that in the Construction of this Text, the &c. as it now remains, is a meer impertinency: For being left in, it signifies nothing, in the regard of the restriction following; and being left out, the sense is current and compleat without it. Which all those witty Gentlemen who so often spoke, and others of less wit and quality, which so frequently writ against this Oath, could not chuse but see: but that they were not willing to see any thing which might make against them. The Paramount Objection being thus refell'd, the rest which have been made against it will be easily satisfied. It hath been charged by some. That the extolling of an Oath not to consent to the Alteration of the Government of the Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. is an affront to the Fundamental Rules of Civil Politie. To which it hath been answered, That it is indeed an affront to Government; not to submit or yield Obedience unto Civil Sanctions when made, and legally established: But it is no affront not to give consent to any such Establishments, while they are in Treaty; for then the liberty of affenting or dissenting, of Yea or Nay, would be taken away from every Member in the Houfe of Par-liament,
liament, and every man must give consent to every Bill which is offered to him. But besides this, there were but few of the Convocation whose consent was likely to be asked, when any change of Church-Government should be set on foot; so that their dissenting or assenting was not much material: but only so far as by their readiness of dissenting to such Innovations in the Publick Government, they might encourage others to proceed against it. Here then is no affront to Government, much less to the Fundamentals of it; the Oath not binding any man not to yield Obedience, but not to give consent to such Alteration. As for the last Objection, That he who takes the Oath declares therein, That he takes it willingly, being constrained so to do under grievous Penalties. This as it comes last, is the least considerable; for if this were a Crime in the Convocation, it was such a Crime as the high Court of Parliament hath been guilty of, in drawing up the Oath of Allegiance in the third year of King James; in which the Party is to swear, That he makes that Recognition not only heartily and truly, but also willingly: and yet the taking of that Oath, is imposed on all the Subjects, under several Penalties, if any of them shall refuse it.

And yet these Quarrels at the Oath, the Unparliamentary Levying of the said Benevolence, and the pretended Illegality of their very Sitting after the Parliament expired, were but the outsides of the busines, but only colours and disguises to conceal the chief cause of their displeasure from the public view. Somewhat there was which galled them more than all these together; that is to say, the Propositions for affecting the Regal Power, making it absolute and independent with reference both to Pope and People, to the great discontent and trouble of the Popular Party, since better known by the name of Common-wealths-men. Which since the English were not confident enough to speak out at first, we must take their meaning from the Scots, who in the Articles exhibited against our Archbishop by their Commissi

"Canons and Constitutions against them, their just and necessary defence; Ordaining under all highest Pain, That hereafter the Clergie should Preach four times in the year such Doctrine as was contrary not only to their Proceedings, but to the Doctrine and Proceedings of other Reformed Kirks, to the Judgment of all sound Divines and Politicks; any tendency to the utter slavery and ruin of all Estates and Kingdoms, and to the dishonour of Kings and Monarch. This the true cause of those high Displeasures, conceived by some prevailing Members of the House of Commons, and openly declared by their Words and Actions, branding those innocent Canons for a tendency to Faction and Sedition, which they most laboured to suppress; condemning all that Voted to them, in great sums of Money; and afterwards destroying them one by one, as they came in their way. Compared with this, neither the Benevolence, nor the Oath, nor any thing else before objected, was esteemed considerable; though all were joined together to amuse the People, and make them fearful of some Plot, not only to subvert Religion, but their Civil Rights.

But the best is, that howsoever some few men for their private ends reproached
PART II. reproached these Canons, as before; his Sacred Majesty, the Lords of his most Honourable Privy-Council, the Reverend Judges, and the Great Lawyers of the Council-Learned, conceived otherwise of them; in the hearing of all which they were publicly read by the Archbishops procurement, before they were tendered to the Clergy to be subscribed: and by all which they were approved, not without thanks to the Archbishop from the King himself, for his pains therein. And certainly it had been strange that they should pass the Approbation of the Judges and Learned Lawyers, had they contained any thing against the Fundamental Laws of the Land, the Property of the Subject, and the Rights of Parliaments; or been approved by the Lords of his Majesties Privy-Council, had any thing been contained in them derogatory to the Kings Prerogative, or tending to Faction and Sedition. So far they were from being liable to Condemnation in those respects, that Justice Crook (whose Argument in the Case of Ship-money was printed afterwards by Order from the House of Commons) is credibly affirmed to have lifted up his hands, and to have given hearty Thanks to Almighty God, that he had lived to see so good Effects of a Convocation. On these Encouragements, and such a solemn Approbation, the Clergy were called up to the House of Bishops, to be present at the subscribing of them; which was accordingly performed May 29. by the Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons in their Seniority, and promiscuously by the rest of the Clergy, till all the Members had subscribed; every man’s heart going together with his hand, as it is to be presumed from all men of that holy Profession. Recusant there was none, but the Bishop of Gloucester, suspected of some inclinations to the Romish Religion in the Times preceding; which inclinations he declared more manifestly by this Refusal; for which there could be no imaginable Reason to prevail upon him, but the severity of the Canon for suppressing the Growth of Popery. Some pains was taken with him in the way of perfwasion, and some Commands laid on him by his Metropolitan, as President of the Convocation: But when neither of the two Endeavours could remove him from his former obstinacy, the Prolocutor and Clergy were required to return to their House again, and to consider of the Penalty which he had incurred, according to the Rules and Practice of the Catholick Church in National and Provincial Councils. Which being done, the Prolocutor had no sooner put the Question, but the Clergy unanimously condemned him to a Suspension a Beneficio & Officio; and found at their return, that the House of Bishops (who had had some Speech thereof before) had pronounced the same Sentence against him also. A Sentence which might have produced more dangerous effects on this obstinate Prelate, if he had not prevented it in time by his Submissiion. For the Sentence being reduced into Writing, subscribed by the Archbishops hand, and publicly pronounced in the Convocation, his Majesty took such just offence at so great a scandal, that he committed him to Prison, where he laid not long; for on the tenth of July he made acknowledgment of his fault before the Lords of the Council, and took the Oath injoynd in the sixth Canon, for preserving the Doctrines
The vocation, whereof, his Majesty was graciously pleased to restore him to his former Liberty; though this Submission appeared within few years after; to be made either with some mental Refervation, or Jesuitical Equivocation, which he came prepared with. For in the time of his last Sicknels, he declared himself to be a Member of the Church of Rome, and caufed it to be exprefled in his last Will and Testament, that the news thereof might spread the further, and his Apoftacy stand upon Record to all future Ages. A Scandal so unfeasonably given, as if the Devil himself had watched an opportunity to defpite this Church.

But these things hapned not till after. The Sentence of Suspension was no sooner pronounced, but the Archbifhop giving great thanks to the Bifhops and the rest of the Clergy for their pains and diligence, in doing fo much Work in fo little time, produced his Majefties Writ for dissolving the faid Convocation; which he accordingly executed, and dissolved the fame. The Acts whereof being transmitted unto Tork, were by the Convocation for that Province perufed, debated, and approved without any disputing; and fo prefented to his Majefty with their Names fubfcribed, according to the antient Cuftom. There remained now nothing more to do, for giving thefe Canons the Authority and Reputation of his Majefties Eccleftiaftical Laws, but the dignifying of his Royal Affent, and confirming them by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England. And this his Majefty, upon mature deliberation, was graciously pleased to do, commanding in the fame, That they fhould be diligently obferved, executed, and equally kept by all his Subjects, both within the Provinces of Canterbury and York respectively: That for the better obfervation of them, all Minifters fhould audibly and distinctly read all the faid Canons in the Church or Chappel in which they Miniftcr, at the time of Divine Service; The Book of the faid Canons to be provided before Michaelmas, at the charge of their Parifhes:

And finally, That all Archbifhops and Bifhops, and others having Eccleftiaftical Jurifdiction, fhall take special care that the faid Canons and Ordinances be in all points duly obferved; not fparing to execute the Penalties in them severally mentioned, upon any that fhall wittingly or wilfully break or negligent to obferve the fame, as they tendred the honour of God, the Peace of the Church, the Tranquility of the Kingdom, and their Duties and Service to his Majefty their King and Sovereign. With which his Majefties Letters Patents, bearing date on June 13, confirmatory of the Acts of the faid Convocations, I conclude the fourth and buftelf part of this prefent Hilitory.
THE LIFE OF
The most Reverend FATHER in GOD
WILLIAM
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

LIB. V.
Extending from the end of the Convocation, Anno 1640, till the day of his Death, Jan. 10th 1644.

Thus have we brought this Renowned Prelate, and with him the Church unto the very Battlement and Pinnacle of External Glories. But such is the vicissitude of humane affairs, that being carried to the height they begin to fall; it being no otherwise with the fortunes of States or Men, then it is with Plants, which have their times of taking Root, their Growing, Flourishing Maturity, and then their Fading, and decay. And therefore it was very well observed by Paterculus, an old Roman Historian, that when either Emulation or natural Courage had given to any man an edge to ascend to the highest, after they had (a) attained that height, they were according to the course of Nature to descend again; and that it was no otherwise (b) with States and Nations then with Private men. It was just fourscore years from the beginning of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, to the Pacification made at Berwick, when the King so unfortunately dismiff his Forces, and thereby left himself and his party in a worse condition then before the raising of his Army. The Church till then might seem

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Anno Domini
1640.

(a) Naturalis natura sed prodece non potest recedit. Pat. Hist. Lib. I.

(b) Gentium orbium, ut vi torum nunc orat futurum, nunc bene nec alipandae inter. Ibid.
PART II. to be in the Ascendant in the point of Culminating; and was then ready to decline, which our Judicious Hooker (c) had before prefaged: Who had assigned her fourscore years for her growth and flourishing, and nothing afterwards but sorrow and disconsolation. For taking notice of the inclination of the times to Sacrilege, and Spoil and Rapine; and finding nothing more frequent in the mouths of men, then this," that they which endowed Churches with Lands poisoned Religion, that Tithes and Oblations are now in the sight of God but as the sacrificed blood of Goats; and that fullness of bread having made the Children wanton, it was without any scruple to be taken away from them. He made upon the whole matter, this ensuing Judgment: By this means (faith he) or the like suggestions received with all joy, and with like sedulity practiced in certain parts of the Christian World, they have brought to pass that as David doth say of man, so it is in hazard to be verified concerning the whole Religion and service of God. The time thereof may peradventure fall out to be three-score and ten years, or if strength do force unto four-score, what followeth is like to be small joy for them whatsoever they be that behold the same. An Observation which seems to favour more of the Prophet, then it did of the Priest; and to have as much Divination, as Divinity in it.

Thus also in reference to himself, he was now growing towards the term of 70 years, which the Psalmist had assigned to the Life of man; and there wanted not many sad Prefages of his Fall and Death. He was much given to take notice of his Dreams, and commit them to writing, Amongst which I find this for one, that on Friday night the 24 of Jan. 1639, his father (who died 46 years before) came to him, and that to his thinking he was as well, and as cheerful, as ever he saw him; that his Father asked him what he did there; that after some speech he demanded of his Father how long he would stay there; and that his Father made this Answer, that he would stay till he had him along with him. A dream which made such impression on him as to add to this Note to it in his Breviate, that though he was not moved with Dreams, yet he thought fit to remember this. On Friday night just a Month before, being the 27th of December and the night following the day of St. John the Evangelist, there was raised such a violent Tempest that many of the Boats which were drawn to Land at Lambeth, were dafht one against the other, and were broke to pieces; and that the shafts of two Chimneys were blown down upon the Roof of his Chamber, and beat down both the Lead and Rafter upon his bed, in which ruin he must needs have Perished, if the Roughness of the water had not forced him to keep his Chamber at Whitehall. A mischance somewhat of this nature befel the same night at Croyden (a retiring place belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury) where one of the Pinacles fell from the Steeple, beat down the Lead and Roof of the Church above twenty foot square. But that which was more remarkable then either of these, happened the same night at the Metropolitical Church in the City of Canterbury; where one of the Pinacles upon the top of the Bell-fray Tower, which carried a vane, with this Archbishops
shops Arms upon it, was violently struck down, but born a good distance from the Steeple, to fall upon the Roof of the Cloyster under
which the Arms of the Archiepiscopal See it self, were engraven in stone; which Arms being broken to pieces by the fall of the other, gave occasion unto one who loved him not, to collect this Inference, that the Arms of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, breaking down the Arms of the See of Canterbury, not only portended his own fall, but the Ruine of the Metropolitical dignity by the weight thereof. Of these misfortunes, (which some men perhaps may call Prefages) he took not so much notice, as he did of an accident which happened on St. Simon and Jude's eve, not above a week before the beginning of the late long Parliament, which drew him to his final Ruine. On which day going into his upper Study to send some Manuscripts to Oxon, he found his Picture at full Length, and taken as near unto the life as the Pencil was able to express it, to be fallen on the Floor, and lying flat upon its face, the string being broke by which it was hanged against the wall. At the sight whereof he took such a sudden apprehension, that he began to fear it as an Omen of that ruine which was coming toward him, and which every day began to be threatened to him, as the Parliament grew nearer and nearer to consult about it. Which accidents happening one in the neck of another, gave him some occasion to look back on a former misfortune, which chanced on the 19th of September 1633, being the very day of his Translation to the See of Canterbury; When the Ferry Boat transporting his Coach and Horses with many of his Servants in it, sunk to the bottom of the Thames. And though he lost neither Man nor Horse by the misadventure, yet much discourse was made upon it, and most beheld it, as a sign of no good Fortune, which should befall him in the course of his Future Actions.

But worse Prefages then all these, were the breaking out of divers Plots and Practices against him, by the Opposite Actions; not only the Puritans but the Papists, conspiring against him, and both Resolved to bring him to his Fatal end by some means or other. The Papists which had hoped to effect great matters by the Power and Prevalency of the Queen, found the Archbishop so averse from their courses, and the King so resolute in the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion here by Law established, that they perceived it necessary to remove them both out of the way, before any thing could be effect the answerable to their expectation. A confederacy was formed amongst them, consisting of some of the most subtle heads in the whole Jesuitical party, by whom it was concluded to foment the broils begun in Scotland, and to heighten the combustions there, that the King being drawn into a War might give them the opportunity to effect their enterprise for sending him and the Archbishop to the other World. Which being by one of the party on compunction of Conscience, made known to Andreas ab Habersfield, who had been Chaplain as some said to the Queen of Bohemia, they both together gave intimation of it, to Sir William Boswel, his Majesties Resident at the Hague; having first bound him by his Oath not to reveal the same to any man Living

H h h 2
PART II. but to the Archbishop himself; and by the Archbishop to the King. This signified by Boswell's Letters of the 19th of September. Together with a general draught of the design transmitted to Canterbury under the hand of Habershfield himself, the first discoverer of the plot. On the receipt of which dispatches the Archbishop giving directions to Boswell to proceed to a further discovery of it, sends the Intelligence with all speed imaginable, by his Letters of the 11th of the same month to the King at York; beseeching nothing more than his secrecy in it, that he would not trust his Pockets with those dangerous Papers; and finally, that he would declare what his Pleasure was for the Prosecution of the business. And so far both the King and he had very good Reason to be sensible of the dangers which were threatened to them. But when the large discovery was brought unto him transmitted in Boswell's letter of the 15th of October, he found some names in it, which discredited the whole Relation as well in his Majesty's Judgment as his own. For besides this naming of some profest Papists, as the Dutches of Buckingham, the Countesses of Arundel and Newport, Montague, Digby, and Winter, of whose Fidelity the King was not willing to have any suspicion, he named the Earl of Arundel, Windesbank, Principal Secretary of State, and Porter on of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber, whom he charged to be the Kings utter enemies, and such as betrayed his secrets to the Popes Nuncio upon all occasions; all which his Majesty beheld as men of most approved Loyalty and affections to him; By reason whereof no further credit being given to the Advertisement, which they had from Boswell, the danger so much feared at first, became more slighted and neglected than confin'd with his Majesty's safety, and the condition of the times which were apt to mischiefs. For though the Party who first brake the ice to this Intelligence, might be mistaken in the names of some of the Acconhips, which were interseeded in the design, whose Relations unto those of the Church of Rome might give some ground for the mistake; yet the calamities which soon after fell upon them both, the deplorable death of the Archbishop first, and his Majesty afterwards, declare sufficiently, that there was some greater Reality in the Plot then the King was willing to believe. But it had been a Maxime with King James, his Father, That Suspicion was the sickness and disease of a Tyrant; which laid him open to all the subtle Practises of malicious cunning. And it had been taken up by this King for an Axiom also, That it was better to be deceived than to distrust, which paved a plain and easy way to all those misfortunes which in the whole course of his Reign, especially for ten years last past, had been brought upon him.

And as for Canterbury himself he had so many dangers threatened from the Puritan Faction as made him bend his whole thoughts to prevent their Practises, who had already declared their Purpo's towards his Destruction. For a brute being maliciously spread abroad, that the late Parliament had been dissolved by his Procurement, the Rabble became so inflamed, that a Paper was pasted up at the Exchange, on Saturday the ninth of May, advising and animating the Apprentices.
tices to Sack his House at Lambeth on the Monday following. This L I B. IV. gave him a sufficient warning to expect a storm, and to prepare himself against it; which he did with so much care and courage, that though he was assaulted that night with a confused Raskal Rabble of five hundred persons, yet they were not able either to force the House, or do any visible harm unto it. The next day he procured some pieces of Canon, which he caused to be planted for defence of the great Gate which leads into the house, and strengthened all the lesser doors which opened towards the Garden, and other places so that there was no danger to be feared from the like alarms, though prudently he withdrew to his Chamber at Whitehall till the Rage of the People was blown over. Some of the principal Actors in this Sedition being apprehended and committed to the Goal in Southwark, were forcibly delivered by others of their Accomplices, who brake open that and all other Prisons in that Precinct for which one Benstead, who appeared in the head of that Riot, was on the 21 of May condemned for Treason, and was accordingly drawn, hanged, and quartered, for a terror to others. Which reasonable Execution put an end to the Outrage, but not to the malice of the People; Labels against him being scattered in most parts of the City. For though about the end of Augs. a Paper was dropt in the Covent Garden, encouraging the Souldiers and Apprentices to fall upon him in the Kings Absence (his Majesty being then newly gone against the Scots) yet there was no Tumult raised upon it; the People standing in more fear of the Hangman than to expose themselves again to the Knife and Halter. Howsoever thinking it as unsafe as it was imprudent to tempt the Rabble to bellow another visit on him at his house in Lambeth, he gave order that the High Commission should be kept in St. Pauls, and he did well and wisely in it. For the Commissioners sitting there, on Oct. 22, were violently assaulted by a mixed multitude of Brownists, Anabaptists, and Puritans, of all sorts to the number of 2000, and upwards, crying out they would have no Bishop, nor no High Commission. In which Tumult, having frighted away the Judges, Advocates, and Officers of the Court, they brake down all the Seats and Benches which they found in the Convocation, putting the King to a new necessi ty of keeping a Guard upon that church, as before at Westminster, not only at the next sitting of the said Commissioners, but at the first meeting of the Convocation, which soon after followed. And though one Ortestern had appeared in the head of this company, and animated all the rest to commit these inofciencies; yet there was nothing done in order to his Punishment or Apprehensions; the Party being grown so audacious in their disorders, partly upon the near approach of the Parliament, but principally by the coming in of the Scots, that they contemned the Law, and defied the Magistrates.

For the Scots, being put into a flock of Reputation by the Kings Recalling of his Forces the year before, had took up store of Arms and Ammunition (as before was said) upon days of Payment. Advertised of his Majestys Preparation to make war upon them, and confident of a strong party which they had in England, they entred the Realm in hostile manner.
The Life of William

PART II. manner, taking in all places of importance which they found in their
Aune Dom. 1640. way. And having put by his Majesties Forces near a place called New-
bourn, they past over the Time, and presently made themselves Masters
of the strong Town of New-Castle, by which they put a bridle into
the mouths of the Londoners, his Majesties Forces looking on, or not
very far distant. The news of this Invasion being brought to the
King, on August 20. he began a Posting Journey towards his Army in the
North: But he neither found the same men, nor the same affections, as he had so unfortunately discharged the year before. Many
of these Souldiers being so ill principled, or so ill persuaded, that
in their marchings through the Country they brake into Churches,
pulled up the Railes, threw down the Communion Tables, defac'd
the Common-Prayer-Books, tore the Surplices, and committed many
other Acts of outrageous insolence. The chief Command he had
entrusted to the Earl of Northumberland, whom he had before made
Admiral of his Royal Navy for defence of the Kingdom, honoured
him with the Order of the Garter, and made him one of the Lords of
his Privy Council; so that no greater characters of Power and Favour
could be imprinted on a Subject. The Office of Lieutenant General
he had committed unto the Earl of Strafford Lord Lieutenant of Ire-
land, of whose Fidelity and Courage he could make no question; And the Command of the Horse to Edward Lord Conway, whose Fa-
ther had been raised by King James from a private condition to be one
of his principal Secretaries, and a Peer of the Realm. Of which three
great Commanders it was observed, that one had sufficient health,
but had no will to the business; That another had a good will to it, but
wanted health; and that a third had neither the one nor the other.
And yet as crastie and infirm as the Earl of Strafford found himself, he
cheerfully undertook the charge of the Army in the Generals absence,
and signified by Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that he durst
venture upon the peril of his head to drive the Scots out of England: but that he did not hold it Counsellable, as the cafe then stood. If any
other of the Lords had advised the King to try his Fortune in a Battel, he doubted not of sending them home in more haste than they
came: but the Scots had rendered him unfit to make the motion, for
fear it might be thought that he studied more of his own Concernments,
than he did the Kings.

For these Invadors, finding by whose Counsels his Majesty governed
his Affairs, resolued to draw them into difcredit, both with Prince and People. And to that end it was declared in a Remon-
strance published before their taking Arms, "That their Propositions
and Desires, so necessary and vital unto that Kingdom, could find
no access unto the ears of the gracious King by reason of the power-
ful Diversion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Deputy of Ire-
land, who (strengthened with the high and mighty Faction of Papists
near his Majesty,) did only side in all matters of Temporal and Spi-
ritual affairs; making the necessity of their Service to his Majesty to
appear in being the only fit Instruments (under the pretext of vin-
dicating his Majesties Honour,) to oppreß both the Just Liberties of
his
his Free Subjects, and the true Reformed Religion in all his King-

The Intention of the Army; they signified therein to the good People 

of England, that they had no design either to waste their Goods, or 

spoiling their Country: but only to become Petitioners to his Sacred Ma-

jecty to call a Parliament, and to bring the said Archbishops and Lord 

Lieutenant to their condign Punishments. In which those modest 

men express, "That as they desired the unworthy Authors of their 

troubles, who had come out from themselves, to be tried at home; 

according to their own Laws; so they would press no further Pro-

cess against Canterbury, and the Lieutenant of Ireland, and the rest 

of those pernicious Counsellors in England, whom they called the 

"Authors of all the miseries of both Kingdoms, than what their own 

Parliament should discern to be their just deserving. And that the 

English might see the better whom they chiefly aimed at, a book 

was published by the name of Landenium Autocatastrophis, or the Can-

terburnian Self-convinctions; in which the Author of it did endeavour 

to prove, out of the Books, Speeches, and Writings of the Archbi-

shop himself, as also of some Bishops, and other learned men, who 
had exercised their Pens in the late disputes; That there was a strange 
design in hand for bringing in Superstition, Popery, and Arminianism, to 
the subversion of the Gospel, and of suppressing the Religion here by 
Law established.

But as these Reproofes moved not him, so neither did their Re-

monstrances, or any other of their Scribbles distract his Majesties Re-
solutions, until he found himself afflicted by a Petition from some 

Lords in the South, which threatened more danger at his back than he 
had cause to fear from the Northern Tempest which blew directly in 
his teeth; Complaint was made in this Petition of the many inconve-
niences which had been drawn upon this Kingdom by his Majesties 
engagings against the Scots; as also of the great encrease of Popery; 
the pressing of the present payment of Ship-money; the dissolving 
of former Parliaments; Monopolies, Innovations, and some other 
grievances, amongst which the Canons which were made in the late 
Convocation could not be omitted. For Remedy whereof, his Majes-
ty is desired to call a Parliament, to bring the Authors of the said 
pretended grievances to a legal Trial, and to compose the present 
War without Bloodshed: Subscribed by the Earls of Essex, Hartford, 
Rutland, Bedford, Exeter, Warwick, Moulgrave, and Bulfinhbrooke, 
the Lords Say, Mundeil, Brooke, and Howard; presented to the King 
at York on the third of September; and seconded by another from the 
City of London to the same effect. His Majesty, being thus between 
two Millstones, could find no better way to extricate himself out of 
these perplexities, than to call the great Council of his Peers, to 
whom at their first meeting, on the 24 of the same Month, he signi-

fied his purpose to hold a Parliament in London on the third of Novem-

ber; and by their Counsel entertained a Treaty with those of Scotland, 
who building on the confidence which they had in some Lords of Eng-

land, had petitioned for it. According unto which Advice a Com-
mission
PART II. million is directed to eight Earls, and as many Barons of the English Nation, (seven of which had subscribed the former Petition) enabling them to treat with the Scots Commissioners, to hear their Grievances and Demands, and to report the same to his Majesty, and the Lords of his Council. These points being gained, which the Puritan Faction in both Kingdoms had chiefly aimed at, the Scots were inoffensive enough in their Proposals, requiring freedom of Commerce, Reparation of their former Losses, and most especially the maintenance of their Army at the charge of the English; without which no Ceislation would be harkened to. Satisfaction being given them in their last Demand, and good Assurances for the two first, they decline York, as being unsafe for their Commissioners, and procure Rippon to be named, for the place of the Treaty; where the Lord Lieutenant was of less influence then he was at York; and where being farther from the King, they might shuffle the Cards, and play the Game to their best contentment. The rest of October, from the end of the first week of it, when they excepted against York, was drilled on, in requiring that some persons of quality, intrusted by the Scotch Nation, might have more Offices than he had about his Majesty, and the Queen, and in the Court of the Prince. That a Declaration might be made for naturalizing and settling the Capacities and mutual Privileges of the Subjects in both Kingdoms: but chiefly that there might be an Unity and Uniformity in Church-Government, as a special means for conserving of the Peace between the two Nations. And thus they entertained the time till the beginning of the Parliament, which removed the Treaty from Rippon to London, where the Scots were sure of more Friends, and of warmer Quarters, than the Northern Counties could afford them.

In the mean time it may be asked what became all this while of the Irish Army, consisting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, which had been raised with so much zeal by the Earl of Strafford at the beginning of the Spring; and by the Power whereof (kept ever since in constant pay and continual exercise) his Majesty might have reduced the Scots to their due obedience, as was declared by the Earl at the Council Table on May 6, being the next day after the dissolving of the former Parliament. Which Army if it had been put over into Cumberland (to which from the Port of Carickfergus in Ireland is but a short and easy passage) they might have got upon the back of the Scots, and caught the wretched People in a pretty Pitfall; so that having the English Army before them, and the Irish behind them, they could not but be ground to powder as between two Milstones. But this design, if it were ever thought of, was never put in execution; so as that Army was dissolved without doing any thing in order to his Majesties Service: the Commons in the following Parliament not thinking themselves or their affairs in any security as long as those Forces were maintained and held together. It may be asked in the next place, why the Parliament, called at such a time, and on such an occasion, (that is to say, the over-running of the Northern parts of the Kingdom by a Scotch Army) should be held at Westminster; when York (where the King
King was then in Person lay nearer to the danger and the Scene of Action, and to the place of Treaty between the Nations. These Reasons were sufficient to have moved the King to hold this Parliament at York, and not at Westminster, had he known nothing of the disaffections and engagements of the neighbouring City, as he knew too much. And he had some good Presidents too, which might have added no small weight to the consideration: For when King Edward was buie in the Conquest of Wales, he called his Parliament to Acton Burnel, being in the Marches of that Country; and when he turned his Forces to the Conquest of Scotland, he called his Parliament to Carlisle (if my memory fail me not) being on the borders of that Kingdom. Had the King made choice of the like Place for this present Parliament (which he did afterward endeavour to alter when it was too late (he had undoubtedly prevented all those inconveniences, (or rather, mischiefs) which the Pride, Purge, Faction, and Tumultuousnes of the Londoners, did afterwards enforce upon him. And finally, It might be asked, What might move his Majesty to transfer the Treaty from Rippon to London, where the Commissioners of the Scots were Complemented, Feasted, and presented by the wanton Citizens; Their Lodgings more frequented for Prayers and Sermons, than the houses of Foreign Embassadours had ever been for hearing Mass by any of the English Papists. By means whereof they had the greater opportunity to enflame that City, and make it capable of any impression which they thought fit to imprint upon it; express, not long after by their going down in such huge multitudes after Alderman Pennington, to present a Petition to the Parliament, subscribed by some Thousands of hands against the Government of Bishops here by Law established; as afterwards in no less number to clamour at the Parliament doors for Justice on the Earl of Strafford, which were the points most aimed at by the Scottish Covenanters. To which no Answer can be given, but that all these things were fo disposed of by the supreme and over-ruling power of the Heavenly Providence, contrary to all reason of State, and Civil Prudence.

But to proceed, the third of November, drawing on, when the Parliament was to take beginning, A Letter was writ to the Archbishops of Canterbury, advertising, that the Parliament of the twentieth year of King Henry VIII. which began in the Fall of Cardinal Wolsey, continued in the Diminution of the Power and Privileges of the Clergy, and ended in the dissolution of the Abbeys and Religious Houses, was begun on the third day of November, and therefore that for good luck sake he would move the King to Refpite the first sitting of it for a day or two longer; But the Archbishop not harkening to this Advertisement, the Parliament had its first sitting at the time appointed. Which Parliament as it began in the Fall and Ruine of the Archbishop himself, and was continued in the total Dissipation of the remaining Rites and Privileges of the English Clergy, so did it not end till it had subverted the Episcopal Government, dissolved, as much as in them was, all Capitular Bodies, and left the Cathedrals of this Land (not presently ruined I confess, but) without means to keep them up.
PART II. for the time to come. The day appointed being come, his Majesty declined the accustomed way of riding in a Magnificent Pomp from Whitehall to the Church of Westminster, and making his entry there at the great Western Gate: but rather chose to pass thither privately by water, attended by such of the Lords as could accommodate themselves with convenient Barges. Entering the Church at the Little door which openeth toward the East, he was received by the Sub-Dean and Prebendaries under a Canopy of State, and so conducted to the place where he heard the Sermon; the performance of which work was commended by his Grace of Canterbury to the Bishop of Oxon, and by him learnedly discharged. The Sermon being done, his Majesty, attended by the Peers and Prelates, returned the same way to Westminster Hall, and from thence went to the Parliament House; where causing the Commons to be called before him, he acquainted both Houses with the Insolencies committed by the Scots, who not content to embroyle their own Country, had invaded this; requiring their timely assistants to drive the Rebels out of the Kingdom, and casting himself upon the good affections of his English Subjects. The Commons were not more willing to hear that his Majesty was resolv'd to cast himself wholly on their good affections, than many zealous Patriots seemed to be troubled at it; knowing how ill it forts with Kings when they have no way to subsist, or carry on their great Designs, but by casting themselves wholly on the love of the People. These on the other side were no better pleas'd with hearing his Majesty call the Scots by the name of Rebels, whom he had too long courted by the name of his Scottish Subjects, than the Prevailing Members in the House of Commons were offended at it; the name of Rebels rendering them uncapable of those many Favours which were designed them by that House. And the displeasure went so high, that his Majesty finding into what condition he had cast himself, was fain to call both Houses before him within two days after, (a) there to Explain, or rather to Retract so harsh a Title; calling them afterwards by the name of his Subjects of Scotland, as he used to do; which gave the Commons such a sense of their Power, and of his Compliance, that they resolv'd to husband both to their best advantage, and not so easily to part with their Friends of Scotland, as his Majesty first hoped they would. The differences might have been agreed at York or Rippon, if the Commissioners of the Scots had been as forward as the English; but the Scots so delayed them (as his Majesty noted in that Speech) that it was not possible to end it there. The Scots had other work to do besides their own, and must be kept in pay at the charge of the English, till they had brought his Majesty into such a condition, that it was not safe for him to deny them any thing, which they had the confidence to require. Such a beginning had this long and unhappy Parliament, unhappy to the King, and to all that loved his Power or Person; most men who looked on his Affairs with the eye of Judgment, prefiguring that this thrifty omission of the Publick Pomp in the present Conjunctions, would prove as infamous to him as the like neglect had done at his Coronation; and that this Parliament which began without solemn-
folemnity would prove a Parliament of sorrows unto him and his. 

With little better Fortune did the Convocation take beginning at St. Paul's Church on the morrow after, handelled at their first meeting by the sad news of the Decease of Dr. Neile, Archbishop of York, which had been brought unto the Town the day before. A man he was who had past through all Degrees and Orders in the Church of England, and thereby made acquainted with the conveniencies, or difficulties, incident to all conditions. He had served the Church as Schoolmaster, Curate, Vicar, Parson, Master of the Savoy, Dean of Westminster, Clerk of the Closet to both Kings successively, Bishop of Rochester, Lichfield, Lincoln, Durham, and Winchester, and finally, Archbishop of York, in which place he died. Many good Offices he had done to the Church and Church-men in his attendance at the Court, crossing the Scots in most of their suits, their Ecclesiastical Preferments, which greedily and ambitiously they hunted after, and thereby drawing on himself the general hatred not only of the Scots, but Scotizing English. But of this Prelate we have spoke so much upon other occasions, that we may save the labour of any further addition, than that he died as full of years as he was of honours, an affectionate Subject to his Prince, an indulgent Father to his Clergy, a bountiful Patron to his Chaplains, and a true friend to all which relied upon him; more fortunate in the time of his death than the course of his life, in being prevented by that blessed opportunity from seeing those calamities which afterwards fell upon the King, the Church, and all that with well to either of them; which must have been more grievous to him than a thousand deaths. But this sad news retarded not the Convocation from proceeding forwards, the Prelates and Clergy attending the Archbishop from the Chapter-house into the Choir, where they heard the Sermon, Preached at the time by Bargrave then Dean of Canterbury; which done, the Clergy settled to the choice of a Prolocutor, electing the same man who had before discharged the Place with so much dexterity. Adjourned to Westminster, and Protestation made by the Sub-Dean and Prebends, according to the usual custom, the Prolocutor was presented to the Archbishop and Bishops in the Chappel of King Henry vii. at what time the Archbishop in an eloquent but sad Oration, bemoaned the infelicities which he saw hanging over the Church, advising every one there present to perform their Duties, and not to be wanting to themselves, or the cause of Religion, as far forth as they were concerned in their several places. Nothing more done of any moment in this Convocation, but that a motion was made by Warmistre, one of the Clerks for the Diocese of Worcester, to this effect; viz. That they should endeavour (according to the Levitical Laws) to cover the Pit which they had opened, and to prevent their Adversaries intention by condemning such offensive Canons as were made in the last Convocation. He had before offered at many things in that Convocation, but such was his ill-luck, that the Vote was for the most part passed before he spake; nor had he better fortune in his motion now, than his offers then, the Members of that House not being willing to condemn themselves till they were accused. So that not

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PART II, having any other way to obtain his purpose, he caused a long Speech, which he had made upon this occasion, to be put in Print; bitter enough against some Canons and Proceedings in the former Session: but such as could not save him from a Sequestration, when the rest of the Clergy were brought under the same condition.

Whilst these things were acting on the Stage of Westminster, the Earl of Strafford was not Idle in acting his part at York, amongst the Souldiers, whose affections he had gained so far, that he was generally beheld with esteem and veneration. He had before sufficient proof, how strongly the Scots aimed at his destruction, expressed in their Remonstrance, and the Intentions of their Army, (as they called the Pamphlet) but more especially by the refusal of the Scots Commissioners to hold the Treaty at York; and the reasons given for their refusal; for in a Paper of theirs, presented on October 8. They had insisted on the danger apprehended by them in going to York, and casting themselves and others, who might be joined with them, into the hands of an Army commanded by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, against whom (as a chief Incendiary according to their demands, which was the subject of the Treaty itself) they resolved to proceed. They complained also in that Paper, That in the Parliament of Ireland, he had proceeded against them as Traitor and Rebels; That he honoured them in his common talk with no better Titles: That his Commission was to destroy them; And that by all means, and by all occasions, he had hindered all Propositions tending to a Pacification, for fear himself might be excluded from the benefit of it. He was not without a strong presumption, that the Scots were animated unto those Demands, and encouraged to invade the Kingdom, by some of those which were of greatest Prevalency in both Houses of Parliament. And lying so near the Scots, in the head of his Army, he had not only gained assurance (as he conceived) in many particulars to confirm it, but that there was a Confederacy made between the Heads of the Covenants and some of the leading Members of both Houses, his most Capital Enemies, subject to the Government of the Church, and innovate in that of the Civil State; which Intelligence being digested into the Form of an Impeachment, he intended to present to the House of Peers as soon as he had taken his place amongst them: and to that end prepared for his last Journey to London, from whence he never was to return alive. Calling together some of his especial Friends, and many of the chief Officers and Commanders which remained in the Army, he made them acquainted with his purpose of going to Westminster to attend the Parliament, leaving to them the Charge of his Majesties Forces, and the preserving of those parts from the spoyle of the Enemy. An Enterprize from which he was dissuaded by most of his Friends, alleging that he could not chuse but know, that the Scots, and Scotizing English had most inallibly resolved on his destruction; and that innocence was no Armour of Proof against the fiery Darts of malicious Power; That seeing such a storm hang over his head, rather keep himself in the English Army, (being under his Command, which he had gained upon exceedingly by
by his noble carriage) or pass over into Ireland, where the Army rested wholly at his Devotion; or transport himself to some Foreign Kingdom, till fairer weather here (in reference to his own safety and the publick peace) should invite him home; That it was no betraying of his innocence to decline a Trial where Partiality held the Scales, and Self-ends back'd with Power, and made blind with Prejudice, were like to over-ballance Justice; That if Sentence should be pass'd against him for default of appearance (which was the worst that could befall him) yet he would then keep his head on his shoulders until better times, and in the mean season might do his Majesty as good Service in the Courts of many Foreign Princes, as if he were sitting in White-bait at the Council-Table.

Turning a deaf ear to these considerations, he Resolved to prosecute his design, but was scarce entred into the House of Peers, when followed at the heels by pym (whom it concerned as much as any) who fearing or knowing his intendments, impeacht him of high Treafon, in the name of all the Commons of England, requiring in their names that he might be fequestred from the Houfe, and Committed to Custody. And here again it was conceived that the Earl shew'd not that praentiam animi, that readiness of Courage and Resolution, which formerly had conducted him through fo many difficulties, in giving over his design; For though he loft the opportunity of striking the first blow, yet he had time enough to strike the second, which might have been a very great Advantage to his preservation. For had he offered his impeachment, and prosecuted it in the same paces and method as that was, which was brought against him, it is possible enough that the business on both sides might have been huffed up without hurt to either. And for so doing he wanted not a fair Example in the second Parliament of this King, when the Earl of Bristol being impeached of high Treafon by the Kings Attorney at the instance and procurement of the Duke of Buckingham, retorted presently a recrimination or impeachment against the Duke, and by that means took off the edge of that great Adverfary from proceeding further. Nor gave it little caufe of wonder unto many wise men, that a person of fo great Spirit and knowledge, should give himself up so tamely on a general accusation only, without any particular Act of Treafon charg'd upon him, or any proof offered to make good that charge; not only to the los of his Liberty as a private Perfon: but to the forfeiture of his Privilege as a Member of Parliament. But the impeachment being made, his Restraint defired, and nothing by him offered to the Contrary, he was committed the same day (Novemb. 11.) to the Custody of the Gentleman Ufher, called the Black-rod, and not long after to the Tower; Sir George Retcliffe one of his especial confidents, being presently fet out of Ireland by a Serjeant at Arms, as criminal with him. In this condition he remained, till the 16th of December, without any particular Charge against him; Which at the laft was brought into the Houfe of Peers by the Scots, and presented in their Names by Lord Paget one of the Members of that Houfe. In which they did inform against him, in reference
PART II. reference to matters which concerned Religion, that in promoting
the late pretended Innovations he had been as forward as Canterbury
himself; and to that end had preferred his Chaplain Bramhall to the
See of Derrie, and Chappel to the Collège of Dublin; that he had
threatened to burn the Articles of Ireland, agreed upon in Convoca-
tion Anno 1615, by the hand of the Hangman, and would not hearken
to the Privy, when he defired a Ratification of them by Act of
Parliament, for preventing and suppressing the said Innovations; that
he countenanced divers books against them and their Covenant,
which were Printed at Dublin, and caufed all Perions above the age of
sixteen years, to abjure the said Covenant by a solemn Oath, or other-
wise to be Imprifoned or to flye that Kingdom; that at his laft coming
into England he had openly faid, that if ever he returned unto the
Honourable Sword he would not leave any of the Scots in that King-
dom, their Root or Branch; and that he did advise the great Council
of Peers assemled at York, to fend them back again in their own
blood, and that he might whip them out of England.

In further pursuance of this Charge, it was pret against him in the
Articles Exhibited by the House of Commons on the 16th of February
(for so long it was, before he heard any more news from them) That
he maintained a correpondence with the Papifts of Ireland, endeav-
oured to rafe hostility between England and Scotland, and had con-
fented to the betraying of New-Castle into the hands of the Scots; to
the end that the English being netled by fo great a lofs, might be more
Cordially engaged in the War against them; that he gave a Warrant
under his hand to some Bishops in the Church of Ireland, and their
Chancellors and other Officers, to arrest the Bodies of fuch of the
meaner Sort, as after Citation, fhould refuse to appear before them,
or fhould refuse to undergo and perform all lawful decrees and fen-
tences, given or issued out against them, and the faid persons to keep
in the next Common Gaol, till their Submißion to the said Orders
and Decrees, and otherwise fhew fome Reafon to the Contrary to the
Lords of the Council; that in the Month of May in the year 1639,
he caused a new Oath to be contrived, Enforced especially upon those
of the Scotch Nation in the Realm of Ireland, by which the party
was obliged to Renounce the Covenant, and to swear that he would
not Proteft against any of his Majesties Royal Commands, but sub-
mitt himfelf in all obedience thereunto, and had put divers grievous
fines upon many of them on their Refufal of the fame; that he required
the like Oath for the Observation of all Rites and Ceremonies then
eftablished, or from thenceforth to be established, by the Kings Au-
thority, saying, that he would prosecute all Repugners of them to the
very Blood. The Rest of the Articles relating unto Civil matters I
omit of purpose, as neither being pertinent or proper to my Present
History; observing only in this place, that for the better carrying on
of their charge against him, they had gained two points; more ne-
necessary to be craved than fit to be granted; The firft was (which they
carried in the Houfe of Lords by a Major Vote) that no Bifhop fhould
be of that Committee for the Preparatory Examinations in the pre-
sent
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

fent case, under colour that they were excluded from acting in it by L I B. V. some Antient Canons, as in Caufa Sanguinis, or the caufe of blood; Anno Dom, concerning which a brief discourse entituled De jure Paritatis Epifcoporum, was presented to his Grace of Canterbury, and some other Bishops for affenting all the Rights of Peerage (and this of being of that Committee amongst the ref) which either by Law or Ancient Custom did belong unto them. The second was that the Lords of the Council fhould be examined upon Oath, for any thing which was faid or done by the Earl of Strafford at the Council Table, Which being yielded by the King; though tending visibly to the Derogation of his Power, and the discouragement of all fuch as either were or fhould be of his Privy Council, the Archbifhop was accordingly Examined on December 4th being the next day after the faid Con- dencion.

Nor was it long before the like Oath was required and obtained by them against the Archbifhop himfelf, being the next man whom the Scots and their Confederates in both houses, had an eye upon. He knew there was some danger coming toward him by the faid combina- tion, but thought not at the firft it would reach fo far, as to touch his Life. The moft he looked for, as he told the Author of thefe Collections on the second or third day after the beginning of the Parliament, was to be fqueutred from his Majeflies Councils, and confin'd to his Diocefs, to which he profefled himself as willing as any of his Enemies were defirous of it. As it seems his Enemies at the firft had no further thoughts. For it appeareth by a paffage in his Diary, that on Thursday December 24. four Earls of Great Power in the Upper Houfe declared unto a Parliament man, that they were refolved to Seque- fter him only from the Kings Council, and deprive him of the Archie- piscopal dignity, and no more then fo; which though it was too much, and favoured of two little Justice to be refolved before any particular charge was brought againft him: yet I confider as an Ar- gument of their firft intentions, that they aimed not at his Life, but at his removal. In order whereunto it was thought expedient, that his Majeflity fhould be moved to release the Bishop of Lincoln from his long Imprifonment, and to refore him to his place in the houfe of Peers; knowing full well how Active an Instrument they were sure to find him, by reafon of some former grudges, not only againft the Archbifhop but the Earl of Strafford. Which motion being made and granted he was conducted into the Abbey Church by fix of the Bishops, and there officiated (it being a day of Humiliation) as Dean of Westminifter; more honoured at the firft by the Lords and Commons, then ever any of his Order; his perfon looked upon as Sacred, his words deemed as Oracles. And be continued in this height, till having served their turn againft the Archbifhop, and the Lord Lieutenant, he began fenfibly to decline, and grew at laft to be generally the moft hated man of all the Hierarchy. Orders are also made by the Houfe of Commons for releasing fuch as were Imprifoned by the Star-Chamber, Council-Table, or High-Commission; and more particularly for the remanding of Bashvick, Prynne, and Burton; from the feveral Islands,
PART II. to which they were before confined. Upon which general Goal-
delivery, Burton and Prynne had so contrived it as to come together,
met on their way as far as Brainford by some thousands of the Puritan-
Faction out of London, and Southwark, and by them silently conducted
with Bays and Rosemary in their hands, to their several Houses to
the Intolerable affront of the Courts of Justice, and his Majesties Go-
vernment, his Majesty, conniving at the insolency or not daring to
punish it. Not well-reposed after the toil and trouble of so long a
journey, Prynne, joins himself with Bagstaff before remembred, and
both together are admitted to a private conference with the Bishop
of Lincoln in the beginning of December, which boded no great good
to the Church or State, or any who had formerly appeared in defence
of either.

These preparations being made, the Project was carried on a main.
For on the 16th of that month the Canons made in the late Convoca-
tion, were condemned in the House of Commons, as being against
the Kings Prerogative, the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, the Liberty
and Property of the Subject, and containing divers other things tending to
Sedition, and of dangerous Consequence. A Vote was also past for
making Canterbury, the Principal Author of the said Canons, for a
Committee to be nominated to enquire into all his former Actions;
and for preparing a Bill against all those of the said Convocation by
whom these Canons were subscribed: but the Bowrs of that day, did
not end there neither. For on the same, a charge was laid against
him in the house of Peers by the Scots Commissioners (that being the
day in which they had accused the Earl of Strafford) for doing ill
offices, and being an Incendiary between the Nations. And in pur-
suance of the plot, on Friday the 18th of the same Moneth, he was
Impeacht by Hollis in the name of all the Commons of England, of no
less than Treason; and thereupon, without any particular charge ag-
ainst him, he was committed to the custody of the Gentleman Usher,
leave only being granted him, to repair to his house at Lambeth, for
the Collecting of such Papers as were necefrary for his Justification.
At Maxwells house (for fo was the Usher of the Black-Rod called)
he remained ten weeks, before so much as any General charge against
him, was brought up to the Lords. During which time he gained so
much on the good opinion of the Gentlewoman of the House, that
she reported him to some of her Goftips, to be one of the goodest men,
and most Pious Souls, but with all one of the filliest fellows to hold
talk with a Lady that ever he met with in all her life. On the 26 of Feb.
This charge was brought up to the Lords by Plane the younger, con-
sisting of fourteen General Articles, which Generals he craved time
to prove in particular; and thereupon a Vote was passed for trans-
mittting the Prisoner to the Tower, with leave however to remain at
Maxwell’s, till the Monday following. Which day being come, he
was conveyed in Maxwell’s Coach without any disturbance; till he
came to the end of Cheapside, from whence he was followed by a rail-
ing Rabble of rude and uncivil People, to the very Gates of the
Tower: Where having taken up his Lodging, and letted his small
Family
Family in Convenient Rooms, he diligently referred to the publick Chappel of that place at all times of Worship, being present at the Prayers and Sermons, and sometimes hearing himself univhely reviled, and pointed at as it were, by some factious Preachers, sent thither of purpose to disgrace and vex him. All which Indignities he endured with such Christian meekness, as rendered him one of the great Examples both of Patience and Piety in these latter Times.

The principal things contained in the Charge of the Scots Commissioners, were these that follow; viz. That he had prof'd upon that Kirk many Innovations in Religion, contained in the Liturgie and Book of Canons, contrary to the Liberties and Laws thereof; That he had written many Letters to Ballentine Bishop of Dumblane, and Dean of the King's Chappel in Scotland, in which he required him and the rest of the Bishops to be present at the Divine Service in their Whites, and blamed the said Bishop for his negligence and slackness in it, and taxing him for Preaching Orthodox Doctrine against Arminianism; That he had caused the said Bishop to be reprehended for commanding a solemn Fast to be kept in his Diocess on the Lord's day, as if they had offended in it against Christianity it self; That he gave order for the taking down of Stone Walls and Galleries in the Churches of Edenborough, to no other end but for the setting up of Altars, and Adoration toward the East; That for their Supplicating against those Novations, they were encountered by him with terrible Proclamations from his Majesty, declared Rebels in all the Parish-Churches of England, and a War kindled against them by his Arts and Pratizes; That after the Pacification made at Berwick, he frequently spake against it as dishonourable, and unfit to be kept; their Covenant by him called ungodly, and divers Oaths imposed upon their Countrymen to abjure the same, that he spared not in the presence of the King and their Commissioners to rail against the General Assembly held at Glasco, and put his Hand into a Warrant for Imprisoning some of those Commissioners, sent from the Parliament of Scotland for the Peace of both Nations; That when the late Parliament could not be moved to assisit in the War against them, he had caused the same to be dissolved, and continued the Convocation to make Canons against them and their Doctrines, to be published four times in every year; That he had caused six Subsidies to be levied on the Clergie for maintaining the War, and Prayer to be made in all Parish-Churches, That thame might cover their faces, as Enemies to God and the King: And finally, That he was so indiscreet in advancing Povery in all the three Kingdoms, that the Pope himself could not have been more Popish, had he been in his place. Such was the Charge exhibited by the Scots Commissioners, in which was nothing criminal enough to deserve Imprisonment, much les to threaten him with Death. And as for that brought up from the Houfe of Commons, it consisted of fourteen General Articles, as before was said, ushered in with a short Preamble made by Pym, and shut up with a larger Aggravation of the Offences comprehended in the several Articles; the Substance of which Articles was to this effect: 1. That he had Traiterousely endeavoured to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, and to...
PART II. persuaded his Majesty, That he might Lawfully raise Money of the Subject, without their common Consent in Parliament. 2. That to this end he had caused divers Sermons to be Preached, and Books to be Printed, against the Authority of Parliaments, and for asserting an absolute and unlimited Power over the Persons and Goods of the Subjects, to be not only in the King, but also in himself and the rest of the Bishops; and had been a great Promoter of such by whom the said Books and Sermons had been made and published. 3. That by several Messages, Letters, Threatenings, &c. he had interrupted and perverted the Course of Justice in Westminster-Hall, whereby many of his Majesty's Subjects had been fopp'd in their just Suits, and thereby made subject to his will. 4. That he had tyrannically and corruptly sold Justice to such as had Causes depending before him, and taken unlawful Gifts and Bribes of his Majesty's Subjects; and had advised and procured his Majesty to sell Places of Judicature and other Offices. 5. That he had caused a Book of Canons to be composed and published without lawful Authority, in which were many things contrary to the King's Prerogative, the Fundamental Laws, &c., and had caused many of the same to surreptitiously passed, and afterwards by fear and compulsion to be subscribed by the Prelates and Clerks there assembled, notwithstanding they had never been Voted and Passed in the Convocation. 6. That he had assumed to him a Papal and Tyrannical Power, both in Ecclesiastical and Temporal Matters, over his Majesty's Subjects in this Realm, and other places, to the dishonour of the Crown, dishonour of his Majesty, and derogation of his Supreme Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters. 7. That he had endeavoured to alter and subvert God's true Religion, by Laws established in this Realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish superstition and Idolatry; and to that end had maintained many Papish Doctrines, enjoyed many Popish and Superstitious Ceremonies, and cruelly vexed and persecuted such as refused to conform unto them. 8. That in order thereunto he had intruded into the Rights of many of his Majesty's Officers and Subjects, in procuring to himself the Nomination of divers Persons to Ecclesiastical Benefices; and had taken upon him the commandation of Chaplains to the King, promoting and commanding none but such as were Popishly affected; or otherwise unqualified in Doctrine, or corrupt in Manners. 9. That to the same intent he had chosen such men to be his Chaplains, whom he knew to be notoriously disaffected to the Reformed Religion, and had committed unto them, or some of them, the Licensing of Books to be Printed, whereby many false and Superstitious Books had been published, to the great scandal of Religion, and the seducing of many of his Majesty's Subjects. 10. That he had endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome, confederating to that end with divers Popish Priests and Jesuits, holding Intelligence with the Pope, and permitting a Popish Hierarchy or Ecclesiastical Government to be established in this Kingdom. 11. That in his own Person, and by others under his Command, he had caused divers Godly and Orthodox Ministers of God's Word to be Silenced, Suspended, and otherwise griev'd, without any lawful or just cause, hindred the Preaching of God's Word, cherished Prophanesses and Ignorance amongst the People, and compelled many of his Majesty's Subjects to forsake the Kingdom.
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Kingdom. 12. That he had endeavoured to cause discord between the L.I.B. V. Church of England, and other Reformed Churches; and to that end had suppressed and abrogated the Privileges and Immunities which had been by his Majesty and his Royal Ancestors granted to the Dutch and French Churches in this Kingdom. 13. That he had endeavoured to stir up war between his Majesties Kingdoms of England and Scotland; and to that end had laboured to introduce into the Kingdom of Scotland divers innovations both in Religion and Government: for their refusing whereof, he first advised his Majesty to subdue them by force of Arms, and afterwards to break the Pacification made between the Kingdoms; forcing the Clergie to contribute toward the Maintenance of the War. 14. And finally, That to preserve himself from being questioned for these and other his traitorous courses, he had laboured to divert the ancient course of Parliamentary Proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments. This was the substance of the Charge, to which afterwards they added other which were more Particulars, when they found themselves ready for his Tryal, Anno 1644 and there we shall hear further of them. I note here only by the way, That one of those which had been added to make up the Tale, and create a greater hatred of him, as setting Justice, taking Bribes, &c. (for which never any Man of Place and Power was more clearly innocent) was found so far unfit for a Prosecution, that it was suppressed. An excellent Evidence of his Integrity and Uprightness, in such a long continued course of Power and Favour.

But Sorrows seldom come alone. The Danger first, and afterwards the questioning of his great a Prelate, left the Church open to the Affaults of a potent Faction, and the poor Clergy deftitute of a constant Patron. The first Affault against the Church, was made at St. Margarets Church in Westminster, on a day of Publick Humiliation, November 17. the same on which the Bishop of Lincoln was re-estated with such Triumph in the Abby-Church: At what time the Minifter Officiating the Second Service at the Communion-Table, according to the ancient Custom, was unexpectedly interrupted by the naming and finging of a Psalm, to the great amazement of all sober and well-minded men. And at the Meeting of some Anabaptists to the number of 80. at a Houfe in Southwark, it was Preached, That the Statute 35 Eliz. for refraining the Queens Majesties Subjects in their due obedience, was no good Law, because made by Bishops; striking at once both at the Liturgie and Government of the Church by Law establiied. The Bishops left out of the Committee for Examinations, in the business of the Earl of Strafford; and in all other Committees, by the fraud and artifice of the Clerk of the Parliament, not named in such proportion to the Temporal Peers, as had been accustomed. The same Clerk at the Reading of such Bills as came into that House, turned his back toward them in disdain, that they might not distinctly hear what he read; as if their consenting or dissenting to the point in question, had been judged unnecessary. And to prepare the way the better for their Declination, Pennington attended by some hundreds of the Raskle Rabble, presents a Petition to the Com-
PART II. Commons, in the name of the City of London, subscribed by 15000 hands of several qualities, most of them indigent in Estate, and of known disaffections to the present Government. In which Petition it was prayed, That the Government of Bishops might be abolished; That Rites and Ceremonies might be pres'd no longer upon the consciences of the weak; and that many other things at which they found themselves grieved, might be also abrogated. After which followed many bitter Speeches made against them by the Lord Faulkland, Bagshaw, White, and others, in the House of Commons; by the Lords say and Brook in the House of Peers; by Brook alone in a Printed Pamphlet, in which he reproacheth them as born of the Dregs of the People: the names of the Lords Spiritual being despitefully left out of all Bills which passed this Session, to shew how insignificant they were in an Act of Parliament. And all this seconded by many Petitions of like nature, in the name of many whole Counties and Populous Cities, and in their names presented to the Houses of Parliament; though the said Petitions, for the most part, were never either seen or heard of by the greatest and most considerable number of those in whose names they were subscribed. Which coming to his Majesties knowledge, he called both Houses unto Whitehall, January 25. "Where he informed "them of the Distractions that were then occasioned through the "convenience of the Parliament, there being some men who more malici- "ously than ignorantly, would put no difference between Reformation and Alteration of Government; from whence it came, that Divine Service was irreverently interrupted, and Petitions in an indirect "way procured and presented; That he was willing to concur with "them for reforming all Innovations both in Church and Common- "wealth, and for reducing all things to the same condition in which "they stood in the best and happiest times of Queen Elizabeth; That "he could not but take notice of many Petitions given in the name "of divers Counties, against the established Government of the "Church; and of the great threatenings against the Bishops. That "they will make them to be but Cyphers, or at least their Voices to "be taken away; That if upon serious debate, they could shew him "that the Bishops had some Temporal Authority not so necessary for "the Government of the Church, and upholding Episcopal Jurisdi- "ction, he would not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down: "And finally, if they had encroached too much upon the Temporal- "ity, he was content that all Abuses of that kind should be redres'd; "and that he would go with them so far, and no further. And to say "truth, it concerned the King to look about him, when his own Regal "Power, not that of the Bishops only, was so openly strook at; it being Preached by the said Anabaptists but the Week before, That "he could not make a good Law, because not PERFE\(\text{TLY REGE-\) NERATE, and was only to be obeyed in Civil Matters. But all this "little edified with such of the Lords and Commons as had the car- "rying on of the Plot against Episcopacy: they found the temper of "the King; and having got him on the Anvile, they resolved to ham- "mer him.

As
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

As an Expedient to the Work, it was found necessary to question L I B. V. and disgrace all those, who either had been active in advancing those Publick Orders, which were now branded by the name of Innovations or otherwise industrious in his Majesties Service; some to be sacrificed to the pleasure of particular Persons, others to satisfy the fury or discontentsment of the People generally. Of the first sort were Pocklington and Bray, both Doctors in Divinity; the first of late made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, the second Chaplain of long time to the Archbishop of Canterbury. This last had licensed two of Pocklington's Books, the one being a Sermon Preached at a Visitation before the Bishop of Lincoln, the other a Discourse of Altars, and the most proper situation of the Lords Table, in which were many Passages against that Bishop: To pacify which offended Deity, Pocklington must be sacrificed on his own Altar, deprived of all his Preferments at the present, and made incapable of receiving others for the time to come: Bray being enjoined to Preach a Recantation-Sermon in St. Margarets Church, and therein to retract one and thirty Articles which the Bishop had collected out of those Books, Heylyn had been Petitioned against by Pryyne at his first coming home, as a subfervient Instrument (under the Archbishop himself) of all his Sufferings; and was kept four days in Examination: but finally dismissed without shame or Censure. Cofens (informed against by Smart (who had been deprived for his factious Inconformity, of some good Preferments in the Bishoprick and Church of Durham) was under a great Storm at first: but being one that would not shrink in the wetting, he stood stoutly to it, and in conclusion was dismissed without any other lot but of Time and Charges. The like happened also unto Heywood Vicar of St. Giles's in the Fields, Squire of St. Leonard's in Shoreditch, and Finch of Christ-Church. The Articles against which four, and some others more, being for the most part of the fame nature and effect, as namely, Railing in the Communion-Table, Adoration toward it, Calling up the Parishioners to the Rail to receive the Sacrament, Reading the Second Service at the Table so placed, Preaching in Surplices and Hoods, Administering the Sacrament in Copes, Beautifying and Adorning Churches with Painted Glass, and others of the like condition; which either were to be held for Crimes in the Clergy generally, or else accounted none in them. And though the Informations were so slight and inconsiderable, that none of those who were impeach'd, could legally be made obnoxious to any Punishment; and that the credit of the Informers, not proved by Oath (which the Commons had no power to give) was the chief ground of their Proceedings; yet that these poor men might appear more monstrous in the eye of the World, the Articles against Pocklington, Cofens, Heywood, Squire, Finch, &c., were ordered to be put in Print; without care taken whether they were true or not. They knew full well, that when dirt was once thrown upon any man, (a) some of it must needs stick upon him, or about his Garments, how careful soever he might be to wipe it off.

This course they also held with the Bishop of Ely, impeaching him of

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(a) Audites calumniare, necesse est ut aliquam herald.
The Life of William

PART II. of many pretended Misdemeanors in the See of Norwich, viz. That he deprived or banished within the space of two years, fifty godly, learned, painful Ministers; His placing the Communion-Table Altar-wife, and causing a Rail to be set before it; The practicing of Superstition in his own Person, his bowing toward it, Consecrating the Bread and Wine at the West-side of the Table, with his back toward the People, and elevating the same above his head, that the People might see it, (which last Points, as they made most noise, so they found least proof) causing the Seats in all places to be so contrived, that the People must of necessity kneel toward the East, according to the pious Custom of the Primitive Times; Turning all afternoons Sermons into Catechisings by Question and Answer, according to the Kings Instructions; Appointing no Prayer to be uted by Preachers before their Sermons, but that prefcribed by the Canon; and that the Bells should give no other warning for Sermons, than they did for Prayers, that the People might resort unto the Church at all times alike, as by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm they were bound to do. In consideration whereof, it was resolved upon the Question to be the Opinion of that House, That the said Bishop was unfit, to hold or exercise any Office or Dignity in the Church or Commonwealth; and that a Message should be sent to the Lords, desiring them to join with the Commons in Petitioning his Majesty to remove him both from his Person and Service. By which this wise Prelate understood, that his nearness to the Kings Person was his greatest Crime; and thereupon, in imitation of the Caesar (having first obtained his Majesties consent thereto) he discontinued that attendance which might occasion more danger to him than it brought in profit. Which Prosecutions of the Clergy, but this last especially, have brought me unto the year 1641. Which brought more trouble to the Country Clergy than the last year had done to those which lived in London. The Committee Authorized by the House of Commons for Affairs of Religion, finding their work begin to fail them, and that Informations came not up so fast as had been expected, dispatched Instructions into all parts of the Kingdom for an enquiry to be made into the Lives and Actions of the Clergy in their several Parishes. And that the Inquisition might be made with the greater diligence, not only such as were in Authority, but every ingenious Person was required to be very active in improving the present opportunity, by giving true Information of all the Parishes in their several Counties. I know it was pretended by the said Instructions, that enquiry should be made into Pluralties and defect of maintenance, as well as into scandalous and unpreaching Ministers; yet the main business was to bring the Clergy on the Stage, and find some matter of complaint against them. Quite contrary in this to the Emperor

Trajan, who in the midst of the Persecutions, which he had raised against the Church, commanded by his Imperial Edict, (a) That no

Christian, non esset nisi ad

inciditum atque, nulli

impuni debere.

Euseb. Hist.

Eccl.l.5.c.30. voice of Common Fame they should be offered unto judgment. What
The fome of the fome, the wife, matters ed in animating the Parifhioners against their L I B. V. Minister, seducing Servants to accuse and betray their Masters, alienating the affections of the Clergy from one another, and by that means subjecting them to that dilipation which soon after followed, shall be shewn hereafter, fo far forth as it comes within the compass of this present History.

But whilst these clouds were gathering together in the Country, as great a tempest seemed to be brewing in the City, which threatened no lefs danger to the Church it fell than those proceedings to the Clergy. For in the beginning of this year we find some Divines of name and note, convened in the Dean of Westmfters Lodgings, to consult about matters of the Church; the occasion this: The Convocation was then sitting, but not impowered by his Majefties Commiffion to act in any thing of concernment. It was therefore ordered by the Peers March 21. That a Committee of ten Earls, ten Bifhops, and ten Barons should be nominated, in the name of the reft, for telling the affairs of the Church; by whom a Sub-Committee was the fame day named to prepare fuch matters as were to be discoursed and concluded by them, the Bifhop of Lincoln being in the Chair for both. Which Sub-Committee being made up of the Divines above-mentioned; confifted of three Bifhops, nine Doctors in Divinity, and four of fome inferior Degree in the Universities; fome of them being Prelatical, and fome Presbyterian in point of Government, but all of them Calvinians in point of Doctrine. Beginning first with points of Doctrine, complaint was made that the whole body of Arminians, and many particular points of Popery (for fo they called all which agreed not with Calvin's fince) had been of late maintained in Books and Sermons, and fome times also in the Divinity Schools. And then defending to matter of Discipline, they discoursed of many Innovations, which they conceived to have been thrust upon the Church, most of them in defpofing and adorning the Communion-Table, and the more reverent administration of the holy Sacraments; fome of them positively required, or at leat directed by the Laws of the Land, as reading the Communion Service at the Lords Table on Sundaies and Holidaies, reading the Litany in the midfrest of the Church, the Ministers turning toward the East in the Creed and Prayers, and praying no others before Sermons than in the words of the Canon; fome of them never having been diffufed in many Parochial Churches, and retained in moft Cathedrals fince the Reformation, as standing at the Hymns, and the Gloria Patri, placing the Table Altar-wife, and adoring toward it; fome being left indifferent at the choice of the Minifter, as the faying or singing of the Te Deum in Parochial Churches, officiating the Communion and the daily prayers in the Latin tongue, in feveral Colledges and Halls, by and amongst fuch as are not ignorant of that Language; And others not of fo great moment, as to make any visible alteration in the face of the Church, or fensible disturbance in the minds of the People. Which therefore might have been as well forborn as practiced, till confirmed by Authority, or others might have been borne without any fuch clamour,
PART II. mour, as either out of ignorance or malice had been raised against
them.

They also took into consideration some Rubricks in the Book of
Common Prayer, and other things, which they thought fit to be recti-
fied in it. Amongst which they advised some things not to be utterly
diliked, viz. That the Hymns, Sentences, Epitaphs and Gospels,
should be reprint'd, according to the new Translation; That the
Miserere in the Psalms should be corrected, and allowed of Publickly;
and that no Anthems should be sung in Colledges or Cathedral
Churches, but such as were taken out of the Scripture, or the publick
Liturgy; That fewer Lessons might be read out of the Books called
Apocrypha, and the Lessons to be read distinctly, exclusive of the
Liberty which is given to sing them as appears by the Rubrick; That
the Rubrick should be cleared concerning the Ministers power for re-
pulling scandalous and notorious Sinners from the holy Communion;
and that the general Confeffion before the Communion be ordered
to be said by the Minister only, the People repeating it after him;
That the words in the Form of Matrimony, viz. With my body I
thee worship, may be explained and made more intelligible; And that
instead of binding the married Couple to receive the Communion on
their Wedding-day (which is seldom done) they may be obliged to
receive it on the Sunday after, or the next Communion-day follow-
ing; That none be licensed to marry, or have their Banes ask'd, who
shall not first bring a Certificate from their Minister, that they are
instructed in the Catechism; and that it be not required that the In-
fant be dipp'd in the water (as is enjoyn'd by the Rubrick) in the case
of extremity. Some Passages they observed impertinently, and not
worth the altering, as the expunging of some Saints (which they falsly
called Legendary) out of the Kalendar; The constant adding of the
Doxology at the end of the Pater noster; Reading of Morning and
Evening Prayer daily by the Curate, if not otherwise letted; The
leaving out of the Benedicite, and the changing of the Psalm used in
the Churching of Women; That those words (which only work'd
great marvels) be left out of the Prayer for the Bishops and Clergy;
That Grievous sins, instead of Deadly sins, be us'd in the Letany; That
the sandifying of the Flood Jordon, be changed into sandifying the
Element of Water, in the Form of Baptism; That those words, In
fire, and certain hope of Resurrection, which are us'd at Burials, may
be changed to these, Knowing assuredly that the dead shall rise again;
And that the Commination should be read at the Desk, and not in the
Pulpit: all which remaining as they did give no offence, and
might have easily been changed to give some content. And finally,
some things there were of which they desired a Reformation, which
seemed to have much of the Anti-Papift, that they came close to the
Turritan, viz. That the Vestments prescribed by the first Liturgy of
King Edward vi. should not be required, and the rules in that case to be
altered; That the Alms should be gathered rather after, than before
the Communion; These words, This is my Body, This is my Blood, not
to be; Printed in great Letters; and that a Rubrick be inserted to de-
clar,
clare, that kneeling at the Communion is required only in relation to the Prayer of the distribution, *Preserve thee body and soul,* &c. That weekly Communion every Sunday be changed to monthly in Colledges and Cathedral Churches; That the *Cross* in Baptism be either explained, or quite disfused; and that in the Form of Confirmation these words importing, that Children baptized, are undoubtedly saved, be no longer used; That no times of Refrain may be laid on Marriage; and that the *Authoritative* Form of *Absolution* in the Visitation of the sick may be turned to a Pronouncing or declaring of it.

I have the longer stood on the result of these Consultations, because of the different apprehensions which were had of the Consequents and Issue of them. Some hoped for a great Reformation to be prepared by them, and settled by the Grand Committee both in Doctrine and Discipline; and others as much feared (the affections of the men considered) that Doctrinal *Calvinism* being once settled, more alterations would be made in the Publick Liturgy than at first appeared; till it was brought more near the Form of the *Gallic Churches*, after the Platform of *Geneva*. Certain I am, that the imprisoned Archbishop had no fancy to it, fearing least the *Assembly of Divines* in *Jerusalem-Chamber* (so the place was called) might weaken the foundations of *Jerusalem* in the Church of England; That this Assembly on the matter might prove the National *Synod of England*, to the great dishonour of the Church; and that when their Conclusions were brought unto the great Committee, the business would be over-ruled by the Temporal Lords, as double in number to the Bishops. But whatsoever his fears were they were soon removed, that Meeting being scattered, about the middle of May, upon the bringing in of a Bill against Deans and Chapters; which to divided the *Convenors* both in their persons and affections, that they never after met together. Concerning which we are to know, that not only most of the *Lords of the Lower House*, and many Lower-House Lords in the Upper House; resolving to pull up Episcopacy by the very roots, thought it convenient to begin with lopping the Branches as laying no pretence to Divine Institution. The voting of which Bill exceedingly amazed all those of the Prelatic Clergy, as knowing at what Root it struck; though none seemed presently concerned in it but such as had some benefit or subsistence in those foundations. To still the great noise which was raised about it, the Commons seemed not unwilling that some of the Cathedral Clergy should advocate for the continuance of those Capitular Bodies, and others of the contrary Party to present their Reasons for their Dissolution: The time appointed being come, *Hacket*, Archdeacon of Bedford, and one of the Prebends of St. Paul's, pleaded both learnedly andfoutly in behalf of those Churches; and *Burges of Watford*, who not long before brought down his *Myrmidons* to cry for Justice against *Strafford*, to the Parliament doors, was all for *down with them*, *down with them to the very ground*. But though they differed in their Doctrine, yet they agreed well enough in their applications: *Burges* declaring it unlawful, as well as *Hacket*, that the
PART II. Revenues of those Churches should otherwise be employed than to pious uses. This seemed to put the business to a stand for the present time, but Canterbury knowing with what ease it might be resumed, advised the drawing of a Petition to both Houses of Parliament in the name of the University of Oxon, which had a great flock going in the Ship of the Church, not only for the preservation of the Episcopal Government, but of those Foundations, as being both the Encouragements and Rewards of Learning. In which Petition having spoken in few words of the Antiquity and Succession of Bishops from the Apostles themselves, they insile more at large upon such Suggestions as might best justify and endear the cause of Cathedral Churches, which being the most material of all those motives, which were laid before them to that purpose, we hall here subjoin.

And we become further, sifter (fith that University,) for the continuance of the Pious Foundations of Cathedral Churches with their Lands and Revenues: As Dedicate to the Service and Honour of God, soon after the Plantation of Christianity in the English Nation; As thought fit and usefully to be preferr'd for that end, when the Nurseries of Superstition were demolished, and so continued in the last and best times since the Blessed Reformation under King Edward the sixth, Queen Elizabeth, and King James, Princes Renowned through the World for their Piety and Wisdom; As approved and confirmed by all the Laws of this Land, Ancient and Modern: As the Principal and outward motive, and encouragements of all Students, especially in Divinity, and the fittest Reward of some deep and Eminent Scholars: As Producing or Nourishing in all Ages, many Godly and Learned men who have most strongly asserted the truth of the Religion we Profess, against the many fierce oppositions of our Adversaries of Rome: As affording a Competent Portion in an Ingenious way to many younger Brothers of good Parentage, who devote themselves to the Ministry of the Gospel: As the only means of subsistance to a multitude of Officers, and other Ministers, who with their families depend upon them, and are wholly maintained by them: As the main Authors or upholders of divers Schools, Hospitals, High-ways, Bridges, and other Public works: As special causes of much Profit and advantages to those Cities where they are Situate; Not only by Receiving the Poor, and keeping convenient Hospitality: but by occasioning a frequent Resort of Strangers from other parts to the great benefit of all Traders men and Inhabitants, in those Places: As the goodly Monuments of our Predecessors Piety, and present Honour of this Kingdom in the Eye of Foreign Nations: As the Chief Support of many thousand families of the Layety who enjoy fair Estates under them in a free way: As yielding a constant and ample Revenue to the Crown: And as by which many of the Learned Professors in our Universities are maintained. The subversion or alienation whereof must (as we conceive) not only be attended with such consequences as will redound to the Scandal of many well affected to our Religion, but open the mouths of our Adversaries, and of Poverity against us, and as likely in time to draw after it harder conditions upon a considerable part of the Layety, and Universal cheapness and contempt upon the Clergy, a lamentable drooping and defection of Industry andknow-
knowledge in the Universities; which is easy to foresee but will be hard to L 1 B. V.
Remedy.

The like petition came from Cambridge, as much concerned in this common cause, as their sister of Oxon. But neither of them could prevail sofar as to take off the edge of the Ax, which had been thus laid at the Root of the Tree, though it did blunt it at the present. For they which had the managing of the Design, finding that the Cathedral Churches were too strongly Cemented, to be demolished at an Inchant, considered reasonably for themselves, that the furtherst way about, did many times prove the nearest way to the journeys end; A Bill was therefore passed in the House of Commons and sent up to the Lords by which it was to be Enacted (if their Vote had carried it); First, that the Bishops should have no Voices in Parliament; Secondly that they should not be Commissioners for the Peace, or Judges in any Temporal Courts; and that they should not sit in the Star-Chamber nor be Privy Counsellors. Which Bill being Voted part by part; The two last parts were passed, by a general consent, not above one or two dissenting: But the first branch was carried in the Negative by such an Unison consent in the Lords then present, that if the Bishops had not voted in defence of themselves, the Temporal Lords alone who appeared for them, had carried it by sixteen Voices. The point being still upon debate, those Lords which had shewed themselves against the Bishops, resolved to put it to the Fortune of another day, protesting that the Former manner of Voting the said Bill by Branches was both Unparliamentary and Illegal; and therefore that the Bill was either wholly to be passed, or ejected wholly; which being condescended to, the whole Bill was utterly cast out of the House by so many voices, that the Bishops might have spared their own till another time. And though according to the Rules of all former Parliaments that a Bill which had been once cast out of the House, should never be put again the same Session; yet this Bill found a way to it within few moneths after; and almost twelve years before the end of this Session, as we shall see too soon in the course of this History. In the mean time, the Anti-Prelatical party in the house of Peers so bettered themselves, that they prevailed upon the Refi to put a lower valuation on the Bishops then they had done formerly; inomuch, that at a Solemn Fast following not long after, the Temporal Lords took Precedence of the Bishops, contrary to the Custom of their Predecessors in all times foregoing; the Bishops not thinking it convenient to contend for place, at such time as their whole Order was in danger of Falling. Which being observed by the Lord Spencer; Is this, said he, a day of Humiliation, wherein we shew so great a Pride, in taking place of those to whom it was allowed by all our Ancestors? A day of Humiliation if it might be called; it was made such to the Bishops only, the Temporal Lords being never higher in their Exaltation.

But now we must look back on the Earl of Strafford, the prosecution of whose Impeachment had been long delaid upon some probable hope, that the displeasures of his greatest Adversaries might be miti-
The Life of William

PART II. gate by some Court-preferments. In Order whereunto it was agreed upon (if my intelligence or memory fail not) that the Earl of Bedford should be made Lord Treasurer, and Pyn Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Earl of Essex Governor of the Prince, and that Harboden should be made his Tutor, the Lord Say Master of the Wardes, and Holli Principal Secretary in the Place of Windebank; the Deputyship of Ireland was disposed of also, and some command appointed; for the Earl of Warwick in the Royal Navy. Which Earls together, with the Earl of Hertford, and the Lord Kimbolton (eldest Son to the Earl of Manchester) were taken at this time into his Majesties Council, that they might witness to the Rest of that Party, with what sincerity and Pity his Majesties Affairs were Governed at the Council Table. And in Relation to this purpose, the Bishop of London delivered to the King the Treasurer's Staff, the Earl of Newcastle relinquished the Governance of the Prince, and the Lord Caverton resigned his Offices both in the Exchequer, and the Court of Wards, there being no doubt but that Bishop Dapppa in Order to a good work, would resigning the Tutorship of the Prince, when it should be required of him: So gallantly did these great persons deny themselves, to advance the welfare of their Master. But before all these things were fully fitted and performed, the Kings mind was altered; (but by whom altered, hath been more conjectured than affirmed for certain) which so exasperated them who were concerned in this designation, that they perused the Earl of Strafford with the great eagerness. And somewhat to this purpose was hinted in the Kings Declaration of the 18th of August, in which he signified what overtures had been made by them, and with what importunity for Offices and Preferments, what great services should have been done for him, and what other undertaking even to have saved the Life of the Earl of Strafford. By which discovery as he blemished the Reputes of some Principal Members in the eyes of many of the people; so he gave no small cause of wonder to many others, when they were told from his own Pen, at how cheap a Rate (a Rate which would have cost him nothing) he might have saved the Life of such an able and deserving Minister.

This design being thus unhappily daft, the Earl was called unto his Tryal on the 22 day of March last past; which being continued many days with great expectation, his Adversaries (though the ablest men in the House of Commons) perceived that his Defences were so strong, and their proof so weak that they thought it not safe to leave the Judgment of the Cause to the House of Peers in way of Judicature. For finding that their proofs amounted not to a Legal Evidence; and that nothing but Legal Evidence, could prevail in a Court of Judicature, they Refolved to Steer their course by another wind, and to call the Legislativ power to their assistance; according unto which both Lords, and Commons might proceed by the Light of their own Understanding without further Testimony. And so it was declared by Saint-Johns then Solicitor General in a conference between the Committees of both Houses, April. 29. 1641. Where it is said, That although
although single Testimony might be sufficient to satisfy private Consci-
ences; yet how far it would have been satisfactory in a judicial way,
where forms of Law are more to be depended upon, may not so clearly be
in this way of Bill, private satisfaction to each man. Conscience, is suf-
ficient, although no Evidence had been given in at all. Thus they resolved
it in this Case; But knowing of what dangerous consequence it might
be to the Lives, and Fortunes of themselves and the Rest of Sub-
jects, a facing clause was added to the Bill of Attainder, that it should
not be drawn into Example for the time to come. By which it was
Provided, That no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall
adjudge or Interpret any Act or thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine
any Treason, nor in any other manner, then he or they should or ought to
have done before the taking of this Act, and as if this Act had never
been made.

His Majesty understanding how things were carried, Resolved to
use his best endeavours to preserve the man, who had deserved so
bravely of him. And therefore in a Speech to both Houses of Parlia-
ment on the first May, absolved him from all Treasons charged upon
him; conjuring them by the merit of his former graces, and the hopes
of greater, not to compel him to do anything against his conscience,
to which no worldly consideration whatsoever, should be able to
tempt him. This put the Lords to such a Stand, who were before
enclinable enough to that unfortunate Gentleman, that multitudes of
the Rabble were brought down out of London, and Southwark, to cry
for speedy Justice, and Execution; the names of such as had not
voted to the Bill, being posted up in the Palace-yard, by the Title of
straffordians, and Enemies to the Commonwealth. Which course
so terrified the Lords, that most of them withdrawing themselves from
the House of Peers, the Attainder past, and certain Bishops nomi-
nated to attend the King, for satisfying his Conscience, and persuading
him to sign that Detructive Bill,. Never was a Poor Prince, brought
to so sad an Exigent, betwixt his Conscience on the one side, and
the Fears of such a Publick Rupture on the other, as seemed to
threaten nothing but destruction to himself and his Family. But hu-
mane frailty, and the continual Solicitation of some about him, so
prevailed at last, that on Monday morning the 9th of May, he put a most
unwilling hand to that fatal Bill, Hiving a Communion unto certain
Lords to pass the same into an Act; and with the same to speed anoth-
er (which he had also signed with the same Penful of Ink) for the
continuance of the present Parliament during the pleasure of the
Houses. The Act thus past on Monday morning, the Earl was brought
unto the Scaffold on the Wednesday following, defying earnestly, but
in vain, to Exchange some words with the Archbishop before his
Death; which gave occasion to a report, that a little before his Death
he had charged his misfortunes, over-fights and misdemeanours upon
the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the Prime Author of the same; and
had bitterly Curs’d the day of their first acquaintance: Which being
so scandalous and dishonourable to this great Prelate, I shall lay down
the whole truth in this particular, as it came from the Archbishops own
mouth,
PART II. mouth, in the presence of Balsore a Scot, and then Lieutenant of the Tower, who was required to atteln to each period of it.

The Lord Strafford the night before the Execution, sent for the Lieutenant of the Tower, and asked him whether it were possible he might speak with the Archbishop: The Lieutenant told him, he might not do it without Order from the Parliament. Whereupon the Earl replied, You shall hear what passeth between us; for it is not a time now either for him to plot Herefie, or me to plot Trefeon. The Lieutenant answered, That he was limited; and therefore desired his Lordship would Petition the Parliament for that Favour. No (said he) I have gotten my dispatch from them, and will trouble them no more; I am now Petitioning an Higher Court, where neither partiality can be expeted, nor Error feared. But my Lord, said he, (turning to the Primate of Ireland, whose company he had procured of the Houfe in that fatal Exigent) I will tell you what I should have spoken to my Lords Grace of Canterbury. You shall desire the Archbishop to lend me his Prayers this night, and to give me his Blessing when I do go abroad to morrow; and to be in his Window, that by my last Farewel I may give him thanks for this, and all other his former Favours. The Primate having delivered the Meffage without delay, the Archbishop replied, That in conscience he was bound to the first, and in duty and obligation to the second: but he feared his weakness and passion would not lend him eyes to behold his last Departure. The next morning at his coming forth he drew near to the Archbishops Lodging, and said to the Lieutenant, Though I do not see the Archbishop, yet give me leave I pray you to do my last observance towards his Rooms. In the mean time the Archbishop, adverted of his approach, came out to the Window; Then the Earl bowing himself to the ground, My Lord (said he) your Prayers and your Blessing. The Archbishop lift up his hands, and bestowed both: but overcome with grief, fell to the ground in Animis deliquio. The Earl bowing the second time, said, Farewel my Lord, God protect your Innocency. And because he feared, that it might perhaps be thought an effeminacy or unbecoming weakness in him to sink down in that manner, he added, That he hoped by Gods Affistance, and his own Innocency, that when he came to his own Execution (which he daily longed for) the World should perceive he had been more sensible of the Lord Straffords Loss, than of his own: And good reason it should be so (said he) for the Gentleman was more serviceable to the Church (he would not mention the State) than either himself, or any of all the Church-men had ever been. A gallant Farewel to so eminent and beloved a Friend.

Thus march'd this Great Man to the Scaffold; more like a General in the Head of an Army, to breath out Victory; than like a Condemned Man, to undergo the Sentence of Death. The Lieutenant of the Tower desired him to take Coach, for fear the People should ruff in upon him and tear him in pieces. No (said he to the Lieutenant) I dare look Death in the face, and I hope the People too; Have you a care I do not escape, and I care not how I dye, whether by the hand of
of the Executioner, or the madness and fury of the People; "If that
may give them better content, it is all one to me. In his last Speech
upon the Scaffold, he declared, That in all his Impositions, since he
had the honour to serve his Majesty, he never had any thing in the
purpoſe of his heart, but what tended to the joyt and individual
prosperity both of King and People; That he was so far from being
an Enemy to Parliaments (which had been charged amongst his
Crimes) that he did always think the Parliaments of England to be the
moft happy Conſtitution that any Kingdom or Nation lived under,
and the beſt means under God to make the King and People happy;
That he acquiſed all the World for his death, heartily beſeeching
the God of Heaven to forgive all them that contrived it, though in
the intentions and purpoſes of his heart, he was not guilty of the Of-
fences which he was to die for; That it was a great comfort to him,
that his Majesty conceived him not meriting to severe and heavy a
Punishment, as the utmoſt execution of this Sentence: And finally,
(after many other Expreſſions) That he died a true Son of the Church
of England, in which he had been born and bred; for the Peace and
Prosperity whereof he moſt heartily prayed. Turning his eyes unto
his Brother Sir George Wentworth, he deſired him to charge his Son
to fear God, to continue an obedient Son to the Church of England,
and not to meddle with Church-Livings, as that which would prove a
Moth or Canker to him in his Eſtate. And having several times re-
commended his prepared Soul to the Mercies of God, he submitted
his Neck with moſt Chriſtian Magnanimity to the Stroke of the Axe,
which took his Head from him at one blow, before he had filled up
the number of fifty years. "A man on whom his Majesty looked as
one whose great Abilities might rather make a Prince afraid, than
was ashamed to employ him in the greatest Affairs of State: For thoſe
were prone to create in him great confidence of Undertakings, and
this was like enough to betray him to great Errors, and many Ene-
 mies; whereof he could not but connect good store, while moving
in so high a Sphere, and with so vigorous a Luftre, he must needs
(as the Sun) raise many envious Exhalations, which condens'd by a
Popular Odium, were capable to call a Cloud upon the highest Me-
rit and Integrity. So far he stood commended by the Pen of his
frowndful Sovereign, who never could sufficiently bewail his own In-
felicity, in giving way unto an Act of such high Injustice (as he calls
it there) of which he gives this Testimony in his Meditation on the
Death of this unfortunate Earl, "That he was so far from excusing
or denying that Compliance on his part (for plenary consent it was
not) to his destruction, whom in his own judgment he thought not
by any clear Law, guilty of death; that he did never bear any touch
of Conſcienc with greater regret: which, as a sign of his Repen-
tance, he had often with sorrow confessed both to God and Men; as
an Act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of Man than
of God, whose Name and Place on Earth no man is worthy to bear,
who will avoid Inconveniences of State by Acts of so high Injustice,
as no Publick Convenienc can compenfate."

The
The los of this Gentlemen's Life after such a manner, so terrified the rest of his Majesties Servants: that as some had deserted him in the first appearance of his Troubles: so there were few that durst stand to him, or put him upon resolute or courageous Counsels, when he most wanted such Assistance. In which respect, it was no hard matter for the Houses of Parliament to wire-draw him by degrees to such Condescensions, as finally left the Church without any Authority, and the Crown with little more Prerogative than a Titular and precarious Empire. He had before passed an Act for Triennial Parliaments, to be called in his default by Sheriffs and Constables: and signed a Bill for the continuance of the present Parliament during the pleasure of the Houses, at such time as he passed away this poor Gentlemen's Life. He must now give up so much of his Power at once, as would disable him from subduing by any other means than the Alms of his Parliament, or keeping down those factious and seditious Humors, for which the ordinary Courts of Justice, tied to Formalities of Law, could provide no remedy. In reference to the first, having kept him hungry and in appetite for seven Months and more, from their first meeting in November, they present him with a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage, to be paid only for the three Months following; and that too clogged in the Preamble with such a Condition, as to disclaim all such Right unto it, as had been formerly enjoyed by his Predecessors. They prepared also other Bills, for Repealing the Statute concerning Knighthood, made by King Edward ii. and then made rather for the ease of the Subject than the advancing of the Crown; as also, for abolishing his Pretenions to the Raising of ship-money, for retrenching the Perambulations of his Forests, for supressing the Court of Stanneries in Cornwall, and the long-continued Jurisdiction of his Clerk of the Market. And in relation to the other, they prepared two Bills more; the one for putting down the Court of Star-Chamber, the other for destroying the High-Commission, without which bridles there had been no ruling of the Puritan Faction. But as in the Bill for putting down the Star-Chamber, there were some Clauses which extended to the overthrow of the Court of the Marches, and the Council established in the North, and for Regulating the Authority of the Council-Table; so in that for destroying the High-Commission, there was a Clause which took away the coercive power of Bishops, Chancellors, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Judges. To these two last (the Royal Assent having been passed unto all the former without any difficulty) the King was pleased to demur, which bred such a heat amongst the Commons, that he was forced on Monday the fifth of July, (being but two days after his passing of the other,) to make an excuse for this final delay; the business being of such importance as the Altering in a great measure those Fundamental Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, which so many of his Predecessors had established. How great a blow was given by the first Act to the Royal Authority. I leave to be considered by our Civil Historians. What the Church suffered by the second will appear by these words, in which it was Enacted (under the several penalties therein contained) "That from the fifth day
"day of August then next following no Archbishops, or Bishops, or any other Person or Persons, having or exercising any Ecclesiastical jurisdiction under the Kings Majesty, within the Realm of England: Jud Dominion of Wales, should award, impose or inflict any Pain, Penalty, Fine, Amercement, Imprisonment, or any Corporal Punishment for any Contempt, Misdemeanour, Crime, Offence, Matter, or Thing whatsoever, belonging to Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Cognition or Jurisdiction; or should Ex Officio, or at the instance or promotion of any person whatsoever, urge, enforce, tender, give, or minister unto any Churchwarden, Sideman, or person whatsoever, any Corporal Oath, whereby they shall be obliged to make any Profession concerning others, or confess any thing against themselves, which might make them lyable, or expose them to any Censure, Pain, Penalty of what sort soever. Which in effect was to take away the Power of Ecclesiastical Censures, belonging naturally and originally to the Episcopal Function, that is to say, Suspensions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations, (all which are both inflicted and pronounced as Pains or Penalties) to the no small encouragement of Inconformity, Incontinency, and all other irregular Courses, both in Clergy and Laity, because it nourishes an opinion of impunity in the hearts of those who formerly had been aved respectively by those several Censures. For when the Subject fears neither Pain nor Penalty, the Superior under whom he lives will find little obedience, and the Laws much less.

But we have too long left our Archbishop in his cares and sorrows, and therefore must return to ease him of some part of his cares, though his sorrows continued as before. Hitherto he had given himself no improbable hopes of being called unto his Trial, and given such strong proof of his integrity and innocence from the Crimes objected, as might restore him to a capacity of doing those good offices to the University as that place of Chancellor did require. But finding by the late proceedings of the House of Parliament in the business of his dear Friend the Earl of Strafford, that his affairs were like to grow from bad to worse, he would no longer undergo the name of that Office which he was not able to perform. Resolved to put the University into such a condition as might enable them to proceed in the choice of a more fortunate Patron, he acquaints the King with his intent by the Bishop of London; and finding his Majesties Concurrence in opinion with him, he sends his Resignation in his Letter of June 28. Which being published, and excepted in the Convocation of the University on July 1. The Earl of Pembroke was now elected to succeed him, who had before been named in competition for the Office with him.

My Present Condition (faith the Letter) is not unknown to the whole World, yet by few pitted or deplored; The righteous God best knows the Justice of my sufferings, on whom both in life and death I will ever depend: the last of which shall be unto me most welcome, in that my life is now burdenome unto me, my mind attended with variety of sad and grievous thoughts, my soul continually vexed with Anxieties & troubles, groan-
groaning under the burden of a displeased Parliament, my name aspersed and grovel abused by the multiplicity of Libellous Pamphlets, and my self debarred from wonted access to the best of Princes, and it is Vox Populi that I am Popishly affected. How earnestly I have been in my Disputations, Exhortations, and otherwise to quench such sparks, lest they should become Coals. I hope after my death you will all acknowledge in the midst of all my afflictions there is nothing more hath so nearly touched me as the remembrance of your free and joyful acceptance of me to be your Chancellour, and that I am now shut up from being able to do you that service which you might justly expect from me. When I first received this honour I intended to have carried it with me to my Grave; neither were my hopes any less since the Parliament (called by his Majesties Royal Command) committed me to this Royal Prison. But since (by reason of matters of greater consequence yet in hand) the Parliament is pleased to procrastinate my Trial, I do hereby as thankfully resign my Office of being Chancellor, as ever I received that Dignity, entreating you to Elect some Honourable Person, who upon all occasions may be ready to serve you; and I beseech God send you such an one as may do all things for his glory, and the furtherance of your most famous University. This is the continual Prayer of

Tower, June 28. 1641.

Your dejected Friend and Chancellor,

Being the last time I shall write to you,

Will. Cant.
wife might have been introduced for the time to come, not unto such as had been entertained and fettled by any former Authority. Con- tenanced and secured by which Declaration, the Ordinaries went on cheerfully in the exercise of their Jurisdiction, suffering no alteration or disturbance to pass unquestioned, if any troublesome or unquiet person did begin to it. But no sooner was the Coercive power of Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Judges restrained, or rather utterly abolished, by the late Act of Parliament; and the Kings journey into Scotland left men and matters at more liberty than before they were; but presently the House of Commons took upon them such a Reformation (so it must be called) in which they neither found concurrence of the House of Peers, or could expect it from the King. But finding that they were strong enough to set up for themselves, without working Journey-work any longer unto either of them, they made the following Order of September 8. to be the first Experiment or Essay of their undertakings. For though in a Conference, had the same day with the Lords, they defired their consent therein, and that the Lords returned them no other Answer than by sending them the next day (being the day of the Receipt) a Copy of the former Order of January 16. in which they desired then to concur; yet Pym, who governed the Committee during that Receipt, dispatcht his Mandate of the 29th of the same month over all the Kingdom, requiring all Ministers and Churchwardens to pulifh the said Order in their several Churches, to see it put in execution, and cause Certificates to be madethereof by the time appointed. Which Order being the Leading Card to the Game that followed, was verbatim thus: viz.

Whereas divers Innovations in or about the Worship of God have been lately practifed in this Kingdom, by enjoying some things, and prohibiting others, without warrant of Law, to the great grievance and discontent of his Majesty's Subjects; For the suppression of such Innovations, and for preservation of the Publick Peace, It is this day Ordered by the Commons in Parliament assembled, That the Churchwardens of every Parish Church or Chappel respectively doth forthwith remove the Communion Table from the East end of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel into some other convenient place, and that they take away the Rails, and Level the Chancels as heretofore they were before the late Innovations. That all Crucifixes, Scandalous Pictures, of any one or more Persons of the Trinity, and all Images of the Virgin Mary shall be taken away and abolished; and that all Tapers, Candlesticks, and Basons be removed from the Communion Table. That all Corporal Bowing at the Name of Jesus, or toward the East end of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, or towards the Communion Table be henceforth forborn. That the Orders aforesaid be observed in all the several Cathedral Churches of this Kingdom, and all the Colleges, Churches, or Chapels in the two Universities, or any other part of this Kingdom, and in the Temple-Church, and the Chappels of other Inns of Court, by the Deans of the said Cathedral Churches, by the Vice-Chancellors, of the said Universities, and by the Heads and Governors of the several Colleges and Halls aforesaid, and by the Bencher's and Readers in the said.

Mmm
It may be justly wondered at, that all this while we have heard nothing of the Scots, the chief promoters of these mischiefs; but we may rest our selves assured that they were not idle, soliciting their affairs both openly and underhand, insistant in season, and out of season, till they had brought about all ends which invited them hither. They had made sure work with the Lord Lieutenant, and feared not the Resurrection of the Lord Archbishop though Doomed at that time only to a Civil death. They had gratified the Commons in procuring all the Acts of Parliament before remembred, and paring the Bishops nails to the very quick, by the only terror of their Armes; and were reciprocally gratified by them with a gift of three hundred thousand pounds of good English money, in the name of a brotherly assistance, for their pretended former losses, which could not rationally be computed to the tenth part of that Sum. And in relation to that Treaty they gained in a manner all those points which had been first inflicted on in the meeting at Rippon, and many additions also, which were brought in afterwards by Loudon. In their Demand concerning Unity in Religion, and Uniformity in Church-Government, the Answer favoured rather of delay than satisfaction; amounting to no more than this, "That his Majesty, with the Advice of both Houses of Parliament, did well approve of the affections of his Subjects of Scotland, in their desires of having a Conformity of Church-Government between the two Nations; and that as the Parliament had already taken into consideration the Reformation of the Church-Government, so they would proceed therein in due time as should best conduce to the glory of God, and peace of Church and of both Kingdoms. Which Confessions and Conclusions being ratified on August 7. by Act of Parliament in England, a Provision was also made for the security of all his Majesties Party in reference to the former troubles; excluding only the Scottish Prelates, and four more of that Nation, from the benefit of it. And that being done, his Majesty set forwards toward Scotland on Tuesday the tenth of the same month, giving order as he went for the Disbanding of both Armies, that they might
might be no further charge or trouble to him. Welcomed he was L I B. V. with great joy to the City of Edinborough, in regard he came with full desires and resolutions of giving all satisfaction to that People which they could expect, though to the Diminution of his Royal Rights and just Prerogative. He was resolved to sweeten and Care for them with all Acts of Grace, that as they might reciprocate with him in their Love and Loyalty, though therein he found himself deceived. For he not only ratified all the Transactions of the Treaty confirmed in England by Act of Parliament, in that Kingdom; but by like Act abolished the Episcopal Government, and yielded to an alienation of all Church-Lands, restored by his Father or himself for the maintenance of it. A matter of most woful consequence to the Church of England. For the House of Commons being advertised of these Transactions, preft him with their continual importunities after his Return, to subvert the Government of Bishops here in England, in the destruction whereof he had been pleased to gratifie his Scottifh Subjects, which could not be reputed fo considerable in his estimation, nor were fo in the eye of the World as the English were. What followed hereupon we may hear too soon.

This good success of the Scots encouraged the Irish Popishs to attempt the like, and to attempt it in the same way the Scots had gone; that is to say, by feizing his Majesties Towns, Forts and Castles, putting themselves into the body of an Army, banifhing and imprifoning all fuch as opposed their Practices, and then Petitioning the King for a publck exercife of their Religion. And they had this great furtherance to promote their hopes; For when the King was preft by the Commons for the disbanding of the Irish Army, a suit was made unfo the Irish Popishs, that he might have leave to lift three or four thousand of them for his Masters Service in the Wars; to which motion his Majefty readily condescending gave order in it accordingly. But the Commons never thinking themfelves fafe, as long as any of that Army had a Sword in his hand, never left importuning the King (whom they had now brought to the condition of denying nothing which they asked) till they had made him eat his word, and revoke thofe Orders to his great dishonour, which fo exasperated that Army confitting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horfe, that it was no hard matter for thofe who had the managing of that Plot to make fure of them. And then confidering that the Scots by raisiftg of an Army had gained from the King an abolition of the Episcopal Order, the Refcinding of his own and his Fathers Acts about the reducing of that Church to fome Uniformity with this, and fetled their Kirk in fuch a way as beft pleafed their own humours, Why might not the Irish Popifh hope, that by the help of fuch an Army, ready raiifted to their hands, or eafily drawn together, though difperfed at prefent, they might obtain the like indulgences and grants for their Religion? The 23 of October was the day defigncd for the feizing of the City and Castle of Dublin, and many places of great Importance in that Kingdom: But failing in the main defign, which had been discovered the night before by one O Conally, they brake out into open Arms, dealing no
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Anno Dom. 1641.

better with the Protestants there, than the Covenanters had done with
the Royal Party in Scotland. Of this Rebellion (for it must be called
a Rebellion in the Drift, though not in the Scots) his Majesty gives pre-
sent notice to the Houses of Parliament, requiring their Counsel and
assistance for the extinguishing of that Flame, before it had wasted and
consumed that Kingdom. But neither the necessity of the Protestants
there, nor the Kings importunity here, could persuade them to Levy
one man toward the suppression of those Rebels, till the King had dis-
claimed his power of professing Souldiers in an Act of Parliament, and
thereby laid himself open to such Acts of violence, as were then ham-
mering against him.

But to proceed, his Majesty having settled his affairs in Scotland to
the full contentment of the People by granting them the Acts of Grace
before remembred, and giving some addition of Honour to his greatest
enemies, (amongst whom Leis, who commanded their two late Ar-
 mies, most undeservedly was advanced to the Title of Earl of Leven)
prepared in the beginning of November, for his journey to London;
where he was welcomed by the Lord Mayor, and Citizens with all
imaginable expressions of Love and Duty. But the Commons at the
other end of the Town entertained him with a sharp Declaration, En-
titled, The Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, which they pre-
vented to him at Hampton-Court, with a Petition thereunto annexed,
within few days after his return; In which it was desired amongst oth-
er things, that he would please to pass an Act for depriving the Bi-
shops of their place and Vote in Parliament: which Bill had formerly
been cast out of the House of Peers, as before was said, and was not
by the course of Parliaments to be offered again. To this Demand
and others which concerned Religion he returned this Answer, "That
for preferring the peace and safety of this Kingdom from the designs
of the Popish party, he had and would still concur with all the just
desires of his people, in a Parliamentary way; That for the depriv-
ing of the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, he wifht them to
consider that their right was grounded upon the Fundamental Law
of the Kingdom, and constitution of Parliament; That he conceiv-
ed the taking away of the High Commission had well moderated the
Inordinate power of the Clergy, but if there continued any usur-
pations or Excesses in their jurisdictions, he then neither had nor
would protect them; That he would willingly concur in the remo-
val of any illegal Innovations, which had crept into the Church;
That if the Parliament should advise to call a National Synod, which
might duly Examine such Ceremonies, as gave just cause of offence
to any he would take it into consideration and apply himself to give
due satisfaction therein; That he was very sorry to hear Corruption
in Religion to be Objected in such General terms, since he was per-
swaded in his Conscience that no Church could be found upon earth,
that professed the true Religion with more purity of Doctrine then
the Church of England at that time; That by the grace of God he
was resolved to maintain both the Government and Doctrine of it in
their Glory and Purity, and not only against all invasions of Popery,
but
but from the Irreverence of those many Schismatike and Separatists Ut HB. V.
wherewith of late this Kingdom and the City of London did so Ame Dom.
much abound to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church 
and State, for the suppressing of whom he required their aid and 
timely assistance.

This Resolute, and Religious Answer did not to satisfy the Commons, but that they were Resolved to pursue the Enterprize till they had gained the Point they aimed at. Some endeavours had formerly been used by the Earl of Essex and the Baron of Kelvinhton to persuade the Bishops, so far to gratifie the importunate desires of the house of Commons, as voluntarily to Relinquish their Votes in Parliament; upon assurance that the Peers would be bound in Honour to preserve them in all the essential parts of their calling and Function. But the Bishops who had little or nothing left to keep them up in Reputation amongst the People, but their Rights of Peerage, could not be easily entreated to betray themselves, and become Felones de se (as the Lawyers Phrase it) as long as his Majesty would be pleased to maintain their Interest, and in theirs His own. Doubly Repuls'd, the Apprentices are drawn in huge multitudes to cry at the Parliament doors No Bishops, No Bishops; Petitions daily brought against them as the Common Grievances, imputing to them the decay of Trade, and the obstruction of all businesses in both Houses of Parliament; their Persons presented with Reviilings, and sometimes with stones, so that they could neither come out of their Coaches if they came by Land, nor out of their Barges if they came by water, without manifest danger of their lives; the Abby of Westminster Violently Assaulted, and as Couragiously defended by the Scholars, Choiremen, Officers, and other Servants, concluding in the death of Wiseman a Knight of Kent, who having taken on himself the Conduct of the Tumult, was killed by one of the Defendants, with a Tile from the Battlements. Hereupon Williams the Late Bishop of Lincoln having been translated into York, invites as many of the Bishops as were left in London to a Private Conference to be held amongst them in the Lodgings of the Dean of Westminster, where they subscribed to a Protestation, and Petition to be presented to his Majesty in the House of Peers, containing a Relation of the abuses offered them for some days last past, together with a Declaration of their sense and meaning, for the time to come. The Apprehension of their own dangers inclined them willingly to any such course, as visibly conduced to the preservation of their Rights as Bishops, and their lives as men; For both which the subscribing of this Petition and Protestation, and the entering of it in the Journal of the House of Lords, seems to have provided. It was about the middle of Christmas, when some of the Bishops were retired into the Country, others not returned from their Receipts, and no fewer than five Sees, either vacant, or not filled Actually, at the present; so that no more of them met at this Assembly, than the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham, Lichfield, Gloucester, Norwich, Asaph, Wells, Hereford, Oxon, Ely, Peterborough, and Landaff, all which subscribed this last preservative for their Place and Persons. And being it was the
Whereas the Petitioners are called up by Several and Respectable Writs, and under great Penalties to attend the Parliament, and have a clear and indubitable right to vote in Bills and other matters whatsoever, Debatable in Parliament by the Ancient Customs, Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and ought to be Protected by your Majesty quietly to attend and prosecute that Great Service. They humbly Remonstrate and Protest before God, Tour Majesty, and the Noble Lords and Peers now assembled in Parliament; that as they had an Indubitable Right to sit and vote in the House of Lords: so are they, if they may be Protected from force and violence, most willingly and ready to perform their Duties accordingly. And that they do abominate all Actions or Opinions tending to Popery or the maintenance thereof, as also all propension and Inclination to any Malignant Party or any other Side or Party whatsoever, to which their own Reasons and Conscience shall not move them to adhere. But whereas they have been at several times Violently Menaced, Affronted, and Assaulted by multitudes of People in their coming to perform their Services in that Honourable House, and lately chased away and put in danger of their lives, and can find no Redress or Protection upon sundry Complaints, made to both Houses in these particulars; They humble protest before your Majesty and the Noble House of Peers, That, saving unto themselves all their Right, and Interest of Sitting and Voting in that House at other times, they dare not sit or vote in the House of Peers, until your Majesty shall further secure them from all Affronts, Indignities, and Dangers in the Premises. Lastly, Whereas these fears are not built upon Conceits, but upon such Grounds and Objects as may well terrify Men of Resolution and much Constancy, they do in all Humility and Duty protest before your Majesty and the Peers of the Most Honourable House of Parliament, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as of themselves Null and of None Effect, which in their Absence, since the 27th of this Instant Moneth of December, 1641. have already passed; As likewise, that all such as shall hereafter Pass in the Most Honourable House, during the time of this their Forced and Violent Absence from the said Most Honourable House: not denying but if their absenting of themselves were Wilful and Voluntary, that Most Honourable House might Proceed in all their Premises, their Absence or this Protestation Notwithstanding, And humbly beseeching Tour Most Excellent Majesty to Command the Clerk of the House of Peers, to Enter this their Petition and Protestation among his Records.

They will ever pray God to bless, &c.

This Petition being presented to his Majesty, was by him delivered to the Lord Keeper Littleton, to be Communicated the next day, being the 30th of December to the House of Peers: But the Lord Keeper contrary to his Majesties directions, did first impart it to some of the Preaching
Preaching party in both Houses of Parliament; and after, as the plot L I B. V. was laid, to the Peers in general. Upon the Reading whereof a conference was desired with the House of Commons, to whom the Lord Keeper whom they had under the Lash, was pleased to signifie, that this Petition, and Protestation of the twelve Bishops, contained matters of high and dangerous consequence, extending to the deep intrenching upon the Fundamental Privileges and Being of Parliament. Whereupon the said twelve Bishops were Impeached by the Commons of high Treason. The Usher called Black-Rod, Commanded to find them out, and to bring them to the Bar in the House of Peers, which by reason of their scattered and divided Lodgings, could not be effectually till eight of the clock at night, at what time being brought together their offence was signified unto them, and an Order preiently made for their commitment to the Tower, whether they were all carried the next day, Except the Bishops of Durham and Lichfield who found the favour (the one by reason of his Eminent Learning, and both of them in regard of their Age and Infirmities) to stand committed to the custody of the Gentleman Usher. Our Archbishops had now more Neighbours then he desired, but not more company than before, it being prudently Ordered amongst themselves, that none of them should bestow any visits on him, for fear of giving some advantage to their common enemy; as if they had been hatching some conspiracy against the Publick: But they refrained not on either side from sending Messages of Love and conflation unto one another; those mutual civilities being almost every day performed betwixt the two Archbishops also, though very much differing both in their Counsels and Affections in the times foregoing. The Archbishop of York was now so much declined in favour, that he ftood in as bad terms with the Common People, as the other did. His Picture cut in Brass, attired in his Episcopal Robes, with his square Cap upon his head, and Bandiereers about his Neck, thouldring a Musket upon one of his shoulders in one hand, and a Reft in the other, either prefaging that which followed, or else relating unto that which had paffed in defiance of the Abbey; Together with which a book was Printed, in which he was Refembléd to the Decoy-Duck, (alluding to the Decoyes in Lincolnshire where he had been Bishop) restored to Liberty on design, that he might bring more Company with him at his coming back, and a device Ingraven for the Front of the Book, which represented the conceit; and that not unhappily. Certain I am that our Archbishops in the midst of those sorrows seemed much pleased with the Fancy, whither out of his great Love to wit, or some other self-satisfaction which he found therein, is beyond my knowledge.

These Bishops being thus secured, and no body left in a manner to sollicite the Common Cause but the Bishop of Rochester, the Bill against their Votes paffed currantly in the House of Peers on February 6. the Citizens who before had feasted the King with such signs of Affection, now celebrating the Concurrence of the House against his Interest, with Bells and Bonfires. Nor was it long before the King gave over the
PART II. Cause, for which he had so long contended; for either terrified with the apprehension of his own Dangers, or wrought on by the impropriety of some about him; he signed the Bill at Canterbury on February 14, to which place he had accompanied the Queen in her way toward Holland: And by that Bill it was desired to be Enacted, "That no Archbishops, Bishops, or any other Person in Holy Orders, from February 15, then next following, should have any Seat or Place, Suffrage or Voice, use or execute any Power or Authority in the Parliaments of this Realm; not should be of the Privy-Council of his Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, or Justices of the Peace of Oyer and Terminer, or Gaol-delivery; or execute any Temporal Authority, by virtue of any Commission: but should be wholly disabled, or be incapable to have, receive, use or execute any of the said Offices, Places, Powers, Authorities, and things aforesaid. The passing of which Act, what specious Pretences these were given out for it, redounded little to his Majesty's Benefit, and far less to his Comfort. For by cutting off so many of his Friends at a blow, he lost his Power in the House of Peers, and not long after was deprived of his Negative Voice, when the great Business of the Militia came to be disputed. And though he pleaded himself sometimes with this persuasion of their contentedness in suffering a present diminution of their Rights and Honours, for his sake and the Commonwealth, yet was it no small trouble to his Conscience at other times; that he had added this to the former injury, in contending to the taking away of the Coercive Power of their Jurisdiction, for this we find to be one of those three things which lay heaviest on him, in the time of his Solitude and Sufferings, as appears by this passage in one of his Prayers, viz. "Was it through ignorance that I suffered innocent Blood to be spilt by a false pretended Justice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Worship to be set up in Scotland? Or injured the Bishops in England? By which we see, that the Injury done unto the Bishops of England, is put into the same scale with his permitting a wrong way of Worship to be set up in Scotland, and the shedding of the innocent Blood of the Earl of Strafford. And if this Act proved so displeasing to the King, it must needs be grievous to the Bishops themselves; to none more than the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had set so great a part of his affections on the preserving of this Church in her Power and Glory. Whose sense hereof is thus express'd, by one who for the time was his greatest Adversary, (a) That it struck proud Canterbury to the heart, and undermined all his Prelatical Designs to advance the Bishops' Power and Power; whether with greater bitterness or truth, is hard to say.

Their great hope was (though it was such a hope as that of Abraham, which the Scripture calls a hope against hope) that having pared the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, and impaired their Power, they would have suffered them to enjoy their Function with Peace and quiet, as the only remaining Ornament and Honour of the Church of England. Conform therein unto the gallantry of the Ancient Romans, who when they had brought the Carthaginians unto that condition,
as to compel them to deliver up their Ships, Arms, and Elephants, and to make neither War nor Peace without their permission, (a) esteemed it an especial honour to their Commonwealth, to preserve the City which was no longer to be feared, though formerly it had contended for the Superiority. But the Bishops Crimes were still unpunished: And as the old Roman Citizen cried out upon his fine Country-house and pleasant Gardens, when he found his name posted up amongst the Proscripts, in the time of Sylla; so might these Holy men complain of those fair Houses and goodly Manors which belonged to their Episcopal Sees, as the only means of the Subversion of their Sacred Calling. This had been formerly resolved on, but was not to be done at once, as before was noted; nor to be followed now, but on some such colour as was pretended for depriving them of their Jurisdiction and Place in Parliament. It was pretended for suppressing the Court of High-Commission, and the coercive Power of Jurisdiction, That the Prelates had abused them both, to the inexpressible wrong and oppression of his Majesties Subjects; And for the taking away of their Votes in Parliament, with all other Civil Power in Church-men. That it was found to be an occasion of great mischief both to Church and State, the Office of the Ministry being of such great importance as to take up the whole Min. And now to make way for the Abolition of the Calling itself, it was given out amongst the People to have been made of no use to the Church, by the Bishops themselves; against whom these Objections were put in every man’s mouth, That they had laid aside the use of Confirming Children, though required by Law, whereby they had deprived themselves of that dependence, which People of all sorts formerly had fastned on them; That they had altogether neglected the duty of Preaching, under the colour of attending their several Governments; That in their several Governments they stood only as Cyphers, transmitting their whole Jurisdiction to their Chancellors and under-Officers; That none of them used to sit in their Conferences, for hearing Grievances, and Administering Justice to the Subject, whether Clergy or Laity, leaving them for a prey to Registors, Proctors, and Apparitors, who most unconscionably exterminated them what they pleased; That few or none of them held their Visitations in person, whereby the face of the Bishop was unknown to the greatest part of the Clergy, and the greatest part of the Clergy was unknown to him, to the discouragement of the Godly and painful Ministers, and the encouragement of vicious and irregular Parsons; That few of them lived in their Episcopal Cities, and some there were who had never seen them, whereby the Poor (which commonly abound most in populous places) wanted that Relief, and those of the better sort that Hospitality, which they had reason to expect! the Divine Service in the mean time performed irreverently and perfunctorily in the Cathedrals of those Cities, for want of the Bishops Residence and Superintendence; That they had transferred the solemn giving of Orders from the said Cathedrals, to the Chappels of their private Houses, or some obscure Churches in the Country, not having nor requiring the

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PART II.

Assistance of their Deans and Chapters, as they ought to do; That they engrossed a sole or solitary Power to themselves alone, in the Sentence of Deprivation and Degradation, without the Prefences and Consents of their said Deans and Chapters, or any Members of the same, contrary to the Canons in that behalf; by which last Act they had rendred those Capitular Bodies as ufelefs to the Church as they were themselves: And finally, That seeing they did nothing which belonged unto the place of a Bishop, but the receiving of their Rents, living in ease and worldly pomp, and domineering over the reft of their Brethren, it was expedient to remove the Function out of the Church, and turn their Lands and Houses unto better ufe. This I remember to have been the fubfance of thofe Objections made by some of the Gentry, and put into the mouths of the Common People; in which if any thing were true (as I hope there was not) fuch Bifhops as offend in the Premifes, or in any of them, have the lefs reafon to complain of their own misfortunes, and the more caufe to be complained of, for giving fuch Advantages to the Enemies of their Power and Function. Nor was the alienating of their Lands and Houfes the Total Sum of the Design, though a great part of it. As long as the Epiâcopal Jurifdiction ftood, much Grift was carried from the Mills in Westminster-Hall, Toll whereof was taken by the Bifhops Officers; Therefore thofe Courts to be fuppressed (which could not be more easily done, than in abolifhing the Bhips whole Courts they were) that fo the managing of all Caufes, both Eccleâftical and Civil, might be brought into the hands of thofe who thought they could not thrive fufficiently by their own Common Law, as long as any other Law was Common, besides their own. By means whereof, all Offices and Preferments in the Admiral, Archiepifcopal, and Diocefan Courts, being taken from the Civil Lawyers, nothing can follow thereupon but the difcouragement and discontinuance of thofe Noble Studies, which formerly were found fo advantageous to the State and Nation.

It is not to be thought that fuch a general Concufion fhould befal the Church, fo many Practices entertained againft it, and fo many endeavours ufed for the Ruine of it; and that no man fhould lend a helping hand to support the Fabrick, or to uphold the Sacred Ark when he faw it tottering. Some well-affected in both Houfes, appeared ftoutly for it; amongft which, none more cordially than the Lord George Digby, in a Speech made upon occasion of the City-Petition, and Sir Lucius Cary Vifcount Faulkland, both Members of the Houfe of Commons: Which laft, though he expreffed much bitterness againft the Bifhops, in one of his Speeches made in the firft heats and agitation of business; yet afterwards in another of them he fhewed himfelf an especial Advocate in behalf of the Epiâcopal Order. In which Speech of his it is affirmed, "That the ground of this Government by Epiâcopacy is fo ancient, and fo general, fo uncontradicted in the firft and beft times that our moft laborious Antiquaries can find no Nation, no City, no Church, no Houfe under any other, that our firft Eccleâftical Authors tell us of; That the Apoftles not only allowed but"
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

"founded Bishops, so that the Tradition for some Books of Scripture, which we receive as Canonical, is both less ancient, less general, and less uncontradicted than that is. So he when he was come again to his former temper, and not yet entered nor initiated into Court preferments. Nor was the point only canvased within those walls, but managed in a more publick way by the Pens of some, than there it had been tossed on the Tongues of others. The Bishop of Exon, leads the way, prefenting An humble Remonftrance to the High Court of Parliament in behalf of Liturgie and Epifcopacy, which prefently was encountered with an anwer to it, wherein the Original of Liturgie and Epifcopacy is pretended to be difcussed, &c. This anwer framed by a Juncto of five Presbyterian Minifters in or about the City of London, the first Letters of whose names being laid together made up the word Smedymanus, which appears only for the Author. The Bishop hereupon replies in a Vindication (by which name he called it) which Vindication had an Anwer or Rejoynder to it, by the fame Smedymanus. During which Interfets of Arms, and exchange of Pens, a Discouer was published by Sir Thomas Afton Knight and Baronet. In the first part whereof he gives us A Survey of the Inconveniences of the Presbyterian Discipline, and the inconveniences thereof, with the constitution of this State. And in the second, The Original Institution, Succession, and Jurifdiclion of the ancient and venerable order of Bishops. This laft part seconded within the compass of this year by the History of Epifcopacy, firft published as the work of Theophilus Churchman, and not till many years after, owned by the Authors name. The next year bringing forth a book of Dr. Taylors, called Epifcopacy afferted, and the Aeromafix of John Thayer, &c. All of them backt, and the two laft encouraged by many Petitions to his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament, not only from the two Univerfities, whom it moft concerned, but from several Counties of the Kingdom, of which more hereafter.

I shall conclude this year with a remembrance of some change of Officers in the Court, but of more in the Church. Windebanke, Secretary of State, being questioned for releasing divers Priests and Jeifuits, contrary to the established Laws, conveyed himself over into France; and Finch Lord Keeper, on some diftrust which he had of his safety, for acting too zealously in the forest business, and the cafe of Shipmoney, withdrew at the fame time into Holland. Pembroke, Lord Chamberlen of the Houfhold, was discharged of his Office by the King upon just difpleafures, before his late going into Scotland; The Earl of Newcaife for the Reasons before remembred, had relinquished his charge of the Princes Perfon, and Cowtington his Offices in the Exchequer and the Court of Wards. The Archbifhop of York, died some few days before the beginning of the Parliament, Montague of Chichefier, Banerofh of Oxon, Davenant of Salisbury, Potter of Carlifhe, and Thornborough of Worcefter within few months after. Nature abhorreth nothing more than Vacancy, and it proved to be very agreeable to the Rules of Polity, not to suffer their preferments to lye longer in a State of Vacancy. To fill these Places, the Earl of Hertford (about that time advanced to the Title of Marquif) was made and sworn Governor of
PART II. of the Prince; Essex, Lord Chamberlain of the Household; Say, Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries; Littleton, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, preferred to the honour of Lord Keeper; Faulkland made Secretary of State, and Culpepper Chancellor of the Exchequer: Which two last being Members of the House of Commons, and well acquainted with such designs as were then in Project, and men of good parts withal, were thought worth the gaining, and fastened to the Court by these great Preferments. Next for the Vacancies in the Church they were supplied by preferring Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, to the See of York; and Wintiff, Dean of St. Pauls, to the See of Lincoln; Duppa of Chichester, to Salisbury, and King, then Dean of Rochester, to succeed at Chichester; Hall, Bishop of Exon. translated to Norwich; and Brownriggs, Master of Catharine Hall in Cambridge, preferred to Great Skinner of Bristol removed to Oxon. and Westfield, Archdeacon of St. Albans, advanced to Bristol; the Bishoprick of Carlise was given in Commendam to the Primate of Ireland, during the troubles in that Kingdom; and Worcester, by the power of Hamilton, conferred on Prideaux, who formerfield had been his Tutor; all of them of good parts and merit, and under some especial Character of esteem and favour in the eyes of the People, though some of them declined afterwards from their former height. Nor were there more Changes after these, till the suppressing of Episcopacy by the Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, bearing date October 9, Anno 1646, but that Frewen Dean of Gloucester, and President of Magdalen College in Oxford, was consecrated Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield on the death of Wright, in the beginning of the year 1644. and Howel, one of the Prebends of Windsor, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, was preferred to the Bishoprick of Bristol on the death of Westfield, before the end of the same year.

The passing of this Act forementioned, put the imprisoned Bishops in some hope of a speedy deliverance, though it proved not so quick as they expected. For though on Monday February 14. an Order came that they might put in bail if they would, that they should have their hearing on the Friday following, and that some of them went out of the Tower the morrow after, as appears by Breviary, fol. 25. yet the Commons took it so indignantly, that either that Order was revoked, or the Bishops had some private Advertisement to return and continue where they were. The Bishops being deprived of their right of Peerage, must be supposed to stand on the same ground with the rest of the People; and consequently to be accountable for their Actions to the House of Commons, whose Privileges, if the Peers invade, they must look to hear of it, as well as the poor Bishops had done before. And on these terms the business stood till May 5. being just eighteen weeks from their first Imprisonment; at which time, without making suite to the House of Commons, the Peers releas'd them upon Bail, and dissimf them to their several Dwellings. There they continued all of them at their own disposing, till the War forced them to provide themselves of safer quarters, except the Bishop of Ely only, who, within few months after he was discharged from the Tower,
was seised on by a party of Souldiers at his houfe of Downham, and L I B. V. brought back again to the Tower, where he continued till the end of the year 1659, without any Charge or Accufation produced againft him.

But as for the Archbifhop of Canterbury, as he first took possfion of that fatal lodging before any of the rest came to him; fo he continued there after their difmiflion, without hope of finding his paflage out of it by any other door than the door of death: which as he did not look for before it came, fo when it came he did not fear it. He had then been fifteen months a Prifoner since his firft Commitment to that place, as far from being brought unto his Tryal as he was at the firft; and is to lye there as much longer before he fhould hear any thing of them which might tend that way: only they had come pulls at him from one time to another, to keep him in remembrance of his prefent condi-
tion, and to prepare him by degrees to his laft difolution. For on October 23 in the year foregoing, the Houfe of Peers fequeftred his Jurifdiction from him, conferring it on Brent, and others of his under-officers; and ordered that he fhould beftow none of the Benefices within his gift without acquainting them with the name and quality of the party whom he intended to prefer, leaving to them the Approbation, if they lay caufe for it. And on October 15, this prefent year, for so long he remained without further disturbance, it was resolved upon the Quetion, That the Fines, Rents, and Profits of Archbifhops, and Bifhops, fhould be fequeftred for the use and service of the Common-
wealth. In which though he was no more concerned, yet he was as much concerned as any other of the Epifcopal Order; fo much the more, as being sure to find fets favour, whensoever that Vote fhould be put in execution by them that made it. For on the ninth of November following, his houfe at Lambeth was forcibly poftiffed by a Party of Souldiers to keep it for the publick Service, and 78 pounds of his Rents as forcibly taken from some of his Officers, by an Order under the hands of some of the Lords upon pretence of employing it to the maintenance of his Majeftries Children. But upon his Petition, shortly after he had an Order for securinf of his Goods and Books, though he secured them rather from the power of the Souldiers than from the hands of any other on whom the Houfes fhould beftow them, when they saw time for it. Upon the neck of that came another Or-
der to bar him from having Conference with any of the other Prifi-
orners; or speaking with any other, but in the preffence of the Warder who was appointed to attend him; and from having the Liberty of the Tower; or from sending any of his Servants into the City but on occasion of providing Victuals; and other necessaries. Not long after, the Souldiers brake open the doors of his Chappel in Lambeth houfe, and began to make foul work with the Organs there: but be-
fore any great hurt was done, their Captain came, and put a period to thelr fury. On December 21, his Saddle-horfe was feised on by Order from some Members in the Houfe of Commons; and on 23, Leighton the Schifmatick, who had before been fetenced in the Star-Chamber for his libellous and feditious Pamphlets, came with
PART II. an Order from that house to dispose of the Soldiers of their quarters there, and turn his house into a Prison. His Wood and Coals, feised on, without any permission to make any use of them for himself. On March 14. he had word brought him of a plot for sending him and Bishop Wren, his fellow Prisoner to perpetual Exile in New-England; and that Wells, a Faction Preacher, which came lately thence, had laid wagers of it: but when the matter came in agitation in the House of Commons, it appeared to be so horrible and foul a practice, that it was generally rejected. In the beginning of May 1643. the Windows in his Chappel were defaced, and the steps torn up; his Goods and Books feised on by Leighton, and some others. And on the sixteenth of the same month he was served with an Order of both Houses, debarring him from bestowing any of his Benefices, which either were or should be vacant for the time to come. And on the last day of the same an Order issued from some Members of that close Committee, directed unto Pymne and others, to seize on all his Letters and Papers, to be perused by such as should be Authorised to that end and purpose.

So far they had proceeded in pulling him from himself piece-meal, before they were ready for his Tryal, or seemed to have any thoughts which might look that way. They had then a greater game to play, and on this occasion. His Majesty at his late being in Scotland expostulated with some of the chief amongst them touching their late coming into England in an hostile manner, and found that some who were now leading men in the Houses of Parliament had invited them to it; and having furnished himself with some proofs for it, he commanded his Attorney General to impeach some of them of High Treason; that is to say, the Lord Kinbolton, a Member of the House of Peers, Hollis, Pym, Hasperig, Stroud, and Humbden, of the House of Commons. But sending a Serjeant at Arms to Arrest their persons, there came a countermand from the House of Commons, by which the Serjeant was deferred from doing his office, and the Members had the opportunity of putting themselves into the Sanctuary of the City. The next day, being January 4. his Majesty being no otherwife attended than with his ordinary Servants, and some few Gentlemen, armed no otherwise than with Swords and Courage, went to the House of Commons to demand the five Members, that he might proceed against them in a way of Justice; but his intention was discovered, and the birds flown before his coming. And this was voted by the House of Commons for such an unexpiable breach of Privilege, that neither the Kings qualifying of that Action, nor his de-silting from the prosecution of that impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say, or do, would give satisfaction; nothing must satisifice their Envy and, and secure their Fear, but the putting the Tower of London in their hands, together with the Command of the Royal Navy, as also of the Forts, Castles, and the Train-bands of the Kingdom, all comprehended under the name of the Militia; which if his Majesty would fling after all the rest, they would continue his most loyal and obedient Subjects. On this the King demurs awhile, but having
having shipt the Queen for Holland, and got the Prince into his own L.I.B. V. power, he becomes more refolute, and stoutly stands on the denial. Anno Dom. But finding the Members too strong for him, and London, by reason of the continual tumults, to be a dangerous Neighbour to him, he withdraws to York; that being in a place of safety he might the better find a way to compose those differences which now began to embroil the Kingdom. At Hull he had a Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, provided for the late intended War against the Scots, and laid up there when the occasion of that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to possess himself, and to make use of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own preservation; but coming before the Gates of the Town he was denied entrance by Hotham, who by the appointment of the House of Commons had took charge of that place. The Gentry of Yorkshire, who had Petitioned the King to secure that Magazine, became hereby more firmly united to him. The like had been done also by the Yeomanry, and those of the inferior sort, if his proceedings had not been undermined by a Committee of four Gentlemen, all Members of the House of Commons, and all of them Natives of that County, sent thither purposely (in a new and unprecedented way) to lie as Spies upon his Counsels, and as Controllers to his Actions. Some Messages there were betwixt him and the House of Parliament concerning the atoning of these differences, whilst he was at York; but the nineteen Propositions sent thither to him, did declare sufficiently that there was no peace to be expected on his part, unless he had made himself a Cypher, a thing of no significance in the affairs of State.

It was desired in the eighth of these Propositions, That his Majesty would be pleased to consent to such a Reformation as should be made, of the Church Government and Liturgy, as both Houses of Parliament should Advise, wherein they intended to have Consultation with Divines, Hub. Ex. as was Expresed in their Declaration; And that his Majesty would contribute his best assistance to them for the raising of a sufficient main-tenance, for Preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdom; And that his Majesty would be pleased to give his Consent to Laws for taking away of Innovations, and Superflities, and of Plurals, and against Scandalous Ministers. For satisfaction whereunto he first repeats unto them so much of a former Answer returned to their Petition, which accompanied the Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, as hath already been laid down in the year foregoing; and after calls to their Remembrance a material clause in his Message of the 14th of February, at such time as he yielded his consent to deprive the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament. In which it was declared, That his Majesty had observed great and different troubles to arise in the hearts of his people concerning the Government and Liturgy of the Church; and 1. B. p. 327. therefore that he was willing to refer the whole consideration to the Wisdom of his Parliament, which he desired them to enter into speedily, that the present Distractions about the same might be composed; that he desired not to be pressed to any single Act on his part, till the whole was so digested and setled by both Houses, that his Majesty might clearly see what was fit
The Life of William

PART II, fit to be left, as well as what was fit to be taken away. "Of which he addeth, that he the more hoped for a good success to the general satisfaction of his People, because they seemed in their Proposition to desire but a Reformation, and not (as had been daily Preached for Necessary, in those many Conventicles, which for the nineteen Months last past had so swarmed in this Kingdom) a Destruction of the present Discipline and Liturgy; that he should most cheerfully give his best assistance for raising a sufficient maintenance for Preaching Ministers, in such course as should be most for the encouragement of Piety and Learning; that to the Bills they mentioned, and the Consultation which they intimated, as he knew nothing of the particular matters of the one (though he liked the Titles of themselves) so neither did he of the manner of the other, but by an Informer, (to whom he gave little credit, and with no man did more) Common Fame, he could say nothing till he saw them. With which general well studied answer he dismissed that Article.

These Propositions, and the entertaining of so many Petitions by the Houses of Parliament visibly tending to the Abolition of Episcopalian Government, made it appear most necessary in the eyes of those who wish to it, to hasten the publishing of such Petitions, as had been presented to the King in behalf thereof, and by his Majesty had been Ordered to be published accordingly; for what could otherwise be expected, but that many such Petitions should be presented to his Majesty, and both Houses from several Counties in the Kingdom, for the preserving of that Government, under which this Church had flourished with Peace and Happiness, since the Reformation. Amongst which none did plead the cause with greater fervency, than that which was tendered in the name of the Gentry and Clergy of the Dioceses of Canterbury; partly out of the esteem they had to their Metropolitan, and partly out of the affection which they carried to the cause itself. In which Petition it was shewed, That notwithstanding this Kingdom, bath by the singular Providence of Almighty God, for many years past past happily flourished above all other Nations in the Christian World, under the Religion and Government by Law Established; yet hath it been of late most miserably distracted through the sinister Practices of some private Persons ill affected to them both; by whose means the present Government is disgraced and traduced, the Houses of God are profaned and in part defaced, the Ministers of Christ are contemned and despoiled, the Ornaments and many Utensils of the Church are abused, the Liturgy and Book of Common Prayer, depraved and neglected, That absolute model of Prayer, the Lords Prayer vilified, the Sacraments of the Gospel in some places unduly administered, in other places omitted, Solemn Days of Fasting observed, and appointed by private Persons, Marriages Illegally Solemnized, Burials unceremonially performed, And the very Fundamentals of Religion subverted by the Publication of a new Creed, and teaching the Abrogation of the Moral Law. For which purpose many offensive Sermons are daily Preached, and many Impious Pamphlets Printed; And in contemning of Authority many do what
what seemeth good in their own Eyes only, as if there were no King. L I. B. V. Government in this our Israel; whereby God is highly provoked, his Anno Dom. Sacred Majesty dishonoured, the Peace of the Kingdom endangered, the Conferences of the People disquieted, the Ministry of Gods word disheartned, and the Enemies of the Church imboldened in their enterprise. For redress whereof, May it please this great and Honourable Council, speedily to Command a due observation of the Religion and Government by Law Established; in such manner as may seem best to the Piety and Wisdom of his Royal Majesty and this Honourable Court. Your Petitioners as they shall confidently expect a blessing from Heaven upon this Church, and Kingdom so shall they have this further cause to implore the Divine Assistance upon this Honourable Assembly.

To this Petition there subscribed no fewer then 24 Knights and Baronets, Esquires and Gentlemen of note above 300. Divines 108. Freeholders and Subsidy men 600. A greater number in the total then might have been expected from so small a Dioces, confisting but of 257. Parishes, distempered by the mixture of so many Churches of French and Dutch, and wholly under the command of the Houses of Parliament. Many Petitions of like nature came from other Counties, where the People were at any Liberty to speak their own sense, and had not their hands tied from Acting in their own concernments; All which with some of those, which had led the way unto the Rest, were published by Order from his Majesty, bearing date May 20. 1642. under the title of a Collection of the Petitions of divers Countries, &c. Which Petitions being so drawn together, and besides many which were presented after this Collection, amounted to nineteen in all, that is to say, two from the County of Chester, two from Cornwall, one from the University of Oxon. and another from the University of Cambridge; One from the Heads of Colleges and Halls, this from the Dioces of Canterbury; another from the Dioces of Exeter, one from the six Counties of North-wales, and one apiece from the Counties of Nottingham, Huntington, Somerset, Rutland, Stafford, Lancaster, Kent, Oxford, and Hereford. Nor came these Petitions thus collected, either from Persons few in Number or inconsiderable in quality (like those of the Porters, Watermen, and other poor people which clamored with so much noise at the doors of the Parliament) but from many thousands of the best and most eminent Subjects of the Realm of England. The total Number of Subscribers in seven of the said Counties only, besides the Dioces of Canterbury, and the Burrough of Southwark (the rest not being computed in the said Collection) amounting to 482. Lords and Knights, 1748. Esquires and Gentlemen of Note, 631. Doctors and Ministers, 44559. Freeholders; which shows how generally well affected the People were, both to the Government, and Liturgy of the Church of England, if they had not been perverted, and over-awed by the Armies and Ordinances of the House of Parliament, which Commanded the greatest part of the Kingdom. And though perhaps the Subscribers on the other side might appear more numerous, considering how Active and United
That party was yet was it very well observed in reference to the said Subscriptions, by a Noble Member of that House, That the numberless number of those of a different sense, appeared not publiclikly, nor cried so loud as being persons more quiet, secure in the goodness of their Laws, the wisdom of their Law-makers; and that it was not a thing usual to Petition for what men have, but for what they have not. But notwithstanding the importunity of the Petitioners on the one side, and the Moderation of the Kings Answer on the other, the prevailing party in both Houses had Resolved long since upon the Question, which afterwards they declared by their publick Votes. For on the 11th of September the Vote passed in the House of Commons for abolishing Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, celebrated by the infatuated Citizens (as all other publick mischiefs were) with Bells and Bonfires; the Lords not coming in till the end of January, when it past there also.

The War in the mean time begins to open; The Parliament had their Guards already, and the affront which Hotham had put upon his Majesty at Hull prompted the Gentlemen of Yorkshire to tender themselves for a Guard to his Person. This presently Voted by both Houses to be a leavying of War against the Parliament, for whose defence not only the Trained Bands of London must be in readiness, and the Good people of the Country required to put themselves into a posture of Arms; but Regiments of Horse and Foot are Lifted, a General appointed, great Sums of Money raised, and all this under pretence of taking the King out of the hands of his Evil Counsellors. The noise of these preparations haftens the King from York to Nottingham, where he sets up his Standard inviting all his good Subjects to repair unto him, for defence of their King, the Laws and Religion of their Country. He encreased his forces as he marched, which could not come unto the Reputation of being an Army, till he came into Shropshire, where great Bodies of the Loyal, and Stout-hearted Welsh referred to him. Strengthened with this, and furnished sufficiently with field Pieces, Arms, and Ammunition, which the Queen had sent to him out of Holland, he resolves upon his March to London; but on Sunday the 23rd of October was encountered on the way at a place called Edg[hill by the Parliaments Forces. The Fight very terrible for the time, no fewer then 5000 men slain upon the place; The Prologue for a greater slaughter, if the Dark night had not put an end to that dispute. Each part pretended the Victory, but it went clearly on the Kings side, who though he loft his General; yet he kept the Field, and posted himself of the Dead bodies, and not so only: but he made his way open unto London, and in his way forced Banbury Castle in the very fight, as it were, of the Earl of Essex, who with his flying Army made all the haft he could toward the City (that he might be there before the King) to serve the Parliament. More certain signs there could not be of an absolute Victory. In the Battel of Turin, between the Confederates of Italy, and Charles the 8th of France, it happened so, that the Confederates kept the Field, posted themselves of the Camp, Baggage and Artillery, which the French in their breaking
breaking through, had left behind them. And yet the Honour of L.I.B. V. the day was generally given unto the French; For though they lost the Anno Dom. Field, their Camp Artillery and Baggage: yet they obtained what they fought for, which was the opening of their way to France, and which the Confederates did intend to deprive them off. Which Resolution in that Case may be a Ruling Case to this; the King having not only kept the Field, possessed himself of the dead bodies, Pillaged the Carriages of the Enemy: but forcibly opened his way toward London, which the Enemy endeavoured to hinder; and finally entered Triumphant into Oxon. with no fewer then one hundred and twenty Colours taken in the fight.

Having assured himself of Oxon. for his Winter Quarters, he Resolved on his Advance toward London: but made no many Halts in the way, that Essex was got thither before him, who had disposed of his Forces at Kingston, Branford, Aiton, and some other places. Therefore, not only to stop his March, but to fall upon him in the Rear as occasion served. Yet he goes forward notwithstanding as far as Branford, out of which he beats two of their best Regiments, takes 500. Prisoners, sinks their Ordnance, with an intent to march forward on the morrow after, being Sunday November 13. But understanding that the Earl of Essex had drawn his Forces out of Kingston, and joining with the London Auxiliaries, lay in the way before him, at a place called Turnhoun-Green near Chipwick, it was thought safer to retreat toward Oxon. while the way was open, than to venture his Army to the fortune of a second Battel, which if it were lost, it would be utterly impossible for him to raise another. At Oxon. he receives Propositions of Peace from the Houfes of Parliament: but such as rather did besem a conquering than a losing side: Amongst which I find this for one.

That his Majesty would be pleased to give his Royal Assent, for taking Propositions away Superfntitious Innovations; and to the Bill for the utter abolishing and taking away all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commiffaries, Deans, Subdeans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chanters, Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succentors and Sacrifices, and all Vicars Choral and Choristers, old Vicars or new Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and all other their under-Officers out of the Church of England; To the Bill against Scandalous Ministers; To the Bill against Pluralities, and to the Bill for Consultation to be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines; That his Majesty would be pleased to pass such other Bills for settling of Church-Government, as upon Consultation with the Assembly of the said Divines shall be Resolved on by both Houfes of Parliament, and by them to be presented to his Majesty.

Which Proposition, with the rest, being presented to him on Candlemas-day, he referred to the following Treaty to be held at Oxon, in which he found the Commissioners of the Houfes so streightened in Time,
PART II. Time, and so tied up to their Instructions, that nothing could be yielded by them, which might conduce to the composing of the present Distempers.

But it was indifferent to them what Success they found, either in the Propositions or the Treaty, who had already entred on the Rents and Profits of all the Episcopal Sees and Capitular Bodies, which were within the Power of their Armies; and Sequestred the Benefices of all such as stood in their way, under the common notion of scandalous Ministers: who if they had offended against the Laws of the Realm, by the same Laws were to have been proceeded against; that so being legally deprived, the vacant Churches might be left to be filled by the Patrons with more deserving Incumbents. But such a course was inconsistent with the present Design: Most of the Silenced Lecturers and Factious Ministers, which within ten years then last past had left the Kingdom, either for Inconformity, or Debt, or their own intemperance of Spirit, had of late flock'd into it amain, like so many Birds of Rapine to seek after the Prey. And upon these, and such as these, the Sequestred Benefices were bestowed, to be held no otherwise by them, than as Uffiuftuaries or Tenants at Will, that so they might continue in a servile obsequiousness to the Power and Pleasure of their great Landlords. With which his Majesty being made acquainted, he presently signified his dislike and resentment of it, by his Royal Proclamation bearing date at Oxon. May 15. 1643. In which he first complains, "That divers of the Clergy, eminent for their Piety and Learning, were forced from their Cures and Habitations, or otherwise silenced and discharged from exercising their Ministry, for no other reason but because (contrary to the Laws of the Land, and their own Consciences) they would not pray against him and his Affiliants, or refuse to publish any illegal Commands and Orders for fomenting the unnatural War raised against him: but conformed themselves according to the Book of Common Prayers, and Preach'd Gods Word according to the purity thereof, without any mixture of Sedition. Next, That the said Clergy being so forcibly driven out or discharged of their Cures, many Factious and Schismatical Persons were intruded into them, to sow Sedition, and seduce his good Subjects from their Obedience, contrary to the Word of God and the Laws of the Land: Part of the Profits of the said Benefices allotted to the said Intruders; the rest converted to the Maintenance of the War against him. And thereupon he straitly commanded all his good Subjects to desist from such illegal courses against any of the Clergy aforcsaid; to pay their Tythes to the several and respective Incumbents, or their Allies, without guile or fraud, notwithstanding any Sequestration, pretended Orders or Ordinances whatsoever, from one or both Houses of Parliament; and this to do under pain of being proceeded against according to Law, as they should be apprehended and brought to the hands of Justice; their Lands and Goods in the mean time to be sequestred, and taken into safe custody for their disobedience: Requiring all Churchwardens and Sides-men, to be assistant in gathering and receiving their Tythes, Rents,"
Rents and Profits; and to redress all such Persons as much as in them
lay, which were intruded into any of the Benefices or Cures afo-
riced that this served rather to declare his Majesties Piety, than to
stop the course of those Proceedings: For justifying whereof, the Clergy
must be branded with Offences of divers conditions; some of them
of such a scandalous and heinous nature, as were not to be expiated
with the loss of Livings, but of Lives, if any Legal Evidence had been
found to prove them. And that nothing might be wanting to their infe-
licity, an infamous Pamphlet is dispersed, Licensed by White Chairman
for the Committee for Religion, under the Title of, The first Century of
Scandalous and Malignant Priests, &c. Which though his Majesty abo-
nimated upon very good reason, when it first came unto his knowledge;
yet would he not give way that a Recrimination should be made of
the adverse Party, by such as undertook to do it on far jufter grounds.

In like manner they proceeded to the execution of another part of
their design, mentioned and presented in the said Proposition, touching
a Consultation to be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines. For
not intending to expel his Majesties pleasure, their Commissioners
were no sooner returned from the Treaty at Oxon, but they caused such
an Assembly to be called by their own Authority, as should be sure to
do the Work recommended to them. The Convocation was in force,
but not fit to be trusted; nor durst they venture to commit the choice
of men to the Beneficed Clergy, according to the course of National
and Provincial Synods: That Power they kept themselves, committing
the Nomination unto such as served for the several Counties, that
so each County might be furnished with such Persons to perform the
Service, as could have no Authority to bind them by their Constitu-
tions, or any other Publick Acts, made and agreed upon in that Assembly.
An Assembly of a very strange mixture, consisting of a certain number
of the Lords and Commons, with a greater proportion of Divines, some
of which were Prelatical, some Independent, and the greater part of
them Presbyterians, out of which spawned another Fry by the name
of Erastians. And that they might not be bound to this Journey-
work without daily Wages, they had each of them their £s. per diem
well and truly paid, and were besides invested in several Lectures in
and about the City of London, and the best Benefices (some of them
three or four for sitting) which could be found in all the Kingdom.
His Majesty looks on this as a new Provocation, a strange and un-
parallel'd Intrachment on his Royal Prerogative, to which alone
the calling of such Assemblies did belong by the Laws of the Realm.
He sees within the dangerous ends for which it was called, of what
Ingredients for the most part the whole Assembly was compos'd,
what influence the prevailing party in both House was to have
upon it, and the sad consequtents which in all probability were to
be expected from it to the Church and State. And thereupon by
his Proclamation of June 22. (being just ten days after the date of
the Ordinance by which the Assembly was indicted) "He exhorts all
and every Person named in that pretended Ordinance (under sever-
several pains) from assembling together for the end and purpose therein
"fet
PART II.  "Set down 3 declaring the Assembly to be illegal; and that the Acts thereof ought not to be received by any of his good Subjects, as binding them, or of any Authority with them. Which Prohibition notwithstanding, most of the Members authorised by that Ordinance assembled in the Abby of Westminster, on the first of July, in content of his Majesty and the Laws: But what they did, or whether they did any thing or not, more than their taking of the Covenant, and issuing a new Form of Worship by the name of a Directory, comes not within the compass of my Observation.

Such were his Majesties pious Cares for preserving the Peace of the Church, the Purity of Religion, and the possessions of his Clergy; in the midst whereof he kept his eye on the course of that War, which hitherto he had prosecuted with such good success, with hopes of better fortune for the time to come. For having triumphantly brought the Queen into Oxford in the beginning of the Spring, with some Supplies of Men, and a considerable Stock of Powder, Arms, and Ammunition, which he bought in Holland, he finds himself in a condition to take the Field, and in this Summer becomes Master of the North and West, some few places only being excepted. The Earl of Newcastle with his Northern Army, had cleared all parts beyond Trent (but the Town of Hull) of the Enemies Forces. And with his own Army, under the Command of Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice (two of the younger Sons of his Sister Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia) he reduced the Cities of Bristol and Exeter, the Port-Town of Weymouth, and all the Towns of any importance in the Western Parts, except Poole, Lyme, and Plymough: So that he was in a manner the absolute Commander of the Counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. And though the Towns of Plymough, Lyme, and Poole, still held out against him; yet were they so bridled by his neighbouring Garrisons, that they were not able to create him any great disturbance. The noise of which successes was so loud at London, that most of the leading men in both Houses of Parliament, prepared for quitting of the Kingdom, and had undoubtedly so done, if the King had followed his good Fortunes, and advanced toward London: But unhappily diverting upon Glouchester, he lay so long there without doing any thing to the purpose, that the Earl of Essex came time enough to raise the Siege, and relieve the Town, though he made not haste enough to recover London without blows. For besides some Skirmishes on the by, which fell out to his loss, the King with the whole Body of his Army overtook him at Newbury, where after a sharp Fight (with the loss of the Earl of Carnarvon, the Earl of Sunderland, and the Lord Viscount Falkland on his Majesties side,) he had the worst of the day, and had much ado to save his Cannon, and march off orderly from the place; followed so hotly the next morning; that his own Horses, which were in the Rear, were fain to make their way over a great part of his Foot, to preserve themselves. But being returned to Oxford (with Success and Honour,) he Summons the Lords and Commons of Parliament to attend there on January 22, then next following, and they came accordingly. And for their better welcome, he advances..."
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Prince Rupert to the Titles of Earl of Horderney and Duke of Cumberland, and creates James his Second Son (born October 13. Anno Dom. 1633.) Duke of York, by which name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his Birth, that they might Sit and Vote amongst them. But being come, they neither would take upon themselves the name of a Parliament, nor act much in order to his Majesties Designs: but stood so much upon their Terms, and made so many unhandsome Motions to him upon all occasions, that he had more reason to call them A Mongrel Parliament, in one of his Letters to the Queen, than they were willing to allow of.

Scarcely were they settled in their several and respective Houses, when they were entertained with a hot Alarm, made by the coming in of the Scots with a puissant Army; the greatest and best accommodated with all forts of Arms and Ammunition, that ever was mustered by that Nation, since it had a being. His Majesties wonderful Successes in the North and West, struck such a terror in the prevailing Party of both Houses, that they were forced to cast themselves upon the Scots for Support and Succour; dispatching Arms, and some other of their active Members, to negotiate a new Confederacy with them. The Scots had thrived so well by the former Service, as made them not unwilling to come under the pay of such bountiful Masters; and by the Plunder of so many of the Northern Counties, had made themselves Masters of a greater stock of Arms and Horses, than that Kingdom formerly could pretend to in its greatest Glories. But knowing well in what necessity their dear Brethren in England stood of their assistance, they were resolved to make Hay while the Sun shined, and husband that necessity to their best advantage. The English must first enter into Covenant with them, for conforming of this Church with that; they must be flattered with the hopes of dividing the Bishops Lands amongst them, that they might plant themselves in some of the fairest Houses and best Lands of this Kingdom; so great a stroke is to be given them in the Government of all Affairs, that the Houses could act nothing in order to the present War, no not so much as to hold a Treaty with the King, without the consent of their Commissioners; some of their Ministers (Gillespie, Henderson, &c.) with as many of their Ruling Elders, to sit in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, that nothing might be acted which concerned Religion; but by their Advice; One hundred thousand pounds for advance-money, to put them into heart and provide them Necessaries, before they would budge toward the Tweed. And yet all these Temptations were not of such prevalence with the Principal Covenanters, as an Assurance which was given them, of calling Canterbury, their supposed old Enemy, to a present Tryal: Who having been imprisoned upon their complaint, almost three years since, seems to have been preferred all this while for no other purpose, than for a bait to hook them in for some new Impositions. The Walls of some Confederacies, like that of Catiline, are never thought to be sufficiently well built but when they are cemented with Blood.

All matters thus resolved on, the Covenant agreed on betwixt them, and
and the Scots was solemnly taken by both Houses in St. Margaret's Church, and generally imposed upon all such as were obnoxious to their power, and lived under the command of their Forts and Gar- risons: the taking whereof conduced as visibly to the destruction of this most reverend and renowned Prelate, as to the present subversion of the Government, and Liturgy here by Law established. In the first branch it was to be covenanted and agreed between the Nations (that is to say, between the Puritan or Presbyterian Fac- tions in either Kingdom) "That all endeavours should be used for the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland, both in Do- cctrine, Worship, Liturgy, and Government; and for bringing the three Kingdoms to the nearest Conjunction, and Uniformity in Re- ligion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, Direc- tory for Worship and Catechising. And in the second, That in like manner they endeavour without any respect of Persons, the extir- pation of Popery, Prelacy, that is, Church-Government, by Arch- bishops and Bishops, their Chancellors or Commisaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Of- ficers depending on the Hierarchy, Superstition, Heresie, Schism, Profaneness, and whatsoever should be found contrary to found Doctrine, and the power of Godliness. But all this might have been purged to the end of the Chace without danger to the life of any, whether they endeavoured it or not, whether their lives might be an hindrance, or their deaths give a spur to put on the work. And there- fore in the fourth place it was also Covenanted, "That they should "with all diligence and faithfulness discover all such as have been, "or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindring "the Reformation or Religion, dividing the King from his People, "or one of the Kingdoms from one another, or making any Faction or "Parties amongst the People contrary to this League and Covenant, "that they may be brought to publick trial, and receive condign "punishment as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, "or the supream Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively or others "having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient. Which Article seems to have been made to no other purpose but to bring the Archbishop to the Block, as the like clause was thrust into the Protestation of the third of May, Anno 1641, to make sure work with the Earl of Strafford, whom they had then designed to the said fad end. And this may be the rather thought because the Covenant was contriv- ed, and framed in Scotland, where none but his sworn Enemies could be supposed to have had any hand in it; and being by them so contrived was swallowed without much chewing by the Houses of Parliament, who were not then in a condition to deny them anything.

But by whomsoever it was framed, his Majesty saw well enough that it aimed at the subversion of the present Government, and the diminu- tion of his Power, if not the destruction of his Person; the pref- eration and safety whereof was to be endeavoured no further than in de- fience of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom: Which how great
great or little it might be, or what was meant by true Religion and the pubick Liberties, was left holy unto their construction, who would be sure not to interpret any thing to his best advantage. His Majesty therefore looking on it as a dangerous Combination against himself, the established Religion, and the Laws of this Kingdom, for the bringing in of Foraign Forces to subvert them all, interdicted all his Subjects from imposing, or taking the same, as they would answer the contrary at their utmost Perils. Which Proclamation, bearing date on the ninth of October, came out too late to hinder the taking and enjoying of this Covenant, where the restraint thereof might have been most necessary. For the Commons were so quick at their work, that on Monday, September 25. it had been solemnly taken by all the Members of that House, and the Assembly of Divines at St. Margaret's Westminster; in the same Church, within two days after, it was administered with no less solemnity to divers Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Colonels, Officers, Souldiers, and other residing in and about the City of London, a Sermon being preached by Coleman (though otherwise a principal Erastian in point of Government) to justify the Pity and Legality of it; and finally, enjoyned to be taken on the Sunday following in all Churches and Chapels of London, within the Lines of Communication, by all and every the Inhabitants within the same, as afterwards by all the Kingdom in convenient time. Prosecuted in all places, with such cursed rigour, that all such who refused to subscribe the same, and to lift up their hands to God in testimony that they called him to witness to it, were turned both out of house and home, as they use to say, not suffered to compound for their Goods or Lands till they had submitted thereunto. A terrible and woful time, in which men were not suffered to enjoy their Estates without betraying themselves to the Kings displeasure, and making shipwrack of a good conscience in the fight of God. Upon which ground, considering it consisted of six Principal branches, it was compared by some to the six knotted whip, or the Statute of the six Articles in the time of King Henry viii. this Covenant drawing in the Scots, and thereby giving an occasion of shedding infinitely much more bloud than those Articles did. Certain I am, that if all such as died in the War upon that account may not go for Martyrs; all such as irrecoverably lost their Estates and Living for refusal of it, may be called Confessors. Others with no unhappy curiosity observing the number of the words which make up this Covenant, abstrafated from the Preface and Conclusion of it, found them amounting in the total to 666. neither more nor les, which being the number of the Beast in the Revelation, pursued with such an open persecution, and prosecuted to the los of so many lives, the undoing of so many Families, and the subverting of the Government both of Church and State, may very juftly intitle it to so much of Antichrist, as others have endeavoured to confer on the Popes of Rome. For if the Pope hewed any thing of the Spirit of Antichrist by bringing Cranmer, the first Protestant Archbifhop of Canterbury, to the Stake at Oxon, this Covenant, and the Makers of it, did express no les, in bringing the Last Protestant Archbifhop to the Block in London.
For no sooner was this Covenant taken, but to let the Scots see that they were in earnest, a further impeachment consisting of ten Articles was prepared against him, which being digested into Form and Order, were to this effect, viz.

1. That to introduce an Arbitrary Government, and to destroy Parliaments, he had caused the Parliament, held in the third and fourth year of his Majesty, to be dissolved, and used many reproachful speeches against the same.

2. That out of an endeavour to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land he had laboured to advance the power of the Council-Table, the Canons of the Church, and the Kings Prerogative against the said Fundamental Laws, and had used several Speeches to the same effect.

3. That to advance the Ecclesiastical Power above the Laws of the Land, he had by undue means to the Judges, procured a stop of his Majesties Writs of Prohibition, whereby Justice had been delayed and hindered, and the Judges diverted from doing their duties.

4. That a judgment being given against one Sir John Corbet of Shropshire to be committed to Prison by an Order of the Council Table, for calling for the Petition of Right, and causing it to be read at the Sessions of the Peace for the County upon just and necessary occasion, and had used some other acts of Injustice toward him.

5. That he had suppressed the Corporation of Feoffees for buying in Improprations, under pretence of being dangerous to the Church and State.

6. That contrary to the known Laws of the Land he had advanced Popery, and Superstition within this Realm; and to that end had willingly and unwillingly harboured divers Popish Priests, as Sancta Clara, and St. Giles.

7. That he had said, about four years since, there must be a blow given to the Church, such as hath not been yet given, before it could be brought to Conformity.

8. That after the dissolution of the Parliament 1640, he caused a Synod or Convocation to be held, and divers Canons to be made therein, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, &c., and particularly, the Canon which enjoyns the Oath, which he caused many Ministers of the Church to take upon pain of Suspension, &c.

9. That a Vote having been passed at the Council Table a little before the last Parliament, for supplying his Majesty in Extraordinary ways, if the said Parliament should prove peevish, he wickedly advised his Majesty to dissolve the same, telling him not long after that now he was absoved from all Rules of Government, and left free, to use Extraordinary ways for his supply. Such was the substance of the Charge, which some intended Chiefly for an Introduction to bring on the Tryal, or to revive the noife and clamour amongst Ignorant People which rather judge of such particulars by tale then weight: for otherwise there is nothing in these last ten, which was not easily reducible to the first fourteen, no not so much as his suppressing the Feoffes for Improprations, which seemed most odious in the eyes of any knowing men.
These Articles being thus digested, were sent up to the Lords the 23 of October presented by the hands of Wilde, a Serjeant at Law, and Mr. Secretary, to the Members of the House of Commons, by whom he was designed to manage the Evidence, when the cause was Ready for a hearing: on the Receipt whereof it was Ordered that he should appear on that day Seven-night, and to bring in his answer in writing to the particular Articles of the several Charges: which Order being served upon him within few hours after, found him not very well provided for a present conformity. He had obtained leave at his first Commitment to repair to his Study at Lambeth House, and to take thence such Papers and Memorials as might conduce to his defence; but all these had been forcibly seiz'd on, and in a manner ravish'd from him by Prynne and others, which made his case not much unlike to that of the Israelites in the House of Bondage, deprived first of their former allowance of Straw and Stubble, and yet enjoined to make up their whole tale of Brick, as at other times. His Rents, and Goods were Sequestr'd for the use of others; so that he had not a sufficiency for a poor Subsistence, but by the Charity of his Friends; much less a superabundance, out of which to Fee his Counsel and reward his Solicitors. And what were seven days to the drawing up of an Answer unto twenty four Articles, most of them having young ones in their bellies also, as like to make as Loud a cry as the Damsthemelves. No way to Extricate himself out of these perplexities but by petitioning the Lords, and to them he flies, humbly beseeching, that Chute and Hearn two able Lawyers might be assigned him for his Counsel that he might be allowed money out of his own Estate to reward them and others for their pains in his business; his Books and Papers restored to him, for the instruction of his Counsel, and his own Defence; some of his own Servants to attend him for following all such necessary occasions, as the cause required; and that a Solicitor, and further time might be allowed, as well for drawing up his answer as providing witnesses, To which this Answer was returned. Upon reading of the Petition of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury this 24th day of October It is Ordered, &c. that time is given him until Munday the 6th of November next for putting in his answer in writing into this House unto the particular Articles brought up from the House of Commons, in maintenance of their former impeachment of High Treason, &c. That Master Hearn, and Master Chute, are hereby assigned to be of Counsel for the drawing up of his Answer, who are to be permitted to have free access in and out to him. That this House doth hereby recommend to the Committee of Sequestrations, that the said Lord Archbishop shall have such means afforded him out of his Estate, as will enable him to pay his Counsel, and defray his other Charges. That when his Lordship shall sit down particularly what Papers and Writings are Necessary for his Defence that should be restor'd unto him, their Lordships will take it into consideration. That upon his Lordships nominating who shall be his Solicitor, the Lords will return their Answer. And for the witnesses when a day shall be appointed for his Lordships trial, this House will give such directions therein as shall be just.
PART II. This doubtful Answer gave him small assurance of an equal hearing. His desired Counsel was allowed him, Hales superadded to the rest, and three of his Servants nominated to attend the business: But he was left uncertain of providing for their satisfaction. His Solicitor must be first approved by them before he could settle to his cause, and whether they would approve of such an one as he thought fit to trust with his life and fame, was to him unknown; and if he point particularly to such of his Papers and Remembrances, as he conceived most necessary to his preservation, it was only promised to be taken into consideration, which kept him in as great suspense as all the rest. In this dilemma he was advised by his Counsel to move their Lordships, that a Discrimination might be made between the Articles; to the end that such of them as were held to contain High Treason might be distinguished from such matters, as were to be charged for misdemeanors: but no clear answer coming from their Lordships in that behalf he was Commanded to make his personal appearance before them on the 13th of November, where by the advise of his Counsel he pleaded not guilty to the whole charge, without answering more particularly to any Article or clause contained in it. And on that day month it was Ordered by the House of Commons, that the Committee Formerly appointed to prepare the Evidence for his Tryal, should put the business into a quick and speedy course, with Power to send for Parties, Witnesses, Papers, Records, &c. And to make all things ready for the sight of the House: the care thereof Committed specially to Wilde who had before brought up the additional Articles. Brought to the Bar again on Tuesday the 16th of January, their Lordships were informed by Mynard, in the name of the House Commons, that his former Answer being made only to the Additional Articles, and not to the Original also, they could not in defect thereof proceed (as otherwise they would have done) to draw up the Issue; and thereupon he was required peremptorily to prepare his Answer to those also against Munday following, though deemed to General by his Counsel, as not to be sufficiently capable of a Particular Reply. Which day being come he claimed the benefit of the Act of Pacification, for his discharge from all matters comprehended in the 13 Article relating to the troubles of Scotland; and to the rest pleaded not Guilty as before. Which put the cause to such a stand, that there was no further speech of it in the House of Commons till the 22 of February, when the Committee was required to prepare their evidence and the distribution of the parts thereof, with all possible speed. And thus the business was drilled on, halfned, or slackned, as the Scots advanced in their expedition; and as the expedition prospered in success and fortune, so was it prosecuted and advanced to its fatal Period. For understanding that the Scots were entred England and had marcht victoriously almost as far as the Banks of the River Tine, they pressed the Lords to name a day for the beginning of his Tryal, who thereupon fixed it upon Tuesday the twelfth of March next ensuing.

The day being come, and the Archbishops brought unto the Bar in the House of Peers, the Articles of the Impeachment were first read by
by the Clerk of the House, together with the several answers of Not L I B. V. Guilty before remembred; upon the hearing whereof he most humbly prayed, that the Commons might be Ordered to sever the Articles which were pretended to be Treason, from those which contained misdemeanors only, that so he might know which of them were Treason and which not. To which it was reply'd by Maynard, that the Commons would not give way to that Proposition, in regard that all the Articles together, not any of them by it self, made up the Treason wherewith he was charged, that is to say, his several endeavours to subvert and destroy Religion, the Fundamental Laws of the Land and Government of the Realm, and to bring in Popery, and an Arbitrary Tyrannical Government against Law. So that we have a Cumulative and Constructive Treason, (such as had formerly been charged on the Earl of Strafford) A Treason in the conclusion, which could not be gathered from the Premises; A Treason in the Summa Totalis, when nothing but misdemeanors at the most, could be found in the Items. Which being thus Resolved upon, a long Studied Speech was made by Wilde, in which there wanted neither words nor animosity, to make him culpable of the crimes wherewith he was charged, if his words could have done it. One passage there was in it, which was Subject to some mis-construction, and so interpreted by those, which otherwise had no good affection to the Prisoners Person; for having set forth his offences in their foulest Colours, he seems to make a wonder of it that any thing could be expected of the People, but that they should have been Ready to have Stoned him, as they did him that did but All the part of Bellerophon in Rome. Which Passage was interpreted for an intimation to the Raskal multitude to save the Houses the dishonor of putting him to death in a form of Law, by Stoning him to death or Tearing him in pieces, or laying violent hands upon him in some other way, as he past between his Barre and the House of Peers. Wilde having done, he humbly craved Liberty to wipe of the dirt, which so injuriously had been cast upon him, that he might not depart thence so foul a Person as he had been rendred to their Lordships. Which leave obtained (as it could not reasonably be denied a far meaner Person) without any trouble in his Countenance, or perturbation of his Mind, he spake as followeth;

My Lords,

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being in this Place in this Condition, recalls to my Memory that which I long since read in Seneca, Tormentum eft, etiam si absoutus quis fuerit, causam dixisse (6. de Benef. c. 28.) 'Tis not a Grief only, no, 'tis no less than Torment, for an ingenious Man to plead capitably or criminally, though it should so fall out that he be absolved. The great Truth of this I find at present in my self; and so much the more, because I am a Christian; and not that only, but in Holy Orders; and not so only, but by God's Grace and goodness preferred to the greatest place this Church affords; and yet brought causam dicere, to plead for my self at this Great Bar. And whatsoever the World think of me (and they have been taught
PART II. taught to think much more ill of me, than, I humbly thank Christ for it, Anno Dom. I was ever acquainted with yet my Lords, this I find, Tormentum est; is no less than a Torment to me to appear in this Place; may, my Lords, give me leave to speak plain truth. No Sentence that can justly pass upon me (and other I will never fear from your Lordships) can go so near me, as caufam dicere, to plead for my self upon this occasion in this place. But as for the Sentence, be it what it shall, I thank God for it, I am for it at St. Paul's word (Acts 25. 11.) If I have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die; For I thank God I have so lived, that I am neither afraid to die, nor ashamed to live. But seeing the Malignity which hath been raised against me by some men, I have carried my Life in my hands these divers years past. I may not in this Cafe, and at this Bar, appeal unto Caesar; yet to your Lordships Justice and Integrity, I both may and do: not doubting, but that God of his Goodness will preserve my Innocency. And as Job in the midst of his affiictions said to his mistaken Friends, so shall I to my Accusers, God forbid I should justify you; till I dye I will not remove my Integrity from me, I will hold it fast and not let it go: my heart shall not reproach me as long as I live, Job 27. 5, 6. My Lords, the Charge against me is brought up in Ten Articles; but the main Heads are two, An Endeavour to subvert the Laws of the Land, and the Religion Established: Six Articles (the five first and the last) concern the Laws, and the other four Religion.

For the Laws first, I think I may safely say, I have been, to my understanding, as frie an Observer of them, so far as they concern me, as any man hath; and since I came into the Place, I have followed them, and have been as much guided by them, as any man that sate where I had the honour to sit: And of this I am sorry I have lost the Testimony of the Lord Keeper Coventry, and other Persons of Honour since dead. And the Counfellors which attended the Council-Board can witness, some of them here present, That in all References to the Board, or Debates arising at it, I was for that part of the Cause where I found Law to be; and if the Counsel deferred to have the Cause left to the Law, well might I move in some Cafes Charity or Convenience to them: but I left them to the Law, if thither they would go. And how such a carriage as this, through the whole course of my Life in private and publick, can stand with an intention to overthrow the Laws, I cannot see. Nay, more, I have ever been of opinion, That Laws bind the Convenience, and have accordingly made conscience in observing of them; and this Doctrine I have constantly Preached, as occasion hath been offered me; and how it is possible I should seek to overthrow those Laws, which I held my self bound in conscience to keep and observe?

As for Religion, I was born and bred up under the Church of England, as it stands established by Law. I have by Gods Blessing grown up in it to the years which are now upon me, and the Place of Profession which I now bear. I have ever since I under stood ought of my Profession, kept one constant Tenor in this my Profession, without variation, or shifting from one Opinion to another for any worldly ends. And if my conscience would have suffered me to do so, I could easily have slid through all the difficulties
calties which have been press upon me in this kind: But of all Diseases, I L. B. V. ever held a Pallie in Religion most dangerous; well knowing, and ever remembering, That that Disease often ends in a Dead Pallie. Ever since I came in place, I have laboured nothing more than that the External Publick Worship of God, so much slighted in divers parts of this Kingdom) might be preserved; and that with so much Decency and Uniformity as might be. For I evidently saw, That the publick neglect of God's Service in the out-
ward face of it, and the notlying of many places dedicated to that service, had almost cast a damp upon the true and inward Worship of God, which while we live in the body needs external helps, and all little enough to keep it in any vigour. And this I did to the utmost of my knowledge, according both to Law and Canon; and with the consent and liking of the People: Nor did any Command issue out from me, against the one, nor without the other. Further, my Lords, give me leave I beseech you, to acquaint you with this, also, That I have as little acquaintance with Recusants, as I believe any man of my place in England, hath, or ever had since the Reformation: And for my Kindred, no one of them was ever a Recusant, but Sir William Webb, Grandchild to my Uncle Sir William Webb, sometimes Lord Mayor of London; and since which some of his Children I reduced back again to the Church of England. On this, I humbly desire one thing more may be thought on, That I am fallen into a great deal of Ob-
loquy in matter of Religion, and that so far (as appears by the Articles a-
gainst me) that I have endeavoured to advance and bring in Popery. Perhaps, my Lords, I am not ignorant what Party of men have raised these Scandals upon me, not for what end, nor perhaps by whom set on: but however, I would fain have a good Reason given me, if my Conscience stood that way, and that with my Conscience I could subscribe to the Church of Rome, what should have kept me here before my Imprisonment, to en-
dure the Libelling, and the slander, and the base Offise that hath been put upon me; and these to end in this Question for my Life? I say, I would know a good Reason for this.

First, My Lords, Is it because of any Pledges I have in this World, to sway me against my Conscience? No Sir; for I had neither Wife nor Children to cry out upon me to stay with them: And if I had, I hope the calling of my Conscience should be heard above them. Is it because I was loth to lose the Honour and Profit of the Place I was risen too? Surely no; For I desire your Lordships and all the World should know, I do much scorn the one and the other, in comparison of my Conscience. Besides, it cannot be imagined by any man, but that if I should have gone over to them, I should not have wanted both Honour and Profit: and suppose not so great as this I hate here; yet sure would my Conscience have served my self of either, less with my Conscience, would have prevailed with me more, the greater against my Conscience. Is it because I lived here at Eafe, and was loth to venture the loss of that? Not so neither; For what-
soever the World may be pleased to think of me, I have led a very painful Life, and such as I would have been content to change, had I well known how: And would my Conscience have served me that way, I am sure I might have lived at far more eafe, and either have avoided the barbarous Libelling, and other bitter grievous Scorns which have been put upon
Lordships too long, I am so innocent in the Lusts of Religion, so free from all Practice, or so much as thought of Practice, for any Alteration unto Popery, or any blemishing of the true Protestant Religion established in England, as I was when my Mother first bore me into the World. And let nothing be spoken but truth, and I do herein challenge whatsoever is between Heaven and Hell, that can be said against me in point of my Religion, in which I have ever hated dissimulation. And ha! I hated it, perhaps I might have been better for worldly safety, than now I am: but it can now by become a Christian Bishop to halt with God.

Lastly, If I had a purpose to blast the true Religion established in the Church of England, and to introduce Popery, sure I took a wrong way to to it. For, my Lords, I have said more going to Rome, and reduced more that were already gone, than I believe any Bishop or Divine, in this Kingdom hath done; and some of them men of great Abilities, and some persons of great place. And is this the way to introduce Popery? My Lords, If I have blemished the true Protestant Religion, how could I have brought these men to it? And if I had promised to introduce Popery, I would never have reduced these men from it. And that it may appear unto your Lordships how many, and of what condition the persons are, which by God's blessing upon my labours, I have killed in the true Protestant Religion established in England, I shall briefly name some of them, though I cannot do it in order of time as I converted them: First, Henry Berkinstead of Trinity Colledge in Oxon, induced by a Jesuit, and brought to London. Two Daughters of Sir Richard Lechford in Surry, sent towards a Nunnery. Two Scholars of St. John's Colledge in Cambridge, Toppin and Affton, who had got the French Embassadors Pass; and after this I allowed them to Toppin, and then procured him a Fellowship in St. John's. And he is at this present as hopeful a young man as any of his time, and a Divine. Sir William Webb my Kinsman, and two of his Daughters; and his Son I took from him, and his Father being utterly decayed, I bred him at my own charge; and he is a very good Protestant. A Gentleman brought to me by Mr. Chesford, his Majesties Servant, but I cannot recall his name. The Lord Mayor of London, brought to me also by Mr. Chesford. The Right Honourable the Lord Duke of Buckingham, almost quite gone between the Lady his Mother and Sister. The Lady Marquiss Hamilton was settled by my direction, and she dyed very religiously, and a Protestant. Mr. Digby who was a Priest. Mr. James a Gentleman brought to me by a Minister of Buckinghamshire, as Treasurer, Dr. Heart the Civilian, my Neighbours Son at Fulham. Mr. Christopher Seborne, a Gentleman of an ancient Family in Herefordshire. The Right Honourable the Countess of Buckingham, Sir William Spencer of Pariton, Mr. Chillingworth. The Sons and Heirs of Mr. Winchcomb, and Mr. Wollescot, whom I sent with their Friends liking to Wadham Colledge Oxford, and received a Certificate Anno 1628. of their continuing in Conformity to the Church of England. Nor did ever any one of these named relapse again; but only the Countess of Buckingham and Sir William Spencer; it being only in God's power, not mine, to preserve them from relapse. And now let any Clergy-man in England come forth, and give a better account of his zeal to the Church.
This being said, and all Parties commanded to withdraw, their Lordships, after some short time of consideration, appointed the next Morning at nine of the Clock for the beginning of the Prosecution to be made against him. In order whereunto the twenty four Articles (for so many there were in both impreachments) were reduced under these four general Heads, viz. 1. His traiterous Endeavours and Practices to alter and subvert Gods true Religion by Law established in this Realm; and instead thereof to set up Popish Superstition and Idolatry; the particulars whereof are specified in the 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 original, and 6, 7, 8, 9 Additional Articles. 2. His traiterous usurpation of a Papal and Tyrannical Power in the Church of England in all Ecclesiastical affairs, to the prejudice and derogation of his Majesties Royal Prerogative, and the Subjects Liberties; comprised in the sixth original Article. 3. His traiterous Attempts and Endeavours to subvert the Fundamental Temporal Laws, Government and Liberties of the Realm and Subjects of England; and instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Temporal Government; against Law and the Subjects Liberty; expressed in the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 original; and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 Additional Articles. And 4. His traiterous Endeavours to subvert the Rights of Parliament, and ancient course of Parliamentary Proceedings, and by false and malicious flanders to incense his Majesty against them, contained in the 14 original; and the 1, 9, 10 Additional Articles. The managing of the Evidence committed to Maynard, Wilde, and Nicholas, all Members of the House of Commons; by whom the business was drawn out to so great a length, that it took up no less than seventeen days; not altogether, but with so many pauses and intermissions (as the Scots profpered and came forwards) that the pleadings were not fully finished till the end of July. I hope it will not be expected that I should lay down the proceedings on both sides, the Proofs and Testimonies which were brought against him; or the defences which were made by him in full Answer to them; that being a work, which of it self would make a greater Volume than our present History. All I shall say, amounts to no more but this, That there wanted neither wit nor will in the Prosecutors to make him appear as guilty in the eye of the Lords, as his Accusers could desire. And as for him, it is related by the Pen of his greatest Adverfary, That he made as full, as gallant, as pitiful a Defence; and spoke as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent; and that with so much Art, Vivacity, Oratory, Audacity, and Confidence, that he shewed not the least acknowledgment of Guilt in any of the particulars which were charged upon him. And though the Relator, putting the worst gloss upon the Text, be pleased to fay, that these Abilities did argue him rather obdurate, than innocent; impudent, than penitent; a far better Orator, Sophister, than Protestant or Christian; a true Son of the Church of Rome, than of the Church of England; yet in the midst of these Reproaches he gives him the Com mendations of Wit and Eloquence, of being a good Orator, and a subtle Disputant; which with the rest of the Abilities ascribed unto him, considering the fuddennes of his Preparations, the frailty of his Memory,

Q q q 2  Memory,
PART II. Memory, the burthen of seventy years, with other natural infirmities then lying heavy on him, may not unjustly be imputed to Divine assistance. What senfe the Commons had of his justification, and what satisfaction was found in it by the House of Peers, we shall see hereafter.

And here we leave him for a time, to see how far the Scots proceeded, and what they did in order to the service of tho he so dearly hired them, which might be equal to the merit of so great a Sacrifice. Of whom we are to know, that passing by the Town of Berwick, they entered England in the middle of January with a pusz from Army, consisting of eighteen thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and one thousand Dragoons, accommodated with all things necessary for the Expedition, not hindered in their March till they came almost to the River Tyne, where they were stopped by the interposition of the Northern Army, under the Command and Command of the Marquis of Newcastle, but so that they remained unfought with, unless it were in petit Skirmishes and Picketings, without engaging the whole Power on either side. Langdale, a Gentleman of approved Valour and Fidelity, was commonly reported to have been earnest with the Marquis to give them Battle, or at the least to suffer him with a Party of Horse to assault them in such places where they lay most open to Advantages, not doubting but to give a good account of his undertakings. In all which motions and desires he is said to have been crossed by General King, an old experienced Souldier, but a Scot by Nation, whom his Majesty had recommended to the Marquis of Newcastle, as a fit man to be consulted with in all his Enterprises, and he withal took such a fancy to the man, that he was guided wholly by him in all his Actions. Which King if he had been employed in any of the Southern or Western Armies, he might have done his Majesty as good service as any who soever: But being in this Army, to serve against the Scots, his own dear Countrymen, he is said to have discouraged and dissuaded all attempts which were offered to be made against them, giving them thereby the opportunity of gaining ground upon the English, till the Marquises retreat toward York. In the opening of the Spring News came unto the Marques of the taking of Selby by the Forces Garrisoned in Hull; by which necessitated to put himself, and the greatest part of his Army, into the City of York, on the safety whereof the whole Fortune of the North depended. Followed at the heels by Leffy, who, notwithstanding the undervalued Honours conferred upon him by the King, and his own vehement protestations of a future Loyalty, commanded this third Army also as he did the two first, and leaving Newcastle at his back, struck like a Souldier at the head, not troubling himself in taking in such places as imported nothing in reference to the main concernment. Resolving on the siege of the Capital City, they were seconded by the Army of the Earl of Manchester, drawn out of the Associated Counties, and the remaining Yorkshire Forces under the Command of the Lord Fairfax. By which, beleaguered on all sides, that great City was reduced to some diftre Rebecca for want of Victuals, and other necessary Ammunition to make good the place.
The News whereof being brought to Oxon, Prince Rupert is difpatched with as much of the Kings Army as could well be spared, with a Commision to raise more out of the Counties of Chester, Stafford, Darby, Leicester, and Lancaster; so that he came before Tork, with an Army of twelve thousand men, relieved the Town with some Provisions for the present, and might have gone away unfought with, but that such counsel was too cold for so hot a stomack. Resolved upon the onset, he encountered with the Enemy at a place called Mansio More, where the Left Wing of his Horse gave such a fierce Charge on the Right Wing of the Enemy, confitting of Fairfax his Horse in the Van, and the Scots Horse in the Rear, that they fell foul on a part of their Foot which was behind them, and trod most of them under their Horses feet: But Rupert's Horse following the Execution too far, and none advancing to make good the place which they had left, the Enemy had the opportunity to Rally again, and got the better of the day, taking some Prisoners of good note; and making themselves Maffers of his Cannon. So that not being able to do any thing in order to the regaining of the Field he marched off unfortunately; the greatest part of his Army mouldring away, he retired to Bristol. After this blow the Affairs of the North growing more desperate every day than other, Tork yielded upon Composition on July 16. (being a jult fortnight after the fight) the Marquis of Newcastle and some principal Gentlemen falling over the Seas, so that the strong Town of Newcastle was taken by the Scots on the nineteenth of October following.

While these things were Aking in the North, Essex and Waller with their Armies drew near to Oxford, hoping to take it unprovided, in the absence of so great a part of his Majesties Forces. On whose approach his Majesty leaving the greatest part of his Army for defence of that place, marched on directly toward Wales. Upon the news whereof it was thought fit by the two Generals to divide their Armies: it being agreed upon that Waller should pursue the King, and that the Earl of Essex should march towards the West for the regaining of those Countries. And now the Mystery of iniquity appeared in its proper colours; for whereas it was formerly given out by the Houses of Parliament, that they had undertaken the War for no other reason, but to remove the King from his evil Counsellors, those Evil Counsellors were left at Oxon, and the Kings Person only hunted. But the King understanding of this Division, thought himself able enough to deal with Waller, and giving him the go-by, returned towards Oxon, drew thence the remainder of his Army, and gave him a sharp meeting at a place called Cropredy Bridge, where he obtained a signal Victory on the twenty eighth of June, and entred triumphantly into Oxon. This done, he marched after the Earl of Essex, who had made himself Master of some places in the West of good importance. During this March it hapned that one of the Carriages brake in a long narrow Lane, which they were to pass, and gave his Majesty a stop, at a time of an intolerable shower of Rain which fell upon him. Some of his Courtiers, and others who were about him, offered to hew him out
PART II. out a way through the hedges with their Swords, that he might get shelter in some of the Villages adjoining; but he Resolved not to forfake his Cannon upon any occasion. At which, when some about him seemed to admire, and marvelled at the patience which he shewed in that Extremity, his Majesty lifting up his Hat, made Answer, That as God had given him affections to exercise his patience, so he had given him patience to bear his affections. The carriage being mended he went forward again, and trode so close upon the heels of Essex; that at last he drove him into Cornwall, and there reduced him to that point, that put himself into a Cock-boat, with Stapleton and some others of his principal Friends, and left his whole Army to his Majesties mercy. His Horse taking the Advantage of a dark night made a shift to escape, but the Commanders of the Foot came to this Capitulation with his Majesty, that they should depart without their Arms, which with their Cannon, Baggage and Ammunition, being of great Consideration, were left wholly to his disposing.

Immediately after this success, his Majesty dispatched a message from Tavestock to the two Houses of Parliament, in which he laid before them the miserable Condition of the Kingdom, remembering them of those many Messages which he had formerly sent unto them for an accommodation of the present differences; and now desiring them to bethe themselves of some expedient by which this Issue of blood might be dried up, the distraction of the Kingdom fetled, and the whole Nation put into an hope of Peace and Happiness. To which message as to many others before, they either gave no Answer, or such an one as rather served to widen then close the breach, fallly conceiving, that all his Majesties offers of Grace and Favour, proceeded either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the weakness and irreolution of his Counsels. But if instead of this Message from Tavestock his Majesty had gone on his own errand, and marched directly toward London, it was conceived in all probability that he might have made an end of the War, secured the life of the Archbishop his most trusty Servant, and put an end to those calamities which the continuance and conclusion of the War, brought with it. The Army of Essex being thus broken, and that of Manchester not returned from the Northern Service, He could not chuse but have observed in the course of that Action, with what a Military Prudence, Leffy had followed at the heels of the Marquis of Newcastle, not stopping or diverting upon the by, till he had brought his Army before Cork; the gaining whereof, as being the chief City of those parts, brought in all the Rest. And certainly it hath been counted no dishonour in the greatest Souldiers to be instructed by their enemies in the feats of War. But the King sitting down before Plymouth (as before Gloucefter the last year) and staying there to perfect an Association of the Western Counties, he spent so much time that Essex was again in the head of his Army; and being seconded by Manchester, and Waller, made a stand at Newbury, where after a very sharp dispute, the Enemy gained some of his Majesties Cannon, which struck such a terrour into many of those about him, that they had advis'd him to withdraw his Person out of
of the danger of the Fight, as he did accordingly. But this he did so L I B. V., secretly and with so slender a Retinue, that he was not mist; His Army holding on the fight with a greater courage, because they thought the safety of his Majesties Person did depend upon it; whose departure if it had been known, would questionless have created such a general dejection in the hearts of his Souldiers, as would have rendered them to a cheap discomforture. But the Loft Cannon being regained, and the fight continued with those of his Majesties party with greater advantage then before, each Army drew off by degrees, so that neither of them could find any great caufe to boast of the Victory.

This Summers Action being ended, in which the Scotz had done very good service to the Houes of Parliament, it was thought necessary to proceed in the Tryal of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which had taken up so much time already, that it seemed ready for a sentence. But there appeared more difficulty in it, than at first was lookt for. For being admitted to a Recapitulation of his whole defence before the Lords, in the beginning of September, it gave fuch a general fatisfaction to all that heard it, that the mustering up of all the evidence againft him would not take it off. To prove the firft branch of the charge againft him, they had ript up the whole course of his Life, from his firft coming to Oxford, till his Commitment to the Tower; but could find no fufficient Proof of any design to bring in Popery, or suppress the true Protestant Religion here by Law Established. For want whereof, they infifted upon fuch Reproachs as were laid upon him when he lived in the University, the beautifying of his Chappel Windows with Pictures and Images, the Solemn Confeoration of Churches and Chappells, the Placing of the Communion Table Altar-wife, and making Adoration in his Accesfes to, or Approaches toward it; Adminiftrating the Sacrament, with some more Solemnities, then in Ordinary Parochial Churches, though constantly observed in his Majesties Chappells; the care and diligence of his Chaplains in expunging some offensive passages out of fuch Books, as were to be licenced for the Preufs, and their permitting of fome passages to remain in others, which were supposed to favor Popery and Arminifians, because they croft the fene of Calvin; the preferring of many able men to his Majesties Service, and to advancements in the Church, who muft the Stigmatized for Papifts, or Arminians, because they had not sworn themfelves into Calvin's Faction; his countenancing two or three Popift Priests, (for no more are named) of whom good use was to be made in Order to the Peace and Happines of the Church of England, as had before been done by Bancroft, and others of his Predeceffors, fince the Reformation. Such were the proofs of his designs to bring in Popery; and yet his plots and purpofes for suppreffing the true Protestant Religion, had less proofs then this. Of which fort were, His severe proceedings in the High Commission againft fome Factious Minifters, and Sedulous Lecturers; the fentencing of Sheffield, for defacing a Parifh Church in Salisbury, under colour of a Veltry-order, in contempt of the Diocefan Bishop who then Lived in that City; the prefling of his Majesties two Declarations; the
the one for Lawful Sports, the other for Silencing unnecessary, though not unlawful, Disputations; His zeal in overthrowing the Corporation of Preachers, which had no Legal Foundation to stand upon, and seemed destructive to the Peace of the Church and State in the eyes of all that pier'd into it; and finally the Piety of his endeavours, for uniting the French, and Dutch Congregations to the Church of England, in which he did nothing without Warrant, or against the Law.

Such were the Crimes or Treasons rather, which paint him out with such an ugly countenance in the Book called Canterbury's Down, as if he were the Greatest Traitor, and the most Execrable Person, that ever had been bred in England. And he is promised to be Painted out in such Lively Colours in the following Branches of his Charge, as should for ever render him as Treasonable, and as Arch a Malefactor as he was in the others; and in both alike; that promise never being performed in the space of a Dozen years and more since it first was made, in all which time, we hear no news of that performance for which the Ground could be but Little, and the evidence less. To the other branches of his Charge, confilting in Words or Actions he answered first, That the Diffolving of the said Parliaments was no Act of his; the buff neatness being publickly debated at the Council Table and carried by the Unanimous consent of all then Present; that the hard measure which he was complained of to have shewn to Corbet of Shropshire (he being but a Private Subject) could not be called an Act of Treason; That the words charged upon him at the Council Table and elsewhere, might well have been spared; That no ill effect did follow on them; and that they were innocently, though suddenly spoken, which he hoped might proceed from a man of such a hasty, and in- circumspect humour as himself (made so as well by nature, as by the multiplicity of vexations which were put upon him) without involving him in the crime or guilt of Treason; That for his words unto the King, touching his being absolved from the Rules of Government, they contained only matter of opinion, and in opinion delivered at the Council Table, where all had Liberty to speak their own sense as he did at that time; which if it were Erroneous and contrary to the sense of others, he hoped that no man should justly be condemned of Treason, for shewing himself no wiser then God had made him. And then- upon he desired the Lords from his misfortune to provide for their own safety, and seriously to consider what a way was chalk'd out to ruine them, both in their Lives and their Estates, if for every Opinion given in Council, or Words suddenly or hasty spoken, they (who are born to wield the great affairs of the Kingdom) should be Accused, or convicted, or Executed as Traitors. To which he added in the close, That there was no likelihood that he had committed Real Acts of Treason, when his adverse Party was content to trifle away so much time about Words; Neither was there any Treason in them, though they had been fully verified; and therefore in that (as in all other Articles) he reserved a Power for his Counsel to dispute in matter of Law. Which when it came to the Dispute (not called on by the Commonstall October 11.) the Question or Point in Issue was, Whether
Whether any Treason was contained in all or any of the Articles which L. R. B. V. were charged against him & therein Hear to plead his part, as the month of the rest, that after the expectation of more months, and the expence of almost as many days as had been spent in the Arraign-
ment of the Earl of Strafford, his Enemies in the House of Commons were forced to fall again on a Bill of Attainder, as they had been before, after so much noise and ostentation of Wit and Eloquence, in the case of that Gentleman.

For being too far engaged to go back with Honour, and yet not having confidence enough to venture him to the Judgment of the House of Peers, as in the way of Legal Trial, they seemed to be at such a stand, as the Thames is said to be at, under London-Bridge, betwixt Ebb and Flood. In which perplexity, some who were fit for any mischief, employed themselves to go from door to door, and from man to man, to get hands against him; and so Petition those to happen to his Condemnation, who must forthwith be forced to their own de-

des (whereof, and of the Magistrates standing still and suffering them to proceed without any Check, he gave them a Memento in his dying Speech) Which Preparations being made, they followed it with such double diligence, that by the beginning of November most men were great with expectation of a final Sentence; Conceived by some, That the whole Evidence being transmittted with the Prifoner to the Ju-

dices of his Majesties Bench, he should have been put over to a Mid-
dlesex-Jury: but, they were only some poor Ignorants which con-
ceived fo of it. The Leading Members of the House thought of no such matter; and to say, truth, it did concern them highly not to go that way. For though there was no question to be made at all, but that they could have Impanelled a Jury to have found the Bill: yet by a Clause in the Attainder of the Earl of Strafford, they had bound the Judges not to declare those Facts for Treason in the time to come, for which they had Condemned and Executed that Heroick Peer. And therefore they resolved on the same course now, which they had found before, to prosper and successful to them, to proceed now as then, by Bill of Attainder, and condemn him by Ordinance; in which being Parties, Witnesses, and Judges too, they were assured to speed as they would themselves. And though for fashion sake he was brought unto the Commons Bar on the eleventh of that Month, not without magnifying the Favour of giving him leave to have some Rea-

son, why the Bill should not pass against him: yet was this but a matter of Formality only, the Ordinance passing in that House within two days after.

But yet the Business was not done; for the Lords stuck at it: some of which having not extinguished all the Sparks of Humanity, began to find themselves compassionate of his Condition; not knowing how soon it should or might be made their own, if once disfavoured by the Grandees of that Potent Faction. For the Ordinance having been transmittted to the House of Peers, and the House of Peers delib-

erating somewhat long upon it, it was Voted on December 4, That all Books, Writings, and Evidences which concerned the Trial, should be brought
PART II. brought before the Lords in Parliament, to the end that they might seriously and distinctly consider of all Particulars amongst themselves, as they came before them. But meaning to make sure work of it, they had in the mean time (after no small Evaporations of Heat and Passion) prepared an Ordinance, which they sent up unto the Lords, importing the displacing of them from all those Places of Power and Command which they had in the Army. Which being found to weak to hold, they fall upon another and a likelier Project, which was to bring the Lords to sit in the Commons House, where they were sure they should be inconsiderable both for Power and Number. And to effect the same with more speed and certainty, they had recourse to their old Arts, drawing down Watkins with his general Muster of Subscriptions, and putting a Petition into his hands, to be tendered by him to the House, that is, themselves; wherein it was required, amongst other things, That they should vigorously proceed unto the punishment of all Delinquents, and that for the more quick dispatch of Publick Business of State, the Lords would please to Vote and Sit together with the Commons. On such uncertain terms, such a ticklish Tenure, did they then hold their Place and Power in Parliament, who so officially complied with the House of Commons, in depriving the Bishops of their Vote, and the Churches Birth-right. And this was it which helped them in that time of need. And yet not thinking this Device sufficient to fright their Lordships to a present compliance, strong was sent up with a Message from the House of Commons, to let them know, That the Londoners should shortly bring a Petition, with 20000 Hands, to obtain that Ordinance. By which stale and common Stratagem, they wrought so far on some weak Spirits, the rest withdrawing themselves (as formerly in the case of the Earl of Strafford) that in a thin and slender House, not above six or seven in number, it was pass'd at last. The day before they pass'd the Ordinance for establishing their new Directory; which, in effect, was nothing but a total abolition of the Common-Prayer-Book: and thereby shewed unto the World, how little hopes they had of settling their new Form of Worship, if the foundation of it were not laid in the blood of this famous Prelate, who had so stoutly stood up for it against all Novellism and Faction, in the whole course of his Life. It was certified by some Letters to Oxon. and so reported in the Mercury Anicus of the following week, That the Lord Bruce (but better known by the name of the Earl of Elgin) was one of the number of those few Lords which had Voted to the Sentence of his Condemnation: The others which concurred in that fatal Sentence, being the Earls of Kent, Pembroke, Salisbury and Bullyingbrough, together with the Lord North, and the Lord Gray of Warke. But whatsoever may be laid of the other fix, I have been advertised lately from a very good hand, That the said Lord Bruce hath frequently disclaimed that Action, and solemnly professed his detestation of the whole Proceedings, as most abhorrent from his nature; and contrary to his known affections, as well unto his Majesties Service, as the Peace and Preservation of the Church of England.
This Ordinance was no sooner passed, but it revived many of those L.I.B.V. Difficulties, which had before been made on the like occasion in the Anne Dom. Buisines of the Earl of Strafford. For hereupon it was observed, That as the predominant Party in the United Provinces, to bring about their ends in the death of Barnesett, subverted all those Fundamental Laws of the Belgick Liberty, for maintenance whereof they took up Arms against Philip iv. So the Contrivers of this Mischief, had violated all the Fundamental Laws of the English Government, for maintenance whereof they had pretended to take up Arms against the King. It was (said they,) a Fundamental Law of the English Government, and the first Article in the Magna Charta, That the Church of England shall be free, and shall have all her whole Rights and Priviledges inviolable. Yet to make way the unto the Condemnation of this Innocent Man, the Bishops must be Voted out of their Place in Parliament, which most of them have held far longer in their Predecessors, than any of our Noble Families in their Progenitors; and if the Lords refuse to give way unto it (as at first they did) the People must come down to the House in multitudes, and cry No Bishops, No Bishops, at the Parliament doors; till by the terror of their Fumilits, they extort it from them. It is a Fundamental Law of the English Liberty, That no Free-man shall be taken or imprisoned, without cause shown; or be detained, without being brought unto his Answer in due form of Law. Yet here we see a Freeman imprisoned ten whole weeks together, before any Charge was brought against him; and kept in Prison three whole years more, before his General Accusation was by them reduced unto Particulars; and for a year almost detained close Prisoner, without being brought unto his Answer, as the Law requires. It is a Fundamental Law of the English Government, That no man be dispossessed of his Freehold or Liberties, but by the known Laws of the Land. Yet here we see a man dispossessed of his Rents and Lands, spoiled of his Goods, deprived of his Jurisdiction, devested of his Right of Patronage; and all this done, when he was so far from being convicted by the Laws of the Land, that no particular Charge was so much as thought of. It is a Fundamental Law of the English Liberty, That no man shall be condemned or put to death, but by the Lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land; that is, in the ordinary way of Legal Tryal: And sure an Ordinance of both Houses, without the Royal Ascent, is no part of the Law of England, nor held an ordinary way of Tryal for the English Subject, or ever reckoned to be such in former times. And finally, It is a Fundamental Law in the English Government, That if any other cause (than those recited in the Statute of King Edward iii.) which is supposed to be Treason, do happen before any of his Majesties Justices, the Justices shall try without giving Judgment, till the Cause be shown and declared before the King and his Parliament, whether it ought to be judged Treason, or not: Yet here we have a new-found Treason, never known before, nor declared such by any of his Majesties Justices, nor ever brought to be considered by the King and his Parliament; but only voted to be such, by some of those Members which met at Westminster, who were resolved to have it so for their private Ends. The
PART II. first Example of this kind, the first that ever suffered death by the
shot of an ordinance, as himself very well observed in his dying Speech
upon the Scaffold (though purposely omitted in Hind's Printed Co-
py) to which now he hathfenth.

For the passing of the Ordinance being signified to him by the then
Lieutenant of the Tower, he neither entertained the news with a Stoi-
cal Apathy, nor waited his fate with weak and womanish Lamentations
(to which Extremes most men are carried in this case) but heard it
with an even and smooth Temper, as showed he neither was a-
thamed to live nor afraid to die. The time between the Sentence and
Execution, he spent in Prayers and Applications to the Lord his God
having obtained, though not without some difficulty, a Chaplain of
his own to attend upon him, and to assist him in the Work of his Pre-
paration: though little Preparation needed to receive that blow,
which could not but be welcome, because long expected. For so well
was he studied in the Art of Dying (especially in the last and strictest
part of his Imprisonment) that by continual Fastings, Watchings,
Prayers, and such like Acts of Christian Humiliation, his Flesh was
rared into Spirit, and the whole man fitted for Eternal Glories,
that he was more than half in Heaven, before Death brought his bloody
(but Triumphant) Chariot, to convey him thither. He that had so
long been a Confessor, could not but think it a Release of Miseries to
be made a Martyr. It is Recorded of Alexander the Great, That the
night before his last and greatest Battel with Darius the Persian, he fell
into so sound a Sleep, that his Princes hardly could awake him when
the morning came. And it was likewise certified of this Great Prelate,
That on the Evening before his Passover, the night before the dif-
mal Combate betwixt him and Death, after he had refreshed his
Spirits with a moderate Supper, he betook himself unto his Rest,
and slept very soundly, till the time came, in which his Servants were
appointed to attend his Rising, A most assured Sign of a Soul prepared.

The fatal morning being come, he first applied himself to his pri-
ate Prayers, and so continued till Pennington, and others of their
Publick Officers, came to conduct him to the Scaffold; which he
ascended with so brave a Courage, such a cheerful Countenance, as
if he had mounted rather to behold a Triumph, than be made a Sa-
crifice; and came not there to Die, but to be Translated. And though
some rude and uncivil People reviled him as he past along, with op-
probrious Language, as loth to let him go to the Grave in Peace; yet it
never discompos'd his Thoughts, nor disturb'd his Patience: For he
had profited so well in the School of Christ, that when he was reviled,
be reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened, not but com-
mitt'd his cause to him that judgeth righteously. And as he did not
fear the Frowns, so neither did he covet the Applaude of the Vulgar
Herd; and therefore rather chose to read what he had to speak unto
the People, than to affect the ostentation either of Memory or Wit
in that dreadful Agony: whether with greater Magnanimity than Pru-
dence, I can hardly say. As for the matter of his Speech, besides what
did concern himself and his own Fugitation, his great care was to
clear
The Speech of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, spoken at his Death, upon the Scaffold on the Tower Hill, Jan. 10. 1644.

Good People,

This is an uncomfortable time to preach, yet I shall begin with a Text of Scripture, Heb. 12. 2. Let us run with Patience the Race which is set before us, looking unto JESUS the Author and Finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the Throne of God.

I have been long in my Race, and how I have looked to JESUS the Author and Finisher of my faith, he best knows. I am now to come to the end of my Race, and here I find the Cross a death of shame: but the shame must be despised, or no coming to the right hand of God. JESUS despised the shame for me, and God forbid but that I should despise the shame for him. I am going apace (as you see) towards the Red Sea, and my feet are now upon the very brink of it: an Argument I hope that God is bringing me into the Land of Promise, for that was the way through which he led his people: But before they came to it, he instituted a Passover for them, a Lamb it was, but it must be eaten with four herbs, I shall obey, and labour to digest the four herbs, as well as the Lamb. And I shall remember it is the Lords Passover; I shall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the hand which gathereth them: but look up only to him, who instituted that, and governs these for men can have no more power over me, than what is given them from above. I am not in love with this passage through the Red Sea, for I have the weakness and infirmities of flesh and blood plentifully in me; And I have prayed with my Saviour, Ut tranfierit Calix i.tae, that this Cup of Red wine might pass from me: but if not, Gods will (not mine) be done, and I shall most willingly drink of this Cup as deep as he pleases.
PART II. and enter in this Sea, sea, and pass through it in the way that he shall lead me.

1643. But I would have it remembered (Good People) That when Gods Servants were in this boyflerous Sea, and Aaron among them, the Egyptians which persecuted them (and in a manner, drove them into that Sea) were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of them. I know my God, whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from the sea of blind, as he was to deliver the three Children from the Furnaces and (I humbly thank my Saviour for it) my Resolutions is now as theirs was then, They would not worship the Image the King had set up, nor will the Imagination Avhich the People are setting up, nor will I forsake the Temple and the truth of God, to follow the beating of Jeroboams Calves in Dan and Bethel. And as for this People, they are at this day miserably mislead (God of his mercy open their eyes that they may see the right way) for at this day the blind lead the blind, and if they go on, both will certainly fall into the ditch. For my self, I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous bitter many ways, by thought, word, and deed; I cannot doubt but that God bath mercy in store for me (a poor penitent) as well as for other sinners. I have now, and upon this sad occasion, resolved every corner of my heart, and yet (I thank God) I have not found (among the many) any one sin which deserves death by any known law of this Kingdom: and yet here-by I charge nothing upon my Judges; for if they proceed upon proof (by valuable witnesses) I, or any other innocent, may be justly condemned. And (I thank God) though the weight of my Sentence be heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my life. And though I am not only the first Archbishop, but the first man that ever died by an Ordinance in Parliament: yet some of my Predecessors have done this way, though not by this means. For Elphagus was hurried away, and lost his head by the Danes; and Simon Sudbury in the fury of Wat Tiler and his Fellowes; Before these, St. John Baptist had his head danced off by a lewd woman; and St. Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage, submitted his head to a perfecuting Sword. Many examples (great and good) and they teach me patience; for I hope my cause in heaven, will look of another dye than the colour that is put upon it here. And some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men in their several Generations, but also that my charge (as foul as it is made) looks like that of the Jews against St. Paul (Acts 25.3.) for he was accused for the Law, and the Temple, i.e. Religion; and like that of St. Steven (Acts 6, 14.) for breaking the Ordinances which Moses gave, i.e. Law, and Religion; the holy place and the Temple (v. 13.) but you will then say, Do I then compare my self with the Integrity of St. Paul and St. Steven? No, far be that from me; I only raise a comfort to my self, that these great Saints and Servants of God were laid at in their time, as I am now. And it is memorable that St. Paul who helped on this accusation against St. Steven, did after fall under the very same himself. Too, but here is a great clamour, that I would have brought in Popery: I shall answer that more fully by and by. In the meantime you know what the Pharisees said against Christ himself: 'If we let him alone, all men will believe in him,' ET VENIENT ROMANI,
and the Romans will come, and take away both our Place and Nation. Here was a caufeful Cry against Chrift, that the Romans would come; and fee how just the Judgment was, they Cruified Chrift for fear lest the Romans should come, and his Death was it which brought in the Romans upon them, God punishing them with that which they most feared. And I pray God this clamour of Venetian Romani (of which I have given no caufe) help not to bring them in; For the Pope never had such an harvest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sellers and Divisions that are now amongst us. In the mean time by Honour and Difhonour, by good report and evil report, as a Deceiver and yet true, am I passing through this world (2 Cor. 6.8.) some Particulars also I think it not amifs to speak of.

And firft, This I shall be bold to speak of the King our Gracious Sovereign. He hath been much traduced also for bringing in of Popery, but on my conscience (of which I shall give God a very present account) I know him to be as free from this Charge, as any man living; and I hold him to be as found a Protestant (according to the Religion by Law Established) as any man in this Kingdom: And that he will venture his life as far and as freely for it. And I think I do, or should know both his affection to Religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in England.

The second Particular is concerning this great and Populous City (which God blefs) Here hath been of late a Passion taken up to gather Hands, and then go to the great Court of this Kingdom (the Parliament) and clamour for justice; as if that great and wise Court, before whom the Caufes come (which are unknown to many) could not, or would not do Justice, but at their appointment. A way which may endanger many an Innocent man, and pluck his blood upon their own heads, and perhaps upon the Cities also; and this hath been lately practised against myself, the Magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from Parish to Parish without any check; God forgive the Setters of this (with all my heart I beg it) but many well-meaning People, are caught by it. In St. Stevens cafe, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the People against him; and Herod went the same way when he had killed St. James: yet be would not venture on St. Peter, till he found how the other pleased the People. But take heed of having your hands full of blood, for there is a time (best known to himself) when God (above other men) makes Inquisition for blood; and when that Inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tells us, That God remembers (that's not all) He remembers and forgets not the complaint of the poor, that is, whose blood is shed by oppreffion, ver. 9. Take heed of this, It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God, but specially, when he is making Inquisition for blood. And (with my prayers to avert it) I do heartily desire this City to remember the Prophecy that is expressed, Jer. 26. 15.

The third Particular is the poor Church of England. It hath flourished, and been a shelter to other Neighbouring Churches, when storms have driven upon them. But alas! now it is in a storm itself; and God only knows whether, or how it shall get out; and (which is worse than the storm from without) it is become like an Oak clef with wedges made out of its own body, and at every clefs Prophaneness and Irreligion is entering in.
The last Particular (for I am not willing to be too long) is myself: I was born and baptized in the bosom of the Church of England, established by Law, in that Profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come to die. This is no time to dissemble God, least of all in matters of Religion; and therefore I desire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the Protestant Religion established in England, and in that I come now to dye. What clamours and contentions I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the external Service of God, according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.

Now at last I am accused of High Treason in Parliament, a Crime which my soul ever abhorred. This Treason was charged to consist of two parts. An endeavour to subvert the Laws of the Land, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion established by Law. Besides my Answers to the several Charges, I protest my innocence in both. It was said, Prisoners' Protests at the Bar, must not be taken. I can bring no witness of my heart, and the intentions thereof; therefore I must come to my Profession, not at the Bar, but my Profession of this hour, and instant of my death, in which I hope all men will be such charitable Christians, as not to think I would die and dissemble, being instantly to give God an account for the truth of it. I do therefore here in the presence of God, and his holy Angels, take it upon my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of Law or Religion; and I desire you all to remember this Protest of mine for my innocence in this, and from all Treasons whatsoever I have been accused; likewise an Enemy to Parliaments? No, I understand them, and the benefit that comes by them too well, to be so. But I did mistake the misgovernments of some Parliaments in many ways, and I had good Reason for it; For Corruption optics, as well as Piffima, there is no Corruption in the World so bad, as that which is of the best thing within itself; For the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted. And that being the Highest Court, over which no other hath Jurisdiction, when it is misinformed or misgoverned, the Subject is left without remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the World, all and every of those bitter Enemies which have persecuted me; and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have, Lord do thou forgive me, and I beseech thee forgive him. And so I heartily desire you to join in Prayer with me. Which I said, with a distinct and audible voice, as follows: O Eternal, Mind review, what all, all have done, and let not, but what is wrong be, and his mercy, and let us +8982-00050
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

O Eternal God, and Merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the Riches and Fulness of all thy mercies, look down upon me; but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the Cross of Christ, not till thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ; not till I have hid my self in the wounds of Christ; that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since thou art pleased to try me to the utmost, I humbly beseech thee, give me now in this great instant full Patience, Proportionable Comfort, and a heart ready to die for thine Honour, the Kings Happiness, and this Churches preservation. And my Zeal to this (far from Arrogance be it spoken) is all the more humane Frailty excepted and all the accidents thereunto, which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer, I say in this particular of Treaton; but otherwise my sins are many and great: Lord pardon them all, and these especially (what ever they are) which have drawn down this present Judgment upon me; and when thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own Eyes: and carry me through death that I may look upon it in what wise soever it shall appear to me. Amen. And that there may be a stop of this Issue of blood in this more miserable Kingdom (I shall desire that I may pray for the people, too, as well as for my self) O Lord I beseech thee give grace of Repentance to all blood-thirsty people, but if they will not repent, O Lord confound all their devices, Defeat and frustrate all their designs and endeavours upon them; which are or shall be contrary to the Glory of thy great name, the truth and sincerity of Religion, the establishment of the King and his Posterity after him in their just Rights and Privileges, the Honour and Confederation of Parliaments in their just power, the preservation of this poor Church in her truth, peace, and Patrimony, and the settlement of this disordered, and disconsolate People, under their Ancient Laws and in their Native Liberty. And when thou hast done all this in meer mercy to them, O Lord fill their hearts with thank fulness and with Religious Dutiful obedience to thee and thy Commandments all their days, Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen. And receive my soul into thy Bosom, Amen.

Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.

The Speech and Prayers being ended he gave the Paper which he Read into the hands of sterne his Chaplain, permitted to attend him in his late extremity; whom he desired to Communicate it to his other Chaplains that they might see in what manner he left this world; and so prayed God to shew his blessings and mercies on them. And taking notice that one Hind had employed himself in writing the words of his Speech as it came from his mouth, he desired him not to do him wrong in publishing a false or imperfect Copy. This done he next applied himself to the fatal Block, asto the Haven of his Rest: But finding the way full of people who had placed themselves upon the Saff Theatre
PART II. Theatre to behold the Tragedy, he desired he might have room to die, beseeching them to let him have an end of his miseries which he had endured very long. All which he did with so Serene and calm a mind, as if he rather had been taking Order for a Noble Mans Funeral, then making way for his own. Being come near the Block, he put off his Doubler, and used some words to this effect. Gods will be done, I am willing to go out of this world, none can be more willing to send me. And seeing through the Chink of the Boards that some people were got under the Scaffold about the very place where the block was settled, he called to the Officer for some dutif to stop them, or to remove the people thence, saying, it was no part of his desires that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people. Never did man put off mortality with a better courage; nor look upon his bloody and malicious Enemies with more Christian Charity. And thus far he was on his way toward Paradise, with such a Primitive Magnanimity as equalled, if not exceeded, the example of the Ancient Martyrs: when he was somewhat interrupted by one of those who had placed himself on the Scaffold, not otherwise worthy to be named, but as a Fire-brand brought from Ireland to inflame this Kingdom. Who finding that the mockings and revilings of malicious people had no power to move him or sharpen him into any discontent or shew of passion, would needs put in and try what he could do with his Spunge and Vinegar, and Stepping to him near the Block he would needs propound unto him some importunate questions; not so much out of a desire to learn any thing of him: but with the same purpose as was found in the Scribes and Pharisees, in propounding questions to our Saviour, that is to say, either to intrap him in his Answers, or otherwise to expose him to some disadvantage with the standers by. Two of the questions he made Answer to with all Christian meeknes. The first question was, What was the Comfortablest saying, which a dying man would have in his mouth, to which he meekly made answer. Cupio dispersi & efta cum Christo: being asked again what was the fittest Speech a man could use to express his Confidence and Assurance, he answered with the same Spirit of meeknes. That such Assurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to express it rightly. But this not satisfying this bufie man (who aimed at something else as is probable) then such satisfaction unless he gave some Word or Place of Scripture, whereupon such Assurance might be truly founded. He used some words to this effect, That it was the Word of God concerning Christ, and his dying for us. But then finding that there was like to be no end of the troublesome Gentleman, he turned away from him, applying himself directly to the Executioner, as the gentler and discreetest person. Putting some money into his hand he said unto him without the least distemper or change of countenance, Here honest friend, God forgive thee and I do, and do thy Office upon me with mercy, and having given him a sign when the blow should come, he kneeled down upon his knees, and prayed as followeth, viz.

Lord I am coming as fast as I can, I know I must pass thorou gh the shadow of
of death, before I can come to see thee; but it is but Umbra Mortis, a mere shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature; but thou by thy merits and tuition, hast broke through the jaws of death, the Lord receive my Soul, and have mercy upon me, and bless this Kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ his sake, if it be thy will.

Then laying his head upon the Block and Praying silently to himself he said aloud, Lord receive my Soul, which was the Signal given to the Executioner, who very dexterously did his Office, and took off his head at a blow, his Soul ascending on the wings of Angels into Abraham's bosom, and leaving his body on the Scaffold, to the care of men.

This blow thus given, his life-less body remained a spectacle so unpleasing unto most of them who had desired his death with much heat and passion, that many who came with greedy eyes to see him suffer, went back with weeping eyes when they saw him dead; their own Confidences perhaps, bearing witness to them, God knows whose did, that they had sinned in being guilty of such Innocent blood. Of those whom only Curiosity and desire of Novelty, brought them to behold that unnatural sight, many had not the Patience to attend the Illies, but went away as soon as the Speech was ended; others returned much altered in the opinion which before they had of him, and bettered in their Resolutions toward the King and the Church, whose Honour and Religious Purposes, they saw so clearly vindicated in his dying, but never dying words. And for the Rest (the most considerable, though perhaps the smallest part of that Great Assembly) as they came thither with no other intention, then to assist him with their Prayers, to embalm his body with their tears, and to lay up his last Speeches in their hearts and memories; so when they had performed those Offices of Christian duty, they comforted themselves with this, that as he was Honourable, so his death was glorious: the pains whereof were short and momentary to himself, the Benefit like to be perpetual unto them and others, who were resolved to live and dye in the Communion of the Church of England. And if the Bodies of us men be capable of any happiness in the Grave, he had as great a share therein, as he could desire; his Body being accompanied to the Earth with great multitudes of People, whom love, of curiosity, or remorse of Conscience had drawn together purposely to perform that Office, and decently interred in the Church of Albany or Barking (a Church of his own Patronage and Jurisdiction) according to the Rules and Ceremonies of the Church of England, in which it may be noted as a think remarkable, That being whilst he lived the greatest Champion of the Common-Prayer-Book here by Law established, he had the Honour being dead, to be buried by the form therein prescribed, after it had been long disused, and almost reprobated in most Churches of London. Nor need Polterity take care to provide his Monuments: he built one for himself whilst he was alive: It being well observed by Deering (one of his most malicious Enemies, and he that threw the first stone at him in the beginning of this Parliament)
that St. Paul's Church will be his perpetual Monument, and his own
Book (against the Jesuits) his lasting Epitaph.

Thus fall Land and St. Pauls fell with him; The yearly Contribu-
tion toward whole Repair; Anno 1641. when he was plunged into his
Troubles, fell from the sum of 15000 l. and upward, to somewhat les-

than 1500, and afterwards by degrees to nothing. No less than 17138 l.
13 s. 4 d. ob. g., which remained in the Chamber of London toward
the carrying on of the Work, is seised on by an Order of both Houses
of Parliament, for the beginning of their War against the King; that
so they might not only encounter him with his own Arms and Am-
munition, which he had bought with his own Money; but with
that Money too, which he alone had raised by his own Care and Piety.
Most of the Materials intended for finishing the Work, were turned
into Money; and the rest bestowed on the Parish of St. Gregories, for
the Rebuilding of that Church: And all the Scaffolding of the Tower
or Steeple, allotted to the payment of Jephson's Regiment, who
challenged an Arrrear of 1746 l. 15 s. 8 d. for their Service in that
cruel and unnatural War. The Pavement of the Church digged up,
and sold to the wealthier Citizens, for beautifying their Country-
Houses; The Floor converted into Saw-pits in many places, for cut-
ting out such Timber as was turned into Money; The Lead torn off
in some places also; the Timber and Arches of the Roof being there-
by exposed to Wind and Weather; Part of the Stone-work which
supported the Tower or Steeple, fallen down, and threatening the like
Ruine, unto all the rest; The gallant Portico at the West-end thereof,
obscured first by a new House looking towards Ludgate; and afterward
turned into an Exchange for Haberdashers of small Wares, Hosiens,
and such Petit Chapmen: And finally, the whole Body of it converted
to a Stable or Horse-Garrifon, for the better awing of that City,
whose Pride and Faction raised the Fire, and whose Purse added Fuel
to it, for the enflaming of the Kingdom.

Thus Land fell, and the Church fell with him; The Liturgie where-
of was Voted down about the time in which the Ordinance was
pafs'd for his Condemnation; The Presbyterian Directory authorized
for the Presbs, by Ordinance of March 13. next following; Episcopacy
Root and Branch, which had before been precondemned, suppressed
by Ordinance in like manner on October 9 1646. The Lands of all Ca-
thedrals sold, to the exposing of those stately and magnificent Fabrieks
to an inevitable Ruine; The Bishops disposed of their Lands and
Rents, without the Charity of a small Annual Pension toward their
Support; The Regular and Conformable Clergy sequestr'd, ejected,
and turned out of all, to the utter undoing of themselves, their
Wives and Children; A wide gap opened for letting in of all Sects and
Herefies, many of which had been exploded and condemned in the
Primitive times; others so new (and every day begetting newer) that few of them have served out their Apprenticeship, and
yet Trade as freely as if they had served out all their Time; The
Sacred Ministry in the meantime, of that part of it at the least which
confests in Preaching, usurped by Handicrafts-men, Boys, and Women,
to the dishonour of God, the infamy and disgrace of the English Nation, and the reproach of our Religion, so much renowned (as long as heretofore in Power) both for external Glory and internal Purity. And yet it cannot be denied, but that he fell very opportunely in regard of himself, before he saw those horrible Confusions which have since brake into the Church, the diﬀusion of the Clergy, the most calamitous death of his Gracious Sovereign, and the Extermination threatened to the Royal Family: any of which would have been far more grievous to him, than a thousand deaths. The opportunity of a quiet and untroubled death, was reckoned for a great felicity in the Noble (a) Agricola, who could not but in the course of a long life, have felt the hundredth part of those Grieves and Sorrows, which would have pierced the Soul of this Pious Prelate, had not God gathered him to his Fathers in so good an hour.

But fallen he is; and being fallen, there is no question to be made, but most men would spend their Judgments of his Life and Actions. (b) One tells us of him, That the roughness of his uncourtly Nature, sent most men discontented from him; though afterwards, of his own accord, he would find means to sweeten many of them again, when they least looked for it. (c) Another, That he had a little command of his passions, that he could not repres them at the Star-Chamber, or the High-Commission; which made his Censure always follow the severer side. Some thought, That out of a dislike of that Popularity, which was too much aﬀected by his Predecessor, he was carried on so far to the other extreme, as to fail in many necessary Civilities to the Nobility and Gentry, by which he might have obliged them; and indeed himself. Others, that by this repressed, and implausible humour, he so far loft the love of his own Dioceses (the Gentry whereby he neither entertained at Canterbury, nor feasted at Lambeth, as all his Predecessors had done before him) that one of them who served in Parliament for the County of Kent, threw the first dirt at him. Some said that he trusted too much to his own single judgment, in the Contriving and carrying on of his desigms; seldom advising with any of the other Bishops, till he had digested the whole business, and then referring nothing to them but the Execution, which made it less Cordially followed by the greater part, than it had been otherwise. And others, that he presumed too much on the Love and Goodness of the King, whose Love and Goodness not being seconded by Power, proved afterwards so insufficient to save him harmless, and keep his head on his shoulder, that it served rather to expose him to the public hatred. In which Respect it was conceived that the Lord Protector Somerset following his work more like a States-man (though of himself he was accounted no deep Polititian) not venturing on the Alteration of Religion which he had projected, till he had put himself into the head of an Army, under Pretence of making War against the Scots; nothing but the unseasonable disbanding whereof could have plunged him into those Calamities, which ensued upon it. It was discourse by some that he was too sudden and precipitate in the pursuit of his undertakings, the fruits of which he had aspired
PART II. to taste before they were ripe; and did not think the work well done, except he might enjoy as well the comfort of it in his Life, as the Honour of it after his death; quite contrary therein to the Grandees of the Puritan faction, who, after the first heats were over in Queen Elizabeth's time, carried their work for thirty years together, like Toles under the Ground, not casting up any earth before them, till they had made so strong a party in the House of Commons as was able to hold the King to their own Conditions. And therefore it was thought by others, that his business was not so well timed as it should have been; the three first Parliaments of this King being dissolved in such discontentments, as could not easily be forgotten; the Scots as much exasperated by the Commission of Surrendries, which they express plainly by their dissatisfaction to his Person and Government, at his first Parliament in that Kingdom; and the English shortly after, startled by the Writs for Ship-money, which seemed to threaten a destruction to that Legal Property, which every man challenged in his own.

Some who seemed wiser then the Rest complained, that his Embracements were too large and general; and that he had more Irons in the fire at once, then could be well hammer'd in one forge. Not suffering any one of his Counsels to hold on a Probationship, before it was retarded and pulled back by another. By means whereof the whole piece being laid open at once, the Figures of it appeared more terrible and unhandomely wrought then otherwise they would have done, in case they had been shown by little and little. By these it was discoursed, that within the space of one year after his coming to the Chair of Canterbury, he had engaged himself, in fix several Counsels and designs, all of them so high a nature, that each of them might have been enough to take up that short remainder of time which he had to live. It was confessed, that the connivence and Remissness of his Predecessor had left him work enough to do; but then it was averred withal, and proved by Ordinary observation, that an unskilful Carpenter might pull down more in one day then the ablest Architect in the World could build up in twenty; and therefore that the Ruines of twenty years, were not to be repaired in one. And for the Proof of this they were pleased to note, that within six weeks after his coming to that Chair, his Majesty had laid the Foundation of the Scottish Liturgy, by laying out his Instructions of the 8th. of October for Officiating the Divine Service in his Chappell at Edinborough, according to the Form and Ceremony of his Royal Chappell at White Hall; that he had seconded it within ten days after by reviving his Father's Declaration about Lawful Sports, with some additions of his own; and thirded it in the very beginning of November by an Order of the Council Table in the case of St. Gregory's, for transposing the Communion Table to the Place of the Altar; and that within the first six Months of the year next following, he sent out two Injunctions for reducing the Congregations of the French and Dutch to the Liturgy, and Church of England. Contenanced the Petition of the London Ministers, for increase of maintenance, in the just payment of their Tithes; and procured the Repealing of the Irish Articles and
of England to be approved and received in the place thereof. And what said they could be more unadvisedly, and unpolitickly done, than to draw upon himself at once the high displeasure of three Kingdoms in the several Concernments of each Nation; as also all the

Congregational Churches abroad in their Proper Interests; Fomented by

the Pride and Puff of the City of London, and prosecuted by the Ma-

lignity and Activity of the Puritan faction, in them all united in the Com-

mon quarrel of the Lords day Sabbath? They added that King Edward

the first, began not with the Conquest of Wales, before he had well

settled his affairs in England, and that he undertook not the following

War against the Scots (whom afterwards he brought under his obedi-

ence) till some years after he had finished the Conquest of Wales; that

as all Superfetations are dangerous to the Publick of the birth of Na-

ture; and nothing more Repugnant to a Regular Diet than to fill the

Stomach with fresh viands, before it is Emptied of the Former; so no-

thing can be more destructive to the Body Politick, than to try two

many Experiments at once upon it, which cannot possibly work well

together to the publick health; and therefore, that he should have

practised upon one Kingdom after another as best became so able a Phy-

sician, and so exact a Matter in the Art of a Christian Warfare; that

one of them might have followed the good Example of the other, and

not all joyn together (like so many ill humours) to the common di-

sturbance of the work.

Such were the Cenfures and Discourfes, which were passed upon

him betwixt his Imprisonment and his Death, and for some years after.

In which how much or little there is of truth, is left unto the judgment

of those, who are more thoroughly acquainted with his disposition

and affections, his secret Counsels, and the Reasons which directed him

in the conduct of them, than I can honesly pretend to. All I can say,

is that, which may be said by any other, which had no more access to

him than my self: Of Stature he was low, but of a strong Composi-

tion; so short a Trunk never contained so much excellent Treasure,

which therefore was to be the stronger, by reason of the wealth which

was lodged within it. His Countenance cheerful and well-bloated, more

fleshily, (as I have often heard him say,) than any other part of

his body; which cheerfulness and vivacity he carried with him to the

very Block, notwithstanding the Afflictions of four years Imprison-

ment, and the infelicity of the times. For at his first Commitment he

besought God (as is observed in the Breviate) to give him full patience,

proportionable comfort, and contentment with whatsoever he should send;

and he was heard in what he prayed for: for notwithstanding that he

had fed long on the bread of carelesses, and drank the water of affliction;

yet as the Scripture telleth us of the four Hebrew Children, His Coun-

tenance appeared fairer and fatter in flesh, than any of those who eat

their portion of the Kings Meat, and drank of his Wine; A gallant Spi-

rit being for the most part like the Sun, which shews the greater at his

setting. But to proceed in that weak Character, which my Pen is

able to afford him, of Apprehension he was quick and sudden, of a

very sociable Wit, and a pleafant Humour; and one that knew as

well
PART II. well how to put off the Gravity of his Place, and Person, when he law-occasion, as any man living whatsoever; Accessible enough at all times but when he was tired out with multiplicity and vexation of business, which some, who did understand him, ascribed unto the natural raggedness of his Disposition; Zealous he was in the Religion here established, as hath been made apparent in the course of this History; Constant not only to the Publick Prayers in his Chappell, but to his private Devotions in his Closet; A Special Benefactor to the Town of Reading, where he had his Birth, and to the University of Oxon, where he had his Breeding; so much the more to this last, as he preferred his Well-being before his Being. Happy in this, that he accomplished those good works in the time of his Life, which otherwise must have shrunken to nothing in the hands of Executors. To speak of the Integrity of so great a Person, would be an injury to his Virtues: One Argument whereof may be, if there were no other, That in so long a time of Power and Greatness, wherein he had the principal managing of Affairs both in Church and State, he made himself the Master of so small a Fortune, that it was totally exhausted in his Benefactions unto Oxon, and Reading, before remembered. The rest I shall refer to the Breviate of his Life and Action, though published of purpose to diffuse him, and render him more odious to the Common People: In which it will appear, to an equal and impartial Reader, That he was a man of such eminent Virtues, such an exemplary Piety towards God, such an unwearied Fidelity to his Gracious Sovereign, of such a publick Soul towards Church and State, for fixt a Contancy in Friendship, and one so little byassed by his private Interests, that Plutarch, if he were alive, would be much troubled to find a sufficient Parallel wherewith to match him in all the Lineaments of perfect Virtue.

Thus lived this most Reverend, Renowned, and Religious Prelate; and thus he died; when he had lived seventy one years, thirteen Weeks, and four days, if at the least he may be properly said to die: the great Example of whose Virtue shall continue always, not only in the Minds of Men, but in the Annals of succeeding Ages with Renown and Fame. His Death the more remarkable in falling on St. William's day, as if it did design him to an equal place in the English Calendar, with that which William, Archbishop of Bourgeois, had obtained in the French, Who being as great a Zealot in his time against the spreading and increase of the Albigenses, (as Land was thought to be against those of the Puritan Faction, and the Scottih Covenanters) hath ever since been honoured as a Saint in the Gallican Church; the tenth of January being destined for the solemnities of his Commemoration, on which day our Land ascended from the Scaffold to a Throne of Glory.

The End of the Second Part.
AN ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF
The most Reverend FATHER in GOD
WILLIAM
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.
January 10. 1644.

Digynm Laude Virum musta v&tat mori.

And yet not leave thee thus, I fain would try
A Line or two by way of Elegy;
And wail for sad a Los, if to express
The greatness of it, would not make it less.
If to Lament thee might not vex thee more
Than all the Scorns thou hast endur'd before,
And make thee think we envied thee thy start,
Or doubted that thou wert not where thou art.
Yet, with thy leave, I needs must drop a Verse,
Write it with Tears, and fit it for thy Herfe,
And
And at this distance from thy Grave, which lacks
The Pomp of Sorrow, hang my Heart with Blacks:
Religious Prelate, What a Calm hast thou,
I'th' midst of those turbulent Storms, which now
Shipwreck this Island! At how cheap a Rate
Haft thou procur'd this Change of thy Estate?
The Mitre, for a Crown; A few poor days,
For endless Bliss; Vile Earth, for Heavenly Joys! haft
Such Glories haft thou found, such Alteration
In this thy Highest, as thy last. Translation.

How were thine Enemies deceiv'd, when they
Advance'd thee thus and chalk'd thee out the Way?
A Way so welcome to thee! No Divine
But knows the Red-Sea leads to Palestine:
And since Christ Jesus Sanctified the Cross,
Death's the best Purchase, Life the greatest Loss.

Nor be thou griev'd, Blest Soul, that Men do still
Pursue thee with black Slander, and do kill
Thy shadow now, and trample on thy Ghost,
(As Hekept Carcass, by the Grecian Host)
Or that thou want'st: Inscriptions, and a Stone,
T' ingrave thy Name, and write thy Titles on.
Thou art above those Trifles, and shalt stand
As much above Mens malice. Though the hand
Of base Detraction hath defil'd thy Name,
And spotless Virtues; yet impartial Fame
Shall do thee all just Honours, and set forth
To all succeeding Times thy matchless Worth.
No Annals shall be writ, but what Relate
Thy happy Influence both on Church and State;
Thy Zeal to Publick Order, Thy Great Parts
For all Affairs of Weight, Thy Love to Arts;
And, to our shame, and his great Glory, tell,
For whose dear Sake, by whose vile Hands he fell.
(A Death so full of Merits, of such Price,
To God and Man so sweet a Sacrifice,
As by good Church-Law may his Name prefer
To a fixt Rubrick in the Kalender.

And
An Elegie

And let this silence the Pure Seals Complaint,
If they make Martyrs, we may make a Saint.
Or should Men envy thee this Right, thy Praise
An Obsequie unto it self can raise.
Thy brave Attempt on Pauls, in time to come,
Shall be a Monument beyond a Tombe:
Thy Book shall be thy Statua, where we find
The Image of thy Nobler Part, thy Mind:
Thy Name shall be thy Epitaph, and he
Which hears and reads of that, shall publish thee
Above the reach of Titles, and shall say
None could express thy Worths a braver way.
And thus, though murther'd, thou shalt never die,
But live Renown'd to all Posterity.

Reft thou then happy in the Sweets of Blifs,
Th' Elyzian, the Christians Paradise,
Exempt from Wordly Cares, secure from Fears;
And let us have thy Prayers, as thou our Tears.

FINIS.