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HISTORIC PROOF
OF THE
DOCTRINAL CALVINISM
OF THE
CHURCH of ENGLAND.

Including, among other Particulars,

I. A brief ACCOUNT of some EMINENT PERSONS,
famous for their Adoption of that System, both
before and *since* the REFORMATION ;

MORE ESPECIALLY, OF OUR

English REFORMERS, MARTYRS, PRELATES,
and UNIVERSITYS :

With SPECIMENS of their TESTIMONYS.

II. An incidental REVIEW of the RISE and PROGRESS of
ARMINIANISM in ENGLAND,
Under the Patronage of Archbishop LAUD.

With a complete INDEX to the Whole.

By AUGUSTUS TOPLADY, A. B.

ASK NOW OF THE DAYS THAT ARE PAST. *Deut. iv. 32.*

— *Antiquam exquirite Matrem.*

“ Logical Arguments, and controverfial Reasoning, cannot be well adapted to
“ every Understanding. But HISTORICAL FACTS, and the
“ CONSEQUENCES thence deducible, are, to the meanest Understanding,
“ plain and obvious.” *Bower's Pref. to Hist. of the Popes.*

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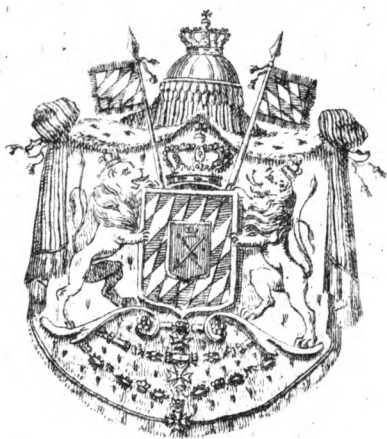
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SECTION XV.

Of the share, which CALVIN had, in the Reformation of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

TO what has been already observed, concerning our principal Reformers; a Word or two must be added, relative to that Grand Ornament of the Protestant World, Dr *John Calvin*. It has been furiously affirmed, by more than one Arminian, that Calvin had not the least Hand, directly or indirectly, in any Part of our English Reformation. Old *Heylyn* plays to this Tune: “*Our first Reformers had no Respect of Calvin (n).*” And again: They “*had no Regard to Luther or Calvin, in the Procedure of their Work (o).*” To *Heylyn’s* Pipe, dances Mr *Samuel Downes*; with the same Reverential Glee, as poor *Wat Sellon* squeaks to the Quavers of Mr *John Wesley*. Let us,

(n) Peter Heylyn’s *Historic. & Miscell. Tracts*, p. 548.

(o) Heylyn’s *Life of Laud*, Introd. p. 3.

us, however, examine for ourselves, and attend to Facts. Mr *Rolt* informs us, from *Guthrie*, that *Bucer's* "Re-
 "monstrances, TOGETHER WITH those of *Martyr* and
 "CALVIN, prevailed with Archbishop *Cranmer*, and the
 "other Prelates of the Reformation, to suffer it [i. e. to
 "suffer the *Liturgy*] to be REVISED and CORRECTED (p)." Such an Acknowledgement, from an Historian of *Guthrie's* Principles, must have decisive Weight with every rational Enquirer.

So must the Testimony that follows. "*Calvin* advised
 "*Bucer* how to conduct himself before King *Edward VI.*
 "He [i. e. *Calvin*] corresponded with the Duke of
 "*Somerset*" [who was the King's Uncle, Protector of the
 "Realm, and, in Concert with *Cranmer*, the main Instru-
 "ment in conducting the Reformation], "and gave him
 "his Opinion how the Reformation should be carried on.
 "In one of his [i. e. of *Calvin's*] Letters to the Lord
 "Protector, he express'd his Dislike of Praying for the
 "Dead. — *Calvin*, in his Epistolary Correspondence
 "with the Protector, was INSTRUMENTAL, not only
 "in pushing some Severities against the Papists, but in
 "some Advances towards bringing the Church of *England*
 "to a nearer Conformity with the Churches abroad,
 "where the Worship was more plain (q)." The Church,
 "therefore, stood indebted, for Part of her Purity and Sim-
 "plicity, to the discrete and friendly Offices of this most
 "eminent Divine, "whose DECISIONS", as an elegant
 "modern Historian truly observes, "were received among
 "the Protestants of that Age, with INCREDIBLE SUB-
 "MISSION (r)."

Even Bishop *Burnet* takes some Notice of *Calvin's* Cor-
 "respondence with *Somerset*. "*Calvin* writ to the Pro-
 "tector, on the 29th of October [1548], encouraging
 "him

(p) *Rolt's Lives of the Reformers*, p. 116.

(q) *Rolt*, *ibid.* p. 134.

(r) *Robertson's Hist. of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 249. Octavo.

" him to go on, notwithstanding the Wars, as *Hezekias*
 " had done, in his Reformation. He [i. e. *Calvin*] la-
 " mented the Heats of some that professed the Gospel :
 " but complained, that he heard there were few lively
 " Sermons heard in *England*, and that the Preachers re-
 " cited their Discourses coldly. He much approves a SET
 " FORM OF PRAYERS, whereby the Consent of all the
 " Churches did more manifestly appear. But he advises
 " a more complete Reformation. He taxed the *Prayers*
 " for the Dead, the Use of *Chrism*, and extreme *Unction*,
 " since they were no where recommended in Scripture.
 " He [*Calvin*] had heard, that the Reason why they [the
 " *English* Reformers] went no further, was, because the
 " Times could not bear it : but this was to do the Work
 " of God by Political Maxims ; which, tho' they ought
 " to take Place in other Things, yet should not be fol-
 " lowed in Matters, in which the Salvation of Souls was
 " concerned. But, above all Things, *Calvin* complained
 " of the great Impieties and Vices, that were so common
 " in *England*; as *Swearing*, *Drinking*, and *Uncleanness* :
 " and prayed him [the Lord Protector] earnestly, that
 " these Things might be looked after (s).”

Calvin

(s) Burnet's *Reform.* Vol. II. p. 83.—Dr Fuller gives a much
 more satisfactory Abstract from *Calvin's* Letter, than does his
 Lordship of *Sarum*. “ Master *Calvin*”, says Fuller, “ is therein
 “ very positive for a SETT FORM: whose words deserve our
 “ Translation and Observation. *Formulam Precum* [saith CALVIN],
 “ et *Rituum Ecclesiasticorum*, valde probo, ut certa illa existet ; à
 “ quâ ne Pastoribus discedere in Functione suâ liceat : 1. Ut consulatur
 “ quorundam Simplicitati & Imperitiâ. 2. Ut certius constet
 “ omnium inter se Ecclesiarum Consensus. 3. Ut obviam ineatur
 “ defultoriâ quorundam Levitati, qui Novationes quasdam afficiant.
 “ Sic igitur statum esse Catechismum oportet, statam Sacramentorum
 “ Administrationem, publicam item Precum Formulam. That is :
 “ I DO HIGHLY APPROVE that there should be a CERTAIN FORM
 “ of Prayer, and Ecclesiastical Rites ; from which it should not
 “ be

Calvin did not remonstrate in vain. The *Communion-Office* underwent a farther Reform, in 1550: as did the *whole Liturgy*, in 1551; when, among many other alterations, the *Chrism* in Baptism, the *Unction* of the Sick, and *Prayers for the Dead*, were totally expunged (t).

That the Reasonings and Representations of *Calvin* had great Influence on the Protector, and on the Conduct of Ecclesiastical Affairs in *England*; is evident, amidst a Multiplicity of additional Proofs that might be offered, from what is observed by the Candid and Learned Mr *Hickman*: than whom, no Person, perhaps, was better acquainted with the Religious History of this Kingdom. “*Bucer*, at *Cambridge*,” says that excellent Writer, “understood that *Calvin’s* Letters PREVAILED MUCH with *Somerſet*: And therefore intreats *Calvin*, when he did write to the Protector, to admonish him not to suffer the Churches to be left void of Preachers (u).”

Heylyn himself, in his History of the Reformation, virtually contradicts what he elsewhere delivers, concerning the “*No-Respect*” which, he would have us believe, was shewn to *Calvin*. Speaking of King Edward’s *first* Liturgy, he says, “AND HERE THE BUSINESS MIGHT HAVE RESTED,” [i. e. the Liturgy would not have been reviewed and reformed] “IF CALVIN’S PRAGMATICAL
“ SPIRIT

“ be lawful for the Pastors themselves to discede, 1. That Provision may be made for some People’s Ignorance and Unskillfulness. 2. That the Consent of all the Churches among themselves may the more plainly appear. 3. That Order may be taken against the unsettled Levity of such as delight in Innovations. Thus there ought to be an established Catechism, an established Administration of Sacraments, as also a public Form of Prayer.”

FULLER’S *Church Hist.* Book VII. p. 426.

(t) See *Strype*, *Burnet*, *Downes*, &c. sub *Annis* 1550 & 1551.

(u) *Hickman’s* Animadvers. on *Heylyn*, p. 149.

“SPIRIT HAD NOT INTERPOSED (w).” The Concession is important, tho’ maliciously express’d: For, what is this, but allowing, that the Church of *England* was obliged to “*Calvin’s Interposition*”, for her Deliverance from the *Alb*, the *Cope*, the *Introits*, the *Exorcism*, the *Trine Immersion*, the *Unction*, *Prayers for Souls departed*, &c. which were all retained by the first Liturgy? Surely, if *Heylyn’s* Complaint be justly founded, that “*If Calvin’s pragmatical Spirit had not interposed,*” the first Liturgy might have stood as it did; it will follow, 1. That the Protestant Religion in *England* is under the highest Obligations to *Calvin*, for his successful Zeal, in occasioning all this Rubbish to be wheeled away: and, 2. That *Heylyn* himself, by whom this very Circumstance is affirmed, was guilty of a most palpable Deviation from Truth, in asserting, elsewhere, that “*Calvin offered his Assistance to our Reformers, and that his Interposition was refused (x).*”

’Tis not a little amusing, to see such rank Arminians, as *Heylyn*, pressing themselves, whether they will or no, into the Service of Truth. Take, therefore, a farther Taste of his Testimony, occurring in another Work of his. He observes, that “*Cranmer, Ridley,*” and “*the REST of the English Bishops*” concern’d in the Reformation, resolv’d that “*They would give Calvin NO OFFENCE (y).*” The Arminian found himself constrained even to add, that CALVIN, “*In his Letters to the KING*”
“and

(w) *Heylyn’s Hist. of the Reform.* Pref. p. 3.—Mr *Whiston*, likewise, honestly confesses, that King *Edward’s* first Liturgy “*was then*” [i. e. in the Year 1551] “*plainly ALTERED, out of human Prudence, and OUT OF COMPLIANCE WITH CALVIN and other Foreigners.*” *Whiston’s Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 423.

(x) See *Heylyn’s* *Quinquart.* Hist. Ch. VIII. S. 2. *Misc. Tr.* p. 548. And yet this very *Heylyn*, in the very next Page but one, says, that the first Liturgy, “*being DISLIKED by CALVIN, was brought under a REVIEW.*” *Ibid.* p. 550.

(y) *Heylyn’s Hist. of the Presbyterians*, p. 204.

“ and COUNCIL, had excited them to proceed in the good
 “ Work which they had begun: that is, that they should
 “ so proceed as He [i. e. as *Calvin*] had DIRECTED.
 “ With *Cranmer* he is more particular, and tells him, in
 “ plain Terms, that, *In the Liturgy of this Church* [viz.
 “ the first Liturgy] *as it then stood, there remained a whole*
 “ *Mass of Popery, which did not only blemish, but destroy,*
 “ *God's Public Worship* (z).” It appeared, by the subse-
 quent Revival and Reformation of that Liturgy, that King
Edward, his Council, and Archbishop *Cranmer* (or, as
Heylyn himself there, for a Wonder, vouchsafes to ex-
 press it, “ The godly King, assisted by so wise a Council,
 “ and such Learned Prelates”) were entirely of *Calvin's*
 Mind. Doubtless, those good and great Men reformed
 the first Liturgy, more from a Conviction of the Force of
Calvin's Arguments, than from a Principle of mere De-
 ference to *Calvin's* Authority. Mr *Heylyn*, however, in-
 clines to the latter Supposition: and, by a Concession
 which places *Calvin's* Authority with the Reformers in the
 most exalted Point of View, expressly declares, that
 “ The first Liturgy was DISCONTINUED, and the second
 “ SUPERINDUCED upon it after this Review, TO GIVE
 “ SATISFACTION UNTO CALVIN'S CAVILS; the Cu-
 “ riosities of some, and the Mistakes of Others, of HIS
 “ Friends and Followers (a).”

In such Esteem was *Calvin* held at the English Court,
 that *Bucer* (tho' invited hither by the King himself, and
 by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*) would not, on his
 Arrival here, wait on the Lord Protector, till he had ob-
 tained, from *Calvin*, Letters of Introduction and Recom-
 mendation to that Personage. “ Of this,” says *Heylyn*,
 viz. of the State of Religion in England, “ He [i. e. *Bucer*]
 “ gives Account to *Calvin*; and desires some Letters from
 “ him to the Lord Protector, that he might find the greater
 Favor,

(z) *Hist. Presb.* p. 206,

(a) *Ibid.* p. 207.

“ Favor, when he came before him: which was not 'till
 “ the Tumults of the Time were composed and quiet-
 “ ed (b).”

What, moreover, shall we say, if it appear, that *Calvin's* Interest was so considerable, as to be a means of extricating Doctor *Hooper* from the Fleet-Prison, to which he had been committed on Account of his aforementioned Objections to the Episcopal Habit? Let us, once more, attend to *Heylyn*. “ In which Condition of Affairs, *Calvin* “ addresseth his Letters to the Lord Protector, whom he “ desireth to lend the Man [viz. HOOPER] an helping Hand, “ and extricate him out of those Perplexities into which he was “ cast. So THAT, at last, the Differences,” adds *Heylyn*, “ were thus compromised, that is to say, that *Hooper* “ should receive his Consecration, &c. (c).”

Add to this, that, according to the said *Heylyn*, the Order for removing *Altars*, and placing *Communion Tables* in their Room, was chiefly owing to the Influence of *Calvin*. “ The great Business of this Year [1550], was “ the Taking down of *Altars*, in many Places, BY PUB- “ LIC AUTHORITY: which, in some few, had formerly “ been pulled down by the irregular Forwardness of the “ Common People. The PRINCIPAL MOTIVE where- “ unto was, in the first Place, the Opinion of SOME “ DI&ELIKES WHICH HAD BEEN TAKEN BY CALVIN “ against the [first] Liturgy (d).”

A Correspondence was also carried on, between *Calvin* and Archbishop *Cranmer*. Nay, so high did *Calvin* stand in the Regards of King *Edward* himself, and so thoroughly satisfied was *Cranmer*, of *Calvin's* Abilities and Integrity; that “ *Cranmer* admonished *Calvin*, that he could not do
 “ any

(b) *Heylyn's Hist. Ref.* p. 79.

(c) *Heylyn*, Ibid. p. 91.

(d) *Heylyn*, Ibid. p. 95.—See also his *Hist. of the Presbyterians*, p. 206.

“ any Thing more profitable, than to WRITE OFTEN to
“ the KING (e).”

Nor was *Calvin* unworthy of the distinguished Honors that were every where shewn him, by the Learned and Moderate of all Denominations. “ He was”, says Dr *Edwards*, “ reputed a great Man, not only at *Geneva*, “ but in *England*. And, accordingly, He had a great “ Stroke here, and his Judgement was much valued by “ our Church: as is evident from this, that, when some “ Things in the First English Liturgy were disliked by “ Him, there was presently an Alteration made in it, “ and another Edition of it was put out, with Amend- “ ments (f).”——That accomplished Prelate, Bishop “ *ANDREWS*, said, that *Calvin* was an *Illustrious Person*, “ and never to be mentioned without a Preface of the highest “ Honor. (Determ. Theol. de Usur.)—Bishop *BILSON* “ tells us (Dial. p. 509), that *Mr Calvin* was so well “ known, to those that are Learned and Wise, for his great “ Pains and good Labors in the Church of God, that a few “ snarling Friars could not impeach his good Name.—Mr “ *HOOKE*R gives him this short but full Character ; “ He was incomparably the wisest Man that ever the French “ Church enjoyed: and in the same Place (Pref. to Eccles. “ Polity) he styles him, a worthy Vessel of God's Glory.— “ Bishop *MORTON* speaks as honorably of Him.—For “ understanding the Scripture, he was endued, with an ad- “ mirable Gift of Judgement, saith Mr *LIVELY*, the fa- “ mous Hebrew Professor.—And the generality of our “ Churchmen, in those Times, were ready to bestow “ on Him that brief Encomium our Bishop *STILLING- “ FLEET* gives Him, viz. *That Excellent Servant of God (g).*”
Now, as Dr *Edwards* farther observes, “ It is certain, “ that our Churchmen did not admire and esteem *Calvin* “ and

(e) *Hickman*, ubi prius, p. 149.

(f) *Veritas Redux*, p. 529.

(g) *Verit. Red.* p. 550.

“ and *Beza*, and their followers, for their *Ecclesiastical*
 “ *Government*, and some other Things which were peculiar
 “ to their Churches; therefore it must be their Doc-
 “ TRINES, which they had a Respect for (b).”

It would be almost endless to refer to the just Praises
 with which *Calvin's* Memory has been honored. “ JO-
 “ SEPH SCALIGER, who scarce thought any Man worth
 “ his Commending, could not forbear admiring *Calvin*:
 “ whom he owned for the *happiest of all the Commentators*,
 “ *in apprehending the Sense of the Prophets*.—AND PASQUIER
 “ says, *Calvin was a good Writer, both in Latin and French*;
 “ *and our French Tongue is highly obliged to him, for en-*
 “ *riching it with so great a Number of fine Expressions (i)*.”
 —The Character given of him, by the Immortal Mon-
 sieur *De Thou*, is, JOHANNES CALVINUS, “ *acri Vir ac*
 “ *vehementi Ingenio, & admirabili Facunditâ præditus; inter*
 “ *Protestantes magni Nominis Theologus*: A Person en-
 “ dued with a quick and lively Genius, and of admirable
 “ Eloquentice; a Divine highly accounted of among Pro-
 “ testants (k).”

“ Bishop *Hooper* so much valued *Calvin*, that he wrote
 “ to him, even when he [*Hooper*] was imprisoned; sa-
 “ luting him with the Compellation of *Vir præstantissime*,
 “ earnestly begging his Church's Prayers, and at last sub-
 “ scribing himself, *Tuæ Pietatis Studiofissimus*, Johannes
 “ *Hooperus (l)*.”

“ Whenever he was quoted, in the Press, or in the
 “ Pulpit, it was done with Epithets of Honor: as, the
 “ *Learned*, the *Judicious*, the *Pious Calvin*. And I am
 “ more than confident, THERE CANNOT BE PRODUCED
 “ ONE WRITER, OF CREDIT, IN THE ESTABLISHED
 “ CHURCH OF ENGLAND, that ever fell foul on *Calvin*,
 “ 'TILL ABOUT 60 OR 70 YEARS AFTER HIS DEATH,

when

(b) *Ibid.* p. 551.

(i) *Rolt's Lives*, p. 145.

(k) See *Leigh's Relig. and Learned Men*, p. 149.

(l) *Hickman*, u. pr. p. 149.

“ when the Tares of *Arminius* began to be sown and
 “ cherished amongst us.—Dr FEATLY styles him, *That*
 “ *bright, burning Taper of Geneva, as warm in his De-*
 “ *votions, as clear and lightsome in his Disputes* (Ep. Ded.
 “ to *Dippers Dipt*). How respectfully do JEWEL, ABBOT,
 “ USHER, &c. mention Him (m) ?”

Calvin has been taxed with Fierceneſs and Bigotry. But his Meekneſs and Benevolence were as eminent, as the Malice of his Traducers is ſhameleſs. I ſhall give one ſignal Inſtance of his Modeſty and Gentleneſs. While he was a very young Man, Diſputes ran high between *Luther* and ſome other Reformers, concerning the Manner of Chriſt's Preſence in the Holy Sacrament. *Luther*, whoſe Temper was naturally warm and rough, heaped many hard Names on the Divines who differed from him on the Article of Conſubſtantiation; and, among the reſt, *Calvin* came in for *his* Dividend of Abufe. Being informed of the harſh Appellations he received, he meekly replied, in a Letter to *Bullinger*, “ *Sæpe dicere ſolitus ſum, etiamſi*
 “ *me Diabolum vocaret, me tamen hoc Illi Honoris ha-*
 “ *biturum, ut inſignem Dei Servum agnoſcam; qui ta-*
 “ *men, ut pollet eximiis Virtutibus, i:à magnis Vitiis*
 “ *laboret: i. e. 'Tis a frequent ſaying with me, that, if*
 “ *Luther ſhould even call me a Devil, my Veneration for Him*
 “ *is, notwithstanding, ſo great, that I ſhall ever acknowledge*
 “ *Him to be an Illuſtrious Servant of God; who, tho' he*
 “ *abounds in extraordinary Virtues, is yet not without conſi-*
 “ *derable Imperfections (n).”*

The ſame Learned Hiſtorian, who relates this, has an Obſervation, concerning *Calvin*, which deſerves Attention. “ *John Calvin,*” ſays he, “ was a Man, whoſe Memory
 “ will be bleſſed in every ſucceeding Age. He inſtructed
 “ and enlightened, not only the Church of *Geneva*, but
 “ alſo the whole Reformed World, by his immense Labors.
 Infomuch

(m) Hiſt. of Popery, Vol. II. p. 349, 350.

(n) *Turretini* (*Job. Alph.*) Hiſtor. Eccleſ. p. 352.

“ Infomuch that all the Reformed Churches are, in the
“ grofs, frequently called by his Name (*o*).” Thus wrote
this candid *Arminian*, fo lately as the Year 1734.

I might here add fome Account, of the confummate Ve-
neration, in which the Name and Doctrines of *Calvin*
were held, by our BISHOPS and UNIVERSITIES, before
the Clergy of our Establishment were debauched into
Arminianifm by *Laud*. But this fhall, if Providence per-
mit, be the Subject of fome fucceeding Section.

In the mean while, I fhould be equally unjuft to the
Church of *England*, and to the Moderation of *Calvin*, if
I did not annex a Paſſage or two, from Mr *Strype*, relative
to the remarkable Candor with which *Calvin* expreffed
himself, concerning the *Ceremonies* and *Discipline* of our
Religious Establishment.

“ The mention of *Calvin*,” ſays this excellent Hiſ-
torian, “ muſt bring in a very remarkable Letter, which
“ He wrote in the Month of *Auguſt* this Year [1561],
“ concerning certain Eccleſiaſtical *Rites*, uſed in our Of-
“ fice of private Prayer [an evident Miſtake for *Common-*
“ *Prayer*] newly [re-] eſta bliſhed [on the Acceſſion of
“ *Queen Elizabeth*]: which were ſcrupled by ſome of the
“ *Engliſh* exiles, upon their Return; chiefly, becauſe
“ not uſed by the Reformed Church in *Geneva*: concern-
“ ing which, they had ſent to *Calvin*, for his Reſolution
“ and Judgement. Wherein He gave his Opinion ge-
“ nerally IN FAVOR and Approbation of them (*p*)”;
i. e. in FAVOR of the “*Eccleſiaſtical Rites*”: which the
Historian particularizes in ſeveral Inſtances. And then
adds:

B b

“ To

(*o*) “ *Vir benediſtæ in omne ævum Memoriz, Jobannes Calvinus;*
— — — *immenſiſque laboribus, non Genevenſem modò Eccleſiam,*
ſed & totum Reformatum Orbem, erudiit atque illuſtravit: adeò
ut, de ejus Nomine, Reformati, quanti quanti ſunt, non rarò ad-
pellentur.” Job. Turretin. u. l. p. 253.

(*p*) *Strype's Hiſt. Ref. under Qu. Eliz. Chap. XXI. p. 246.*

“ To this Judgement of this great Divine, concern-
 “ ing Rites used in this Church, I will briefly subjoin HIS
 “ APPROBATION of the EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT of
 “ the Church : which is alledged out of his *Institutions*,
 “ by Dr *Whitgift*.

“ *That every Province [saith Calvin] had among their*
 “ *Bishops, an Archbishop; and that the Council of Nice did*
 “ *appoint Patriarchs, who should be, in Order and Dignity,*
 “ *above Archbishops; was for the Preservation of Discipline.*
 “ *Therefore for this Cause especially were those Degrees ap-*
 “ *pointed, that if any Thing should happen, in any particular*
 “ *Church, which could not be decided, it might be removed to*
 “ *a Provincial Synod.—This Kind of Government some called*
 “ *Hierarchia: an improper Name. But if, omitting the*
 “ *Name, we consider the Thing itself; we shall find, that*
 “ *these old Bishops did not frame any other Kind of Govern-*
 “ *ment in the Church, from that which the Lord hath pre-*
 “ *scribed in his Word.”* And so much concerning Calvin's
 “ sense of our Church's Liturgy and Government (q).”

Nor did Calvin's Learned Colleague and Successor, the
 illustrious *Beza*, entertain a less respectful Idea of our
 National Establishment. Toward the Decline of *Queen*
Elizabeth's Reign, when Puritanic Opposition ran high
 against the Outworks of the Church; the Opposers af-
 fected to give out, that their Objections were authorized,
 and their Measures countenanced, by the most Learned
 foreign Protestants: and, especially, by *Beza*. This be-
 ing soon known at *Geneva*, that great Man thought it his
 Duty to exculpate himself from a Charge so ungenerous
 and unjust: which he took Care to do, in a Letter to
Whitgift, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*. “ While the
 “ Archbishop,” says *Strype*, “ was endeavoring to sup-
 “ press the Male-contents against Episcopacy and the
 “ Church of England in its present Establishment; he
 “ receiveth,

(q) *Strype*, *Ibid.* p. 247, 248.

" receiveth, *March 8th [1591]*, a Letter from *Theodore*
 " *Beza*, the Chief Minister of *Geneva*, WHEREIN HE,
 " by owning, with all Respect, the Archbishop, and the
 " rest of the English Bishops, and their Government of
 " this Church, GAVE A NOTABLE CHECK to these new
 " Reformers, who bore out themselves much with his
 " Authority. It seemed to have been written by him,
 " in Answer to one from the Archbishop, blaming him
 " for his [supposed] meddling with the Church and State
 " of England, without any lawful Commission. In De-
 " fence of himself, he [*Beza*] returned an Answer; Part
 " whereof was as followeth: That *whereas his Lordship*
 " *thought it meet, in his Letters, to move them [i. e. to move*
 " *the Geneva Divines] to think well of this Kingdom, and of*
 " *the Church here, and the Government thereof; it indeed*
 " *troubled both Him and Sadeel [another of the Ministers of*
 " *Geneva], in some sort: as being greatly afraid, lest some*
 " *sinister Rumors were brought to Him [to the Archbishop]*
 " *concerning them; or lest what they had written, concerning*
 " *Church-Government, properly against the Antichristian Ty-*
 " *ranmy [of the Roman Church], as Necessity required, might*
 " *be taken, by some, in that Sense, as tho' they ever meant to*
 " *compel to their Order those Churches that thought otherwise.*
 " —That such Arrogancy was far from them: for [added
 " *Beza*] WHO GAVE US AUTHORITY OVER ANY CHURCH?
 " And that they by no Means thought, so substantial Matters
 " were kept, that there ought nothing to be granted to Antiquity,
 " nothing to Custom, nothing to the Circumstances of Places,
 " Times, and Persons." So wrote BEZA: or, to Use Mr
 " *Strype's* own Words on the Occasion, " Thus did *Beza*
 " and *Sadeel*, in the Name of their Church, profess to the
 " Archbishop their RESPECT, HONOR, and APPROBA-
 " TION of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND (r)."

About two Years afterwards, Dr *Bancroft* (who at length became Archbishop of *Canterbury*), in a Treatise,

(r) *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 378, 379.

which he published against the Obstinacy of some restless Puritans, "produced divers Letters of ZANCHIUS, in APPROBATION of EPISCOPACY; and of Bullinger and Gualter, to several English Bishops, in Disallowance altogether of those Innovators (s)."

As

(s) *Ibid.* p. 404.—In another Work of Mr. *Strype*, that useful and laborious Collector gives a large Account of ZANCHIUS's Attachment to Church-Government by Arch-Bishops and Bishops. "We do not disallow the Fathers," said ZANCHY, "in that, after a divers Way of dispensing the Word, and governing the Church, they multiplied divers Orders of Ministers. It was lawful so to do: seeing they did it for honest Causes, appertaining, at that Time, to the Order, Decency, and Edification of the Church.—For this Reason, *viz.* that the Nurseries of Dissentions and Schisms might be taken away, we think that those things which were ordained before the Council of Nice, concerning Arch-Bishops, nay, as touching the four Patriarchs, may be excused and defended." Some others, of the Reasons, assigned by ZANCHY, for his Approbation of the Hierarchy, were, 1. *The Practice of the Primitive Church, presently after the Apostles Time.* 2. *Because he thought it his Duty to have Regard to those Reformed Churches [the Churches of England and Ireland, for Instance] which retained both Bishops and Arch-Bishops.* And, 3. *Because all the Reformed Churches generally, although they had changed the Names, yet, in Effect, they kept the Authority: as where they had Super-intendents, &c.* "And what," added ZANCHIUS, "can be shewed more certainly, out of Histories, out of the Councils, and out of the Writings of all the Ancient Fathers, than that those Orders of Ministers, of which we have spoken, have been ordained and received in the Church, by the general Consent of all Christian Common-Wealths? And who then am I, that I should presume to reprove That which the Whole Church hath approved?" See *STRYPE's Annals*, Vol. II. p. 658, 654.

On the whole, it appears, that the Learned, the Modest, the Judicious ZANCHY was a fast Friend, not only to the *Doctrines*, but also (a Circumstance not very usual with the foreign Protestants of that Age) to the *Hierarchy*, of the Church of England. Nor

was

As to *Beza*, if he was afterwards so far wrought upon by dint of Misrepresentation, as to countenance, in any Measure, the Frowardness of the more rigid Disciplinarians; it ought, in Justice, to be imputed, neither to any Levity, nor Duplicity, in *Him* (for he was equally incapable of both); but to the wrong Informations that were sent Him: by which, a Foreigner, who resided at so great a Distance from England, might, easily enough, be liable to undue Impression.

SECTION XVI.

The Judgement of the most eminent English MARTYRS, and CONFESSORS, who suffered Death, or Persecution, after the Overthrow of the Reformation by Queen Mary I.

WE have seen, in the three preceding Sections, 1. That the *Reformers* of the Church of England were zealous *Calvinists*, as to Matters of Doctrine: 2. That CALVIN Himself had a very considerable Hand in reducing our *Liturgy* to that Purity and Excellence, which it still retains: and, 3. That *Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, Sadel, Bullinger, and Gualter*, entertained very respectful and affectionate Sentiments, concerning the *Ritual Decency and Order*, together with the *Episcopal Regimen*, of our incomparable Church. And, to the Approbation of those most

B b 3

Learned

was the Church unmindful of His Worth and Affection: for, by the Voice of the University of *Cambridge*, in the Year 1595, this great Man was, expressly, and by Name, numbered among "THE LIGHTS and ORNAMENTS" of our Established Church.—See my Account of *Zanchy*, prefixed to my Translation of his Treatise on *Prædestination*, p. xxxv, xxxvi.

Learned Persons, might be added (if need required) that of many other foreign Calvinists, who are deservedly numbered among the first Ornaments of that Century.

While pious King *Edward* lived, the Church of *England* saw herself at the very Pinnacle of Spiritual Prosperity. Her supreme visible *Head* was a Prodigy of Wisdom, Knowledge, and undefiled Religion. Her *Bishops* were Luminaries of the first Brightness: Men, glowing with Love to God; clear in the Doctrines of the Gospel, and zealous in maintaining them; of eminent Learning, for the most Part; Assertors, and Patterns, of every good Word and Work. Had Providence been pleased to have extended the Felicities of that Reign, what might not have been expected from a PRINCE of Edward's Accomplishments; and from a Choir of PRELATES, whom *Grace*, *Abilities*, and almost every useful *Attainment*, concurred to render venerable?

But God (whose Dispositions are not less wise, just, and gracious, for being at present Unsearchable) was pleased to reverse the Scene. The King's Death opened *Mary's* Way to the Throne; who ruled, not with a Sceptre, but a Sword.

That bigotted Princess, and her Popish Counsellors, knew, that the Doctrines of *Gratuitous ELECTION*, *Invincible GRACE*, and *JUSTIFICATION without Works*, enter into the very Basis of genuine Protestantism. No wonder, therefore, that to rid the two *Universities* of all PRÆDESTINARIANS, was a primary Object of her Attention. *Free-will*, *Conditional Justification*, and the *Merit of Works*, were Doctrines so essential to the Interest of Popery, that not to aim at (†) restoring them, would have been doing
Matters

(†) It deserves particular Notice, that, A. D. 1554 (which was the Year after *Mary* came to the Crown), *Bonner* published a Book, for the Re-instruction of his Diocese in the Principles of Popery, entitled, *A Profitable and Necessary Doctrine, containing an Exposition on the Creed, Seven Sacraments, Ten Commandments, the Pater-nosters*

Matters by Halves. Therefore, "A resolution was taken, " to bring into the Universities a Test for purging them " of all Protestants, and to prevent their Re-admission for " the future. This was done by way of Oath, as follows : " *You shall swear, by the Holy Contents of this Book, that " you shall not keep, hold, maintain, and defend, at any Time, " during your Life, any Opinion erroneous, or Error of Wick-* " *liff, Hufs, Luther, or any other condemned of Heresy :* " — — — *And that you shall, namely and specially, hold as " the Catholic Church holdeth in all these Articles, wherein " lately hath been Controversy, Dissention, and Error ; as con-* " *cerning FAITH, and WORKS, GRACE, and FREE-WILL,* " *&c. (u)."* Now, I have before demonstrated (parti- cularly, in the III^d and IVth Sections of this Essay), that " in all these Articles", which concern "*Faith and Works,* " *Grace and Free-will,*" the Church of ROME is avowedly ARMINIAN throughout. Consequently, by tending the above Oath to the Members of the Universities, Queen *Mary's* Design was, to clear those Seminaries, of all *Calvinists*; the better to make way, for the Re-introduction of *Popery*.

With the same View, a *Proclamation* was issued, in 1555, to prohibit the Sale, the Reading, or the Keeping of any " Book or Books, Writings or Works, made or set forth " by or in the Name of *Martin Luther, O'Ecolampadius,* " *Zuinglius, JOHN CALVIN, Bucer, Peter Martyr, La-* " *timer,*

B b 4

noster, Ave Maria, &c. A considerable Part of which was taken out of the *Pia et Catholica Institutio*, which had been published in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* See the *Biogr. Diet.* Vol. II. p. 264. — Thus *Sellon's* Arminian Letter to the Vicar of *Broad Hembury*, as also *Dr N's* Answer to the Author of *Pietas Oxoniensis*; are fraught with Arguments borrowed from that Self-same Popish Store-house (viz. the *Pia et Catholica Institutio*) which furnished *Bonner* with Materials for his Pastoral Letter to the Diocese of *London.* Arminianism cares not what it eats. The foulest Food will go down, so dear Free-will is but kept from starving.

(u) *Roli's Lives* Ref. p. 116.

“ *tiner, Hooper, Coverdale, Tyndal, Cranmer (w)*,” and other prædestinarian Protestants whose Names are there enumerated. ’Twas added, that all Persons, possessing any Books written by the above Authors, “ Shall, within the space of
 “ Fifteen Days next after the Publication of this Procla-
 “ mation, bring, or deliver, or cause the said Books,
 “ Writings, and Works, and every of them, remaining
 “ in their Custody and Keeping, to be brought and de-
 “ livered, to the Ordinary of the Diocess, to be BURN’T”,
 or otherwise destroyed. On which Order, the pious Mr *Fox* makes this obvious Remark : *What a-do is here, to keep down Christ in His Sepulchre ! and yet will He rise, in spite of all His Enemies (x)*. The Truth is, Queen *Mary* and her Spanish Husband, in whose Names that Proclamation ran, well knew, that *Calvinism* is the very Life and Soul of the Reformation : and that Popery would never flourish, ’till the Calvinistic Doctrines were eradicated.

I have already given some Intimation (p. 328), from Bishop *Burnet*, of a brief *Confession of Faith*, which was drawn up and signed by the Protestant Bishops and Clergymen who were then imprisoned in *London*, shortly after the Coronation of *Mary*. But as *Burnet*’s Extract is (according to Custom) very partial and superficial, I shall here present my Readers with the entire Paragraph, to which the Historian so lamely refers.—“ *Fourthly, We believe and confess, concerning JUSTIFICATION, that as it cometh ONLY
 “ from God’s Mercy through Christ, so it is PERCEIVED and
 “ HAD of none, who be of Years of Discretion, otherwise than
 “ by FAITH only. Which Faith is not an Opinion, but a
 “ certain Persuasion WROUGHT BY THE HOLY GHOST
 “ in the Mind and Heart of Man ; wherethrough, as the
 “ Mind is ILLUMINATED, so the Heart is SUPPLIED to
 “ submit itself to the Will of God unfeignedly ; and so sheweth
 “ forth an inherent Righteousness, which is to be discerned
 “ [i. e. which inherent Righteousness is to be carefully
 “ distin-*

(w) *Fox*, 3, 225.(x) *Ibid*.

“ distinguished], in the Articles of Justification, from the
 “ Righteousness which God endueth us withal, justifying us ;
 “ although inseparably they go together. And this we do [i. e.
 “ we preferve this important Distinction between Imputed
 “ and Inherent Righteousness], not for Curiosity, or Contention
 “ sake, but for Conscience sake ; that It might be quiet ;
 “ which It can never be, if we CONFOUND, without Distinction,
 “ Forgiveness of Sins and Christ’s Righteousness IMPUTED
 “ to us, with Regeneration and INHERENT Righteousness.”
 Thus spake these excellent Divines : adding, immediately
 after, “ By this,” i. e. by this View of Justification, “ We
 “ disallow PAPISTICAL DOCTRINE OF FREE-WILL, of
 “ Works of Supererogation, of MERITS, of the Necessity of
 “ Auricular Confession, and Satisfaction to God-wards (y).”
 This valuable Paper was dated *The 8th Day of May, An-
 Dom. 1554, and subscribed by*

Robert Ferrar, late Bishop
 of St Davids.
 Rowland Taylor.
 John Philpot.
 John Bradford.
 John Hooper, late Bishop
 of Worcester and Gloucester.

Edward Crome.
 John Rogers.
 Laurence Saunders.
 Edmund Laurence.
 J. P.
 T. M.

At the Bottom of all was written, “ To these Things
 “ abovesaid, do I, Miles Coverdale, late [Bishop] of Exeter,
 “ consent and agree, with these mine afflicted Brethren, being
 “ Prisoners : mine own Hand.”—Now, can any Person
 question the CALVINISM of these blessed Men of God,
 by whom the Tenet of Free-will, and of Justification by
 inherent Righteousness, were expressly numbered among
 “ PAPISTICAL Doctrines ;” and classed with “ Works of
 “ Supererogation, Merits, and Auricular Confession ?”

A great Number of God’s faithful Servants, both Ministers and People, were brought to the Stake, for the Testimony

(y) Fox’s *Acts and Mon.* Vol. III. p. 83.

mony of Jesus, and for the Word of his Patience, during the short, but sharp Reign of this sanguinary Woman. *Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper*, having been treated of already, I shall procede to the brief Mention of some Others.

And here, amidst the Noble Army of English Martyrs, I find myself encompassed with so great a Cloud of Witnesses to the Doctrines of Grace, that I scarce know whom to select, or whom to omit. Was I to introduce them all, I should exceed every reasonable Limit of Brevity. I am obliged, therefore, to suppress the Attestations of many precious Sufferers for Christ, who witnessed a good Confession even unto Death, and who will be found with Honor and Praise and Glory at His Appearing. Among the few I shall produce, as vouchers for the rest, are Those that follow.

I. Mr JOHN ROGERS, Prebendary and Divinity-Lecturer of St Paul's, and Vicar of St Sepulchre's, London; had the Honor of being the first that was burned for the Gospel, under the bloody Auspices of *Mary*. He suffered, in *Smithfield*, Feb. 4, 1555. His Judgment, concerning the *Calvinian* Doctrines, is sufficiently apparent, without adducing any other Proofs, from the above-mentioned Declaration of Faith, to which he set his Hand during his last Imprisonment.

II. Mr LAURENCE SAUNDERS, a Clergyman of Birth and Fortune, eminent as a Scholar, but still more respectable for the Grace given him of God; was Lecturer, first, at *Fotheringhay*: next, a Reader in the Cathedral of *Litchfield*; and, lastly, Rector of *Allhallows*, in *Bread-Street*, London. He was burned at *Coventry*, Feb. 8, 1555. Tho' his Hand, likewise, was to the Declaration of Faith, quoted above; I will annex one or two additional Evidences of his *Calvinism*: in hope, that, while they demonstrate the Clearness of the Martyr's Head, their Piety may warm and impress the Reader's Heart. In a Letter, sent from Prison, to his Wife, he thus expressed his Triumph of Faith: "I do not doubt, but that both I and You, as we be WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF LIFE, so we shall together enjoy the same

“ same Everlastingly, through the Grace and Mercy of God
 “ our dear Father, in his Son, our Christ.—I am merry,
 “ I thank my God and my Christ; in Whom and through
 “ Whom I shall, I KNOW, be able to fight a good Fight, and
 “ finish a good Course (z).” In another Letter, to Crammer,
 Ridley and Latimer (then Prisoners at Oxford), this seraphic
 Man observes: “ We walk in Faith: which Faith, although,
 “ for Want of outward Appearance, Reason reputeth but as
 “ vain; yet THE CHOSEN OF GOD do know the Effect there-
 “ of to bring a more substantial State and lively Fruition of
 “ very Felicity and perfect Blessedness, than Reason can reach,
 “ or Senses receive.—You may be ASSURED, by God’s Grace,
 “ that you shall not be frustrate of your Hope of our CONSTANT
 “ CONTINUANCE in the chearful Confession of God’s ever-
 “ lasting Verity. For even as we have received the Word of
 “ Truth, the Gospel of our Salvation; wherein we believing
 “ are SEALED with the Holy Spirit of Promise, which is the
 “ EARNEST of our Inheritance (which Spirit CERTIFYETH
 “ our Spirit, that we are the Children of God, and therefore
 “ God hath sent the Spirit of His Son into our Hearts, crying,
 “ Abba, Father); so, after such Portion as God-MEA-
 “ SURETH unto us, We, with the whole Church of Christ,
 “ and with You, Reverend Fathers, receiving the same Spirit
 “ of Faith, according as it is written, I believed, and there-
 “ fore have I spoken; We also believe, and therefore speak.
 “ —Knowing MOST CERTAINLY, that, tho’ we have
 “ this Treasure in earthen Vessels, that the Excellency of this
 “ Power might be God’s, and not ours; yet shall we not be
 “ dashed in Pieces: for the Lord will put His Hand under
 “ us.—To communicate with our sweet Savior Christ in
 “ bearing the Cross, it is APPOINTED unto us, that with
 “ Him also we shall be glorified (a).” Elsewhere, Mr
 Saunders sets his Seal to the Doctrine of Final Perseve-
 rance, in Terms, if possible, stronger still: “ Now that
 “ He hath, in His dear Christ, repaired us (being, before,
 “ utterly

(z) Fox, Vol. III. p. 111.

(a) Ibid. p. 115.

“utterly decayed); and redeemed us, purging us unto Himself as a PECULIAR PEOPLE, by the Blood of his Son; He hath put on a most tender Good-will and Fatherly Affection toward us, NEVER to FORGET us (b).”—Again: Praised be our gracious God, who PRESERVETH His from Evil; and doth give them Grace to avoid all such Offences, as might hinder His Honor, or hurt His Church (c).” Once more: I take Occasion of much rejoicing in our so gracious God and merciful Father, who hath, in his immeasurable Mercy, by Faith, HAND-FASTED Us His CHOSEN Children unto His dear Son our Christ (d).”—“We may boldly, with our Christ, and all HIS ELECT, say, Death, where is thy Sting (e)?” No Self-Righteousness lay at the Foundation of this Holy Man’s Triumph. His whole Trust was in the Covenant-Merits of JESUS the Savior, Hence, in a short Letter, which is entitled, *To his Wife, a little before his Burning*; after desiring her to send him a Shirt in which he was to suffer, he breaks out into this sweet Prayer, “O my Heavenly Father, look upon me in the Face of thy CHRIST! or else, I shall not be able to abide Thy Countenance; such is my Filthiness. He WILL do so: and therefore I will not be afraid what Sin, Hell, Death, and Damnation, can do against me (f).” His spiritual Consolations continued with him to the Last. When arrived at Place of Execution, he kissed the Stake: saying, in a Transport of Joy, *Welcome, the Cross of Christ; welcome, everlasting Life!*

III. Dr ROWLAND TAYLOR was Rector of *Hadley*, in *Suffolk*. We may form a Judgment of that wonderful Out-pouring of the Holy Spirit, and of the diffusive spread of Divine Knowledge, which attended the Preaching of the Gospel in the Age of the Reformation; from what Mr *Fox* delivers, concerning the State of Religion in that particular Town. “The Town of *Hadley* was one of the first

(b) *Ibid.* p. 113.

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.* p. 118.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 116.

“ first that received the Gospel in all *England*, at the
 “ Preaching of Mr *Thomas Bilney*: by whose Industry the
 “ Gospel of Christ had such gracious Success, and took
 “ such Root there, that a great Number in that Parish
 “ became exceeding well learned in the Holy Scriptures,
 “ as well Women as Men. So that a Man might have
 “ found amongst them many, who had often read the whole
 “ Bible through, and who could have said a great Sort
 “ of St *Paul’s* Epistles by Heart, and very well and readily
 “ have given a godly, learned Sentence in any Matter of
 “ Controversy. Their Children and Servants were also
 “ brought up and trained so diligently in the right Know-
 “ ledge of God’s Word, that the whole Town seemed
 “ rather an University of the Learned, than a Town of
 “ Cloth-making, or laboring People: and, what is most
 “ to be commended, they were, for the more Part, faith-
 “ ful Followers of God’s Word in their Living. In this
 “ Town was Doctor *Rowland Taylor*, Doctor in both
 “ the Civil and Canon Laws, and a right perfect Divine,
 “ Parson (g).”—What a melancholy Contrast, alas! are
 the present Times, to *those*! How has the Introduction
 of Arminianism poisoned our Protestant Streams, and
 cankered our Evangelical Gold!

Dr *Taylor* was a very uncommon Man, both for Grace
 and Gifts. He had the Piety of *Calvin*, the Intrepidity
 of *Luther*, and the Orthodoxy of Both. When Bishop
Bonner came to degrade him, in the *Poultry Compter*, prior
 to his Martyrdom; he [*Bonner*] desired the magnanimous
 Prisoner to put on the Sacerdotal Habit, that he might be
 divested of it in Form. “ I am come, quoth *Bonner*, to
 “ degrade you: wherefore put on these Vestures. No,
 “ said Dr TAYLOR, *I will not*. Wilt thou not? answer-
 “ ed the Bishop: I shall make thee, e’er I go. Quoth
 “ Dr TAYLOR, *You shall not, by the Grace of God*. Then
 “ he charged him, upon his Obedience, to do it: but he
 “ would

(g) *For*, Vol. III p. 137.

“ would not do it for him (b).” ’Tis usual, it seems, in Popish Degradations, for the Bishop to give the degraded Person a slight Stroke on the Breast, with a Crosier. *Bonner* was afraid (for Persecutors are generally Cowards) to perform this Part of the Ceremony on *Taylor*. “ At the last,” says *Mr Fox*, “ when he should have given Dr *Taylor* a stroke on the Breast with his Crosier-Staff, the Bishop’s Chaplain said, My Lord, strike him not, for he will sure strike again. *Yea, by St Peter will I,* quoth Dr *Taylor: the Cause is Christ’s; and I were no good Christian, if I would not fight in my Master’s Quarrel.* So the Bishop laid his Curse upon him, but struck him not.—[*Bonner* being gone, the Doctor returned up Stairs]; and when he came up, he told *Mr Bradford* (for they both lay in one Chamber) that he had made the Bishop of *London* afraid: for, said he, laughing, *His Chaplain gave him Counsel not to strike me with his Crosier-Staff, for that I would strike again; and, by my Troth,* continued he, rubbing his Hands, *I made him believe I would do so indeed (i).”*

That this eminent Messenger and Martyr of Christ was One who *rightly divided the Word of Truth*, the following short Extracts will suffice to shew. His Judgement was, that the Mediator died for those only who are endued with Faith: “ *Christ gave himself,*” said he, “ *to die for our Redemption, upon the Cross; whose Body, there offered, was the propitiatory Sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto Salvation, for all THEM that BELIEVE in him (k).”* He held the Doctrine of *Assurance*: and no Wonder; for God had favor’d him with the Gift itself. Hence, four Days before his Execution, he thus subscribed his last Will and Testament: “ *ROWLAND TAYLOR, departing hence in SURE Hope, without all doubting, of Eternal Salvation; I thank God, my Heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my CERTAIN Savior, Amen. The 5th of February,*
“ *Anno*

(b) *Ibid.* 143.(i) *Ibid.*(k) *Ibid.* p. 139.

“ *Anno 1555. The Lord is my Light and my Salvation :
 whom then shall I fear? God is He that justifieth : who is
 he that can condemn? In Thee, O Lord, have I trusted :
 let me never be confounded.*” All Assurance of Salvation,
 not grounded on *certainty of PERSEVERANCE*, is, in the
 most superlative Degree, baseless, contradictory, and en-
 thusiastic. But this good Man’s Assurance was not thus
 built on a Bubble. “ *I am,*” said he, “ **UNMOVABLY**
 “ *settled upon the ROCK : nothing doubting, but that my dear*
 “ *God will PERFORM and FINISH the Work that He hath*
 “ *begun in Me and others (l).*” I will only add a judi-
 cious Remark of his, concerning *Justification* : “ **Abra-**
 “ **ham’s Justification by FAITH, by GRACE, by PROMISE,**
 “ **and NOT BY WORKS, is plainly set forth, both in the**
 “ **Epistle to the Romans, Chap. iv. and to the Galatians,**
 “ **Chap. iii. And Abraham’s WORKS of Obedience, in Offer-**
 “ **ing up his Son so LONG AFTER HIS JUSTIFICATION,**
 “ **must needs be taken as a Fruit of a good Tree, justifying**
 “ **BEFORE MEN, and NOT OF JUSTIFICATION BEFORE**
 “ **GOD : for then had Man [i. e. Man would then have**
 “ **somewhat] to glory in ; then did Christ die in vain (m).**”
 Now, as Men, by the Gospel Scheme of Salvation, have
 nothing to glory in, nothing to boast of, nothing to rest
 upon, but the *Grace* of God and the *Messiah’s Obedience*
 unto Death ; it follows, that Men cannot be Justified,
 in the sight of God, by *their own Works*, neither in whole,
 nor in part : since, if they *could*, they would have some-
 thing *else* to glory in, *besides* that *Grace* and imputed Righte-
 ousness, which the Scripture avers are the only Basis of a
 Sinner’s Justification. Moreover, as this blessed Martyr
 further observes from the Apostle, *Christ died in vain*, on
 the Supposition that Human Works have any antecedent
 Influence on our Acceptance with God : for, *as much* Condi-
 tionality, or Causality, as you **ASCRIBE** to *Works* ; just *so*
much you **DETRACT** from the Merit and Efficacy of Christ’s

Blood

(l) *Ibid.* p. 142.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 147.

Blood and Righteousness. The Savior of Sinners *obeyed and died*, either to accomplish the *Whole* of our Justification, or a *Part* of it only. If to accomplish the *Whole*, then Justification by Works falls at once. If his Merits accomplished our Justification only *in Part*, then our own Works must come in, by way of Supplement, to *make up* what Christ left *deficient*: on which Supposition, as Human Obedience would have *some Hand* in Justifying us, so it would be fairly intitled to a Share of the Praise; for, if Christ has actually divided the *Work* of Salvation between Himself and Sinners, it is but equitable that the *Honor* should be divided also. The Bible, however, cuts up this sacrilegious and self-righteous Scheme, both Root and Branch: and, without giving the Lye in Form to every Page of that blessed Book, we cannot believe that Christ's Mediatorial Righteousness has any Deficiency to make up. Admitting, therefore, that *His Work was perfect*, and that He TRULY said, *It is finished*; the consequence will be, that *our good Works* (tho' absolutely requisite, *ex post facto*, as INDICATIONS of Justification; yet) have no kind of Agency, whatever, in accomplishing, procuring, obtaining, or conditioning our Pardon and Acceptance with the Father. Since, if Christ redeemed us *completely*, and any remaining Efficacy be still supposed to reside in our own Works; that Efficacy (be it more or less) renders superfluous an *equal Ratio* of the Merit of Christ's complete Redemption: and thus, so FAR, Christ, on this Scheme, must have *died in vain*. But it was impossible for Christ to die in vain: Therefore, Human Works have no Hand in Justification.—This seems, to me, the precise Drift of the Apostle's Argument, *Gal. ii. 21.* *If Righteousness*, either Justification itself, or any Part of the Righteousness which justifies; *come by the Law*, accrue, tho' ever so remotely, to any Sinner, by or through his own Conformity to the Moral Law; *then* it would follow, that *Christ is dead in vain*: But Christ could not die in vain: Ergo, neither Justification itself, nor the Righteousness which justifies, can accrue

accrue, tho' ever so remotely, to any Sinner, by or through his own Conformity to the Moral Law.—But does not St *James* affirm, that *Abraham was justified by Works, when he offered his Son Isaac on the Altar?* Certainly he was. But it was a Justification *before MEN*, not before GOD. As good Dr *Rowland Taylor* remarks, Abraham had been justified *before God*, long, even many Years, BEFORE his intentional Oblation of Isaac: yea, many Years before Isaac himself was born. Abraham's Justification in the Sight of God is related, *Gen. xv. 6.* But even the Birth of Isaac does not occur, till you come to Chapter the *xxist.* I conclude, then, that the Justification, of which St *James* speaks, is no more than an *evidential* Justification before Men, by visible Works of external Obedience; *declaring, manifesting, and proving*, a *PRIOR* Justification before God: which prior Justification before God is in no sense *founded* upon, tho' most certainly *productive* of, all Holiness of Life and Conversation. St Paul viewed the Matter exactly in the same Light: *By Faith, Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac; and he that HAD RECEIVED the Promises, OFFERED UP his only begotten Son,* Heb. xi. 17. Observe, his *Receiving* of the Promises (by which Faith, or Reception, he was divinely justified in the Court of his own Conscience) his *Receiving* of the Promises respecting Salvation by Christ; was *ANTECEDENT* to his *Offering* of Isaac. Consequently, having been already actually *Justified* by the former; the Justification, mentioned by St *James*, can only mean a *declarative* Display, or *practical Proof*, of Abraham's (and, by the same Rule, of any other Believer's) *PRECEDING* Justification in the Sight of God, without Works.—The Reader, I hope, will forgive this incidental Disquisition: which, tho' in some measure excursive, is not wholly digressive; as it attempts to elucidate, more at large, what the excellent Martyr intimated in brief.

IV, and V. Soon after the burning of Dr *Taylor*, Mr THOMAS CAUSTON and Mr THOMAS HIGBED sealed the Truth with their Blood. *Fox* expressly says, that these two Elect Champions were “*Condemned for the Confession of*

"Faith," which they united in drawing up and presenting to *Banæer*. Part of that Confession was as follows: "We believe, that there is a Catholic Church, even a Communion of SAINTS, built upon the Foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, as Paul saith), Christ being the Head Corner-stone. For the which CHURCH, Christ gave Himself, to make it to Himself a glorious Congregation, without Fault in His Sight.—We believe, that this Church, of herself, and by her own Merits, is sinful; and must needs say, Father, forgive us our Sins. But, thro' Christ and His Merits, she is FREELY forgiven: for He, in His own Person, hath purged her Sins, and made Her faultless in his Sight (n)." Can Words more strongly express a Redemption absolute, limited, and efficacious?

VI. Mr STEPHEN KNIGHT was burnt at *Malden*, in *Essex*, March 28, 1555. Part of his Prayer at the Stake was, "Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but Dust, and able to do NOTHING that is good: therefore, O Lord, in, of thine accustomed Goodness and Love, thou hast bidden me to this Banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own Cup, amongst THY ELECT; even so give me Strength, &c. (o)."

VII. The Right Reverend Doctor ROBERT FARREN, Lord Bishop of *St Davids*, a Prelate of eminent Name in the Church of England; and formerly one of the Committee nominated to compile the English Liturgy (p); was burned in the Market-Place at *Caermarthen*, March 30, 1555. On his Examination, a Paper, containing several Popish Articles, was tendered to him for Subscription: but he resolutely refused to save his Life at the Expence of his Faith. One of these Articles, which respected *Justification*, was as follows: "Men are NOW Justified before God, by FAITH ONLY; but Hope and Charity are also necessarily required to Justification (q)." The Bishop's not acceding to this Popistical Tenet (a Tenet, now, as common to Arminians, as ever it was to Papists),

was

(n) *Fox*, Vol. III. p. 162.
Burnet's Reform. Vol. II. p. 58.

(o) *Ibid*. p. 165.

(p) See

(q) *Fox*, Vol. III. p. 177.

was one Cause of his being adjudged to the Flames: for, in the *Sentence of Condemnation*, which enumerated some of the pretended Errors for which he was Cast, the following Clause brings up the Rear; ITEM, QUOD HOMO SOLA FIDE JUSTIFICATUR: i. e. "*Also, he believeth, That Men are JUSTIFIED by FAITH ALONE (r).*" The Reader, I suppose, need not be reminded, that this worthy Bishop was one of those imprisoned Divines who drew up and set their Hands to the *Confession of Faith*, quoted toward the Beginning of this Section.—His Lordship's Execution was attended with a very remarkable Circumstance. A Mr *Jones* coming to condole Him on the Painfulness of the Death he was to undergo, the Holy Bishop made Answer, *If you see me once to stir, while I am burning; then give no Credit to the Truth of the Doctrines for which I suffer.* God, under whose Inspiration, undoubtedly, this was uttered; enabled his faithful Martyr to make good his Promise: for he stood, incircled with the Flames, like a Rock in the midst of the Waves, without flinching, or moving so much as once: steadily holding up his Arms, even when his Hands were burnt away; till one *Richard Gravel*, a By-stander, "dashed him on the Head with a Staff, and so struck him down (s)."

VIII. Mr GEORGE MARSH suffered Martyrdom at or near *Chester*, April 24, 1555. This good Man was as truly Calvinistic, as the rest of his Protestant Brethren: for, being charged, on his Examination before *Cotes*, the Popish Bishop of *Chester*, with having said, "That the Church and DOCTRINE, taught and set forth in King EDWARD's Time, was the true Church, and the Doctrine of the true Church;" *Marsh* acknowledged that he had so spoken, and declared himself still to be of the same Mind (t). If more particular Proof of his Judgment be thought necessary; the ensuing Passages, extracted from some of his Letters, offer themselves as Evidences.

c c 2

"*Tho*'

(r) *Ibid.* p. 178.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 178.

(t) *Ibid.* p. 190.

"Tho' Satan," says he, "be suffered to sift us, as wheat,
 for a Time; yet FAILETH NOT our FAITH, thro' Christ's
 Aid (u)."—Again: "If any, therefore, FALL AWAY
 from Christ and his Word, it is a plain Token, that they
 were but dissembling HYPOCRITES, for all their fair Faces
 outwardly, and NEVER believed TRULY: as Judas,
 Simon Magus, Demas, Hymenæus, Philetus, and others
 were (w)."—Once more: "Daily I call and cry unto
 the Lord, in whom is all my Trust, and without whom I
 can do nothing; that He, who hath begun a good Work in
 me, would vouchsafe to go forth with it until the Day of
 Jesus Christ: being SURELY CERTIFIED in my Con-
 science, of This, that He WILL do so; forasmuch as he
 hath GIVEN me, not only that I should BELIEVE on Him,
 but also suffer for his Sake (x)." What he thought con-
 cerning the Invincible Efficacy of inward Grace, appears
 from this Passage in the Prayer which, the Historian tells
 us, "he used daily to say":—*We beseech Thee, according to
 the little Measure of our Infirmity, altho' we be far UNABLE
 and unapt to pray; that Thou wouldest mercifully circumcise
 our STONY Hearts; and, for these old Hearts, CREATE new
 within us, and replenish us with a new Spirit (y).*—Nor was
 his Judgement, respecting Faith, Justification, and Works,
 less excellent and Scriptural. "What hast thou, saith the
 Apostle, that thou hast not received? This Sentence ought to
 be had in Remembrance of all Men: for, if we have
 NOTHING, but that which we have RECEIVED, what can
 we DESERVE? or what need we to dispute and reason of our
 own MERITS? It cometh of the FREE GIFT of God, that
 we live, that we love God, that we walk in His Fear.
 Where is our Deserving then (z)?—Elsewhere, he writes
 thus: "GRACE is, throughout all the Epistles of Paul,
 taken for the FREE Mercy and Favor of God; whereby He
 SAVETH us FREELY, without ANY Deservings, or WORKS
 of

(u) Ibid. p. 192.

(w) Ibid. p. 194.

(x) Ibid. p. 199.

(y) Ibid.

(z) Ibid. p. 195.

“ of the Law (a).” Reconciliation with God, through the Blood of Christ, is a Subject, which this holy Martyr treats of, with equal Clearness: “ PEACE is taken for the Quietness and Tranquillity of the Conscience, being thoroughly persuaded, that through the ONLY Merits of Christ’s Death and Blood-shedding, there is an Atonement and Peace made between God and Us: so that God will NO MORE IMPUTE our Sins unto us, nor yet condemn us (b).” Yet are not good Works hereby discarded: “ Declare your FAITH”, says he, “ by your GOOD WORKS, which are infallible WITNESSES of the true justifying Faith, which is never idle, but worketh by Charity (c).” Again: “ After these Works, we must learn to know the Cross, and what Affection and Mind we must bear towards our Adversaries and Enemies, whatsoever they be; to suffer all Adversities and Evils patiently; to pray for them that hurt, persecute, and trouble us: and, by thus using ourselves, we shall obtain an Hope and Certainty of our Vocation, that we be the ELECT Children of God (d).” He observes, that “ God is wont, for the most Part, to warn HIS ELECT and CHOSEN, what Affliction and Trouble shall happen unto them for his sake: not to the Intent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their Minds against the boisterous Storms of Persecution (e).” Next to the effectual Presence of the Holy Spirit, nothing, perhaps, so strengthens and animates the Minds of God’s People to be valiant for His Truths, as the Examples of Those who are enabled to lay down their Lives for Christ: whence we find Mr *Marsh* saying, as the Apostle did before him, “ We suffer all Things for the ELECT’S Sake (f).” His judicious Explication of Col. i. 24. shall at present close the Testimony of this worthy Martyr: “ St Paul doth not here mean, that there wanteth any Thing in the Passion of Christ, which may be supply’d by Man: for the Passion of Christ, as touching his own Person, is that MOST PERFECT
c c 3
“ and

(a) *Ibid.* p. 197.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.* p. 194.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 195.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 198.

(f) *Ibid.*

“ *and unini-sufficient Sacrifice, whereby we are all made per-*
 “ *felt, as many as are sanctified in His Blood. But these*
 “ *his Words [i. e. the Apostle's Words in the above Text]*
 “ *ought to be understood of the ELECT and CHOSEN, in*
 “ *whom Christ is and shall be persecuted unto the World's*
 “ *End (g).”*

IX. Mr *John Warns*, Upholsterer and Citizen of *London*, was Burned, in *Smithfield*, May 31, 1555. The Day before he suffered, he wrote a Confession of his Faith, in Form of a Commentary on the Apostles Creed. The Confession, tho' long, is so excellent, that I cannot help giving it entire.

“ *I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven*
 “ *and Earth.*

“ A Father, because He is the Father of our Lord Jesus
 “ Christ, who is the Everlasting Word, Whom, before
 “ all Worlds, He hath begotten of Himself; Which Word
 “ was made Flesh, and therein also manifested to be His
 “ Son: in whom He hath adopted us to be his Children,
 “ the Inheritors of His Kingdom; and therefore He is our
 “ Father. An Almighty God, because he hath, of no-
 “ thing, created all Things, visible and invisible, both in
 “ Heaven and in Earth, even all Creatures contained there-
 “ in; and GOVERNETH them.

“ *And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord.*

“ The Eternal Word, PERFECT GOD with his Father,
 “ of EQUAL Power in all Things, of the SAME Substance,
 “ of like Glory, by whom all Things were made and have
 “ Life, and without Whom nothing liveth. He was made
 “ also perfect Man: and so, being very God and very
 “ Man in one Person, is the only Savior, Redeemer, and
 “ Ransomer, of them which were lost in *Adam* our Fore-
 “ father. He is the only Mean of our Deliverance, the
 “ Hope of our Health, the SURETY of our Salvation.

“ *Who*

“ *Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.*

“ According to the Father’s most merciful Promise, this
 “ Eternal Son of God, forsaking the Heavenly Glory,
 “ humbled Himself to take Flesh of a Virgin, according
 “ to the Scriptures: uniting the Substance of the God-
 “ head to the Substance of the Manhood, which He took
 “ of the Substance of that blessed Virgin *Mary*, in one
 “ Person; to become therein the very Messiah, the Anoint-
 “ ed King and Priest, forever appointed to pacify the Fa-
 “ ther’s Wrath, which was justly gone out against us all
 “ for our Sin.

“ *Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was Crucified, Dead, and Buried; and descended into Hell.*

“ He was arraigned before *Pontius Pilate*, the Ruler of
 “ *Jewry*; and so unjustly accused of many Crimes, that
 “ the Ruler judged Him innocent, and sought Means to
 “ deliver Him: but, contrary to known Justice, he did
 “ let go *Barabbas*, who had deserved Death; and deliver-
 “ ed CHRIST to be crucified, Who deserved no Death.
 “ Which doth declare unto us, manifestly, that He suffer-
 “ ed for our Sins, and was buffeted for our Offences, as
 “ the Prophets do witness: thereby to have it manifested
 “ to all Men, that He is That Lamb of God that taketh
 “ away the Sins of the World. Therefore, suffering for
 “ for our Sins, He received and did bear our deserved Con-
 “ demnation, the Pains of Death, the Taste of Abjection,
 “ the very Terror of Hell: yielding His Spirit to His
 “ Father; His Body, to be buried in the Earth.

“ *The Third Day, He rose again from the Dead.*

“ To make FULL and PERFECT the WHOLE WORK of
 “ our REDEMPTION and JUSTIFICATION, the same cru-
 “ cified Body, which was laid in the Grave, was raised
 “ up again, the third Day, from Death, by the Power
 “ of His Father, and Glory of His Godhead. He became
 “ the First-fruits of the Resurrection, and got the Victory
 “ of Death, that all by Him might be raised up from

“ Death: through Whom ALL true PENITENT Sinners
 “ may now boldly come unto the Father, and have Re-
 “ mission of their Sins.

“ *He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right Hand
 “ of God the Father Almighty.*

“ After that, in his Death and Resurrection, He had
 “ conquered Sin, Death, and the Devil, and had been
 “ conversant 40 Days in the Earth, being seen of the
 “ Apostles, and more than 500 Brethren at once; in the
 “ same Body, in which He WROUGHT THE WORK of our
 “ Salvation, He ascended into Heaven, with eternal
 “ Triumph for the Victory over Death, Sin, Hell: leav-
 “ ing the Passage open, by which ALL true BELIEVERS
 “ may and SHALL enter into his Kingdom; where He now
 “ sitteth at His Father’s Right Hand, that is to say, in
 “ Power and Glory equal, in Majesty co-eternal.

“ *From thence he shall come, to judge the Quick and the Dead.*

“ He shall appear again, in great Glory, to receive His
 “ ELECT unto himself, and to put His Enemies under
 “ His Feet: changing all Living Men, in a Moment;
 “ and raising up all that be Dead; that All may be brought
 “ to his Judgement. In this shall he give each Man ac-
 “ cording to his Deeds. They, who have followed Him
 “ in REGENERATION, who have their SINS WASHED
 “ AWAY in His Blood, and are CLOATHED WITH HIS
 “ RIGHTEOUSNESS, shall receive the Everlasting King-
 “ dom, and reign with Him forever. And they, who,
 “ after the Race of the corrupt Generation of *Adam*, have
 “ followed Flesh and Blood, shall receive everlasting Dam-
 “ nation with the devil and his angels.

“ *I believe in the Holy Ghost.*

“ I do believe, that the HOLY GHOST is GOD; the
 “ Third Person in the Trinity; in Unity of the Godhead
 “ EQUAL with the Father and the Son: given, through
 “ Christ, to INHABIT our Spirits; by which we are made
 “ to FEEL and understand the great Power, Virtue, and
 “ Loving Kindness, of Christ our Lord. For He [i. e.
 “ the

“ the Holy Ghost] ILLUMINATES, QUICKENS, and CER-
 “ TIFIES our Spirit, that by Him we are SEALED up to
 “ the Day of Redemption: by Whom we are REGENE-
 “ RATE, and made NEW Creatures; so that, by Him,
 “ and through Him, we do receive all the abundant Good-
 “ nefs promised us in Jesus Christ.

“ *The Holy Catholic Church.*

“ This is an Holy NUMBER of *Adam's* Posterity,
 “ ELECTED, GATHERED, WASHED, and PURIFIED
 “ by the Blood, from the Beginning of the World: and
 “ is dispersed through the same, by the Tyranny of *Gog*
 “ and *Magog*, i. e. [by] the *Turk* and his Tyranny; and
 “ *Antichrist*, otherwise named the Bishop of *Rome*, and
 “ his Angels [i. e. his Emissaries], as this Day also doth
 “ teach.

“ *The Communion of Saints.*

“ Which most HOLY CONGREGATION (being, as *Paul*
 “ teacheth, *builded upon the Foundation of the Apostles, and*
 “ *Prophets, Jesus Christ being the Head-corner-stone*), tho'
 “ it be, by the Tyranny of Satan and his Ministers, per-
 “ secuted, some by Death, and some by other Afflictions
 “ and painful Torments; yet doth it remain in one per-
 “ fect Unity, both of Faith and Fellowship. Which
 “ Unity is knit in an unspeakable Knot, as well of them
 “ who are departed from this mortal Life, as of them who
 “ now be living, and hereafter shall be in the same: and
 “ so shall CONTINUE, untill THEY ALL do meet in the
 “ Kingdom, where the Head, Jesus Christ, with all his
 “ Holy Members (of which Number, through Christ, I
 “ ASSUREDLY believe I am One), shall be fully complete,
 “ knit, and united together, forevermore.

“ *The Forgiveness of Sins.*

“ I do believe, that my Sins, and all their Sins who
 “ do rightly believe the holy Scripture, are forgiven
 “ ONLY through Jesus Christ; of Whom ONLY, I do
 “ profess, that I have my WHOLE and FULL SALVATION
 “ and Redemption: which *St Paul* saith, cometh NOT
 “ THROUGH

" THROUGH OUR WORKS and DESERVINGS, but FREELY
 " BY GRACE, lest any should boast himself. Through
 " the Blood of the Cross, all Things in Heaven and Earth
 " are reconciled and set at Peace with the Father [i. e.
 " as it immediately follows], without Him [without
 " Christ] no Heavenly Life [is] given, no Sin forgiven.

" The Resurrection of the Body.

" I do believe, that, by the same my Savior Christ, I
 " and all Men shall rise again from Death : for He, as
 " Paul saith, is risen again from the Dead, and is become
 " the First-fruits of them that sleep ; for by a Man came
 " Death, and by a Man cometh the Resurrection from
 " Death. This Man [by whom the Resurrection comes],
 " is Christ ; through the Power of whose Resurrection,
 " I believe that we shall rise again in these our Bodies :
 " the ELECT, clothed with Immortality, to live with
 " Christ forever; the REPRÖBATE also shall rise Immortal,
 " to live with the Devil and his Angels in Death ever-
 " lasting.

" And the Life everlasting.

" Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am
 " sure to have Life everlasting. He only is the Way and
 " Entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven. For so God
 " loved the World, that He did give His only Son Jesus
 " Christ, to the End that SO MANY as do BELIEVE in
 " Him might have everlasting Life. The which I am SURE
 " to possess, so soon as I am dissolved, and departed out of
 " this Tabernacle ; and, in the last Day, shall, both
 " Body and Soul, possess the same forever : to the which,
 " God grant all Men to come.

" I believe, that the Sacraments, that is to say, of
 " Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are Seals of God's most
 " merciful Promises towards Mankind. In Baptism, as,
 " by the outward Creature of Water, I am washed from
 " the Filthiness which hangeth on my Flesh ; so do I
 " assuredly believe, that I am, by Christ's Blood, washed
 " clean from my Sins : through which [spiritual Wash-
 " ing]

ing] I have sure Confidence of my CERTAIN Salva-
 tion. In partaking of the Lord's Supper, as I receive
 the substance of Bread and Wine, the Nature of which
 is to strengthen the Body; so do I, by Faith, receive
 the Redemption wrought in Christ's Body broken on
 the Cross, Life by His Death, Resurrection by His Re-
 surrection, and, in Sum, all that ever Christ in His
 Body suffered for my Salvation, to the strengthening of
 my Faith in the same. And I believe that God hath
 appointed the Eating and Drinking of the Creatures of
 Bread and Wine, in His Holy Supper, according to
 His Word, to move and to stir up my Mind to believe
 these Articles above written.

" This is my Faith: this do I believe: and I am con-
 tent, by God's Grace, to confirm and seal the Truth
 of the same with my Blood.

" By me, JOHN WARNE (b)."

X. At the same Stake with Mr *Warne*, suffered that memorable Dignitary of the Church of *England*, the Reverend Mr JOHN CARDMAKER; Canon Residentiary, and Treasurer, of the Cathedral Church of *Wells*, and Vicar of *St Bride's, Fleet-Street*. There is, so far as I have yet been able to find, no more than a single Letter of his extant, and that a very short one: But, concise as it is, it contains a Clause, from whence we may infer the Calvinism of this excellent Man. "*The Lord*", says he to his Friend and Correspondent, "*strengthen You, Me, and all His ELECT (i).*"

XI. Mr THOMAS HAWKES, a Gentleman of *Essex*, suffered at *Coggeshall*, in that County, June 10, 1555. A little before his Execution, several of his particular Friends, who, tho' stedfast Protestants, were in some Degree of Bondage, through Fear of that violent Death, which they knew not how soon they might be called to undergo; re-
 requested

(b) *Fox*, *Ibid.* p. 206, 207.

(i) *Fox*, *Ibid.* p. 207. And *Strype's Eccl. Mem.* Vol. II. p. 260.

quested him, that if the Pain of Burning was at all tolerable, he would give them a Signal of it before he expired. The good Man promised them, that he would : and the Token fixed upon, was, that he should elevate his Hands above his Head, towards Heaven, e'er his Soul ascended to God. —Being fastened to the Stake, the Faggots were kindled :
 “ In which, when he had continued long, and when his
 “ Speech was taken away by the Violence of the Flame,
 “ his Skin shriveled, and his Fingers consumed, so that
 “ all thought certainly he had been gone ; suddenly, and
 “ contrary to all Expectation, the blessed Servant of God,
 “ being mindful of his Promise aforemade, lifted up his
 “ Hands (which were all in a Blaze) over his Head, and
 “ triumphantly struck them together thrice. At the Sight
 “ of which, the Spectators, They especially who were
 “ apprised of the Signal, gave uncommon Shouts of Joy
 “ and Applause. And so the blessed Martyr of Christ,
 “ straightway sinking down into the Fire, yielded up his
 “ Spirit (k).”

Mr *Haukes's* Principles, as to the Doctrine of Grace, are sufficiently apparent, from the two following Passages.
 “ *Tho' the World rage,*” said he, “ *and blaspheme THE*
 “ *ELECT of God ; ye know that it did so unto Christ, His*
 “ *Apostles, and to all that were in the Primitive Church (l).”*
 In a Letter to a Person who had promised to take Charge of his Son's Education, he wrote thus ; “ *I hope to meet*
 “ *both Him and You among all God's ELECT (m).”*

XII. Mr *NICOLAS SHETERDEN* was Burned at *Canterbury*, July 12, 1555. Praying at the Stake, he said,
 “ *O Father, I do not presume unto Thee in MY OWN RIGHT-*
 “ *TEOUSNESS : No ! but only in the Merits of thy dear Son,*
 “ *my Savior. For the which excellent GIFT of Salvation,*
 “ *I cannot worthily praise Thee (n).”*

Tq

(k) *Fox*, Ibid. p. 220.(l) *Ibid.* p. 221.(m) *Ibid.* p. 222.(n) *Ibid.* p. 313.

To his surviving Brother he thus expressed himself :
 “ God is the GIVER of ALL Goodness, and that FREELY,
 “ for His LOVE to us ; not only WITHOUT our Deserts, but
 “ CONTRARY to the same (o).” Again: “ Dear Brother,
 “ my Heart’s Desire and Prayer to God is, that we may to-
 “ gether enjoy the Bliss of Eternal Inheritance, by one spi-
 “ ritual REGENERATION and NEW BIRTH (p).”

XIII. Mr JOHN NEWMAN was Crowned with Martyr-
 dom, at *Saffron Walden*, August 31, 1555. “ Faith,” said
 this Christian Hero, “ is the GIFT of God, and cometh not
 “ of Man (q).” Having Occasion to treat of the Extent
 of Christ’s Death, he thus delivered his Belief: “ With
 “ that one Sacrifice of His Body, once offered on the Cross, He
 “ hath made perfect, forever, ALL THEM that are Sanc-
 “ tified (r).” Adding, “ I believe that there is an Holy
 “ CHURCH, which is the Company of the faithful and ELECT
 “ People of God, dispersed abroad throughout the whole
 “ World (s).”

XIV. In the same Month, Mr ROBERT SMITH was
 Burnt at *Uxbridge*. Some of his excellent Observations
 were these: “ In Corinth was not all the Congregation of
 “ God; but a Number of those holy and ELECT People of
 “ God (t).”—Referring to the persecuting Time in which
 he lived, “ The Prince of Darkness,” said he, “ is broken
 “ loose, and rageth, in his Members, against the ELECT of
 “ God (u). By these Means, God will try His ELECT, as
 “ Gold in the Furnace (w).” He asserts the absolute Free-
 ness of Salvation in all it’s Parts: “ All Favor, Mercy, and
 “ Forgiveness, cometh ONLY by Christ. He only, of God the
 “ Father, was made, for Us, all Wisdom, Righteousness,
 “ Sanctification, and Redemption. All these are the GIFTS
 “ of God the Father, FREELY GIVEN unto us, by Christ
 “ Jesus, God and Man, through FAITH in His Blood, and
 “ NOT

(o) Ibid. p. 315.

(r) Ibid. p. 326.

(u) Ibid. p. 339.

(p) Ibid.

(s) Ibid.

(w) Ibid. p. 341.

(q) Ibid. p. 325.

(t) Ibid. p. 331.

" NOT by the MERITS of Men. GIFTS they are, I say ;
 " FREELY GIVEN unto us, of FAVOR, without our Desert :
 " by BELIEVING, and NOT BY DESERVING. To this
 " do the Law and the Prophets bear Witness (x)." — Let us
 just hear him on the Article of Perseverance : God " Hath
 " numbered all the Hairs of his Children's Heads, so that
 " not one of them shall perish without His Fatherly Will. He
 " keepeth the Sparrows : much more will He PRESERVE Them,
 " whom He hath purchased with the Blood of the Immaculate
 " Lamb (y)."

God honor'd the Martyrdom of this pious Person,
 with a Display of Divine Goodness and Power, not un-
 familiar to what was related of Mr *Hankes*. Before Mr
Smith was chained to the Stake, he conversed with the
 People that surrounded him, concerning the Goodness of
 the Cause for which he was about to suffer ; and expressed
 his Certainty of again receiving, at the Resurrection,
 that Body which he was then resigning to the Flames :
 adding, *I doubt not, but God will shew you some Token there-*
of. And so it proved. For, " At length, being well-
 " nigh half-burned, and also black with Fire, clustered
 " together as in a Lump, and supposed by All to be Dead ;
 " he suddenly rose upright before the People, lifting up
 " the Stumps of his Arms, and clapping them together :
 " after which, bending down again, and hanging over
 " the Fire, he slept in the Lord (z)." — Thus, on some
 great Occasions,

Heav'n owns its Friends, and points them out to Men !

XV. Mr ROBERT SAMUEL, who had been an eminent
 and useful Preacher in King *Edward's* Days, was Burned
 at *Ipswich*, Aug. 31, 1555. But not till he had borne a
 lasting Testimony to the Gospel, in the few, but precious
 Papers, which he bequeathed to the Church of God.
 " Touching the Father of Heaven", says he, " I believe as
 " much as Holy Scripture teacheth me to believe. The Father
 " is

(x) *Ibid.* p. 340.

(y) *Ibid.* p. 341.

(z) *Ibid.* p. 342.

“ is the First Person in the Trinity, [and] first Cause of our
 “ Salvation : who hath blessed us with all Manner of Blessings
 “ in Heavenly Things by Christ. Who hath CHOSEN us,
 “ before the Foundations of the World were laid, that We
 “ should be holy, and without Blame before Him. Who hath
 “ PREDESTINATED Us, and ORDAINED Us, to be His
 “ Children of Adoption, through Christ Jesus (a).” For
 these predestinated Persons, sanctify’d and set apart by the
 Father, Mr Samuel believed that Christ became Obedient
 unto Death : Christ, “ Is made unto us, of God, that only
 “ Sacrifice and Oblation, offered, once for all and forever,
 “ for all them that be sanctified (b).” Between Christ and
 These there is a blessed Commutation, or Exchange, of
 Sin and Righteousness : Christ takes away the Guilt of
 their Trespases, and configns over to Them the Merit of
 His own Active and Passive Satisfaction to the Divine
 Law. This was the Doctrine of our martyr’d Preacher :
 “ His [i. e. Christ’s] Innocency, His Righteousness, His
 “ Holiness, His Justice, is OUR’S, given us of God : and
 “ OUR Sins and Unrighteousness, by His Obedience, and
 “ Abasing of Himself to the Death of the Cross, are HIS (c).”
 Such as are elected, redeemed, and justify’d, shall be pre-
 served to God’s Kingdom and Glory : “ Now that Christ
 “ our Head is risen, we, being His Body and Members,
 “ MUST follow our Head [i. e. Our Bodies shall, like His,
 “ be raised to Eternal Life]. Death, Hell, and Sin, can-
 “ not SUNDER nor PLUCK us from Him. For, as the Son
 “ cannot be divided nor sunder’d from the Father, nor the
 “ Holy Ghost from them both ; no more may we, being the
 “ faithful [i. e. the Believing] Members of Christ, be sepa-
 “ rated from Christ (d).—Christ affirmed the same ; saying,
 “ My Sheep hear my Voice : I know them : they hearken
 “ unto Me, and to no Strangers : and I give them ever-
 “ lasting Life : and they shall not be lost : and no Man
 “ shall pluck them out of My Hands. No, nor yet this
 “ flattering

(a) *Ibid.* p. 348.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) *Ibid.*

“ *flattering World, with all his vain Pleasures; nor any*
 “ *Tyrant, with his great Threats and stout Brags; can once*
 “ *move them out of the Way of Eternal Life. What Conso-*
 “ *lation and Comfort may we have, more pleasant and ef-*
 “ *fectuous than This? — — — We are Members of His*
 “ *Body, and of His Flesh, and of His Bones; and as Dear*
 “ *to Him, as the Apple of His Eye (e).”*

XVI. Mr ROBERT GLOVER became a Burnt-offering for the Truth's Sake, at *Coventry*, in September, 1555. Valuable is the Testimony which he bore to the Doctrine of Election. Speaking of Saints, he justly affirms, that
 “ *They were NO BRINGERS of ANY Goodness to God, but*
 “ *ALTOGETHER RECEIVERS. They chose not God first,*
 “ *but HE chose THEM. They loved not God first, but HE*
 “ *loved THEM first. Yea, He both LOVED and CHOSE them,*
 “ *when they were [considered as] His ENEMIES, full of*
 “ *Sin and Corruption, and void of all Goodness (f).”* Per-
 suant to this Evangelical View of the Subject, Mr Glover thus address'd the Adorable Majesty: “ *O Lord, Thou shew-*
 “ *est Power, in Weakness; Wisdom, in Foolishness; Mercy,*
 “ *in Sinfulness. Who shall lett [i. e. who can hinder] Thee*
 “ *to CHUSE Where and Whom Thou WILT (g) ?”*

XVII. Mr THOMAS WHITTLE, a Clergyman of *Essex*, received the Crown of Martyrdom, in *January*, 1556.—
 “ *Christ,”* saith this good Church-of-England Divine,
 “ *hath, by His Passion, FULLY redeemed and SAVED Us*
 “ *in His own Person: howbeit, HIS ELECT must suffer*
 “ *with Him and for Him, to the World's End (h).”* Else-
 where, he expresses himself thus: “ *Those that are ingraft-*
 “ *ed and incorporated into Christ by Faith, FEELING the*
 “ *Motion of God's HOLY SPIRIT as a PLEDGE of their*
 “ *ELECTION and Inheritance, exciting and stirring them,*
 “ *not only to seek Heavenly Things, but also to hate Vice and*
 “ *embrace Virtue; will not only do these Things, but also, if*
 “ *Need*

(e) *Ibid.* p. 347.(f) *Ibid.* p. 355.(g) *Ibid.* p. 353(h) *Ibid.* p. 520.

“ *Need require, will gladly take up their Cross, and follow*
 “ *their Captain, their King, and their Savior, Jesus Christ,*
 “ *as His poor afflicted Church of England now doth, against*
 “ *that false and Antichristian Doctrine and Religion now*
 “ *used (i) :*” i. e. against the Doctrine and Religion of
 Popery, then newly restored. The *Perseverance* of the
 Elect is a Consequence, which necessarily follows from the
 above Premises : take, however, one positive Proof of this
 Martyr’s Judgement as to the Certainty of that inestimable
 Truth. “ *Tho’ the Righteous FALL, saith David, he shall*
 “ *NOT be CAST AWAY, for the LORD upholdeth him*
 “ *with His Hand. Oh, the bottomless Mercy of God, to-*
 “ *wards us miserable Sinners (k) !*”

XVIII. Mr BARTLET GREEN, a Gentleman of the
 Law, was converted at *Oxford*, by hearing the Divinity-
 Lectures of *Peter Martyr*. But, being young, and rich,
 and naturally of a gay Turn ; he was permitted, for a
 Time, to relapse into a worldly Spirit, and lose Sight of
 that Glory and Virtue to which he had been Called by
 Grace. God, however, who will never lose a chosen
 Vessel, recalled the Wanderer ; and even enabled him to
 lay down his Life for the Sake of Christ. And thus, as
 the pious Mr *Fox* remarks on this Occasion, “ We see the
 “ fatherly Kindness of our most gracious and merciful
 “ God, who never suffereth His Elect Children so to fall,
 “ as to lie still [i. e. to the End] in Security of Sin : but
 “ oftentimes quickens them up by some such Means as,
 “ perhaps, they think least of ; as He did, here, this His
 “ strayed Sheep (l).” He ascended, from *Smithfield*, to
 Heaven, in Company with Six other Martyrs, who were
 burned in the same Fire, January 27, 1556.

This valuable Person touches on the Doctrine of *Grace*,
 with much Judgement and Propriety. “ *God,*” says Mr.
Green, “ *is not bound to Time, Wit, or Knowledge ; but*
 “ *rather chuseth the weak Things of the World, in order to*

D d

“ *confound*(i) *Ibid.* p. 521.(k) *Ibid.* p. 520.(l) *Ibid.* p. 52

“ confound the strong. Neither can Men appoint Bounds to
 “ God’s Mercy: for I will have Compassion, saith He, on
 “ whom I WILL shew Mercy. There is no Respect of Per-
 “ sons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wise
 “ or foolish, Fisher or Basket-maker: God GIVETH Know-
 “ ledge of His Truth, through His FREE-GRACE, to whom
 “ He LIST (m).” On one of his Examinations before
 the Popish Delegates, he offered to debate Matters with
 them, in Form; provided, they would first allow him to
 consult “ CALVIN, and my Lord of Canterbury’s Books (n).”
 Indeed, the Writings of Calvin and Cranmer were deservedly
 numbered among the most efficacious Antidotes against
 the Poison of Popery: and, the Arminian Weed not having
 then over-ran the Protestant Garden, CANTERBURY and
 GENEVA were considered as much nearer Neighbors than
 the new-sprung Disciples of Van Harmin are willing to
 confess.—I cannot take leave of Mr Green, without citing
 the pious and not in-elegant Distich, which he several
 Times repeted, both on his Way to Execution, and after
 his Arrival at the Stake:

CHRISTE Deus, sine Te Spes est mihi nulla Salutis!
 Te Duce, vera sequor; Te Duce, falsa nego.

XIX. Mr WILLIAM TYMS, a young Clergyman, in
 Deacon’s Orders, and Curate of *Hockley*; was burned, in
 April, 1556. When he was first seized and brought be-
 fore Gardiner, the Popish Bishop of *Winchester*; he was
 very meanly dressed (such were the Distresses of God’s
 People, at that Time of Trouble, Rebuke, and Blaf-
 phemy): he went not to the Bishop, says Mr Fox, in a
 Gown, but in a Coat; and his stockings were of two
 Colors. Gardiner insulted him on the Poorness of his Habit:
 “ Sirrah, are you a Deacon? You are not apparelled like
 “ One.” Mr Tymes with great Smartness replied, *My*
Lord, your own Dress is no more like That of the Apostles,
than mine is like a Deacon’s.

This

(m) Ibid. p. 523.

(n) Ibid. p. 524.

This Gentleman's Agreement with the Protestant Church of England, in the Points which relate to Grace, may be collected from the following Passages. Writing to a Penitent Backslider, he says, " *Since I heard of your earnest Repentance, I have very much rejoiced, and praised Almighty God for his Mercy shewed to you, in that He has not left you to yourself, but, since your Denial, hath shewed his Mercy on you, by looking back upon you, as He did on Peter, and so CAUSED you to repent :—Whereas, if God had left you to yourself, you had run forward, from one Evil to another (o).*" In the same Letter, speaking of such false, nominal Protestants, as had fallen back into a Profession of Popery, he observes that such would Perish, " *Except they do repent and amend: which GRACE, that they may so do, I beseech the Eternal God, for His Christ's sake, if it be His good WILL, to GIVE them in His good Time (p).*"

He justly ascribes the " Perception" and " Feeling" of " Grace and Peace" in the " Heart," to " *the MIGHTY WORKING of the Holy Ghost the Comforter (q)*:" and says, " *I am SURELY certify'd of This, that He, who hath begun a good Work in you, shall go forth with it [i. e. go through with it, maintain and complete it] 'till the Day of Jesus Christ (r).*" Adding: " *The God of all Grace, who CALLED you to his Eternal Glory by Christ Jesus, shall, His own self, after you have suffered a little Affliction, make you perfect; shall settle, strengthen, and stablish you.*"

XX. XXI. and XXII. Three Persons were Burned, at Beckles, in Suffolk, May 21, 1556. Their Names were THOMAS SPICER, JOHN DENNY, and EDMUND POOLE. One of the Articles, for which they were condemned to Death, ran in these Words: " *Item, They affirmed no mortal Man to have in himself FREE-WILL to do good or evil (s).*"

XXII.—LVI. The Historian mentions 34 Persons beside, who were persecuted and expelled from the Towns

(o) Ibid. p. 574.

(p) Ibid.

(q) Ibid. p. 575.

(r) Ibid. p. 576.

(s) Ibid. p. 590.

of *Winston* and *Mendlesham*, in *Suffolk*, in the same Month of May, 1556. These, tho' it does not appear that they were All eventually brought to the Stake, yet deserve to be ranked with Those that were: inasmuch as they suffered greatly, for the same Blessed Cause. Among the Reasons assigned by the Martyrologist, for the hard Usage of these excellent People, is the following: "Fifthly, They DENIED Man's FREE-WILL, and held that the Pope's Church did err:—rebuking their [i. e. the Papiſts] false CONFIDENCE in WORKS, and their FALSE TRUST IN MAN'S RIGHTEOUSNESS. Also, when any rebuked those persecuted, for going so openly, and talking so freely; their Answer was, They acknowledged, confessed, and believed, and therefore must speak: and that their Tribulation was God's good Will and Providence,—and that, of very Faithfulness and Mercy, God had caused them to be troubled; so that not one Hair of their Heads should perish BEFORE THE TIME, but all Things should work unto the best to them that love God: And, that CHRIST JESUS was their Life and ONLY RIGHTEOUSNESS; and that, only by FAITH in Him, and for HIS Sake, ALL good Things were FREELY GIVEN them; also Forgiveness of Sins, and Life everlasting. Many of these Persecuted were of great Substance, and had Possessions of their own (t)."

Now, I would ask of Mr *Wesley* and Co. 1. Were not these good old Church-of-England-People, *Calvinists*? 2. Can the Church of *Rome* be, with any Shew of Reason, or with any Shadow of Truth, considered as well-affected to Calvinism; seeing, one grand Motive, why she persecuted the primitive Protestants, was, because they held the Calvinistic Doctrines? 3. Must it not be the very Essence of Slander and Falshood, to object against those Doctrines as productive of *practical Remissness*; when the Persons, who maintained them with the greatest Zeal, took
joyfully

(t) *Ibid.* p. 590, 591.

joyfully the spoiling of their Goods, relinquished their worldly Possessions, rather than dissemble any Part of their Faith, and went even to Prison and to Death for the sake of those very Principles? If any Man seriously supposes, that *Calvinism* relaxes the Sinews of Evangelical or *Moral Duty*; let him only consider the Holiness, the Honesty, and the Heroism, of Those Calvinistic Saints, whose Sufferings and Deaths redden the Protestant Calendar, and who *resisted even unto Blood, striving against Sin.*

LVII—LXX. Eleven Men, and Two Women, were Burned, in one Fire, at *Stratford le Bow*, near *London*, June 27, 1556. It should seem, that they had temporized, or at least concealed their Faith, for some Time after the Return of Popery under *Queen Mary*. My chief Reason, for this Supposition, is, because their own Words appear to imply something of this Kind. They speak, as Persons who had once let go the Profession (tho' not the Possession) of Grace: and ascribe their Recovery, not to their own Free-wills, but to the unfailing Faithfulness of God's unchangeable Spirit. "*Altho'*," said they, in their united Declaration, "*we have erred for a certain Time, yet the* " ROOT of Faith was PRESERVED in us, by the Holy " *Ghost, who hath reduced us into a FULL CERTAINTY of* " *the same (u).*"

LXXI. Mr JOHN CARELESS, of *Coventry*, bore a glorious Attestation to the Doctrines of the Church of England. Tho' he died in the King's-Bench Prison, and so, as Mr *Fox* observes, " came not to the full Martyrdom " of his Body; yet is he no less worthy to be counted " in Honor and Place of Christ's Martyrs, as well for " that he was, for the same Truth's sake, a long while " imprison'd, as also for his willing Mind and zealous " Affection which he had to Martyrdom, if the Lord had " so determined (w)."

D d 3

What

(u) *Ibid.* p. 594.(w) *Ibid.* p. 598.

What this eminent Servant of God believed, and delivered, concerning *Predestination*, will appear from some remarkable Passages, which passed at his Examination before Dr *Martin*, the Popish Commissary. The Commissary having told Mr *Careless*, that he had Authority to question him on any Articles of Faith whatever; *Careless* answered,

“ Then let your Scribe set his Pen to the Paper : and you shall have it roundly, even as the Truth is. I believe, that Almighty God, our most dear, loving Father, of his great Mercy and infinite Goodness, did ELECT in Christ—

“ The Popish Doctor. Tush, what need all that long Circumstance? Write, I believe God elected : and make no more a-do.

“ CARELESS. No, not so, Mr Doctor., It is an high Mystery, and ought reverently to be spoken of. And, if my Words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not speak at all.

“ Popish Doctor. Go to, Go to : write what he will. Here is more Business than needeth.

“ CARELESS. I believe, that Almighty God, our most dear, loving Father, of His great Mercy and infinite Goodness (through Jesus Christ), did ELECT and APPOINT, in Him, before the Foundation of the Earth was laid, a CHURCH, or Congregation; which He doth continually guide, and govern, by His Grace and Holy Spirit: so that NOT ONE of them shall ever FINALLY PERISH (x).”

The crafty, fleeing Papist then asked Mr *Careless*, “Why, who will deny this?” To which the honest, unsuspecting Prisoner made answer, “If your Mastership do allow it, and other learned Men when they see it, I have my Hearts Desire.”

“ Popish Doctor. It was told me also, that thou dost affirm, that Christ did not die effectually for All Men.

“ CARELESS. Whatsoever hath been told you, it is not much.

(x) Ibid p. 598.

“ much material unto me. Let the Tellers of such Tales come before my Face, and I trust to make them Answer. For indeed, I do believe, that Christ DID DIE effectually for ALL THOSE that do effectually REPENT and BELIEVE; and for NO OTHER (y).”

“ *Popish Doctor.* Now, Sir, what is *Trew's* Faith of Predestination ?

“ *CARELESS.* Truly, I think he doth believe as your *Master-ship* and the rest of the Clergy [i. e. the *Popish Clergy*] do believe of Predestination: that we be elected, in respect of our Good Works; and so long elected as we do them, and no longer (z).”

Here observe, 1. That the *Mr Trew*, now mentioned, was a professing Protestant; and had, probably, been a Member of that single “*Free-will Congregation*”, spoken of by *Mr. Strype*, and noticed by me in the first Section of this Treatise.—2. That those few FREE-WILLERS (and they were, in that Age, exceding few indeed) who made Profession (and 'twas little more than meie Profession) of *Protestantism*; did not vary from the Church of *Rome*, but cordially Chimed in with her, like two Tallys, so far as Election and its connected Articles were concerned. For, the upright *Mr Careless*, whom neither Fear nor Favor could byass from his Integrity, expressly declared, in the Hearing and to the Face of his *Popish Judge*, that *Mr Trew* the *Free-willer* (who held a changeable Election grounded on Works) did therein exactly agree with the said *Popish Judge*, and the rest of the *Romish Clergy*. From whence, say I, *Mr John Wesley*, *Mr Wat Sellon*, and some others of that *Kidney*, whom I could name, may see, to WHAT PARTY they belong. And although the said *Messieurs* may not deem it altogether prudent and convenient, to own their Relationship to the said *popish Party*; yet, as many of Mankind, as have unprejudiced Eyes wherewith to see, and distinguishing Heads wherewith to understand, can-

(y) *Ibid.* p. 599.

(z) *Ibid.*

not possibly fail to rank the MESSIEURS aforesaid with the PARTY aforementioned.

A few concise Extracts, from some of Mr Careless's Letters, shall give farther Demonstration of that Light and Grace which God had bestowed on this admirable Man.

1. To Mr *John Bradford*.

“ *John Bradford*, thou Man so specially beloved of God,
 “ His singularly beloved and ELECT Child ; I pronounce
 “ and testify unto thee, in the Word and Name of the
 “ Lord *Jehovah*, that — Christ hath cleansed thee with
 “ His Blood, and cloathed thee with His Righteousness ;
 “ and hath made thee, in the Sight of God His Father,
 “ without Spot or Wrinkle : so that, when the Fire doth
 “ its appointed Office, thou shalt be received, as a sweet
 “ Burnt-Sacrifice, into Heaven ; where thou shalt joy-
 “ fully remain in God's Presence forever, as the true In-
 “ heritor of his everlasting Kingdom, unto which thou
 “ wast undoubtedly PREDESTINATE and ORDAINED by
 “ the Lord's INFALLIBLE PURPOSE and DECREE, be-
 “ fore the Foundation of the World was laid (a).”

2. “ *To my most dear and faithful Brethren in Newgate,*
 “ *condemned to dye for the Testimony of God's everlasting*
 “ *Truth.*

“ The Everlasting Peace of God, in Jesus Christ ; the
 “ continual Joy, Strength, and Comfort of his most pure,
 “ holy, and mighty Spirit ; with the Increase of Faith,
 “ and lively FEELING of His ETERNAL MERCY ; be with
 “ You, my most dear and faithful loving Brother *Tyms*,
 “ and with all the rest of my dear Hearts in the Lord,
 “ your faithful Fellow-Soldiers, and most constant Com-
 “ panions in Bonds.—Thy Will, O Lord, be effec-
 “ tually fulfilled ! for It is only good, and turneth all
 “ Things to the best for SUCH as Thou, in thy Mercy,
 “ hast CHOSEN.——He [i. e. Christ] hath given you,
 “ for everlasting Possession, all his Holiness, Righteous-
 “ ness,

(a) *Ibid.* p. 602.

“ nefs, and Justification : yea, and the Holy Ghost into
 “ your Hearts, wherewith ye are surely sealed to the Day
 “ of Redemption, to CERTIFY you of your ETERNAL
 “ ELECTION, and that ye are His true adopted Sons (b).”

3. “ *To my dear and faithful Brother, William Tyms,
 “ Prisoner in Newgate.*

“ Faithful is God, and true of his Promises, who hath
 “ said, that He will never suffer His CHOSEN Children to
 “ be tempted above their Strength. Great Cause have
 “ you to be of good Comfort. I see, in You, as lively
 “ a Token of God’s EVERLASTING LOVE and Favor in
 “ Jesus Christ, as ever I perceived in any Man.—
 “ Christ is made unto us Holiness, Righteousness, and
 “ Justification. He hath cloathed us with All His Merits,
 “ Mercies, and most sweet Sufferings ; and hath taken to
 “ Him All our Misery, Wretchedness, Sin, and Infir-
 “ mity. So that if Any [i. e. Any of God’s *Chosen Chil-*
 “ *dren*] should now be condemned for the same, it must
 “ needs be Jesus Christ, who hath taken them upon Him.
 “ But indeed He hath made SATISFACTION for them to
 “ the UTTERMOST JOT. So that, for His Sake, they
 “ shall never be Imputed to us, if they were a thousand
 “ Times so many more as they be.

“ Satan’s fiery Darts can do you no Harm, but rather
 “ do you good Service : to cast you down under the mighty
 “ Hand of God, that He may take you up by His only
 “ Grace and Power, and so you may render him all the
 “ Glory by Jesus Christ : Which Thing the Enemy can
 “ in no wise abide : therefore he shooteth off his other
 “ Piece most pestilent, to provoke you to put SOME Part
 “ of your TRUST and Confidence in YOURSELF, and in
 “ YOUR OWN Holiness and RIGHTEOUSNESS ; that you
 “ might, that Way, rob God of His Glory, and Christ
 “ of the Honor and Dignity of his Death. But, blessed
 “ be the Lord God, you have also a full strong Bulwark
 “ to

(b) Ibid. p. 602, 603.

“ to beat back this peffiferous Pellet also: even the PURE
 “ LAW of GOD, which proveth the BEST of us all [to
 “ be] DAMNABLE SINNERS in the Sight of God, if He
 “ would enter into Judgement with us according to the
 “ Severity of the fame; [i. e. according to the unabating
 “ Severity and Perfection of His Law]; and that our
 “ BEST Works are POLLUTED and defiled, in such fort as
 “ the Prophet describeth them: WITH WHICH MANNER
 “ OF SPEAKING, OUR FREE-WILL PHARISEES ARE
 “ MUCH OFFENDED: for it felleth all Man’s Righteousness
 “ to the Ground (I had like to have said, to the Bottom
 “ of Hell); and extolleth only the Righteousness of Jesus
 “ Christ, which is allowed before God, and is freely
 “ given to all those that firmly believe; as, blessed be
 “ God, You do.—[God] comfort, strengthen, and
 “ defend You, with his Grace and mighty Operation of
 “ His Holy Spirit, as He hath hitherto done: that you,
 “ having a most glorious Victory over the subtile Serpent
 “ and all his wicked Seed; may also receive the Crown
 “ of Glory and Immortality, PREPARED for you before
 “ the Foundations of the World were laid, and is so
 “ SURELY KEPT for you in the Hands of Him whose
 “ Promise is UNFALLIBLE, that the Devil, Sin, Death,
 “ or Hell, shall never be able to deprive you of the
 “ same (c).”

4. *To my Good Sister, M. C.*

“ Tho’ God, for a Time, permit Satan to take his
 “ Pleasure on me, as he did upon Job; yet, I doubt not,
 “ but, in the End, all shall turn to my Profit, through
 “ the Merits of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. To
 “ whose most merciful Defence I commit you, dear Sister,
 “ with all the rest of THE LORD’S ELECT (d).”

5. *To my Dear Brother, T. V.*

“ If His [i. e. if God’s] Love towards You stood in the
 “ Respect of your own Merit and Worthiness, you might
 “ well

(c) *Ibid.* p. 605.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 606.

“ well mourn, lament, and complain: yea, you had good
 “ cause to doubt, fear, and mistrust. But seeing He
 “ loveth you ONLY for and IN Jesus Christ, who is your
 “ WHOLE RIGHTEOUSNESS and Redemption; banish
 “ from you all Fear, Mistrust, and Infidelity. And know,
 “ that, AS LONG AS CHRIST DOETH CONTINUE GOD’S
 “ SON, so long must the LOVE of the Father CONTINUE
 “ towards you IMMUTABLE, and His good Will UN-
 “ CHANGEABLE, and cannot be altered through any of
 “ your Infirmities (e).

6. “ *To my Dear Brother, Henry Adlington, Prisoner
 “ in the Lollards Tower.*

“ This present Day, I received a Letter from you; at
 “ the Reading whereof, my Brethren and I were not a
 “ little comforted, to see your Conscience so quieted in
 “ Christ, and your Continuance so stedfast in Him. Which
 “ Things be the special Gifts of God: NOT given to
 “ EVERY Man, but to you his dear, darling ELECT and
 “ CHOSEN in Christ.—Blessed be God for you, and
 “ such as you be, who have played the Part of wise Builders.
 “ You have digged down, past the Sand of your own na-
 “ tural Strength, and beneath the Earth of your own
 “ worldly Wisdom: and are now come to the hard Stone
 “ and immoveable Rock, CHRIST, who is your only
 “ Keeper; and upon Him alone have you builded your
 “ Faith, most firmly, without Doubting, Mistrust, or
 “ Wavering. Therefore neither the Storms nor Tem-
 “ pests, Winds nor Weathers, that Satan and all his wily
 “ Workmen can bring against you, with the very Gates of
 “ Hell to help them, shall ever be able once to MOVE
 “ Your House; much less, to OVERTHROW it: for the
 “ Lord God Himself, and no Man, is the Builder there-
 “ of, and hath promised to PRESERVE and keep the same,
 “ FOREVER (f).”

7. *To*

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) *Ibid.* p. 608, 609.

7. " *To my most dear and faithful Brother, T. V.*

" The Lord thy God, in whom thou dost put all thy
 " Trust; for His dear Son's sake, in whom thou dost also
 " undoubtedly believe; hath FREELY forgiven thee all
 " thy Sins, CLEARLY released all thy Iniquities, and FULLY
 " pardoned all thy Offences, be they never so many, so
 " grievous, or so great; and will NEVER remember them
 " any more, to Condemnation. As truly as He liveth,
 " He will not have thee die the Death: but hath utterly
 " DETERMINED, PURPOSED, and ETERNALLY DE-
 " CREED, that thou shalt live with Him forever. Thy
 " Sore shall be healed, and thy Wounds bound up, even
 " of Himself, for his own Name's sake. He doth not,
 " nor will He, look upon thy Sins, in *Thee*; but He re-
 " specteth and beholdeth thee in *Christ*: into whom thou
 " art lively grafted by Faith in his Blood, and in whom
 " thou art most assuredly ELECTED and CHOSEN to be a
 " sweet VESSEL of His MERCY and SALVATION, and
 " wast thereto PREDESTINATE in Him, before the Foun-
 " dation of the World was laid. In Testimony and Ear-
 " nest whereof, He hath given thee His Good and Holy
 " Spirit, who worketh in thee Faith, Love, and unfeign-
 " ed Repentance, with other godly Virtues, contrary to
 " the Corruption of thy Nature (g)."

8. " *To E. K.*

" Forasmuch as Christ hath CHOSEN us OUT OF the
 " World, to serve God in Spirit and Verity; let us be
 " well assured, the World will hate us and persecute us,
 " as it hath done our Lord and Master (b)."

9. " *To Mrs A. G.*

" His Glory, above all other Things, we, that are His
 " CHOSEN Children, ought to seek; yea, even with the
 " Loss of our own Lives: being yet well assured, that
 " the same shall not be shortened, one Minute of an Hour,
 " before the Time which God hath appointed. Cast,
 " therefore,

(g) *Ibid.* p. 610.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 611.

“ therefore, dear Sister, all your Care upon the Lord,
 “ who careth for you. And mighty is His Love and
 “ Mercy towards you. With his Grace He will defend
 “ you; and with his Holy Spirit will He evermore guide
 “ you, wherewith He hath surely sealed you unto the
 “ Day of Redemption. He hath also given you the same,
 “ in Earnest for the Recovery of the purchased Possession
 “ which He hath prepared for you before the Foundation
 “ of the World (i).”

10. *To the said Mrs A. G.*

“ Although the perillous Days be come, whereof Chriff
 “ prophesyed, that if it were possible, THE VERY ELECT
 “ should be deceived; yet let the true faithful Christians
 “ rejoyce and be glad, knowing that THE LORD HIM-
 “ SELF is their KEEPER, who will not suffer one Hair
 “ of their Heads to perish, without His Almighty good
 “ Will and Pleasure. Neither will he suffer them to be
 “ further tempted, than He will give them Strength to
 “ bear; but will, in the midst of their Temptations, make
 “ a Way for them to escape out: so good and gracious a
 “ God is He to all His CHOSEN Children. And tho’,
 “ sometimes, He do let his ELECT stumble and fall; yet,
 “ NO DOUBT, He will raise them UP again: to the fur-
 “ ther Increase of their Comfort, and to the setting forth
 “ of His Glory and Praise (k).”

Mr *Careless* lay in Prison, on Account of his Religious Principles, two whole Years: First, in *Coventry* Jail; and, finally, in the King’s-Bench, *London*. So ardent was his Zeal for the Reformed Church of England, that the sun-burnt Hart does not long more intensely after the Waters of the Brook, than this seraphic Saint panted for the Flames. Dying, however, in the last-mention’d Prison, the Papists, disappointed of Burning him, bury’d his Remains in a *Dunghill* (l).

LXXII. Mrs

(i) *Ibid.* p. 612.

(k) *Ibid.*

(l) Great and exemplary was the Christian Zeal, with which Mr *Careless* opposed the FREE-WILL Men of that Age. Some remarkable

LXXII. Mrs JOYCE LEWIS, genteelly born and elegantly brought up, was Martyr'd at *Litchfield*. A little before

markable Passages, from *Sturpe's Memorials of Cranmer*, will both prove This, and illustrate the Conversation (already related) which passed between *Careless* and his Popish Examiner, Dr *Martin*.

“*Careless* also had much Conference with these Men” [i. e. with the *Free-willers*], “Prisoners with him in the King’s Bench : of whose CONTENTIOUSNESS he complained in a Letter to *Philpot*. There is extant an Answer of *Philpot* to *Careless*, about them : where he writes, That he was sorry to hear of the great Trouble which these SCHISMATICS did daily put him to ; that he should commit the Success of his Labors (in rightly informing these Men) to God ; and not to cease, with Charity, to do his Endeavor in Defence of the Truth against these arrogant, and self-willed, blinded Scatterers ; That these SECTS were necessary for the Trial of our Faith, and for the beautifying thereof ; That he should shew as much Modesty and Humility as possible, and then, Others, seeing his modest Conversations among these CONTENTIOUS BABELERS, would glorify God in the Truth of him, and the more abhor THEM ; that he should be content that *Shimei* do rail at David, and cast Stones awhile ; &c.” Such was Arch-deacon *Philpot's* Opinion of the Free-will Mongers : whom he termed *Schismatics* ; arrogant, self-willed, blinded scatterers ; *Se&ts* ; contentious Babbler ; and railing *Shimeis*. Yet did not the Arch-deacon’s Zeal outrun his Charity : for his Letter concludes with a most candid and pious Exhortation, in which he earnestly intreated the Brethren “To kiss one another with the Kiss of unfeigned Love, and to take one another by the Hand cheerfully, and to say, Let us take up our Cross together, and go to the Mount of Calvary.”

Mr *Sturpe* remarks, that all the Terrors of the Popish Persecution could not keep the *Free-will Men* within the Bonds of Peace and Quietness. For, in 1556, Mr *Careless* having “Wrote a Confession of his Faith, some Part whereof favored Absolute Predestination against Free-will ; he sent it (from the King’s Bench, where he lay) to the Protestant Prisoners in *Newgate* : whereunto [i. e. to which Confession of Faith] they GENERALLY SUBSCRIBED ; and particularly *Twelve*, who were, a little before, condemned

she suffered, she said to some Friends who came to take leave of her, "When I enjoy the shinings of my Savior's Countenance, the near view of Death ceases, in great Measure, to be terrible." Mr Fox adds, that she took Occasion, at the same Time, to "*reason most comfortably, out of God's Word, concerning God's ELECTION and RE-PROBATION (m).*" Early in the Morning of the Day on which she was Executed, this excellent Woman was tempted to doubt of her own Election and Redemption. It should seem, that, for several Hours, she walked in spiritual Darkness, even Darkness which might be felt. Unbelief was permitted to suggest, *How do I know that I was CHOSEN to eternal Life, and that Christ DIED for ME (n)?* Some Religious Persons, who were about her, perceiving her Distress, reminded her, "That her *Vocation and Calling* to the Knowledge of God's Word, was a manifest "Token of God's Love towards her: which might be "farther inferred, from that Love to God, that Desire
" to

"condemned to die. Hart [who was a noted Preacher among "the *Free-willers*] having gotten a Copy of this [i. e. of Mr "Careless's Predestinarian] Confession, on the back-side thereof "wrote his Confession in Opposition thereunto. When they in New-gate had subscribed Careless's Confession, this Hart propounded "his unto them; and he, with one Kemp and Gylson, would have "persuaded them from the former to the latter, but PREVAILED "NOT. One Chamberlain also [another Free-will Teacher] wrote "against it [against Mr Careless's Confession].

"This Paper of Careless's Confession, with the Answer wrote "on the back-side by Hart, fell, by some Accident, into the "Hands of Dr Martin, a great Papist: who took Occasion, "hence, to scoff at the Professors of the Gospel, because of these "Divisions and various Opinions among them. But Careless, "before the said Martin, disowned Hart, and said, that *he* [viz. "Hart] had SEDUCED and BEGUILED many a simple Soul with his "FOUL Pelagian Opinions, both in the Days of King Edward, and "since his Departure'.—Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 351, 352. (m) *Ibid.* p. 704. (n) *Ibid.*

“ to please Him, and that Desire to be justified by Christ,
 “ which the Holy Spirit had wrought in her Heart. By
 “ these, and like Persuasions, and especially by the com-
 “ fortable Promises of Christ alledged from Scripture; the
 “ Enemy fled, and she was comforted in Christ (o).”

LXXIII. Mr RALPH ALLERTON was Burned at *Issington*. This good Man, quoting that Passage in the Psalms, *Tho' the Righteous fall, &c.* justly observes upon it, “ *Where-
 “ by we perceive God's ELECTION to be most sure (p).*”

—LXXVI. With Mr *Allerton* were executed Three Others, viz. JAMES AUSTOO, and MARGARET, his Wife; and RICHARD ROTH. Of the two former Mr *Fox* says, that “ They were as *sound* in Matters of Faith; and answered as truly, as ever any did: especially the Wife; “ to whom the Lord had given the greater Knowledge, “ and more Fetvency of Spirit.” And that Mr ROTH was as “ *sound* in Matters of Faith”, as either of them; is plain, from the Answer he returned to Bishop *Bonner*: who asking him, “ What he thought of his fellow Prisoner, “ *Ralph Allerton*”? ROTH replied, “ *I think him to be One
 “ of the ELECT Children of God (q).*”

LXXVII. Mr JOHN ROUGH, a Minister, who had been exercised with several very remarkable Providences; at length sealed the Truth with his Death, in the latter End of 1557. Writing to some Religious Friends, he thus expresses the Benevolence of his Wishes, and the Purity of his Faith: “ *The Comfort of the Holy Ghost make you able
 “ to give Consolation to Others, in these dangerous Days, when
 “ Satan is let loose, but to the Trial only of THE CHOSEN,
 “ when it pleaseth our God to sift his Wheat from the Chaff (r).*” And, in another Letter, addressed to his former Congregation, and written two Days before his Martyrdom, he observes, that “ *God hath in all Ages tried His ELECT (s).*”

LXXVIII. The

(o) *Ibid.* p. 709.

(p) *Ibid.* p. 711.

(q) *Ibid.* p. 712.

(r) *Ibid.* p. 724.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 725.

LXXVIII. The celebrated Mr CUTHBERT SYMPSON, who underwent such variety of Torments so meekly, that *Bondier* himself pronounced him the most patient Prisoner he ever dealt with; and who at last ended his holy Life in the Flames, A. D. 1558; has transmitted, to posterity, that grand Axiom, through the unfeigned Belief of which, he was enabled, without murmuring, to "stand as a Beaten Anvil to the Stroke." And what Axiom was it? That in which the Rays of Calvinism are concentrated, and contracted to a Point. Read it in the Martyr's own Words; "*There is NOTHING that cometh unto us by CHANCE or FORTUNE; but by our Heavenly Father's PROVIDENCE (1).*"

- I may truly say, with the Apostle, *Time would fail me to tell of that "Noble Army of Martyrs,"* and of suffering Confessors, *who, through Faith, quenched the violence of Fire, and out of Weakness were made strong: Who were tortured, not accepting Deliverance; that they might obtain a better Resurrection. And Others had Trial of cruel Mockings, and Scourgings; yea, moreover, of Bonds and Imprisonment: being destitute, afflicted, tormented.* A Competency of Witnesses has been produced, sufficient to shew, that our Protestant Martyrs were Doctrinal Calvinists. I cannot help repeating an Observation already made, viz. that I am widely mistaken indeed, if the Gentlemen on the Arminian side of the Question are able to bring a single Instance of any ONE Pelagian, or FREE-WILL-MAN, who laid down his Life in Defence of the Reformation, during the whole Reign of Queen Mary. I can at least say, that I, for my Part, have not hitherto met with any such Example. If Mr Wesley, or Mr Any-body else, can point out so much as ONE; it will, as before noted, be for the Honor of Pelagianism, to let the World know it.

E c

I have

(1) *Ibid.* p. 728.

I have dwelt, perhaps, too long, already, on the Subject now in Hand. Yet, I cannot dismiss those eminent Worthies, whose Testimonies adorn this Section, without adding *Four* more to the Number. The Reader will not wonder at my introducing them, when he perceives the celebrated Names of Mr JOHN BRADFORD, Chaplain to Bishop *Ridley*, and Prebendary of *St Paul's, London*;—Mr JOHN PHILPOT, Arch-deacon of *Winchester*;—Mr RICHARD WOODMAN, and Mr JOHN CLEMENT: which two last, tho' not in Orders, were *Men famous in their Generation, Men of Renown*, for Holiness of Conversation, Liveliness of Grace, and Clearness of Evangelical Light. Their Attestations shall occupy the Section that follows.

SECTION XVII.

The Judgement of the MARTYRS, Concluded.

MR JOHN BRADFORD was one of the most valuable Men that ever adorned God's visible Church below. The impartial and judicious Mr *Strype* styles him, One of the "FOUR PRIME PILLARS of the Reformed Church of *England* (u):" and adds, that he was a Person "of great Learning, Elocution, sweetness of Temper, and profoundness of Devotion towards God. Of whose Worth, the Papists themselves were so sensible, that they took more Pains to bring him off from the Profession of Religion, than any Other. But he, knowing the Truth and Goodness of his Cause, remained
"steadfast

(u) "BRADFORD and LATIMER, CRANMER and RIDLEY, four Prime Pillars of the reformed Church of England; whom this bloody Year [1555] executed in the Flames."

Strype's Eccles. Mem. Vol. III. p. 254.

“ stedfast and immoveable. While he was in Prison, he
 “ spent his Time in Preaching twice every Sunday, in
 “ writing many Letters and Discourses, Praying, Read-
 “ ing, Conferring, Disputing: sleeping but four Hours in
 “ the Night (w).”

It had been at the importunate instigation of *Martin Bucer*, that *Mr Bradford* entered into Holy Orders. On *Bucer's* expressing his earnest Desire of seeing him in the Ministry, *Bradford* declined the Proposal; from a supposition, that he had not sufficient Talents, to speak in the Name of God. *Bucer's* Answer was memorable: *If you cannot feed the People with fine Manchet, feed 'em with such Barley-Bread as God may give you.* In the End, *Bucer's* Expostulations prevailed: and *Mr Bradford* received both his Ordination and his Preferments from the Apostolic Bishop *Ridley*. The brightest Abilities are usually rooted in Self-Diffidence. *Mr Bradford's* Powers, as an Orator; and the Blessing, with which his Labours were attended, as a Minister of Christ; were equal to the Fear and Trembling, with which he entered on the arduous Employ. Of his Usefulness in King *Edward's* Reign, Bishop *Ridley* wrote as follows: “ *He [i. e. Bradford] is a Man, by whom, as I am assuredly informed, God hath and doth work Wonders, in setting forth his Word.*” And, on another Occasion, *Ridley* said, of *Bradford*, “ *In my Conscience I judge him more worthy to be a Bishop, than many of us, that are Bishops already, are of being Parish Priests (x).*” But his Course, tho' illustrious, was short. Queen *Mary* made him pass through the Fire to Heaven, in *June, 1555 (y)*. —Let us now see, whether *this* “ *PRIME PILLAR of the Church of England*” was, or was not, a CALVINIST.

E c 2

On

(w) *Strype*, Ibid. p. 230. (x) *Strype's* Life of *Grindal*, p. 8.

(y) At the same Stake with *Mr Bradford*, was burned one *John Leaf*, a Tallow-Chandler's Apprentice, not Twenty Years of Age. This Elect Youth had been converted in King *Edward's* Reign, under the Ministry of *Mr Rogers*, the Proto-Martyr of the

On his first Appearance before *Gardiner*, the Popish Bishop of *Winchester*; we are informed, that *Gardiner* began a long Proceſs, concerning the false DOCTRINE wherewith the People were deceived in the Days of King *Edward*: and ſo turned the End of his Talk to *Bradford*; ſaying, How ſayeſt THOU? *Bradford* answered, *My Lord*, THE DOCTRINE TAUGHT IN KING EDWARD'S DAYS was God's PURE RELIGION: the which as I then believed, ſo do I now more believe it than ever I did. And therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it, by God's Grace, even as He will, to the World, than I was when I firſt came into *Prison* (z)."

This Declaration, alone, might ſuffice to convince any Perſon, who is acquainted with the Religious Hiſtory of *Edward VI's* Reign, that *Bradford* was, to all Intents and Purpoſes, a Doctrinal Calviniſt. If more particular Proofs be required, take the following, as a Specimen of the reſt.

1. In a Letter to Mrs *Warcup*, and others of his Evangelical Friends; this eminent Predeſtinarian thus writes: "The Souls under the Altar look for Us to FILL UP their NUMBER. Happy are we, if God have ſo APPOINTED us. Howſoever it be, Dearly Beloved, caſt yourſelves
" wholly

the Church of England. During *Leaf's* Imprifonment for the Goſpel, Old *Bonner* ſent him two Papers, viz. a Recantation of Proteſtantism, which if he would ſign, his Life was to be ſpared; and a ſummary of the Proteſtant Confefſion, by the ſigning of which, his Doom was to be finally fixed. The young Martyr on this Alternative being offered him, abſolutely reſuſed to have any Thing to do with the Recantation. Not being able to write, he prick'd his Hand with a Pin; and, ſprinkling the Proteſtant Confefſion of Faith with his Blood, order'd *Bonner's* Meſſenger to ſhew it his Maſter, as a Proof of his determined Reſolution to lay down his Life for the Truth.—What an Inſtance of Heroic Zeal! How unlike that worldly, that luke-warm Spirit of Religious Indifference, which now ſeems to have laid Proteſtants of every Denomination aſleep!

(z) *Fox's* Acts and Mon. Vol. III p. 235.

“ wholly upon the Lord ; with whom all the Hairs of your
 “ Head are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish,
 “ Will we, nill we, we MUST drink God’s Cup, if He
 “ have APPOINTED it for us (a).”

2. “ To Sir James Hales, Knight.

“ The Children of God think, oftentimes, that God
 “ hath forgotten them : and therefore they cry, *Hide not*
 “ *thy Face from me ; Leave me not, O Lord.* Whereas, in
 “ very Truth, it is not so, but to their present Sense. And
 “ therefore *David* said, *I said, in my Agony, I was clean*
 “ *cast away from thy Face.* But was it so? Nay, verily,
 “ Read his Psalms, and you shall see. So writeth he also,
 “ in other Places, very often ; especially, in the Person
 “ of Christ : as when he saith, *My God, my God, why*
 “ *hast Thou forsaken me?* Where [i. e. whereas] indeed
 “ God had NOT left him ; but that it was so to his Sense :
 “ and that this Psalm telleth us full well.—The same we
 “ read, in the Prophet *Esay*, Chap. xl. where he reproveth
 “ Israel saying, *God hath forgotten them : Fear not,*
 “ *&c. For a little while I have forgotten thee, but with great*
 “ *Compassion will I gather thee. For a moment, in mine*
 “ *Anger, I hid my Face from thee, for a little Season : but*
 “ *in EVERLASTING Mercy have I had Compassion on thee,*
 “ *saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me as the*
 “ *Waters of Noah : for as I have sworn, that the Waters of*
 “ *Noah should no more go over the Earth ; so have I SWORN,*
 “ *that I would not be angry with thee, nor rebuke thee. For*
 “ *the Mountains shall remove, and Hills fall down ; but My*
 “ *Mercy shall NOT DEPART from thee, neither shall the*
 “ *COVENANT of my Peace fall away, saith the Lord that*
 “ *hath Compassion on thee.*—Be certain, be certain,
 “ good Master *Hales*, that all the Hairs of your Head,
 “ your dear Father hath numbered. Your Name is
 “ WRITTEN in the BOOK OF LIFE. Therefore upon
 “ God cast all your Care, who will comfort you with His
 “ Eternal Consolations (b).”

(a) *Ibid.*, p. 268.(b) *Ibid.*, p. 269, 279.

THE JUDGEMENT OF

... *... gently Gentleman: comforting*
... in our common Prayer, and yet serves, which the
... and one of his words is God's Children.
 As Saint Laurent is known our Faith, so must we
 know in order to, by standing on the PROMISES and
 COVENANT of God in Christ's Blood: namely, that
 God's own God, with All that ever He hath. Which
 COVENANT depends and hangs on God's own Good-
 ness, Merit, and Truth, ONLY; and NOT on our
 Obedience or Worthiness, in ANY Point: for then
 should we never be saved. Indeed, God requireth of
 us Obedience and Worthiness: but NOT THAT
 WE MIGHT BE His Children, and He
 our Father; but BECAUSE HE IS our Father and
 His Children through His own Goodness in Christ,
 we must require His Faith and Obedience. Now,
 if we want this Obedience and Worthiness which He
 requireth, should we doubt whether He be our Father?
 No. That were to make our Obedience and Wor-
 thiness the Cause, and to PUT CHRIST OUT OF PLACE,
 and make like God is our Father. But rather, because
 He is our Father, and we feel ourselves to want such
 Obedience and Worthiness, we should be stirred up to a
 desire to go to our Father, in Prayer, on this Manner:
 "Our Father, THOU, of THY OWN Mercy in Jesus Christ,
 had chosen me to be thy Child: and therefore thou wouldst
 that I should be brought into thy Church and faithful Com-
 pany"

(1) The Word *Worthiness*, here used
 not in this Connection, signify *Merit*,
 and of Practice, meaning of, *corroborate*
 answer to follow upon, a Profession
 So, the Word very frequently
 as the Adjectives *As* and *D*

“pany of thy Children, wherein thou hast kept me hitherto ;
 “thy Name therefore be praised. Now, I see myself to want
 “Faith, Hope, Love, &c. which thy Children have, and
 “thou requirest of me. Wherebrough the Devil would have
 “me to doubt, yea, utterly to despair of thy Fatherly Good-
 “ness, Favor, and Mercy. Therefore I come to Thee, as to
 “my merciful Father, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ ;
 “and pray Thee to help me, good Lord. Help me, and GIVE
 “me Faith, Hope, Love, &c. and grant that thy Holy Spirit
 “may be with me forever, and more and more, to ASSURE
 “me that Thou art my Father ; that this merciful COVENANT
 “(which thou madest with me, in respect of THY GRACE,
 “in Christ and for Christ, and NOT in respect of ANY my
 “Worthiness) is ALWAYS to me. On this Sort, I say,
 “you must pray, and use your Cogitations, when Satan
 “would have you to doubt of your Salvation.

“ Might not [God] have made you Blind, Deaf, Lame,
 “Frantic, &c. ? Might he not have made you a Jew, a
 “Turk, a Papist, &c. ? And why hath he not done so ?
 “Verily, because He LOVED you. And WHY DID He
 “love you ? What was there in you, to move Him to
 “love you ? Surely, nothing MOVED Him to love you,
 “and therefore to make you, and so hitherto to keep
 “you, but His Goodness in Christ. Now then,
 “in that His Goodness in Christ still REMAINE
 “much as it was, even as great as His

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 “ If

3. " *To Mrs M. H. a godly Gentlewoman: comforting her in that common Heaviness and godly Sorrow, which the Feeling and Sense of Sin worketh in God's Children.*

" As Satan laboreth to loosen our Faith, so must we labor to fasten it, by thinking on the PROMISES and COVENANT of God in Christ's Blood: namely, that God is OUR God, with All that ever He hath. Which Covenant dependeth and hangeth on God's OWN Goodness, Mercy, and Truth, ONLY; and NOT on OUR Obedience, or Worthiness, in ANY Point: for then should we never be certain. Indeed, God requireth of us Obedience and (c) Worthiness: but NOT THAT THEREBY WE MIGHT BE His Children, and He our Father; but BECAUSE HE IS our Father and We His Children through HIS OWN Goodness in Christ, THEREFORE requireth He Faith and Obedience. Now, if we want this Obedience and Worthiness which He requireth, should we doubt whether He be our Father? Nay. That were to make our Obedience and Worthiness the Cause, and so PUT CHRIST OUT OF PLACE, for whose sake God is our Father. But rather, because He is our Father, and we feel ourselves to want such Things as He requireth, we should be stirred up to a Shamefacedness and Blushing, because we are not as we should be. And thereupon should we take Occasion to go to our Father, in Prayer, on this Manner: *Dear Father, Thou, of THY OWN Mercy in Jesus Christ, hast CHOSEN me to be thy Child: and therefore thou wouldst that I should be brought into thy Church and faithful Com-*
 " *pany*

(c) The Word *Worthiness*, here used by Mr Bradford, does not, in this Connection, signify *Merit*, or *Desert*; but a *suitableness* of Practice, *becoming of*, *correspondent* to, and such as may be *expected* to follow upon, a Profession of Conversion. And, in this Sense, the Word very frequently occurs in our old Writers. Just as the Adjectives *AÊ* and *Dignus* are often used by Writers more ancient still.

“pany of thy Children, wherein thou hast kept me hitherto ;
 “thy Name therefore be praised. Now, I see myself to want
 “Faith, Hope, Love, &c. which thy Children have, and
 “thou requirest of me. Wherethrough the Devil would have
 “me to doubt, yea, utterly to despair of thy Fatherly Good-
 “ness, Favor, and Mercy. Therefore I come to Thee, as to
 “my merciful Father, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ ;
 “and pray Thee to help me, good Lord. Help me, and GIVE
 “me Faith, Hope, Love, &c. and grant that thy Holy Spirit
 “may be with me forever, and more and more, to ASSURE
 “me that Thou art my Father ; that this merciful COVENANT
 “(which thou madest with me, in respect of THY GRACE,
 “in Christ and for Christ, and NOT in respect of ANY my
 “Worthiness) is ALWAYS to me. On this Sort, I say,
 “you must pray, and use your Cogitations, when Satan
 “would have you to doubt of your Salvation.

“Might not [God] have made you Blind, Deaf, Lame,
 “Frantic, &c. ? Might he not have made you a Jew, a
 “Turk, a Papist, &c. ? And why hath he not done so ?
 “Verily, because He LOVED you. And WHY DID He
 “love you ? What was there in you, to move Him to
 “love you ? Surely, nothing MOVED Him to love you,
 “and therefore to make you, and so hitherto to keep
 “you, but HIS OWN Goodness in Christ. Now then,
 “in that His Goodness in Christ still REMAINETH as
 “much as it was, that is, even as great as Himself, for
 “it CANNOT BE LESSEMED ; how should it be, but that
 “He is your God and Father ? Believe this, believe this,
 “my good Sister : for GOD IS NO CHANGELING. Them,
 “whom He LOVETH, He loveth TO THE END (d).”

4. To another Religious Friend, who was in Darkness
 and Distress of Soul, Mr Bradford wrote as follows : “His
 “[i. e. God’s] Calling and Gifts be such, that He can
 “never repent Him of them. When he loveth, He loveth
 “to the End. NONE OF HIS CHOSEN CAN PERISH.—

“ If He had not CHOSEN you (as, most certainly, He hath),
 “ He would not have so CALLED you, He would not
 “ have so JUSTIFIED you, He would never have so
 “ glorified you with his GRACIOUS Gifts: He would
 “ never have so exercised your Faith with Temptations,
 “ as He hath and doth, if He had not CHOSEN you. If
 “ He hath CHOSEN you, as doubtless he hath, in Christ;
 “ then neither CAN you, NOR EVER SHALL you, PERISH.
 “ For, if you fall, He putteth under His Hand: You shall
 “ not lie still [in Sin]. So careful is Christ your KEEPER,
 “ over you. Never was Mother so mindful over her
 “ Child, as He is over You. And hath not He always
 “ been so?—Think you God to be mutable? Is He a
 “ *Changeling*? Doth not He love to the End, them whom
 “ He loveth? Are not His Gifts and Calling such, that
 “ He cannot repent Him of them? for ELSE WERE HE,
 “ NO GOD. If you should perish, then wanted He
 “ POWER: for, I am certain, His WILL toward you is,
 “ not to be doubted of. Hath not the Spirit, which is,
 “ the Spirit of Truth, told you so? and will you now
 “ hearken, with *Eve*, to the Lying Spirit, which would
 “ have you (not to despair; no, he goeth more craftily
 “ to work: but) to doubt and stand in a Mammerring?
 “ And so should you never truly love God, but serve Him
 “ of a servile Fear, lest he should cast you off for your Un-
 “ worthiness and Unthankfulness: as though YOUR Thank-
 “ fulness, or Worthiness, were any Cause with God,
 “ why He hath CHOSEN you, or will FINALLY KEEP you!
 “ —Your *Thankfulness* and *Worthiness* are FRUITS and
 “ EFFECTS of your ELECTION: they are NO CAUSES.
 “ —You have a Shepherd, who never slumbereth nor
 “ sleepeth. No Man, nor Devil, can PULL YOU OUT
 “ of his Hands. —Therefore, inasmuch as you are in-
 “ deed the Child of God, ELECT in Christ BEFORE THE
 “ BEGINNING OF ALL TIMES; Inasmuch as you are
 “ GIVEN INTO THE CUSTODY OF CHRIST, as One
 “ of God’s most precious Jewels; Inasmuch as Christ is

“ FAITH-

“ FAITHFUL, and hitherto hath ALL POWER, so that
 “ you shall NEVER Perish; I beseech you, I pray you,
 “ I desire you, I crave at your Hands, with all my very
 “ Heart, I ask of you with Hand, Pen, Tongue, and
 “ Mind, in Christ, through Christ, for Christ, for His
 “ Name, Blood, Mercies, Power, and Truth’s sake, that
 “ you admit NO DOUBTING of God’s FINAL Mercies to-
 “ wards you, howsoever you feel yourself (e).”

5. *To Mr John Hall, and his Wife; Prisoners in Newgate for the Gospel.*

“ He [i. e. your Heavenly Father] hath Brought you
 “ where ye be. And tho’ your Reason and Wit will tell
 “ you it is by CHANCE, or FORTUNE, or otherwise;
 “ yet know, for certain, that whatsoever was the Mean,
 “ GOD your Father was the WORKER hereof (f).”

6. *To Mr Richard Hopkins, Sheriff of Coventry; and Prisoner in the Fleet, for the faithful and constant Confessing of God’s Holy Gospel.*

“ The Apostle saith, Not many Noble, not many Rich,
 “ not many Wise in the World, hath the Lord God
 “ CHOSEN. Oh then, what Cause have You to rejoice,
 “ that, amongst the not Many, He hath CHOSEN You to be
 “ One (g)!”

7. *To my good Sister, Mrs Eliz. Brown.*

“ Patience and PERSEVERANCE be the proper Notes,
 “ whereby GOD’S CHILDREN are known from COUNTER-
 “ FEITS. They, who PERSEVERE NOT, were ALWAYS
 “ but HYPOCRITES. Many make godly Beginnings;
 “ yea, their Progress seemeth Marvellous; but, yet,
 “ after, in the End, they fail. These were NEVER of Us,
 “ saith St John: for, if they HAD been of Us, they would
 “ have CONTINUED to the very End (h).”

8. “ To

(e) Ibid. p. 273, 274. (f) Ibid. p. 275. (g) Ibid. p. 282.

(h) Ibid. p. 283.

8. "To a godly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her Friends, for not coming to Mass.

"If your Cross be to me a Comfort, or Token of your ELECTION, and a Confirmation of God's CONTINUAL Favor; how much more ought it to be so unto You (i)?"

9. "This is the Difference betwixt God's Children, who are regenerate, and ELECT BEFORE ALL TIMES in Christ; and the Wicked always: that the ELECT lye not still continually [i. e. finally] in their Sin, as do the Wicked; but at length do RETURN AGAIN, by Reason of God's Seed, which is in them, hid as a Sparkle of Fire in the Ashes: as we may see in Peter, David, Paul, Mary Magdalen, and Others. For these, I mean God's Children, God hath made all Things in Christ Jesus, that They should be His Inheritance and Spouses (k)."

10. "To certain of his Friends, N. S. and R. C.

"I believe, that Man, made after the Image of God, did fall from that blessed State, to the Condemnation of himself and all his Posterity. I believe, that Christ, for Man being thus fallen, did oppose himself to the Justice of God, a Mediator: paying the Ransom and Price of Redemption for Adam, and his whole Posterity that refuse it not finally (l)."—In the Judgement, therefore, of Mr Bradford, Christ did NOT Ransom and Redeem THOSE of Adam's Posterity, who FINALLY REFUSE the Redemption which he wrought: or, in other Words, according to this Divine, Christ did NOT die for Any who do not EVENTUALLY BELIEVE in Him for Salvation: which is particular Redemption, with a Witness. Christ, says the above Paragraph, "paid the Price of Redemption" for as Many of Adam's Whole Posterity, as finally accept of it by Faith: consequently, for Those who finally refuse it (and these, 'tis to be feared, are more than a few) the
Price

(i) Ibid. p. 285.

(k) Ibid. p. 289.

(l) Ibid. p. 291.

Price of Redemption was NOT paid. And I should much wonder if it had : since what good End would it have answered?—Mr *Bradford* goes on : “ I believe, that All who believe in Christ, I speak of such as be of Years of Discretion, are Partakers of Christ and all his Merits. I believe, that FAITH, and to BELIEVE in Christ (I speak not now of [that] Faith which Men have by Reason of Miracles, *John* ii. 11. *Acts* viii. or by Reason of earthly Commodity, *Matth.* xiii. Custom, or Authority of Man ; which is commonly seen ; the Hearts of them, that so believe, being not right and simple before God : but I speak of THAT Faith, which is indeed the TRUE Faith, the JUSTIFYING and REGENERATING Faith) I believe, I say, that THIS Faith and Belief in Christ is the WORK and GIFT of God ; given to NONE OTHER than to Those which be the Children of God : that is, to THOSE whom God the Father, BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD, hath PREDESTINATE in Christ unto Eternal Life (m).”—Mr *Bradford's* Reasoning stands thus : *Christ died not for those who finally refuse His Redemption ; but for those who are JUSTIFIED and REGENERATED by Faith in Him : which justifying and regenerating FAITH is the GIFT of God, given to THOSE Persons ONLY whom He PREDESTINED to Eternal Life before the World began.* Thus it appears, that there is nothing DISCOURAGING, in the Doctrines of *Eternal Election* and *Particular Redemption*. Not in *Election* ; because God gives Faith to His People, as a Token and Plledge of their sure Interest in His Covenant-Favor : and as to those who may, at present, be seemingly destitute of Faith, we know not how soon God may give it them, or stir them up to seek it.—Neither does *Limited Redemption* tend to the Discouragement of Any who seriously desire to be saved in God's own Way, i. e. in the Bible-way of Faith, Repentance, and New Obedience : forasmuch as Christ “ paid the Ransom
“ and

(m) *Ibid.*

“ and Price of Redemption, for Adam’s Whole Posterity who
 “ do not finally refuse it.” Thus Scripturally and Discretely
 does the admirable Mr *Bradford* state and assert these illustrious
 Doctrines of the Gospel.

Another Remark of his, deserves well to be considered :
 “ For the Certainty of this Faith [i. e. of the *Justifying*
 “ Faith] search your Hearts. If you HAVE it, praise the
 “ Lord ; for you are happy, and therefore CANNOT FI-
 “ NALLY PERISH: for then HAPPINESS WERE NOT
 “ HAPPINESS, IF IT COULD BE LOST. When you fall,
 “ the Lord will put under His Hand, that you shall not
 “ lie still.—But, if ye feel not this Faith, then know, that
 “ Predestination is too high a Matter for you to be Dis-
 “ puters of, until you have been Scholars in the School-
 “ house of Repentance and Justification; which is the
 “ Grammar-School, wherein we must be conversant and
 “ learned, before we go to the University of God’s most
 “ Holy Predestination and Providence (n).—Thus do I
 “ wade in PREDESTINATION: in SUCH SORT as God
 “ hath patefy’d and opened it. Tho’, in GOD, it be the
 “ FIRST; yet, to Us, it is the last opened. And there-
 “ fore I begin with *creation*, from thence I come to *Re-*
 “ *demption*, so to *Justification*, and so to *Election*. On
 “ this Sort, I am sure that warily and wisely a Man may
 “ walk in it easily, by the Light of God’s Spirit, in and
 “ by His Word ; seeing this Faith not to be given to All
 “ Men, 2 *Theff.* iii. but to such as are born of God, PRE-
 “ DESTINATE before the World was made, after [i. e. ac-
 “ cording to] the PURPOSE and good WILL of God.
 “ Which Will we may not call in Disputation; but, in
 “ Trembling and Fear, SUBMIT ourselves to it, as to
 “ That which can will none otherwise than that which is
 “ holy, right, and good, how far soever otherwise it may
 “ SEEM to the Judgement of Reason: which” [i. e. the
 Judgement of Reason, so far as it opposes the Doctrine of
 Predesti-

(n) *Ibid.* p. 292.

Predestination,] “ must needs be beaten down to be more
 “ careful for God’s Glory, than for Man’s Salvation,
 “ which hangeth only thereon, as all God’s Children full
 “ well see (o).”

II. “ To Sir Thomas Hall, and Father Fraxes, of
 Blackley.

“ Christ alone is our full, sufficient Savior ; for IN HIM
 “ WE BE COMPLETE : being made, through His Death
 “ and one only Oblation made and offer’d. by Himself
 “ upon the Cross, the Children of God, and Fellow-
 “ Heirs with Him of the Celestial Kingdom, which is the
 “ FREE-GIFT of God, and cometh NOT of MERITS,
 “ but of the MERE GRACE of God.—He that is of God,
 “ beareth the Word of God : John viii. Will you have a
 “ more plain Badge, whether you are the ELECT Child
 “ of God or no, than this Text (p)?”

12. Mr *Strype* has preserved a valuable Paper, entitled,
 JOHN BRADFORD’S *Meditation of God’s Providence and
 Presence*. Part of it runs thus : “ This ought to be unto
 “ us most certain, that NOTHING is come without Thy
 “ PROVIDENCE, O Lord : that is, that nothing is done,
 “ GOOD OR BAD, SWEET OR SOUR, but by thy KNOW-
 “ LEDGE ; that is, by thy WILL, WISDOM, and OR-
 “ DINANCE : for All these Knowledge doth comprehend
 “ in it. As, by the Word, we are taught, in many Places,
 “ that even the Loss of a Sparrow is not without Thy
 “ Will ; nor any Liberty or Power upon a poor Porket
 “ [i. e. Swine] have all the Devils in Hell, but BY THINE
 “ OWN APPOINTMENT and WILL. And we must al-
 “ ways believe it, most assuredly, to be, All, just and
 “ good, howsoever it may seem otherwise unto us. For
 “ Thou art marvellous, and not comprehensible, in thy
 “ Ways ; and Holy, in all thy Works. But hereunto
 “ it is necessary for us to know, no less certainly, that,
 “ altho’ ALL Things be done by THY PROVIDENCE,
 “ yet

(o) *Ibid.*

(p) *Ibid.* p. 295.

“ yet the same thy Providence to have many and divers
 “ MEANS to work by : which [Means] being contemn-
 “ ed, Thy Providence is contemned (q).”

Such Ample Attestation did this faithful Martyr, and
 “ *Prime Pillar*” of the Church of England, bear to “ *The*
 “ *DOCTRINE taught in King Edward’s Days !*”

A very remarkable and important Confirmation of Mr
Bradford’s Zeal for Doctrinal Calvinism, as maintained by
 the Church of England, occurs in *Strype’s Memorials of*
Cranmer, Book III. Chap. xiv.—A Confirmation, which
 also involves additional Proof of the Calvinism of Arch-
 bishop *Cranmer*, Bishop *Ridley*, Bishop *Latimer*, Bishop
Ferrar, Dr *Rowland Taylor*, and Mr *Philpot*, who (together
 with *Bradford* himself) were, All, Martyrs for the
 Church.

Strype acquaints us, under the Year 1554, when Papal
 Persecution began to wax warm, that, among such Pro-
 testants as then filled the public Prisons in London, there
 was a Mixture of FREE-WILL MEN : i. e. of Men who
 “ held FREE-WILL, tending to the Derogation of God’s Grace ;
 “ and refused the Doctrine of Absolute Predestination, and
 “ Original Sin” (Memor. of *Cranm.* p. 350).—The His-
 torian adds, that these *Free-will* Prisoners, tho’ Men of
 strict Lives, were “ very HOT in their Opinions and Dis-
 “ putations, and UNQUIET.” Divers of them, it seems,
 were confined “ In the *King’s Bench*, where *Bradford* and
 “ many other Gospellers [i. e. Protestants] were : many
 “ whereof, by their Conferences, they [i. e. the *Free-will*
 “ Men] gained to their own Persuasion. *Bradford* had
 “ much Discourse with them. The Name of their chief
 “ Man was *Harry Hart*, who had writ something in Defence
 “ of his [free-will-] Doctrine. *Trew* and *Abingdon* were
 “ Teachers also among them : *Kemp*, *Gybson*, and *Cham-*
 “ *berlain*, were others. They ran their Notions as high
 “ as

(q) *Strype’s Eccles. Mem.* Vol. III. *Append.* No. 29, p. 82.

“ as PELAGIUS did, and valued no Learning : the Writings and Authorities of the Learned they utterly rejected and despised.

“ *Bradford* was apprehensive, that they might now do GREAT HARM in the Church: and therefore, out of Prison, wrote a Letter to *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, the three chief Heads of [the Reformed, tho' Oppressed Church in England, to take some Cognizance of this Matter, and to consult with them in Remediying it; and with him joined Bishop *Ferrar*, *Rowland Taylor*, and *John Philpot*.” (Memor. of Cranm. ut supr.)

The Letter itself, sent on this Occasion, is extant in the *Appendix* to the above ‘*Memorials of Cranmer*,’ p. 195. No. LXXXIII. ’Tis entitled, “*Bradford to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, concerning the FREE-WILLERS.*” The superscription of it, written by *Bradford* himself, ran thus: ‘*To my dear Fathers, Doctor Cranmer, Doctor Ridley, Doctor Latimer; Prisoners in Oxford, for the Testimony of the Lord Jesus, and His Holy Gospel.*’ Part of the Letter is as follows: “Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, more and more kindle your Hearts and Affections with His Love.—As for your Parts, in that it is commonly thought, your Staff standeth next the Door” [i. e. you are among the first who are to be Burnt for Christ], “Yee have the more Cause to rejoice and be glad, as they which shall come to their fellowes under the Altar. To the which Society, God, with you, bring me also, in His Mercy, when it shall be His good Pleasure.—Herewithal, I send unto you a little Treatise” [written in favor of Predestination], “which I have made, that you might peruse the same.—Al the Prisoners here about, in maner, have seen it, and read it: and as therein they agree with me, nay rather with the Truth; so they are ready, and will be, to signify it, as they shall see you give them Example.” Good Mr *Bradford* then observes, that his Motive to writing this Letter, arose

arise from the Apprehensions he entertained, of the "GREAT
 " EYLL, that is like hereafter to come to Posterity, by these
 " Men," i. e. by the *Free-Willers*: adding, "The which
 " Thing that I might the more occasion you to perceive,
 " I have sent you here a Writing of *Henry Hart's* own
 " Hand: whereby ye may see, how Christ's, Glory and
 " Grace is like to lose much Light, if your Sheep *quandam*
 " be not something holpen by Them that love God, and
 " are able to prove that ALL Good is to be attributed ONLY
 " and WHOLLY to God's Grace and Mercy in Christ, with-
 " out other Respects of Worthies than Christ's Merits." →
 The Holy and Judicious Martyr next proceeds to give the
 following true and just Account of the FREE-WILLERS:
 " The Effects of Salvation they so mingle and confound
 " with the Cause, that, if it be not seen to, MORE HURT
 " WILL COME BY THEM, THAN EVER CAME BY THE
 " PAPISTS.—In *Free-Will*, they are plain *Papists*;
 " yea, *Pelagians*: And ye know, that *modicum Fermentis*
 " *totam Massam corrumpit*. They utterly contemn all
 " Learning. But hereof shall this Bringer" [i. e. shall the
 Bearer of this Letter] "shew you more." The Whole
 concludes thus: "My Brethren here with me have thought
 " it their Duty to signify this Need to be no less than I
 " make it, to prevent the Plantations which may take Root
 " by these Men.

"Yours in the Lord,

" Robert Ferrar,
 " John Bradford,
 " Rowland Taylor,
 " John Philpot."

Such was *Bradford's* excellent Letter against the FREE-
 WILL Men. And what Effect had it on *Cranmer*, *Ridley*,
 and *Latimer*? It filled those illustrious Martyrs with deep
 and solemn Alarm, lest the corrupt Leaven of Free-
 will, tho' little at that Time (few Protestants, compa-
 ratively, being infected with it), might, as *Bradford* also
 seemed

seemed to fear; go on to spread its Defilement. "Upon this Occasion," says the Historian, "*Ridley* wrote a Treatise on *God's Election and Predestination*. And *Bradford* wrote Another upon the same Subject; and sent it to those three Fathers in *Oxford* for their Approbation: and their's" [i. e. the Approbation of *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*] "being obtained, the rest of the eminent Divines, in and about *London*, were ready to sign it also." (*Strype's Mem. of Cranm.* p. 350.).

"I have", adds Mr *Strype*, "seen Another Letter of *Bradford*, to certain of those Men who were said to hold THE ERROR OF THE *Pelagians* AND *Papists* CONCERNING MAN'S FREE-WILL:—By which Letter, it appeared, that *Bradford* had often resorted to them, and conferred with them; and, at his own Charge and Hindrance, had done them good. But, seeing their *Obstinacy* and *Clamors* against him, he forbore to come at them any more: but yet wrote Letters to them, and sent them Relief. They told him, *He was a great slander to the Word of God, in Respect of his Doctrine; in that he believed and affirmed the Salvation of God's Children to be so certain, that they should assuredly enjoy the same: for, they said, it hanged partly on our Perseverance to the End.* BRADFORD [by Way of Answer] said, *It [i. e. Salvation] hung upon God's Grace in Christ; and not upon our Perseverance, in any Point: for then were Grace no Grace.*—They charged him, that *he was not so kind to them as he ought, in the Distribution of the Charity-Money* (which was then sent by well-disposed Persons to the Prisoners of Christ, in which *Bradford* was the Purse-bearer); but he assured them, *he never defrauded them of the Value of a Penny: and at that Time sent them 13s. 4d. and, if they needed as much more, he promised that they should have it.*"

Tho' Mr *Bradford* broke the Errors of the FREE-WILL Men to Pieces with the Hammer of God's Word; he yet observed all possible Candor and Meekness toward their Per-

sons. "Let Love", said he, "bear the Bell away; and let us pray one for another, and be careful one for another.—I have loved you in the Lord, my dear Hearts; tho' you have taken it otherwise, without Cause by me given.—I have not" [i. e. he had not then] "suffered any Copy of my *Treatise of Predestination* to go abroad, because I would suppress all Occasion, so far as might be. I am going before you, to my God and your God, to my Father and your Father, to my Christ and your Christ, to my Home and your Home". What a striking Model, was this excellent Man, of '*Orthodoxy and Charity United!*'—Mr Strype observes, that, "By Bradford's Pains and Diligence, he gained some [i. e. some of the *Free-willers*] from their Errors; particularly, one *Skelthorp*: for whom, in a Letter to *Careless*, he thanked God, who gave this Man to see the Truth at length." Mem. of *Cranm.* p. 350, 351.

I shall now procede to Mr JOHN PHILPOT, Arch-Deacon of *Winchester*: to which Preferment he was collated by the Pious and Discerning Dr *Ponet*, the first Protestant Bishop of that See, and a principal Framer of that excellent CATECHISM mentioned in Section XIII.

Mr Arch-Deacon *Philpot* "was of a worshipful House, a Knight's Son, born in *Hampshire*, brought up in New College, *Oxford*, where he studied the Civil Law for 6 or 7 Years, besides other Liberal Arts, and especially the Languages. In Wit, he was pregnant and happy; of a singular Courage; in Spirit, fervent; in Religion, zealous (r)." He suffered Death in *Smithfield*, December 18, 1555.

At

(r) Fox's *Acts & Mon.* Vol. III. p. 459.—Mr Strype records two amusing Incidents, relative to this Mr *Philpot*. "He was the Son of Sir Peter Philpot, Knight, nigh *Winchester*; and was, in his Youth, put to *Wickham* College: where he profited in Learning, so well, that he laid a Wager of TWENTY PENCE " with

At his Examination, before five Popish Prelates, and other Doctors of the Romish Church; Mr *Philpot* defied them All to confute CALVIN's Institutions. "Which of you all," said he, "is able to answer Calvin's Institutions, who is Minister of Geneva (s)?" To which one of the Papists (Dr *Saverfon*) replied, "A godly Minister indeed! of receipt of Cut-purses and runagate Traitors. And of late, I can tell you, there is such Contention fallen between him [meaning, *Calvin*] and his own Sects, that he was fain to flee the Town, about Predestination. I tell you Truth: for I came by Geneva hither." To this, *Philpot* rejoined in these Words:

F f 2

" I

" with *John Harpsfield*, that he would make Two Hundred Verses in one Night, and not make above Three Faults in them. Mr *Thomas Tuckner*, Schoolmaster, was Judge: and adjudged the Twenty Pence to Mr *Philpot*." *Strype's Eccles. Mem.* III. p. 263.—" *Stephen [Gardiner]*, Bishop of *Winton*, ever bore Ill-will against this godly Gentleman [viz. against Mr *Philpot* the Martyr], and forbad him Preaching, oftentimes, in King *Henry's* Reign. But he [*Philpot*] could not in Conscience hide his Talent, under this Prince, and in so Popish a Diocess. At last the Bishop sent for certain Justices, who came to his House: and there calling Mr *Philpot*, ROGUE; [*Philpot* said to the Bishop], My Lord, do you keep a Privy Sessions in your own House for me, and call me ROGUE, whose Father is a Knight, and may spend a Thousand Pounds within one Mile of your Nose? And He that can spend TEN POUNDS by the Year, as I can, I thank God, is no Vagabond.

" Bishop of Winchester. Canst THOU spend TEN POUNDS by the Year?

" *Philpot*. Ask Henry Francis, your Sister's Son.—Henry Francis, kneeling down, said, I pray you, my Lord, be a good Lord to Mr *Philpot*: for he is to me a good Landlord.

" Bishop of Winchester. What Rent dost thou pay him?

" Francis. I pay him Ten Pounds by the Year.

" At this Word, the Bishop was AFRAID, and ashamed for making so loud a Lye upon a Gentleman, and a Learned Gentleman." *Strype*, Ibid.

(s) *Fox*, Vol. III. p. 470.

“ I am sure you blaspheme that Godly Man, and that godly Church where He is Minister. As it is your Churches Condition” [i. e. in slandering Calvin, you only follow the constant Practice of the Romish Church], “ when you cannot answer Men by Learning, to oppress them with Blasphemies and false Reports. For, IN THE MATTER OF PREDESTINATION, He [i. e. CALVIN] is in NO OTHER Opinion than ALL THE DOCTORS of the Church be, AGREEING [i. e. who agree] WITH THE SCRIPTURES (t).” Such was Mr Philpot’s Judgement, of Calvin, and Predestination. And, indeed, where was THEN the Church of England-man who thought otherwise either of Him or It?

On a subsequent Examination before the Popish Commissioners; *Ralph Bayne*, Bishop of *Coventry and Litchfield*, told Mr *Philpot*, that Christ prophesied of *Geneva*, when He bid His Disciples beware of *false Prophets*. Take the Bishop’s Flirtation, and *Philpot*’s Answer, in the Words of each respectively.

“ Bishop of Cov. *Your Church of Geneva, which ye* [i. e. ye Protestants] *call the Catholic Church, is That which Christ prophesied of.*

“ *Philpot. I allow* [i. e. I acknowledge and profess] *the Church of Geneva, and THE DOCTRINE of the same; for it is Una, Catholica, et Apostolica; and doth follow the DOCTRINE, which the APOSTLES did preach: And the DOCTRINE, taught and preached in King EDWARD’s Days, was also according to the same (u).*” Here is an Arch-Deacon of the Church of England, who laid down his Life for her Doctrines, openly witnessing that the Doctrinal System of *Calvin* and *Geneva* was the SAME which the Apostles preached, and the SAME which was taught and asserted in the Days of *King Edward*. And the Arch-Deacon well knew what he said, and whereof he affirmed. For he had been, not only a Clergyman, but a Dignitary,
of

(t) Ibid.

(u) *Ibid.* p. 495.

of our Protestant Church, in the said King *Edward's* Days. He had, moreover, not only the Ocular Demonstration of *Calvin's* Writings, to convince him how exactly the Doctrines of that Reformer harmonized with the Doctrines of the Church of England; but had likewise had Auricular Demonstration of it, during his Travels abroad. So that this Martyr's peremptory Attestation to the SAMENESS of the DOCTRINE established at *Geneva*, under *Calvin*; with the DOCTRINE established in *England*, under King *Edward*; is such a Proof of the CALVINISM of our Church, as all the piddling Cavils of all the *Arminian Methodists* in the Three Kingdoms will never be able to shake.

While the good Arch-deacon lay in Prison, he wrote several inestimable Letters: from which I shall give the Reader a few Selections.

1. "To Mr John Careless, Prisoner in the King's Bench.

"God, by His Spirit, setteth the Sins of His ELECT still before them; that, where they perceive Sin to abound, there they might be assured that Grace shall super-abound: and bringeth them down unto Hell, that He might lift them up with greater Joy to Heaven.— The Spirit, which is in you, is mightier than all the Adversary's Power. Tempt he [i. e. the Adversary] may; and, lying await at your Heels, give you a Fall, unawares: but OVERCOME he SHALL NOT, yea, he CANNOT; for you are SEALED up already, with a lively Faith, to be the Child of God FOREVER. And whom God hath ONCE sealed for His own, him He NEVER utterly forsaketh. *The just falleth seven Times: but he RISETH AGAIN.* It is Man's Frailty, to fall: but it is the Property of the Devil's Child, to lie still.— Who can lay any Thing to the Charge of GOD'S ELECT? Do you not perceive the manifest TOKENS of your ELECTION? First, your *Vocation* to the Gospel; and, after your Vocation, the manifest *Gifts* of the Spirit of God, given unto you above many Others of your Condition,

dition; with *Godliness*, which believeth and yieldeth to the Authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for the same.—The Peace of God be with you, my Dear Brother. I can write no more, for lack of Light. And that I have written, I cannot read myself: and, God knoweth, it is written far uneasily. I pray God, you may pick out some Understanding of my Mind towards you. Written in a Coal-house of Darknes, out of a Pair of painful Stocks; but thine own in Christ, *John Philpot (x)*.^a It was usual for some of the Protestant Preachers, before Sentence of Death was actually passed, to be confined in Bishop *Bonner's* Coal-house: where they suffered every Kind of Inconvenience and Indignity.

2. "To certain Godly Brethren.

"To continue out in Well-doing, is the only Property of the Children of God" [i. e. is the Property of God's Children only], "and such as ASSUREDLY shall be saved. —He hath commanded His Angels to keep us, that WE STUMBLE NOT AT A STONE WITHOUT HIS DIVINE PROVIDENCE (y)."

3. "To Lady Vane.

"Blessed be they that mourn, for such shall be comforted. God wipe away all Tears from your pitiful Eyes, and Sorrow from your merciful Heart: that you may (as, doubtless, you shall do shortly) rejoice with His ELECT forever.—God pour His Spirit abundantly upon you: until you may come to see the God of all Gods, with His ELECT, in *Sion* (z)."

4. "To the same Lady.

"His ELECT, and such as He LOVETH, will He punish here, that they should not be condemned hereafter with the World eternally.—Be thankful unto God, for His wondrous Working in His CHOSEN PEOPLE (a)."
The Benevolent Reader will not be displeased, to know, that

(x) *Ibid.* p. 502.

(z) *Ibid.* p. 506.

(y) *Ibid.* p. 504.

(a) *Ibid.* p. 508, 509.

that the Excellent Person to whom the two last mentioned Letters were addressed, and who was the common supporter of God's afflicted Witnesses, during the whole Reign of *Mary*; was reserved by Providence, to out-live those persecuting Times, and had the Comfort of seeing the Church of *England* restored by Queen *Elizabeth*. Mr *Fox's* short Account of this *Elect Lady* (as Mr *Philpot* justly termed her) will hardly be censured as a Digression. "This
 " *Lady Vane* was a special Nurse of the godly Saints, who
 " were imprisoned in Queen *Mary's* Time. Unto whom,
 " divers Letters I have, both of Mr *Philpot*, *Careless*,
 " *Trabern*, *Thomas Rose*, and Others: wherein they ren-
 " der most grateful Thanks for her exceding Goodness
 " towards them; with their singular Commendation and
 " Testimony also of her Christian Zeal towards God's af-
 " flicted Prisoners, and to the Verity of His Gospel. She
 " departed of late, at *Holborn*" [now a Part of *London*,
 then a Village near it, or at most a Suburb] " Anno 1568.
 " whose End was more like sleep than Death, so quietly
 " and meekly she deceased in the Lord (b)."

Mr *Styve* informs us of the Earnestness, with which Arch-Deacon *Philpot* opposed an ARIAN of those Times. On this Occasion, *Philpot* wrote what he calls an *Apology*. It is extant in the *Ecclesiastical Memoirs* (c). Among other Particulars, it contains the following: " Pray that God
 " will give you the lyke Zele to withstand the Enemies
 " of the Gospel,—which go about to teach you any
 " OTHER Doctryne than you have received in Kynge
 " EDWARD's Days: in the which, praised be God, all
 " the sycerity of the Gospell was reveled, accordynge to
 " the pure use of the Primitive Church, and as it is, at
 " this present, of the trew Catholyck Church, allowed
 " through the Worlde.—Thes new Heretyks are ful
 of

(b) *Ibid.* p. 274.

(c) Vol. III. *Append.* No. 48, p. 145—157.

“ of blasphemous Reports: spreading the same abroad,
 “ both by themselves, and by their Adherents, against the
 “ sincere Professors of the Gospel, That we *make God the*
 “ *Author of Synne*; and that we say, *Let Men do what*
 “ *they will, it is not material, yf they be Predestinate.*—
 “ And with this I, among Other, am most slanderously
 “ charged and defamed by thes owtrageous Heretyks; to
 “ whom I have gon abowte, to my Power, to do good, as
 “ God is my Witnes. But I have receved the Reward of
 “ a Prophet at their Hands (although I am not worthy to
 “ be cownted under that glorious Name), which is Shame,
 “ Rebuke, Slander, and Slaying of my good Fame:
 “ ———only bycause I holde and affirme, being mani-
 “ festly instructed by God’s Word, that the ELECT of
 “ God CANNOT FINALLYE PERISH. Therefore they
 “ [i. e. the *Arian Free-willers*] have pyked owt of their
 “ own malicious Nailes the former Part of thes Blasphe-
 “ mies: and because, at another Tyme, I did reprove
 “ them of their TEMEROUS and RASH JUDGEMENT, for
 “ CONDEMNYNG OF MEN USYNG THYNGS INDIFFERENT,
 “ as *Shooting, Bowling, Hawkyng*, with such lyke; provyng
 “ by the Scripture, that all Men, in a Temperancy, might
 “ use them in their dew Tymes, and showing HONEST
 “ PASTYME was NO SYNNE: which thes contentious
 “ Schismatyks do improve, whereupon they do maliciously
 “ descant, as is before mentioned.”

Here let us observe, 1. That the *Arians* of that Age were
 likewise FREE-WILLERS: they not only denied the proper
 Divinity of God the Son and God the Spirit, but also the
Predestination of God the Father, and the *Final Perseverance*
 of His People.—2. As these *Arians* were FREE-WILLERS;
 so, it should seem, that none, who called themselves Pro-
 testants, were *Free-willers*, but such as were *Arians* too.
 —3. These FREE-WILL ARIANS were professed DIS-
 SENTERS from the Reformed Church of *England*. Hence,
 Mr *Philpot* vindicates the Church from their malicious Ob-
 jections. Indeed, such Men as these could be no other
 than

than Dissenters. They held what the Church denies, and denied what the Church affirms. The Church denies, to this Day, that *Free-will* has any Power in Spirituals: but those Arian Pelagians maintained the contrary. The Church asserts *absolute Predestination*: but they denied that there is any such Thing. The Church holds a *Trinity of Divine Persons*: to which those Men said, Nay. The Church affirms the *Ultimate Perseverance* of the Elect: the above Arians would not allow of it at all. The Church declares, that *no Man* upon Earth is *free from Sin*: but those very *Free-will* Arians, against whom Arch-Deacon *Philpot* disputes in the said Apology, maintained, That “*Men might* “ *be WITHOUT SIN, as well as Christ (d).*” The Church teaches her Children to say, *Lord, have Mercy upon Us Miserable Sinners*: But these identical Arian Free-willers “*OBJECTED* against that Suffrage; for they said, *they* “ *were not miserable, nor would be accounted so (e).*” The Church uses the *Lord’s Prayer*: But the aforesaid Free-will Arians “*were AGAINST* using the *Lord’s Prayer*; for it “ *was NEEDLESS*, they said, *to pray*, Thy Kingdom come, “ *when God’s Kingdom was already come upon them.* And “ also that Petition, *Forgive us our Trespases*: for they “ held they had *NO Sin (f).*” Query: Would not any body almost imagine, that, in ALL the above Respects (the Article, concerning the *Trinity*, alone excepted), these *FREE-WILL Arians* were designed as *Types, Figures, Fore-runners*, and *prophetic Images*, of Messrs. *WESLEY, SELLON*, and their Associates? Never, surely, was there a *stronger likeness*, in all the Features but one!—4. The self-same Slander against *Predestination* and *Perseverance*, which was raised by those *ARIANS*, is (almost in the self-same Words) alledged by the acrimonious *ARMINIANS* last mentioned. The *Arian* slander, urged against the “*Doctrine received* “ *in King Edward’s Days*”, was, *Let Men DO WHAT* “ *THEY*

(d) Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* Vol. III. p. 261. (e) Strype, *Ibid.*

(f) Strype, *Ibid.*

“ THEY WILL, *it is not material, if they be Predestinate.*”
 And what says Mr *John Wesley*? “ *The Elect shall be saved,*
 “ DO WHAT THEY WILL.” Behold, how Brethren
 jump together!—5. Mr *Philpot*, the martyred Arch-Deacon,
 was traduced, by the said Arians, as an ANTINOMIAN,
 because he maintained that “ *Honest Pastime was no Synne*”,
 if properly timed, and temperately indulged: such as
 “ *Shooting, Bowling, Hawking, and SUCH LIKE*”.——
 6. Justly, therefore, did that pious and learned Martyr
 brand the said FREEWILL-ARIAN-PERFECTIONISTS (and,
 by the same Rule, justly may their modern Successors be
 branded) on account of “ *their TEMERARIOUS and RASH*
 JUDGEMENT, *for condemning Men using Things indif-*
ferent.”

So much for the excellent Mr *Philpot*; who shall now
 take his leave of the Reader, with this short, but weighty
 Observation: *Such is the Omnipotency of our God, that He*
can and doth make, to HIS ELECT, Sour, Sweet, and
Misery, Felicity (g).”

Mr RICHARD WOODMAN was Burned, in one Fire
 with nine other Martyrs, at *Lewes*, in *Suffex*, July 22,
 1557.

His first Examination was before Dr *Christopherson*, the
 Popish Bishop of *Chichester*. Some Particulars, which pass-
 ed on that Occasion, are worthy the Reader's Attention.

“ *Bishop of Chichester.* Do you think that you have the
 Spirit of God?

“ Mr Woodman. *I believe verily that I have.*

“ *Bishop of Chichester.* You boast more than ever Paul
 did, or any of the Apostles: which is great Presumption.

“ Mr Woodman. *I boast not in myself, but in the Gift of*
God, as Paul did.——*I can prove, by Places enough,*
that Paul had the Spirit of God; as I myself, and all God's
ELECT, have.

“ *Bishop*

“ *Bishop of Chichester.* How prove you that?

“ *Mr Woodman.* No Man can believe that *Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. vii. I do believe that Jesus Christ is MY Redeemer, and that I shall be saved from all my Sins by his Death and Bloodshedding; as Paul and all the Apostles did, and as all faithful People ought to do: which no Man can do, without the Spirit of God. And as there is no Damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, so is there no Salvation to them that are not in Christ: for he, that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of His.—We have received the Spirit of Adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. The same Spirit certifieth our Spirits, that we are the Sons of God.—Besides all this; he, that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him. So, it is impossible to believe in God, unless God dwell in us.*

“ *Dr Story* [another of the Popish Examiners]. Oh, my Lord, what an Heretic is this same! Why hear you him? Send him to Prison, to his Fellows in the *Marshalsea*, and they shall be dispatched within these twelve Days.

“ *Bishop of Chich.* Methinks he is not afraid of the Prison.

“ *Mr Woodm.* No; I praise the living God.

“ *Dr Story.* This is an Heretic indeed: He hath the right Terms of all Heretics. The living God! I pray you, be there dead gods, that you say the living God?

“ *Mr Woodm.* Are you angry with me, because I speak the Words that are written in the Bible?

“ *Dr Story.* Bible babble, bible babble. What speakest thou of the Bible? There is no such Word written in all the Bible (b).”

Some Time afterwards, Mr WOODMAN was examined again, before Doctor *Langdale*. By reciting what then passed, concerning God's Decrees, and Man's Free-will; we shall see, whether the Popish Doctor was not what would

would now be called an Arminian, and the Protestant Martyr a Calvinist.

“ Mr Woodm. *St Paul saith, Rom. ix. E'er ever the Children were born, e'er ever they had done either Good or Bad, that the PURPOSE of God, which is by ELECTION, might stand, not by the Reason of Works, but by the GRACE of the Caller, the Elder shall serve the Younger: Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated.*

“ Dr Langd. Methinks, by your Talk, you deny Original Sin and FREE-WILL.

“ Mr Woodm. *I pray you, what Freewill hath Man to do Good of himself?*

“ Dr Langd. I say, that all Men have as much Free-will now, as Adam had before his Fall.

“ Mr Woodm. *I pray you, how prove you that?*

“ Dr Langd. Thus I prove it: that as Sin entered into the World, and, by the means of One that Sinned, All Men became Sinners, which was by Adam; so, by the Obedience of One Man, Righteousness came upon all Men that had sinned, and set them as free as they were before the Fall: Which was by Jesus Christ.

“ Mr Woodm. *Oh Lord, what an overthrow have you given yourself here, in Original Sin! For, IN PROVING THAT WE HAVE FREE-WILL, you have QUITE DENIED ORIGINAL SIN. For here you have declared, that we be set as free by the Death of Christ, as Adam was before his Fall: and I am sure, that Adam had no Original Sin before his Fall. If WE be as FREE now, as HE was then; I marvel wherefore Paul complained thrice to God, to take away the Sting of it: God making him Answer, and saying, My Grace is sufficient for thee.*

“ *These Words, with divers other, prove Original Sin in us; but not that it shall hurt God's ELECT PEOPLE, but that His Grace is sufficient for All HIS.—I say, with David, In Sin was I born, and in Sin hath my Mother conceived me: but in no such Sin that shall be imputed; because I am born of God by Faith. Therefore I am blessed,*

“ as

“ as saith the Prophet, Because the Lord imputeth not my Sin :
 “ NOT because I HAVE NO Sin, but because God hath NOT
 “ IMPUTED my Sins. Not of our OWN DESERVING, but
 “ of his FREE MERCY, He hath saved us. WHERE IS NOW
 “ YOUR FREE-WILL that you speak of? if we have FREE-
 “ WILL, then our SALVATION cometh of OUR OWN SELVES,
 “ and not of God : which is A GREAT BLASPHEMY against
 “ God and his Word.

“ For Saint James saith, EVERY good Gift, and EVERY
 “ perfect Gift, cometh FROM ABOVE, from the Father of
 “ Light, with whom is no Variableness. Of HIS OWN Will
 “ begat He us. For the Wind” [i. e. the Regenerating
 Breath of the Holy Spirit] “ bloweth where it LISTETH.
 “ It is God that worketh in us the WILL, and also the DEED.
 “ Seeing, then, that every good Gift cometh from above, and
 “ lighteneth upon whom it pleaseth God, and that HE work-
 “ eth in us both the Will and the Deed ; methinks, all the rest
 “ of our own Will is little worth, or nought at all, unless it
 “ be Wickedness. And as for ORIGINAL SIN, I think I
 “ have declared my Mind therein, how it REMAINETH in
 “ Man : which you cannot deny, unless you deny the Word of
 “ God.

“ Dr Langd. Say what you can : for it availeth me to
 “ say nothing to you. I was desired to send for you, to
 “ teach you : and there will no Words of mine take place
 “ in you ; but you go about to reprove ME. Say what
 “ you will, for Me (i).”

The Truth is, the Popish Examiner had the wrong End
 of the Argument : and he was glad to shuffle off the Cal-
 vinistic Prisoner, as well as he could. Mr WOODMAN,
 however, was not so easily shuffled off: for, to One who
 came in during the Debate, the intrepid Martyr said, “ He
 “ [i. e. Dr Langdale] saith, I denied ORIGINAL SIN ; and
 “ it was he himself [that denied it], for he went about to
 “ prove that Man hath FREE-WILL (k).”

This

(i) *Ibid.* p. 634.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 686.

This Protestant Hero's last Examination, at the Close of which he received Sentence of Death, was held in the Church of *St Mary Overey* (now *St Saviors*), *Southwark*. Himself informs us, that his Judges and Condemners were, *Gardiner* "the Bishop of *Winchester*, [*Christopher*] Bishop of *Chichester*, the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, Dr *Langdale*, M. *Roper*, with a FAT-HEADED PRIEST, I cannot tell his Name (*l*)." We shall soon see, what a Jest this "fat-headed Priest," whose Name Mr *WOODMAN* could not tell, made of *Predestination*, and Justification by *Faith* alone. Happy would it have been for the Protestant Cause in general, and for the Church of England in particular, if those Doctrines had, to this Day, been exploded by Papists *only*. But there have, since, been too many "fat-headed Priests", of more than One Protestant Denomination, at whose Hands the Doctrines of Election and Free Justification found no better Reception, than at Those of the nameless FAT-HEADED Priest above-mentioned. I wish the same Remark may not extend to more than a few LEAN-HEADED Priests likewise.

The Commissioners being fat, Mr *Woodman* was called upon to give an Account of his Faith. This he did, as follows :

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all Things visible and invisible. And in One Lord Jesus Christ my Savior; very God, and very Man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the Comforter of All God's ELECT PEOPLE; and that he is equal with the Father and the Son (*m*)."

The Bishop of *Winton* and the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* told him, in the Cant so usual with Persecutors, "We go not about to condemn thee, but to save thy Soul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee.

"Woodm. To save my Soul? Nay: you cannot save my Soul. My Soul is SAVED ALREADY: I praise God there-
" for.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 691.

(*m*) *Ibid.*

“ *for. There can no Man save my Soul, but Jesus Christ.*
 “ *And He it is that HATH saved my Soul, BEFORE THE*
 “ *FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD was laid.*

“ *The fat Priest. What an Heresy is THAT, my Lord!*
 “ *Here’s an HERESY! He saith, his Soul was saved be-*
 “ *fore the Foundations of the World were laid! Thou canst*
 “ *not tell what thou sayest. Was thy Soul saved before*
 “ *it was” [i. e. before it existed]?*

“ *Woodm. Yes, I praise God, I can tell what I say; and*
 “ *I say the Truth. Look in the first of Ephesians, and there*
 “ *you shall find it: where Paul saith, Blessed be God, the*
 “ *Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with*
 “ *all Manner of spiritual Blessings, in heavenly Things, by*
 “ *Christ; according as he hath CHOSEN us in Him, BEFORE*
 “ *THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD was laid, that we*
 “ *should be holy and without Blame before Him, through Love;*
 “ *and thereto were we PREDESTINATED. These be the*
 “ *Words of Paul: and I believe they be most true. And there-*
 “ *fore it is my Faith, in and by Jesus Christ, that saveth: and*
 “ *not you, nor any Man else.*

“ *The fat Priest. What! Faith without Works? Se*
 “ *James saith, Faith without works is dead. And we*
 “ *have FREE-WILL to do good Works.*

“ *Woodm. I would not that Any of you should think that*
 “ *I disallow good Works: for a good Faith cannot be without*
 “ *good Works. Yet not of ourselves: it is the Gift of God.*
 “ *It is God that worketh in us both the Will and the Deed (n).”*

What could the Popish Free-willers and Merit-mongers do with this inflexible Heretic? Convince him they could not. The shortest Expedient, therefore, was, to Burn him out of the way: which they accordingly did.

Let me now introduce Mr JOHN CLEMENT to my Readers; a Man of great Grace, and distinguished Usefulness; concerning whom, Mr *Strype* thus Writes:

“ There

(n) *Fox*, Ibid. p. 692.

“ There were now [*viz.* in the Year 1556] Abundance
 “ of Sects and dangerous Doctrines; whose Maintainers
 “ shrouded themselves under the Professors of the Gospel
 “ [*i. e.* they affected to pass for Protestants]. Some denied
 “ the Godhead of Christ; some DENIED His Manhood.
 “ Others DENIED the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, Ori-
 “ ginal Sin, the Doctrine of PREDESTINATION and FREE
 “ ELECTION, the Descent of Christ into Hell (which
 “ the Protestants here generally held), the Baptism of In-
 “ fants. Others HELD FREE-WILL, MAN’S RIGHTE-
 “ OUSNESS, and JUSTIFICATION BY WORKS: Doctrines,
 “ which the Protestants, in the Times of King *Edward*,
 “ for the most Part DISOWNED. By these Opinions, a
 “ SCANDAL was raised on the true Professors [*i. e.* on those
 “ who had suffer’d, and who were then suffering, Perse-
 “ cution and Death for their Attachment to the Protec-
 “ tant Church of England]. Therefore it was thought
 “ fit now, by THE ORTHODOX, to write and publish
 “ summary Confessions of their Faith, to leave behind
 “ them when they were Dead: wherein they should DIS-
 “ CLAIM these Doctrines, as well as all Popish Doctrines
 “ whatsoever.

“ This was done by one JOHN CLEMENT, this
 “ Year [1556], lying a Prisoner in the *King’s Bench* for
 “ Religion: [whose Declaration is] entitled, *A Confes-
 “ sion and Protestation of the Christian Faith*. In which it
 “ appears, THE PROTESTANTS thought fit (notwithstand-
 “ ing the Condemnation and Burning of *Cranmer, Ridley,
 “ Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Saunders, Bradford*, for He-
 “ retics), to own THEIR DOCTRINE” [*viz.* the Doctrine
 “ of *Cranm. Ridl. Latim. Hoop. Rog. Saund. Bradf. &c.*] as
 “ AGREEABLE TO THE WORD OF GOD, and “ Them as
 “ such as sealed the same with their own Blood. THIS
 “ CONFESSION may be looked upon as AN ACCOUNT OF
 “ THE BELIEF OF THE PROFESSORS” [*i. e.* of the Pro-
 “ testant Church of Englandmen] “ IN THOSE DAYS.
 “ Copies thereof were taken, and so dispersed, for the
 “ Use

“ Use of good Men: one whereof is in my Hands.—
 “ Thus we see how industriously They [the Protestants
 “ of those Days] disowned all *Arians, Anabaptists, and*
 “ such like: who being not of the *Roman Faith*, the
 “ *Papists* would fain have joined them with all the Pro-
 “ testants, to disgrace and disparage the Holy Profession (o).”

Before I quote the Confession itself, let me observe, from the above Passage, 1. That, so far as appears, *Arians, Socinians*, and such like, were the ONLY Protestants who, in those Times, DENIED “ the Doctrines of *Predestination* “ and *free Election*.” and that the Protestants, “ in the “ Times of King *Edward*”, did for the most Part “ DIS- “ OWN the Doctrines of *Free-will, Man’s Righteousness, and Justification by Works*.” And no Wonder: for “ the “ MOST Part” of the then Protestants were sincere Mem- bers of the Church of England: which Church then did, and still does, assert “ *Predestination and free Election*”; and deny “ *Free-will, Man’s Righteousness, and Justifica- tion by Works*.”—2. ’Tis evident, that such, as dissented from the Church of England in those Points, strove to take Advantage of the Afflicted, persecuted State, which the Church was in, under the Reign of *Mary*; and to palm themselves upon the World, as Churchmen: laboring to persuade the Ignorant, that the Doctrines, for which the Martyrs bled, were the same Doctrines which were held by these same *Arians, Free-willers, and Work-mongers*. With as much Audacity, and with as little Truth, as *Wesley, Sellon*, and others of that Stamp, Now affect to shelter their Pelagianism under the Wing of our present Establish- ment.—3. The surviving Protestants, who were impris- oned for the Faith, and had not yet (as Many of them soon afterwards were) been brought to the Stake; took no small Alarm at the Impudence and Falsehood of these FREE-WILLERS: and thought it incumbent upon them- selves, as well they might, to clear the suffering Church

G g

of

(o) Strype’s *Eccles. Mem.* Vol. III. p. 363, 364, 365.

of England and her godly Martyrs, from the unjust insinuations of the Arian and Pelagian Party. They deemed it, says Mr *Strype*, "a SCANDAL," to be numbered with those few, but insolent Fanatics, who, "denying *Predestination* "and *free Election*," held "*Free-will* and *Justification* by "*Works*."—4. The more openly to "DISCLAIM", and the more effectually to "DIS-OWN," all Connection with these intruding FREE-WILLERS; "The *Orthodox*," says Mr *Strype*, "*thought fit to own*," i. e. publicly and unanimously to avow, "*the Doctrine of CRANMER, RIDLEY, LATIMER, HOOPER, ROGERS, SAUNDERS, and BRADFORD, as agreeable to the Word of God*," and to the Faith of the Reformed Church of England: and to own "Them," i. e. to own the said Martyrs, *Cranmer, &c.* to have been "*Such as sealed the same [Doctrines] with their Blood*."—To this End, 5. It was resolved on, by the Evangelical Prisoners, to draw up, and publish, an EXPLICIT CONFESSION OF FAITH, prior to their own Martyrdom: which Confession might remain "*behind them, when they were dead*," and be a standing Proof of their Union and Communion, in Matters of Doctrine, with *Cranmer, Ridley, &c.* and the other foregoing Martyrs of the Church of England.—6. The framing this Confession, and the digesting of it into Form, was committed to Mr JOHN CLEMENT: who executed his Trust with such Care, Fidelity, and Ability, that (says Mr *Strype*) the said "*Confession may be looked upon as an Account of the Belief of the Professors in those Days*:" i. e. of the "*Protestants in the Times of King EDWARD*," Thousands of whom were afterwards persecuted, and Hundreds of whom were put to Death, under the succeeding Tyranny of *Mary*.

So much, by way of Preliminary to this famous Confession. Now for a concise View, of THE CONFESSION ITSELF. The Reader that pleases to peruse the Whole of it may see it in *Strype* (p).

It

(p) *Ibid.* Append. No. LXI. from p. 210, to 225.

It observes, toward the Beginning, the manifold subtlety of *Satan* in corrupting the Human Mind from the Glorious Gospel of the Blessed God: "Some denyinge, " the Doctrine of Gode's FIRM PREDESTINATION and " FREE ELECTION in Jesus Christe; which is the very " Certayntie of our Salvation.—And as he" [*i. e.* the Devil] "hathe caused them to denye all these Thinges, " even so hathe he made them to affirm many MADDE " and FOOLISH FANTASYES, whiche the Worde of God " dothe utterlye condempne: as FREE-WILL, MAN'S " RIGHTEOUSNESS, and JUSTIFYING of WORKES; " withe dyvers suche lyke; to the great Dishonoure of " God, to the Obscuring of his Glorye, the Darkeninge " of his Truthe, to the great Defacyng of Christes Deathe; " yea to the utter Destruction of many a simple Soule, that " cannot shyfte from these subtyll sleightes of Satan, excepte the Lorde shewe his great Mercye upon them.— " I do undoubtedlye beleve in God the Holy Ghoste, who " is the Lorde and Gever of Lyfe, and the Sanctifier of " all Godes ELECT. Furthermore, I do confesse, and " undoubtedlye beleve, that I, and every lyvely Member " of this Catholyke Church, is and shall be Redeemed, " Justified, and Saved, ONELEY and SOLYE by the FREE " GRACE and MERE MERCYE of God in Jesus Christe, " thouroughe his mooste precyious Deathe and Bloudsheddinge: and in NO PART by or for any of our owne good " Workes, Merites, or Deservings, that we can do or deserve. Notwithstandinge, I confesse, that all Men ought, " and are bownde by the Worde of God, to DOE good " Workes, and to knowe and kepe God's Commandmentes: " yet NOT to deserve any Part of our Salvations thereby; " but to shewe their Obedience to God, and the Frutes of " Faythe unto the Worlde.—And this Salvation, Redemption, and Justification, is apprehended or received " of Us, by the onely FAITHE in Jesus Christe: in that " Sence and Meanyng, as is declared in the Homilye of " Justification, which was appoynted to be reade in the

“ peculiar Church of *Englande*, in good *Kynge Edward's*
 “ *Dayes the Syxte*. Which **HOMILYE**, with **ALL THE**
 “ **REASTE**, then fet furthe by his **Authoritie**, I do af-
 “ firme and beleve to be a true, holefome, and godlye
 “ **Doctryne** for all **Chryftian Men** to beleve, obferve,
 “ kepe, and folowe.

“ Also, I do beleve and confesse, that the last **Boke**,
 “ which was geuen to the Church of *Englande* by the
 “ **Authoritie** of good *Kynge Edwarde the Syxte* and the
 “ whole **Parliament**, contayninge the **Manor** and **FOURME**
 “ of **COMMON PRAYER**, and **Miniftration** of the
 “ blessed **Sacramentes** in the Church of *Englande*; ought
 “ to have been receaved with all **Readynes** of **Mynde**, and
 “ **Thankfullnes** of **Harte**.——Also I do accepte, be-
 “ lieve, and alowe, for a very **Truthe**, all the godlye
 “ **ARTICLES** that were agreed upon in the **Convo-**
 “ **cation-Houfe**, and published by the **Kynges Majefties**
 “ **Authoritie** (I meane, *Kynge Edwarde the Syxte*), in the
 “ last **Yeare** of his most **gracious Reigne**.

“ I doe confesse and beleve, that *Adam*, by his **Fall**,
 “ **LOST**, from himself and **ALL** his **Posterity**, **ALL** the
 “ **FREEDOME**, **CHOYCE**, and **POWER** of **Man's WILL**
 “ to doe **Good**: so that **ALL THE WILL** and **Imagina-**
 “ **tions** of **Mannes Harte** is **ONELYE** to **EVIL**, and **AL-**
 “ **TOGETHER** **subject** to **SYNNE**, and **BONDE** and **CAP-**
 “ **TYVE** to all **Manner** of **WICKEDNES**. So that it **CAN-**
 “ **NOT ONCE** **THINKE** a **GOOD THOUGHT**, much lesse
 “ then doe any good **Deede**, as of his owne **Worke**, **plea-**
 “ **saunte** and acceptable in the **Syght** of **God**, untill fuche
 “ **Tyme** as the same” [i. e. untill such **Time** as the
 “ *Will*] “ be **REGENERATE** by the **Holy Ghoſte**.——
 “ Untill the **Spirite** of **Regeneration** be given us of **God**,
 “ we can neither **WILL**, **DOE**, **SPEAKE**, nor **THINKE**,
 “ any good **Thynge** that is acceptable in **His Sight**.——
 “ As a **Man** that is **DEADE** cannot raise up himselfe, or
 “ worke **ANYE THYNGE** **TOWARDS** his **Refurrection**;
 “ or he that is not, worke **towards** his **Creation**; even
 so

“ so the naturall Man cannot worke any Thyng towards
 “ his Regeneration. As a Bodye, without the Soule, can-
 “ not move but downewardes ; so the Soule of Man, with-
 “ out the Spirite of Christe, cannot lyfte up himselfe.
 “ He must be BORNE AGAYNE, to doe the Workes that
 “ be spirituall and holye. And by Ourselves we cannot
 “ be regenerate by any Meanes : for it is onlye the Worke
 “ of God. To whom let us praye, with *David*, that He
 “ will take away our Stonye Hartes, and create in Us
 “ new Hartes, by the MIGHTY OPERATIONS of His Holye
 “ Spirite.

“ I do acknowledge, confesse, and undoubtedlye be-
 “ leve, that God, our Eternal Father (whose Power is
 “ incomprehensible, whose Wisdome is infinite, and his
 “ Judgements unsearchable) hath, onelye of his greate
 “ abundant MERCY, and FREE GOODNESSE, and FA-
 “ VOURE, in Jesus Christe, ORDEYNED, PREDESTINA-
 “ TED, ELECTED, and APPOYNTED, before the Foun-
 “ dation of the Worlde was layd, an innumerable Mul-
 “ titude of *Adam's* Posteritie, to be saved from their Synnes
 “ thoroughe the Merites of Christes Deathe and Bloud-
 “ sheaddinge onelye ; and to be (thoroughe Christ) his
 “ adopted Sonnes, and Heres of his everlasting Kingdome,
 “ in Whom his great Mercye shal be magnified forever :
 “ of which moste happye Number, my fyrme Faith and
 “ stedfast Beleve is, that I, althoughe unworthye, am
 “ One ; onelye throughe the Mercye of God in Jesus
 “ Christe our Lorde and Saviour.

“ And I beleve, and am surely certified, by the Testi-
 “ monye of Godes good Spirite, and the unfallyble Truthe
 “ of his most holye Worde, that neither I, nor ANY of
 “ these his CHOSEN Children, shall FYNALLYE PERISHE,
 “ or be dampned ; althoughe we All (if God should entre
 “ into Judgement with us, according to our Dedes) have
 “ justly deserved it. But suche is Godes greate Mercye
 “ towardes us, for our Lorde Jesus Christes sake, that
 “ our Synnes shal never be imputed unto us. We are

" all geuen to Christe to kepe, who will LOSE NONE of
 " us: neither can any Thing PLUCK us furthe of his
 " Handes, or SEPARATE us from Him. He hathe maryed
 " us unto Him by Faythe, and made us His pure Spoufe
 " without Spot or Wrinkle in his Sight, and will NEVER
 " be DEVORCED from us. He hathe taken from us all
 " our Synnes, Myseries, and Infirmities; and hathe put
 " them upon Himselfe: and hathe CLOTHED US WITH
 " HIS RIGHTEOUSNES, and enriched us with His Merites,
 " and Mercyes, and moste lovinge Benefites. And He
 " hathe not onely done all this, and much more, for us;
 " but also, of His greate Mercye, Love, and Kyndnes,
 " He dothe styll KEPE the same MOST SURELYE SAFELYE
 " for us, and WILL doe so FOREVER: for He loveth us
 " UNTO THE ENDE. His Father hathe committed us
 " unto HIS SAFE CUSTODYE, and none can ever be able
 " to plucke us furthe of His Hands. He hathe REGISTERD
 " our Names in THE BOKE OF LYFE, in suche Sorte that
 " the same shall NEVER be RACED OUT. In Considera-
 " tion whereof, we have good Cause to rejoyce, to thanke
 " God, and hartelye to love Him; and, of Love, un-
 " faynedlye to doe whatsoever He willeth us to doe: for
 " He loved us FIRSTE.

" Fynallye, Christe testifyethe himselfe, That *it is not*
 " *possible, that THE ELECT shoulde be deceived.* Verelye
 " then, can they not be dampned" [i. e. damned]:
 " Therefore I confesse and beleve, with all my Harte,
 " Soull, and Mynde, that NOT ONE of all Godes ELECT
 " CHILDREN shall fynallye PERISHE or be dampned.
 " For God, who is their Father, both CAN and WILL
 " preserve, kepe, and defende them forever. For, seyng
 " He is GOD, He wanteth no POWER to do it: and also,
 " seyng He is their moste deare lovyng FATHER, He
 " lacketh no good WILL towards them, I am sure.
 " How can it be, but He will PERFOURME their Salva-
 " tion TO THE UTTERMOSTE, sythe He wanteth neither
 " Power, nor good Will, to do it?

" And

“ And this moſte heavenly, true, and comfortable
 “ Doctrin dothe not bring with it a fleſhlye, idell, car-
 “ nall, and careleſſ Lyfe, as ſome Men unjuſtlye doe re-
 “ port of it: whoſe Eyes God open, and pardon their Ig-
 “ norance and raſhe Judgementes. But rather it dothe
 “ mayntayne and bringe with it all true Godlynes, and
 “ Chriſtian Puritie of Lyfe, with moſte earneſte Thank-
 “ fullnes of Harte, in Reſpecte of Godes greate Mercye
 “ and lovyng Kyndnes onlye.

“ As for *Reprobation*, I have nothinge to ſaye of it: for
 “ Sainte Paul ſaythe, *What have we to doe with Them that*
 “ *are without?* The Lorde encrease our Faythe and true
 “ Feelynnge of our ELECTION.——Notwithſtanding,
 “ as” [the Goſpel] “ is unto ſome *the Savor of LYFE unto*
 “ *Lyfe*; even ſo is it, unto Other ſome, *the Savor of DEATH*
 “ *unto Death*: as Chriſte Himſelfe is, unto ſome, a Rocke
 “ to RYSE bye; and, to Other ſome, a Stone to STUM-
 “ BLE at.”

Thus Believed the Primitive Members of the Church
 of *England*. Thus held, and thus taught, thoſe Pro-
 teſtant Worthys, who, when the Truths of God were
 at Stake, *loved not their Lives, unto Death*.

Let me once more obſerve (the Remarks are very im-
 portant, or I would not repeat them), That, by the Ac-
 knowledgement even of Mr *Strype* himſelf, 1. This Con-
 feſſion of Faith was drawn up by Mr CLEMENT, at the
 Deſire of the Imprison'd Proteſtants in general:—2. That
 it was a Declaration of their Common Belief:—3. That
 “ *Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Saunders,* and
 “ *Bradford*, ſealed THE SAME” [i. e. the ſame DOCTRINES
 which this Confeſſion aſſerts] “ with their own Blood:”
 —4. That this Confeſſion “ may be looked upon as AN
 “ ACCOUNT of the BELIEF of the Proteſtants IN THE
 “ TIMES OF KING EDWARD, and of the Profeſſors
 “ IN THOSE DAYS.” Would to God, that the ſame
 Creed was as generally held, in the Days that are now!

Mr *Clement*, whoſe Pen was particularly employ'd in
 this laudable Service, has, in the Concluding Part of the

above Confession, an Observation or two, respecting Himself, which breathe almost the very Spirit of an Apostle: "I doe not depende upon the Judgement of any Man; further than the same dothe agree with the true Touchstone, which is the Holye Scriptures: wherein (I thanke my Lorde God) I have bene continuallye exercysed, even from my Youthe up; as they, that have knowne my bringyng up, can tell: and some Persecution I have suffered for the same, And now it hath pleased God to make me a Prisoner, for the Testimonye thereof: and I thynke, that shortelye I must give my Life for it, and so confyrme it with my Bloude; whiche Thyngs I am well contented to doe. And I mosste heartelye thanke my Lorde Gode therefore: that is to saye, for this His speeyall Gifte of Persecution for Righteousnes sake. And thoughe, for my Synnes, God might justlye have condempned me to Hell-fyre forever, and also have caused me to suffre bothe Shame and Persecution in this Lyfe, for evyll doynge; yet hathe he (of His greate Mercye in Jesus Christe, according to His owne good WILL and PURPOSE) dealte more mercyfullye with me: as to geve me this Grace and Favor in his Sight, that I shall suffie Persecution of the Wicked, with His ELECT PEOPLE, for the Testimonye of His Truthe (q)."

This was Dated in *April*, 1556. The good Man did not long survive. It was one of the last Services, which he rendered to the Church of God. He supposed, at the Time of his Writing the above, that He should very speedily be, literally, a Burnt-Offering to Christ; and he was ready to become so. But God had determined otherwise. His "Burning was prevented, by his Death in Prison: and he was buryed at the back Side of the King's Bench, in a Dunghill, *June 25*, [1556]. Where, two Days before, one ADHERAL was Buried, who likewise died in the same Prison, and in the same Cause. And, " in

(q) *Streyte*, u. l. p. 223.

“ in the same Prison and Cause, five Days after, died
 “ JOHN CARELESS: who was contumeliously buried where
 “ the two Others were (r).” *Precious, in the Sight of the
 Lord, is the Death of his Saints.*

THUS have I given a Sample (and 'tis *but* a Sample) of those authentic Attestations, which our Martyrs bore, to the Doctrines of the Church of England. And, even from these Instances, 'tis manifest, that Those of our present Clergy and Laity, who have fallen in with *Arminianism*, have palpably revolted from those Grand Truths for which our Martyrs bled, and which our Church still continues to assert in her Liturgy, Articles, and Homilys.

Nor was the Belief of the Calvinistic Principles confined to our Bishops, Clergymen, and Martyrs only. It was common to the main Body of Protestants: i. e. to All who were not open, professed Dissenters from the Church. The *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* Supplication, addressed to Queen *Mary's* Commissioners, may serve for one Instance. In it, the Protestants of those Counties term the late King *Edward* “ A
 “ most Noble, Virtuous, and Innocent King; a very
 “ Saint of God:” adding, that “ The RELIGION, set
 “ forth by Him, is such, as every Christian Man is bound
 “ to confess to be THE TRUTH of God.” Again: “ We
 “ certainly know, that the WHOLE Religion, set out by
 “ our late most dear King, is Christ's true Religion, writ-
 “ ten in the Holy Scripture of God, and by Christ and
 “ his Apostles taught to his Church.—O merciful God,
 “ have Pity upon us! we may well lament our miserable
 “ Estate, to receive such a Commandment to reject, and
 “ cast out of our Churches all these most godly *Prayers*,
 “ [meaning the English Liturgy], *Instructions*, *Admoni-*
 “ *tions*, and DOCTRINES [meaning the Homilies and Ar-
 “ ticles] (s).” This Religious Remonstrance, tho' it produced no good Effect on the Popish Queen and her Commissioners; yet tends to shew, how tenaciously the
 Members

(r) *Strype, Ibid.* p. 364. (s) *Fox*, Vol. III. p. 579, & sequ.

Members of our Church embraced and held fast her excellent Principles.

An Anonymous Letter, sent to *Bonner*, shews, that the Writer of it was (and, at that Time, what Church of Englandman was *not*?) a Calvinist. After dissuading that inhuman Prelate from persisting to imbrue his Hands in the Blood of the Saints, it follows: "I say not this, for
 " that I think thou canst shorten any of God's Elect Chil-
 " dren's Lives, before the Time that God hath appointed
 " by His Divine Will and Pleasure: but because I would
 " fain see some Equity, &c. (t)."

I cannot better conclude the foregoing Extracts from our Martyrs, than by inserting Part of that admirable Prayer, which seems to have been generally used by Those who poured out their Souls in Defence of the Gospel. It is intitled, "*A Prayer, to be said at the Stake, of All Them that God shall Account worthy to suffer for his sake.*" In it are these Words: "I most humbly pray Thee, that Thou
 " wouldst aid, help, and assist me with thy Heavenly Grace:
 " that, with CHRIST thy Son, I may find Comfort; with
 " Stephen, I may see thy Presence and gracious Power; with
 " Paul, and all Others who for thy Name's sake have suffer-
 " ed Affliction and Death, I may find so present with me thy
 " gracious Consolations; that I may by my Death glorify thy
 " Holy Name, confirm thy Church in thy Verity, convert some
 " that ARE TO BE converted, and so depart forth of this
 " miserable World, where I do nothing but daily heap Sin upon
 " Sin.—Dear Father, whose I am, and ALWAYS HAVE
 " been, even from my Mother's Womb; yea, even BEFORE
 " THE WORLD WAS MADE (u)."

(t) *Strype*, u. f. *Append.* p. 163.

(u) *Fox*, u. f. p. 498.

Let it be observed, that, of those who were imprisoned for the Faith, All were not crowned with Martyrdom: some were, by the good Providence of God, reserved to see better Times.

Among these, was Mr JOHN LITHALL: whose Examination, before the Bishop of London's Chancellor, is related by Mr *Fox*.—

" You

SECTION XVIII.

The Re-Establishment of the Church of England
by Queen ELIZABETH.

QUEEN *Mary's* Death, in November, 1558, quite changed the Face of Religious Affairs in England. The Princess *Elizabeth*, during the Reign of her Half-Sister, was so obnoxious to the latter, both on a domestic and a religious Account, that her Life had been in perpetual Danger. *Mary*, whose Politics were as contemptible, as her

“ You boast much, every one of you,” said the chancellor to this Holy Prisoner, “ of your Faith, and Belief. Let me hear, therefore, how you believe.” “ *I believe,*” answered Lithall, “ *to be justified really by Christ Jesus, without either Deeds or Works, or any Thing that may be invented by Man.*” The Chancellor replied, “ Faith cannot save, without Works.”—“ *That,*” rejoined Lithall, “ *is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostles.*”

The Reverend Mr JOHN MELVIN was also of the Number, who, I believe, by some Means or other, escaped Burning. He was, however, a Prisoner in *Newgate*: and dated, from that Prison, a very valuable Letter to his Christian Friends; in which he expressed himself as follows. “ *Most certain it is, Dearly Beloved, that Christ's ELECT be but few, in Comparison of that great Number which go, in the broad Way, into everlasting Perdition.*—“ *Most certain it is also, that our Savior Jesus Christ hath and knoweth his own, whose Names are written in the Book of Life; Redeemed with the most precious Blood of our Savior Jesus Christ. So that the Eternal Father knoweth them that be His.*—“ *Our Savior loseth NONE of all Them whom the Eternal Father hath GIVEN Him.*—[He died] *the Death of the Cross, for the RANSOM and Sins of God's ELECT.*”—See Fox, III. 763, 845.

So unanimous were the Protestant Church of England Men (those who were burned, and those who escaped), in believing, professing, and holding fast, the precious Calvinistic Doctrines of the Bible and of the Church!

her Cruelty and Superstition were detestable ; would, more than once, have very willingly dispatched *Elizabeth* to the other World. But this Design was constantly over-ruled by King *Philip*. That Prince is supposed, by some, to have screen'd *Elizabeth*, from an Hope of marrying her himself, in Case of *Mary's* Death, whose State of Health grew continually worse and worse. This might possibly be one Motive, to the Protection which he gave the Princesses : for, after the Decease of Queen *Mary*, *Elizabeth* was hardly seated on the Throne, before *Philip* actually solicited her Hand. But, probably, what operated most strongly in *Elizabeth's* Behalf, was, the close Connection that subsisted between *France* and *Scotland*. So far back as the Beginning of *Edward VI's* Reign, the Plan seems to have been laid, for the Dauphin's Marriage to *Mary*, Queen of Scots : which projected Marriage took Effect in 1558. *Philip* knew, that, on the Demise of his own Queen, none (*) stood, between *Mary* of Scots and the Crown of *England*, but *Elizabeth*. It was necessary, therefore, to preserve *Elizabeth* alive ; lest *France*, in Right of the Dauphiness, should be aggrandized by the Addition of *England* and *Ireland* : which would have been throwing too much Weight into the *French* Scale.—It was, probably, owing to a similar Consideration of Policy, that in the succeeding Century, *Charles I.* when Prince of *Wales*, was suffered to return hither from *Spain*. In all likelihood, *Philip IV.* would have made the Prince pay very dear for his romantic Ramble to that Court, if the King of *Bohemia* had not, in Right of his Consort, been next Heir to the Crown of *England*.—Thus does the secret, but efficacious Direction of Divine Providence, make even the Political Wisdom of this World instrumental to the Accomplishment of the Divine Decrees !

When

(*) The Duchess of *Suffolk's* Descent is no Exception to this Remark : as her Mother was but the younger Daughter of *Henry VIII.*

When ELIZABETH mounted the Throne, the Church of England, with all its Doctrinal Calvinism, became, once more, the pure Religion of this Nation. The Proofs are so numerous, that I must only abstract a few.

I. The *Liturgy*, the XXXIX *Articles*, and the supplementary *Hymnies* added to those of King Edward; are such glaring Evidences on the side of (y) Calvinism, as might

(y) If it be possible for any reasonable Being seriously to question, whether those Ecclesiastical Standards are truly and thoroughly Calvinistic; let him only peruse, with more Attention, the Standards themselves. I shall here make no Extracts from them; having already done it, partly, in my *Caveat against Unsound Doctrines*; and, more largely, in my *Vindication of the Church from Arminianism*. However, as I am now on the Subject, let the Remarks of Dr Peter Heylyn (than whom a more outrageous Arminian never existed) stand, as a striking Monument of that irresistible Force, with which TRUTH is sometimes found, during certain Intervals of sober Reflection, to irradiate and compel even the most perverse and profligate Minds. The Remarks, which I here subjoin, consist of *Inferences*, deduced from the *seventeenth Article*, which treats of *Predestination* and *Election*. If such a Writer, as Heylyn, should be found to Acknowledge, that the said seventeenth Article speaks the undoubted Language of Calvin; our Wonder will be, not that the Article should speak that Language (for, of This, no considerate Person can sincerely doubt), but that so virulent a Party-man, as Peter, should, by any transient Gleam of Regard to Veracity, publicly avow some of his real Convictions, and transmit that Avowal to Posterity.

“PREDESTINATION to Life,” says he, “is defined, in the 17th Article, to be *The EVERLASTING PURPOSE of God, whereby, before the Foundations of the World were laid, He hath constantly DECREED, by His Counsel, secret to us, to deliver from Damnation THOSE whom He hath CHOSEN in Christ out of Mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting Salvation [as Vessels made to Honor].* In which Definition,” adds Heylyn, “there are these Things to be observed: 1. That *Predestination* doth presuppose a Curse, or State of Damnation, in which all Man-

“ kind

might well supply the Place of all Evidence beside. These being so well known, I shall carry my Appeal to other facts, which lie more out of the Way of common Notice.

II. The

“ kind was presented to the sight of God. 2. That it [viz. Pre-destination to Life, or the Decree of Election] is an Act of His “ *from Everlasting*: because, from Everlasting, He foresaw that “ Misery into which wretched Man would fall. 3. That He “ founded it, and resolved for it, in the Man and Mediator Christ “ Jesus, both for the Purpose and Performance. 4. That it was “ of some *special Ones alone*; ELECT, called forth, and RESERVED “ *in Christ*, and NOT generally extended unto ALL Mankind. 5. “ That, being thus elected in Christ, they *shall be brought by* “ by Christ to *everlasting Salvation*.—And, 6. That this Counsel “ is *secret* to us: for tho’ there be revealed to us some hopeful “ signs of our Election and Predestination to Life, yet the Cer- “ tainty thereof is a Secret hidden in God, &c.”—*Life of Laud*, Introd. p. 29.

Tho’ the above Concessions are not entirely without their Flaws, (or, at least, a few small Arminian Cracks); yet it is amazing, that the Cracks are so few and slight, when we consider by what Hand the *six* Beads were strung.

But the *seventh* Bead is most wonderful of all. “ Such,” says the Stringer, “ is the Church’s Doctrine, in the Point of *Election*, “ or *Predestination* unto Life. But, in the Point of *Reprobation*, “ or *Predestination* unto Death, she is” [to wit, in the seventeenth Article] “ utterly silent: leaving it to be GATHERED upon LOGICAL INFERENCES from that which is delivered by Her in “ the Point of Election. For *Contrariorum contraria est Ratio*, “ as Logicians say. Tho’ that which is so gathered, ought rather “ to be called a *Dereliction*, than a *Reprobation*.” Ibid. p. 30.

We will not quarrel with *Peter*, about the Term *Reprobation*. *Dereliction* includes as much *Reprobation* as need be contended for. And I wish Dr *Heylyn* may not be reprobated by Mr *Wesley*, for conceding, that “ *Reprobation*, or *Predestination* unto Death,” is to be “ gathered ” by “ *Logical Inferences*,” from the XVIIth Article.

To make up a round Number, *Peter* shall annex an *eighth* Bead to the præceding seven. He very justly observes, that the Prayer, in

II. The only Commentary on the 39 Articles, which was published in the Reign of *Elizabeth*, is that of Mr *Thomas Rogers*, Rector of *Horninger* in *Suffolk*. He dedicated it to Archbishop *Whitgift*: by whom (says *Fuller*) "it was countenanced (x)." A subsequent Edition of it, in 1607, the Author dedicated to Archbishop *Bancroft*, whose Chaplain he was. As it is not a very scarce Book, I shall make no Transcripts from it: but only intimate, that the Commentary does not (as is too often the Case) vary from the Text, but is perfectly and judiciously Calvinistical, from Beginning to End. The only People, to whom it gave Offence in those Days, were Papists, Presbyterians, and such as leaned to either of those Extremes.—Now, I would ask, whether a professedly predestinarian Analysis and Exposition of the 39 Articles, dedicated to two Archbishops of *Canterbury*, and approved by Both of them; is not one conclusive Proof, that Doctrinal Calvinism was, all through the Reign of *Elizabeth*, and in the Beginning of *James I.* considered as the true and undoubted System of the Church of *England*?

III. The *marginal Notes*, which occur in the BIBLES that were published during *Elizabeth's* Reign, unanswerably prove the same Point. Observe, I speak not of the *Geneva* Bible, translated, commented on, and published by the English who had been Exiles in that City: which Edition, however valuable on some Accounts, was never received as authentic by the Church and State of *England*. But I speak of SUCH Bibles, and of such ONLY, as passed the Review of the leading Ecclesiastics at home, and came out

in which our Church beseeches God "to ACCOMPLISH the NUMBER of His ELECT," doth "conclude both for a NUMBER, and for a CERTAIN Number, of God's ELECT." *Miscel. Tr.* p. 559.—Query: Was not *Peter*, during some luminous Moments, "derelict" by Arminianism, and taken Captive by Truth? I wish, Mr *Wesley* and his Man *Sellon* may profit by the Example, be seized in like sort, and permanently experience the same "Dereliction." (x) *Church Hist.* B. IX. p. 173.

out by the Warrant and under the Sanction of "The Queen's most excellent Majesty."

Of these warranted Bibles there were, principally, *Three* Kinds. The First was commonly denominated, *The GREAT Bible*. Another went by Name of *The BISHOPS Bible*. The Third was *The QUARTO Bible*, for the Use of Families.

(1.) Of *The GREAT Bible*, otherwife called, *Archbishop CRANMER's Bible*, there had been more than One Edition, antecedently to the Accession of Queen *Elizabeth*. It was completed for the Press, A. D. 1537, in or about the 28th Year of *Henry VIII's* Reign. It was by Lord *Cromwell's* Interest with the King, that *Cranmer* obtained the Royal Licence to translate and publish the Scriptures: and this was the first *English Bible*, that was printed by Authority. "The Care of the Translation lay wholly on *Cranmer*; assigning little Portions of this Holy Book to divers Bishops and learned Men to do. And, to his inexpressible Satisfaction, he saw the Work finished in this Year [1537], about *July* or *August* (a)." When the Care of the Translation is said to have lain wholly on Archbishop *Cranmer*, we must understand no more, by that Expression, than that *Cranmer*, on this Occasion, revised and corrected the Translation made, six or seven Years before, by Mr *William Tyndal* the Martyr. This appears, not only on comparing the Text of *Cranmer's*, or the great Bible, with the Text of *Tyndal's*; but is also noted, by the exactly careful Compiler of *Cranmer's* History. "The Bible, as *Fox* speaks, had been printed in the Year 1532, and re-printed again three or four Years after. The Printers were *Grafton* and *Whitchurch*, who printed it at *Hamburg*. The Corrector [of the Press] was *John Rogers*, a learned Divine, afterwards a Canon of *St Paul's* in King *Edward's* Time, and the First Martyr in the next Reign [viz. in the Reign of *Mary*]. The

Translator

(a) *Strype's Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 57.

“ Translator was *William Tyndal*, another learned Martyr;
 “ with the Help of *Miles Coverdale*, afterwards Bishop of
 “ *Exeter*. But, before all this Second Edition was finished,
 “ *Tyndal* was taken, and put to Death for his Religion,
 “ in *Flanders*, in the Year 1536. and his Name then grow-
 “ ing into Ignominy, as one burnt for an Heretic; they
 “ [i. e. the Printers] thought it might prejudice the Book,
 “ if He should be named for the Translator thereof: and
 “ so they used a feigned Name; calling it *Thomas Matthews’s*
 “ Bible.—In this Bible were certain Prologues [pre-
 “ fixed at the Head of the respective Books], and a spe-
 “ cial Table collected of the Common Places in the Bibles,
 “ and Texts of Scripture for proving the same; and chiefly
 “ the common Places of the Lord’s Supper, the Marriage
 “ of Priests, and the Mass: of which [i. e. of *the Mass*]
 “ it was there said, that it was not to be found in Scrip-
 “ ture. This Bible giving the [Popish] Clergy Offence,
 “ was gotten to be restrained. Some Years after, came
 “ forth the Bible aforesaid [i. e. *The GREAT Bible*, other-
 “ wise termed, *Cranmer’s*], wherein CRANMER had the
 “ greatest Hand: which, as I suppose, was nothing but the
 “ former [i. e. *Tyndal’s*] corrected; the Prologues and
 “ Tables being left out (b).”

So much for the Origin of *Cranmer’s Bible*. Let us now consult that Bible itself: which (besides the Light it will throw on our general Argument) will contribute, not a little, to confirm what has been already asserted and proved, concerning the *Calvinism* of that great and good Archbishop.

Tho’ *Cranmer’s*, or *the Great Bible*, was prepared for Publication in 1537, I cannot find that it was actually published till 1539. ’Tis a very scarce and curious Book: of which, however, I have been able to procure a Sight. It is entitled, “*The Byble in Englyshe, &c. prynced by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, 1539.*”

H h

’Tis

(b) *Strype’s Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 58, 59.

'Tis a large Folio, on a black Letter, ornamented with small wooden Cuts; and divided into Chapters, but not into Verses. The Margin has Scripture References, but no expository Notes. The Deficiency of Notes is remedied by a *Summary of Contents*, placed at the Head of each Chapter. From a sample of which *Summarys*, Archbishop Cranmer appears to have been, even at that early period, much enlightened into the Doctrines of Grace.

The Contents to *Rom.* iii. run thus: "Both the Jewes and Gentyls are under Synne, and are Justifyed ONLY by the GRACE of God in Chryst."

Contents to *Rom.* iv. "He [i. e. St Paul] declareth, by the Example of *Abram*, that FAYTH justifyeth, and NOT the LAWE, nor the WORKES thereof."

In the prefixed "*Summe and Content of all the Holy Scriptures*," good CRANMER observes, that God is He, "Of Whom ALL Things proceade; and without Whom ther is nothyng which is ryghteous and mercyfull; and Who WORKETH ALL THYNGS IN ALL, after hys Wylle: of Whom it maye not be demaunded, *Wherfore* He doth thys or that." The Reader will not consider the above Extracts as an absolute Digression from the Times of Queen *Elizabeth*, when he recollects, that *the Great Bible*, and two Others which are next to be mentioned, were the current Bibles in the Beginning of her Reign; 'till the Scarcity and Dearness of These occasioned the Publication of what was called *The Bishops' Bible*.

The Other two, which appear'd before *Elizabeth's* Accession, were, the Folio Edition, of 1549; and the Quarto Edition, of 1552. Both printed in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* and under the Care of Archbishop *Cranmer*. These likewise, I have consulted; and from them the Passages hereafter given.

That of 1549, is on a small, neat, slender Letter, somewhat approaching toward the Character. It is Dedicated to King *Edward VI.* and has Prologues to the respective Books

The Marginal Notes being exceeding few, I shall give Proof of the Pure Divinity, which then obtained among the Protestants of the Church of *England*, from the valuable "*Table of the principal Matters*," which runs alphabetically, and is prefixed to the Old Testament.—Under the Head of ELECTION, we thus read: "Our ELECCYON is by GRACE, and NOT BY WORKES. Few are Electe, or Chosen. We are ELECTE of God the Father, thorow HIS GOOD WIL, before the Constitucyon of the World, that, by the Grace and Merite of Christ, we should have Health [i. e. Salvation], serving al Men by Charite. The Elect cannot be accused, forasmuch as God justifieth them."—Under the Head of *Predestination*, we read thus: "The Predestinate are Sainctes, or holy People, made lyke to the Image of the Sonne of God, and Called, Justified, and Glorified by Him. God had predestynate, before the Making of the World, for to redeme us by the Bloud of his Sonne, for to save, and make us hys Chyldren by Adopcyon, accordynge to the Purpose of his Wyl. — — — The carnall and sensual People cannot comprehend the Eleccyon and Predestinacyon of God: because they stryve for to save themselves, by theyr owne Workes and Merites; whych cannot be."—Under the Article of *Will*, it is affirmed, That the Will of God "Is IMMUTABLE, and the which NO MAN CAN RESIST."—And, under the Head of *Perseverance*, or *Continuance* in Grace, it is asserted, that "Perseverance in the Truth is geven of Christ unto the faithful." Thus speaks *Cranmer's Bible* of 1549.

The Quarto Edition, of 1552, is on a black Letter, with wooden Cuts; divided into Chapters, but not into Verses. The Translation appears to be *Tyndal's*. In this curious Bible (which was re-printed under *Elizabeth*, in 1566), a Note, subjoined to the 3d Chapter of *Romans*, runs thus: "God, in his Lawe, doth not onely requyre of us an outward Ryghtewesnes, but also an inward Perfection. That is to saye, we are not onely bounde

“ to fulfill the Workes of the Lawe, outwardly, in our
 “ Lyvinge; but, also, inwardly, in our Heartes: to be
 “ most syncere; to love God entierly, above all Things;
 “ and our Neyghbours as ourselves. BUT our NATURE
 “ is so CORRUPTED, that no Man living is able to do
 “ the same. Wherefore NO MAN can be JUSTIFIED by
 “ the WORKES of the Lawe.”——The Note to *Rom. ix.*
 is this: “It is evident by this Texte, that our WORKES
 “ or Merytes do NOT JUSTIFYE us, but that our Salva-
 “ tion doth WHOLLY depende upon the FREE ELECTION
 “ of God; whiche, beyng the Ryghtewesnes itselfe,
 “ doth chose whome it PLEASETH Hym unto Lyfe ever-
 “ lastyng.”——The Note to *Rom. xi.* is: “God doth
 “ PRESERVE his ELECT, even in the mydde of Thou-
 “ sandes of Idolaters.” Thus wrote *Cranmer*, and our
 other Bishops, in 1552.

(2.) Come we now to the *Bishops' Bible*: emphatically so called, because it was set on foot, promoted, and completed, chiefly under the Auspices of *Parker*, the first Protestant Archbishop of *Canterbury* after *Cranmer*. A Beginning was made in it, A. D. 1565, and the Seventh of *Elizabeth*: but the Work was not published, 'till 1568. The other principal Prelates, concerned in this Edition, were, *Sandes*, then Bishop of *Worcester*; *Guesf*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*; *Parkhurst*, Bishop of *Norwich*; *Davies*, Bishop of *St Davids*; and *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely* (c). This is supposed to have been the first English Bible, whose Chapters were sub-divided into Verses. It is a large Folio, on a black Letter; and, in fact, no more than an improved Edition of *Cranmer's*, or the *Great Bible*, already mentioned. I have not had it in my Power to see the Original Edition of this *the Bishops Bible*, printed in 1568. What I have consulted, is a Re-publication of it, six Years afterwards; viz. the Edition of 1574, illustrated with Archbishop
Parker's

(c) See *Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker*, p. 208, 209.

Parker's Arms and Preface, and Cranmer's Original Preface annexed.

Queen *Elizabeth's* Prelates did by no means warp from the Doctrinal Purity of their Protestant Predecessors under the blessed King Edward. Witness the following Passages, which occur in the Preface to the New Testament of *the Bishops' Bible*. "By Him [i. e. by Christ] hath He [i. e. " God the Father] DECREED to geve, to his ELECT, the " Lyfe everlasting."—And again: "Here may we be- " holde the ETERNAL Legacies of the New Testament; " bequeathed from God the Father, in Christe his Sonne, " to all his ELECTES."

In what is entituled, "*The Summe of the Whole Scripture,*" prefixed (as it was also to *Cranmer's* own Edition of 1539), 'tis observed, that God is He "From Whom al Things " do come; without Whom, there is nothing at al:— " who also worketh al in al, after his owne Wyl; to " whom it is not lawful to say, wherefore he doth thus " or thus."

On *Rom. iii. 20.* the Note is, "He includeth here the " whole Lawe, both Ceremonial and MORAL; whose " Workes CANNOT JUSTIFIE, because they be IMPER- " FECT in al Men."

On *Rom. ix. 11.* "The WYL and PURPOSE of God " is the CAUSE of the ELECTION and REPROBATION: " for His Mercy and Calling, through Christ, are the " *Meanes* of Salvation; and the withdrawing of his Mercy " is the Cause of Damnation."

On *Rom. x. 4.* "Christe hath FULFILLED the WHOLE " Lawe; and therefore, whosoever BELIEVETH in Him, " is COUNTED JUST before God, as wel as [if] he had " fulfilled the whole Lawe himselfe."

On *Rom. xi. 35.* "By this the Apostle declareth, that " God, BY HIS FREE WYL and ELECTION, doth GEVE " Salvation unto Menne, WITHOUT ANY DESERTES of " theyr owne."

On 1 *Pet.* i. 2. "The FREE ELECTION of God is
 " the *efficient* Cause of our Salvation: the *material* Cause,
 " is CHRISTE'S OBEDIENCE."

On 2 *Pet.* i. 10. "Albeit it [*viz. Election*] be sure in
 " Itselfe, forasmuche as God cannot change; yet we
 " must confyrme it in ourselves" [i. e. we should get a
 Subjective Assurance of our Election], "by the Fruite
 " of the Spirite: knowing, that the PURPOSE of God
 " ELECTETH, CALLETH, SANCTIFIETH, and JUSTI-
 " FIETH us."—So spake these excellent Prelates, in the
 famous *Bishops' Bible*.

(3) The *Quarto Bible*, published in Queen Elizabeth's
 Reign, appears to have been designed as a still farther Im-
 provement on the Preceding. Tho' the Explicatory Notes
 are more numerous and diffuse, yet the Reduction of the
 Type, and the consequent Reduction of the Size, render-
 ed it cheaper than the former Editions; and, of Course,
 better calculated for private and domestic Use.

Of this Bible, the first Edition (according to *Strype*)
 appeared in 1576 (*d*). Another in 1582 (*e*). That which
 I have now before me, is the Edition of 1602, published
 by *Barker*, the Queen's own Printer. The Marginal
 Remarks, and some other Matters, with which This pre-
 sents us; will prove, that *Calvinism* continued to flourish
 in the Church of England (i. e. the Church continued to
 abide by her own fundamental Principles), to the very
 Close of *Elizabeth's* Life: for the Reader need not be re-
 minded, that 1602 was the last Year of that Queen's
 Reign.

From this Bible I extract the following Notes; in Lieu
 of a Multitude, which might be cited.

On *Matth.* xi. 26, the Remark is: "Faith cometh
 " not of Man's Will, or Power; but by the secret Illu-
 " mination

(*d*) *Strype's Annals*, Vol. II. p. 458.—Edit. 1735.

(*e*) *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 157.

“mination of God, which is the Declaration of His ETERNAL COUNSEL.”

On *Matth.* viii. 31. “The Devil desireth ever to doe Harme: but he can do no more than God doeth APPOINT.”

On *Matth.* ix. 37, 'tis observed, that Christ compares “The NUMBER of the ELECT to a plentiful Harvest.”

On *Matth.* xxi. 33. “The Vineyard is the People whom He had ELECTED.”

On *Matth.* xxv. 34. “Hereby God declareth the certainty of our PREDESTINATION; whereby we are SAVED BECAUSE we were CHOSEN in Christ before the Foundations of the World.”

On the 35th *Verse* of the same Chapter: “Christ meaneth not that our Salvation dependeth on our WORKS, or Merits; but teacheth, what it is to live justly according to Godlineffe and Charitie; and that God recompenseth His, of His FREE MERCY, likewise as He doth ELECT them.”

Matth. xxvi. 24. “To the Intent his Disciples might know, that ALL THIS” [*viz.* the Sufferings and Crucifixion of Christ] “was APPOINTED by the Providence of God.”

Mark iv. 9. “God doth NOT open ALL Men's Hearts to understand His Mysteries.”—And 'tis, presently after, added, that there are some, meaning the Reprobate, who, “attaine not to the Pith and Substance” [of Religion], “but onely stay in the outward Rinde and Barke.”

Mark xiii. 22. “The ELECT may waver and be troubled, but they cannot UTTERLY be deceived and overcome.”

Mark xiv. 21. “This declareth, that NOTHING can be done without God's Providence.”

On the 49th *Verse* of the same Chapter: “Which declareth, that no Man can do ANY Thing contrary to God's ORDINANCE.”

Luke i. 30. "Not for her Merits, but onely through
 " God's FREE MERCY, Who LOVED us when we were
 " SINNERS, that whosoever rejoiceth should rejoyce in the
 " Lord."

On *Verse 32.* Christ "is the true Sonne of God, be-
 " gotten from before all Beginning; and manifested in the
 " Flesh, at the DETERMINATE Time."

Luke vii. 35. "He [i. e. Christ] sheweth, that the Wick-
 " ed, altho' THEY turne from God, shall nothing hinder
 " THE ELECT to CONTINUE in the Faith of the Gospel."

Luke viii. 3. "Whereby they acknowledged they had
 " received of Him; and also shewed their PERSEVERANCE,
 " which proved their Knowledge to be of God."—Such,
 therefore, as do NOT persevere, were never made wise with
 the Knowledge that cometh from God.

Luke x. 21. "He [Christ] attributeth it to the FREE
 " ELECTION of God, that the Wise and Worldlings
 " know not the Gospel; and yet the poore base People un-
 " derstand it."

On *Verse 31,* the Phrase, "by CHANCE," is thus in-
 terpreted: "So it seemed to Man's Judgement; altho'
 " this was so APPOINTED by God's COUNSEL and PRO-
 " VIDENCE."

Luke xvii. 37. "NOTHING CAN HINDER the Faithfull
 " to be joined to their Head, Jesus Christ."

Luke xxii. 22. The Text says, *Truly the Sonne of Man*
goeth as it is appointed: the Commentary adds, "By the
 " secret Counsel of God."

Luke xxlii. 35. The Text calls Christ *The Chosen of God.*
 On which, the Marginal Note thus remarks: "Whom
 " God hath before all Others appointed to be the Messias.
 " Otherwise, the Scripture calleth THEM the ELECT of
 " God, whom Hee hath CHOSEN, before all Beginning,
 " TO LIFE EVERLASTING."

Luke xxiv. 16. "This declareth, that we can neither
 " see nor understand, 'till God open our Eyes."

Verse 28. "Christ did both SHUT their Eyes, and OPEN
 " them:

“ them: He would keepe them in Suspence, ('till) His
“ TIME came to manifest Himself unto them.”

John iv. 14. “ He [i. e. the true Believer] shall NEVER
“ be dried up, or destitute.”

John vi. 37. “ God doeth REGENERATE His ELECT,
“ and CAUSETH them to obey the Gospel.”

John vii. 33. Christ “ sheweth unto them, that they
“ have no Power over Him, 'till THE TIME come that
“ His Father hath ORDAINED.”

John x. 15. “ As the Father cannot forget HIM” [i. e.
cannot forget Christ Himself], “ no more can He forget
“ Us.”

Verse 17. “ Christ, even in that He is Man, hath de-
“ served His Father's Love and everlasting Life, not to
“ His Flesh onely, but to us also, who, BY HIS OBEDI-
“ ENCE and perfect Justice [i. e. perfect Righteousness],
“ are IMPUTED righteous.”

Verse 26. The Text says, *Ye believe not, for ye are not
of my Sheepes*; i. e. because ye are not in the Number of my
Elect. The Marginal Note judiciously says, “ The
“ Cause wherefore the REPROBATE cannot believe.”

John xiv. 21. “ He” [i. e. the assured Believer] “ shall
“ SENSIBLY FEEL, that the GRACE of God abideth in
“ him.”

John xvii. 3. The Text runs, *That Hee should give
Eternal Life to ALL THEM that Thou hast given Him.* The
Margin says: “ Which are the ELECT.”

Verse 6. “ Our ELECTION standeth in the GOOD PLEA-
“ SURE of God, which is the ONLY Foundation and Cause
“ of our Salvation; and is declared to us in Christ, through
“ Whom we are JUSTIFIED BY FAITH, and sanctify'd.”

Verse 12. The Text styles *Judas a Child of Perdition.*
The Marginal Note says, that “ He was so called, not
“ only because he perished, but because God had AP-
“ POINTED and ORDAINED him to this End.”

Verse 19. “ Christ's Holinesse is our's.”

On *Acts* ii. 23, the Observations are: “ God caused
THEIR

“ THEIR WICKEDNESSE” [i. e. the Wickedness of Christ’s Betraye and Crucifyers] “ to set forth His GLORY, “ contrary to their Mindes. As Judas’s Treason, and their “ Crueltie toward Christ, were most detestable; so were “ they not only KNOWN to the ETERNALL Wisdome of “ God, but also DIRECTED, by His IMMUTABLE COUNSEL, to a most blessed Ende.”

On *Chap. iv. 21.* “ God hath put a Ring thorow the “ Wicked’s Noses, so that He STAYETH them from their “ mischievous Purposes.” — Was it not a little unmannerly in Queen Elizabeth’s Bishops, to represent sovereign *Free-willers* as a Company of Bears, restrained by the Decree, and led captive by Providence, with Rings in their Noses?

On the 28th *Verse* of the same Chapter, the Right Reverend Commentators scruple not to affirm, that “ ALL “ Things are done by the FORCE of God’s PURPOSE, according to the DECREE of HIS WILL.”

Chap. xiii. 48. “ None CAN beleeve, but THEY whom “ God doth APPOINT, before all Beginnings, to be “ saved.”

In a short, but excellent Preface, prefixed to the Epistle to the *Romans*, and entitled, “ *The Argument* ;” the Heads of the Church of England thus expressed themselves: “ The “ great Mercie of God is declared towards Man in Christ “ Jesus, WHOSE RIGHTEOUSNESSE is made OUR’S by “ Faith. For, when Man, by Reason of his owne Corruption, could not fullfill the Law; yea, committed most abominably, both against the Law of God “ and Nature; the infinite Bountie of God ordeined, that “ MAN’S SALVATION should ONLY stand in the perfit “ OBEDIENCE of His Sonne JESUS CHRIST. — And, “ to the Intent that none should thinke, that the Covenant “ which God made to him [i. e. with *Abraham*] and his “ Posteritie, was not performed; either because the *Jewes* “ received not Christ, or els beleeved not that He was “ the true Redeemer; — the Examples of *Ismael* and *Esaus* “ declare

“ declare, that All are not Abraham’s Posteritie, which
 “ come of Abraham according to the Flesh:—the very
 “ Strangers and Gentiles, grafted in by Faith, are made
 “ Heires of the Promise. The CAUSE whereof is the only
 “ WILL of God; forasmuch, of his FREE MERCY, He
 “ ELECTETH some to be saved, and, of His just Judge-
 “ ment, REJECTETH Others to be damned: as appear-
 “ eth by the Testimonie of the Scriptures.”

From these Introductory Remarks, the Reader may suf-
 ficiently ascertain the Completion of those subsequent
 Notes on the Epistle itself, with which the Calvinistic
 Prelates ennobled its Margin. For Brevity’s sake, let
 the few following stand for All.

Rom. ii. 11. *There is no respect of Persons with God:* “ As
 “ touching any outward Qualitie” [such as High Birth,
 Learning, Riches, &c.] “ But, as the Potter, before He
 “ make His Vessels, He doeth APPOINT some to Glory
 “ and others to Ignominie.”

Chap. iv. 4. *Now to him that worketh not, &c.* “ That
 “ DEPENDETH NOT on his Works, neither thinketh to
 “ merite by them.”

Ibid. ver. 25. Christ was raised “ To ACCOMPLISH and
 “ make PERFECT our JUSTIFICATION.”

Chap. v. 17. “ The Justice” [*justitia*, i. e. the RIGHT-
 EOUSNESS] “ of Jesus Christ, which is IMPUTED to the
 “ Faithfull.”

Chap. viii. 35. *Who shall separate us from the Love of
 Christ?* “ Wherewith HE loved us, or God in Christ:
 “ which LOVE is grounded on His DETERMINATE PUR-
 “ POSE; and Christ is the Pledge thereof.”

Chap. xi. 29. “ To whom God giveth His Spirit of
 “ ADOPTION, and whom He CALLETH EFFECTUALLY,
 “ He CANNOT PERISH: for God’s ETERNAL COUNSEL
 “ NEVER CHANGETH.”

2 *Cor. iii. 3.* “ The Hardnesse of Man’s Heart, before
 “ he be regenerate, is as a STONIE TABLE, *Ezek. ii. 19.*
 “ and xxxvi. 26. But, being REGENERATE by the Spirit
 “ of

“ of God, it is as soft as Flesh ; that the Grace of the
 “ Gospel may be written in it, as in NEW Tables.”

Ibid. *Verse* 9. “ The Gospel declareth, that CHRIST is
 “ made OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.”

Ibid. *Verse* 13. “ The Jews’ Eyes were not lighten’d,
 “ but BLINDED ; and so COULD NOT come to Christ.”

Chap. v. 21. The Text says, that We are *made the
 Righteousness of God in Christ* : The Margin adds, “ By
 “ IMPUTATION.”

On Galat. i. 7. “ What is more contrary to our FREE
 “ Justification by FAITH, than the Justification by the LAW,
 “ or [by] OUR WORKES ? Therefore, to JOYNE these to-
 “ gether, is to joyne Light with Darknesse, Death with
 “ Life; and doeth UTTERLY OVERTHROW the Gospel.”

Ibid. iii. 12. “ The Law——CONDEMNETH All them
 “ which in ALL POINTS doe not fulfill it.” And how is
 this Condemnation to be escaped ? By our own Righte-
 ousness ? Certainly not. For *our own Works* do NOT “ in
 “ all Points fulfill” the Law. But by the Imputation of
 Christ’s Righteousness, who actually DID “ *fulfill*” the
 Law, and that “ *in ALL Points.*”

Ephes. i. 4. “ This ELECTION, to Life everlasting, can
 “ NEVER bee CHANGED. But, in *Temporal Offices*, which
 “ God hath appointed for a certaine Space, when the
 “ Term is expired, He changeth His Election : as we see
 “ in *Saul and Judah.*”

Ibid. *Verse* 23. “ That is the great Love of Christ to-
 “ ward His Church, that HE COUNTETH NOT HIMSELF
 “ PERFECT without US which are his Members : and there-
 “ fore the CHURCH is also called CHRIST [i. e. Christ
 “ mystical], as I Cor. xii. 12, 13.”

Titus iii. 5. “ God doth not justify us for Respect of any
 “ Thing which He seeth in us : but doeth PREVENT us [i. e.
 “ He is *beforehand* with us] with His Grace, and FREELY
 “ accepteth us.”—So, Chap. i. 2. God *hath promised Eter-
 nal Life before the World began*, “ Of His MEERE Li-
 “ beralities

“ beralitie, WITHOUT FORESEEING our Faith or Works
 “ as a Cause to move Him to this FREE Mercie.”

On *James* ii. 14, The Note is : “ *St Paul*, to the Ro-
 “ manes and Galatians, disputeth against them which at-
 “ tributed Justification to Works : and here *St James* rea-
 “ soneth against them which utterly condemne Workes.
 “ Therefore *Paul* sheweth the CAUSES of our Justification ;
 “ and *James*, the EFFECTS. There [i. e. in *Paul's* Epif-
 “ tles], it is declared, HOW WE ARE justified: Here
 “ [i. e. in *James's* Epistle], howe wee are KNOWN
 “ TO BE justified. There, WORKS are EXCLUDED, as
 “ NOT the CAUSE of our Justification : here, they are ap-
 “ proved, as Effects proceeding thereof. There, they
 “ [i. e. good Works.] are *denied* to GO BEFORE them that
 “ shall be justified : and here they are sayd to FOLLOW
 “ them that ARE justified.”

Ibid. Verse 22. “ The more his [i. e. *Abraham's*] Faith
 “ was DECLARED by his Obedience and good Works,
 “ the more was it knowen to Men to be perfect ; as the
 “ Goodnesse of a Tree is knowen by her good Fruite :
 “ otherwise, no Man can have Perfection in this World ;
 “ for every Man must pray for Remission of Sinnes, and
 “ Increase of Faith.”

2 *Pet.* i. 10. Give Diligence to make your Calling and Elec-
 tion sure : “ Albeit it be sure IN ITSELFE, forasmuch as
 “ God cannot change ; yet we must confirme it in OUR-
 “ SELVES, by the Fruits of the Spirit : knowing, that
 “ the PURPOSE of God ELECTETH, CALLETH, SANC-
 “ TIFYETH, and JUSTIFYETH us.”

Jude 4. “ He confirmeth their Heart, against the Con-
 “ temners of Religion, and Apostates ; shewing, that such
 “ Men trouble not the Church at all Adventures, but are
 “ APPOINTED thereunto by the DETERMINATE COUN-
 “ SEL of God.”

Thus speak the excellent Prelates, who were concerned
 in the Editions of our Protestant Bibles, published *Cum*
Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.

IV. The

IV. The professed Calvinism of our Church may be farther argued, from the Learned and Orthodox FRANCIS JUNIUS's *Commentary on the Book of Revelation*, bound up with the Bibles of those Times. One Citation from which Commentary shall here suffice.—Rev. xiii. 8. *whose Names are not written in the Booke of Life, &c.* “That is,” says JUNIUS, “such as are not, from everlasting, ELECTED in “Christ Jesus.” Let it be observed, that this was the same JUNIUS, who overthrew *Arminius*, in a Debate concerning Free-will: the Particulars of which Debate were transmitted, at large, to Posterity (f).

V. The *Questions and Answers concerning Predestination*, inserted into the authorized Bibles of that Age, are Another Proof, that the Doctrines of *Calvin* were owned to be the Doctrines of our Establishment.

Mr *Strype* was able to trace up the Insertion of these Questions and Answers into Queen Elizabeth's Bibles, as far as the Year 1582 (g) (and I myself have lately seen an Edition of 1583, wherein those Questions and Answers stand); a Period, Twenty Years earlier than That, in which the Edition, which I am now making Use of, was printed. That Historian, whose Fidelity, in his Relation of Facts, is unimpeachable; is not always very happy in his Conjectures. The Questions and Answers, says he, were “*Joined to the Bible without any public License and Authority, as it seems (h).*” I am persuaded, that, had the vast Multitude of Materials, which this industrious Compiler was digesting into an orderly Series, allowed him Leisure for due Consideration, it would have “*seemed,*” even to Himself, utterly IMPOSSIBLE for the said Questions and Answers to have crept into these Editions of the Bible,
“*without*

(f) *Arminius's* Children, of whom Nine survived him, were so unaccountably weak, as to insert this Dispute into their Father's Works.—Vide *Arminii Opera*, à Pag. 445. ad Pag. 610.—Edit. *Lugd.* 1629.

(g) *Strype's Annals*, Vol. III. p. 157.

(h) *Ibid.*

“ *without public Licence and Authority,*” under the Government of a Queen so tenderly jealous of her Ecclesiastical Supremacy, and amidst that unremitting Vigilance for which both her Council and her Bishops were so remarkable. Can any body coolly suppose, that, at such a Time, her Majesty’s own Publisher would have ventured to fly in the Face of Church and State, by foisting in these Questions, without proper Authority? “ Oh, but the Authority is no “ where recorded.” Nor was there any Reason why it should, in a Case so palpably plain. The simple Circumstance of their being admitted there at all, is Proof enough, that they were admitted by Authority.—But, supposing it even possible, that they might have stolen in at first; would not the Intrusion have been presently detected? And would not the Questions and Answers, if real Interlopers, have been displaced from the *subsequent* Editions? Would they have been permitted to keep their Station, all through the Remainder of Queen Elizabeth’s Reign (for more than Twenty Years elapsed, from their first Insertion, to the Death of that Princess), if they had not been introduced by due Licence? And would they have been, moreover, continued in all the Editions of the Bible, which were published, after her Decease, during the first Twelve Years (at least) of her Successor King James?

Come we now to the Questions and Answers themselves.

In the Editions of 1583, 1602, and 1614. I find them prefixed to the New Testament. The Title they bear, is,

“ *Certaine Questions and Answeres, touching the Doctrine*
 “ *of PREDESTINATION, the Use of God’s Word, and Sa-*
 “ *craments.*”

They begin thus:

“ *Question.* Why do Men so much vary in Matters of
 “ Religion?

“ *Answer.* Because All have not the like Measure of
 Knowledge, neither do All beleeve the Gospel of Christ.

“ *Quest.* What is the Reason thereof?

“ *Answ.*

“ *Answ.* Because they only beleeeve the Gospel and Doctrine of Christ, which are ORDAINED unto eternall Life.

“ *Quest.* Are not All ordained unto eternall Life?

“ *Answ.* Some are Vessels of WRATH, ordained unto Destruction; as Others are Vessels of MERCIE, prepared to Glory.

“ *Quest.* How standeth it with God's Justice, that some are appointed unto Damnation?

“ *Answ.* Very well: because ALL Men have in themselves Sinne, which deserveth no less. And therefore the Mercy of God is wonderfull, in that he vouchsafeth to save SOME of that sinfull Race, and to bring them to the Knowledge of the Trueth.

“ *Quest.* If God's Ordinance and Determination must, of Necessitie, take Effect; then, what need any Man to care? for hee, that liveth well, must needs be damned, if hee be thereunto ordained; and hee, that liveth ill, must needs be saved, if he be thereunto appointed?

“ *Answ.* Not so: For it is not possible, that either the Elect should alwayes be without Care to doe well; or that the Reprobate should have any Will thereunto. For, to have either good Will, or good Worke, is a Testimonie of the Spirit of God, which is given to the Elect onely; whereby Faith is so wrought in them, that being graft in Christ, they grow in Holinesse to that Glory whereunto they are appointed. Neither are they so vaine, as once to thinke that they may doe as they liste themselves, because they are predestinate unto Salvation: but rather they endeavour to walke in such good Workes, as God in Christ Jesus hath ordained them unto, and prepared for them to bee occupied in, to their owne Comfort, Stay, and Assurance, and to his Glory.

“ *Quest.* But how shall I know myself to be One of those whom God hath ordained to Life Eternal?

“ *Answ.* By the Motions of Spirituall Life, which belong onely to the Children of God: by the which, that

“ Life

“ Life is perceived, even as the Life of this Body is discerned by the Sense and Motions thereof.

“ *Quest.* What meane you, by the Motions of Spirituall Life?

“ *Answ.* I meane Remorse of Conscience, joined with the Lothing of Sinne, and Love of Righteousnesse: the Hand of Faith reaching unto Life eternall in Christ, the Conscience comforted in Distresse, and raised up to Confidence in God, by the Worke of his Spirit: a thankfull Remembrance of God's Benefits received, and the Using of all Adversities as Occasion of Amentment sent from God.

“ *Quest.* Cannot such perish, as at some Time or other feele these Motions within themselves?

“ *Answ.* It is not possible that they should: for, as God's Purpose is not changeable, so Hee repenteth not of the Gifts and Graces of his Adoption; neither doth Hee cast off those whom He hath once received.

“ *Quest.* Why then should we pray, by the Example of David, that He cast us not from His Face, and that Hee take not His Holy Spirit from us?

“ *Answ.* In so praying, we make Protestation of the Weaknesse of [our] Flesh, which mooveth us to doubt: yet should not wee have Courage to aske, if wee were not assured, that God will give, according to His Purpose and Promise, that which we require.

“ *Quest.* Doe the Children of God feele the Motions aforesaid, alwayes alike?

“ *Answ.* No, truly: for God, sometime, to prove His, seemeth to leave them in such Sort, that the Flesh overmatcheth the Spirit; whereof ariseth Trouble of Conscience, for the Time. Yet the Spirit of Adoption is never taken from them, that have once received it: else might they perish. But as, in many Diseases of the Body, the Powers of bodily Life are letted; so, in some Assaults, these Motions of Spirituall Life are not perceived, because they lye hidden in our manifold Infirmities.

“ mitys, as the Fire covered with Ashes. Yet as, after
 “ Sicknesse, commeth Health; and, after Cloudes, the
 “ Sunne shineth cleare; so the Powers of Spirituall Life
 “ will, more or lesse, be felt and perceived, in the Chil-
 “ dren of God.

“ *Quest.* What if I never feele these Motions in myself?
 “ Shall I despaire, and thinke myself a Castaway?

“ *Answ.* God forbid. For God calleth His, at what
 “ Time Hee seeth good: and the Instruments, whereby
 “ He usually calleth, have not the like Effect at all Times.
 “ Yet, it is not good to neglect the Meanes, whereby God
 “ hath determined to work the Salvation of His. For as
 “ Waxe is not melted, without Heate; nor Clay harden-
 “ ed, but by Meanes thereof; so God useth Meanes,
 “ both to draw those unto Himselfe, whom Hee hath
 “ appoynted unto Salvation, and also to bewray the Wick-
 “ ednesse of them whom He justly condemneth.”——

The Remainder of these Learned and Masterly Questions and Answers well deserve to be transcribed: but what have been now alledged, are sufficient to prove the Purpose for which I bring them.

VI. A judicious little Tractate (the Work, originally, of pious Bishop *Cranmer*), bound up likewise with the Bibles of this Reign, still continued to demonstrate the Calvinism of the Church. It is entitled, ‘*The Summe of the whole Scripture of the Bookes of the Old and New Testament.*’ Under the Article GOD, this valuable Compendium of Scripture-Doctrine expressly asserts, as usual, that He
 “ worketh all in all, after His owne Will; to Whom it
 “ is not lawful to say, Wherefore doth Hee thus or thus?”
 —It affirms, that, in Consequence of *Adam’s* Original Transgression, “ We, which be sprung from Him by the
 “ Flesh, bee in Nature the Children of Wrath, made sub-
 “ ject to Thrall and Death, to Damnation, to the Yoke
 “ and Tyranny of the Devill.”——It maintains, that, by *Christ’s* Oblation of Himself, “ All Sinne” is “ blotted
 “ out, and QUITE put away:” And, that the Spirit of
 Cod

God, and the Scriptures of Truth, are given, in Order to lead us to Christ, “that wee, BELIEVING, mought have, “ in His Name, Life everlasting.”

VII. Nor can I omit the Mention of some excellent *Prayers*, designed for private Use, and then bound up at the End of the Liturgy. Two of these shall here answer for the rest. The Collect for Sunday, was this: “ O “ Almighty and mercifull Lord, which givest unto THY “ ELECT People the Holy Ghost, as a SURE Pledge of thy “ Heavenly Kingdome; grant unto us, O Lord, thy Holy “ Spirit, that He may beare Witnesse with our Spirit that “ we be thy Children, and Heires of thy Kingdome: and “ that, by the Operation of this Spirit, we may kill all “ carnal Lustes, unlawfull Pleasures, Concupiscences, evill “ Affections, contrary unto thy Will; by our Savior and “ Lord Jesu Christ. Amen.”

The other, which I shall cite, is Part of that most admirable Supplication, entitled, ‘ *A Prayer to be said at the ‘ Hour of Death.*’ And I beseech God, that Mr *Wesley*, Mr *Sellon*, and myself, may be enabled, at that important Crisis, to expire, under the full Impression of the gracious Sentiments with which it is fraught. “ I, wretched Sinner, “ give and submit myself wholly to thy most Blessed Will: “ and being sure, that the Thing cannot perish, which “ is committed unto thy Mercy, willingly now I leave “ this fraile and wicked Flesh, in Hope of the Resurrec- “ tion, which, in better wise, shall restore it to me againe. “ —I see and know, that there is, in my selfe, NO “ Helpe of Salvation: but ALL my Confidence, Hope, “ and Trust, is in Thy most merciful Goodnesse. I have “ NO MERITS, nor good Workes, which I may alledge “ before Thee. Of Sinnes, and evill Workes, alas! I see “ a great Heape. But, through thy Mercy, I trust to be “ in THE NUMBER of them, to whom Thou wilt not “ impute their Sins; but take and accept me for Righte- “ ous and Just, and to be the Inheritour of everlasting “ Life.—Thou, merciful Lord, wast born, for my sake;

" thou diddest both hunger and thirst, for my sake ;
 " thou diddest preach and teach, thou diddest pray and
 " fast, for my sake ; THOU DIDDEST ALL GOOD WORKES
 " and DEEDES, for MY sake ; thou sufferedst most grievous
 " Paines and Torments, for my sake ; and, finally, Thou
 " gavest thy most precious Body to die, and thy Blood to
 " be shed on the Crosse, for my sake. — Let thy Blood
 " cleanse and wash away the Spots and Foulness of my
 " Sinnes. Let THY RIGHTEOUSNESS hide and cover
 " mine Unrighteousness. Let the Merites of thy Pas-
 " sion and Blood, bee the Satisfaction for my Sinnes."

VIII. If ever there was a *Calvinistic* Confession of Faith
 since the World began, the Two *Helvetic*, or *Swiss* Con-
 fessions (the smaller, drawn up, A. D. 1536: the larger,
 A. D. 1566.) have a Right to be so termed. Even the
 Vindicator of Mr *Wesley's* Minutes will hardly, I should
 imagine, venture to contest the Doctrinal Calvinism of those
 excellent Creeds, which do Honor to the Ancestors of his
 Protestant Countrymen.

In that valuable Collection, entitled, *Corpus et Syntagma*
Confessionum Fidel, which comprizes the several Confession,
 of Faith avowed by all the Protestant Churches (among
 which Confessions, the XXXIX Articles of OUR OWN
 Church shine with a Lustre as bright as any) ; the *Helvetic*
 System leads the Van: in a short Præface to which, the
 Editor (p. 4.) affirms, that the Last and Larger of the
 Two was " subscribed by the Divines of *Zurich, Bern,*
 " *Shaffhausen, St Gall, Grisonny, Basil, Bienne, and Geneva;*"
 and that " The CHURCH OF ENGLAND, the Church of
 " *Scotland, the Reformed Churches in France, all the Dutch*
 " *Churches, together with many of the Protestant Churches*
 " *in Poland, Hungary, and Germany, testify'd their Ap-*
 " *probation of the said HELVETIC CONFESSIO*n* (i)."*

What

(i) " Sed quum Illa [*scil.* prima Confess. Helvet.] brevior esset,
 gravissimis de Causis accuratius scripta fuit, A. D. 1566. Cui
 Tigurini, Bernenses, Shaffusiani, Sangallenses, Rhoeti, Myllhu-
 siani,

What I quote this Passage for, is, to prove, that *the Church of ENGLAND*, after its Restoration by Queen *Elizabeth*, acknowledged it's APPROBATION of the Doctrines contained in that thoroughly Calvinistic Declaration of Faith: which Approbation our Church would by no Means have testify'd, *had not HER OWN Principles* been as *thoroughly and confessedly CALVINISTIC*, as were the Principles of the said *Swiss Churches*.

Object not, that the Truth of this Circumstance rests on the Authority of the foreign Compiler of the *Syntagma Confessionum*. For the very same Circumstance is affirmed, and in still stronger Terms, by a most respectable *English Historian*. His Words are these, under the Year 1566. "There was lately a Confession of Faith, set forth by *Bullinger* and Others, for the Churches of *Helvetia*: which OUR CHURCH did then HEARTILY CONSENT TO and OWN. This I take, from the Pen of One that well knew, viz. *Grindal* [at that Time] Bishop of *London* [and afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*]: for there is a Letter of his, to the said *Bullinger*, wherein, among other Things, speaking of our Church [i. e. the Church of *England*]'s Affairs, He [the Bishop] shewed, How that many did endeavor to bring into the [*English*] Church a Doctrine different from that pure and sincere Profession which was embraced by the Churches of *Helvetia*: But [added the good Prelate], *Ad hunc usque Diem, cum vestris Ecclesiis, vestraque Confessione nuper editâ, plenissimi consentimus (k)*:" i. e. "Down to this very Day, We [viz. We Bishops and Clergy of the Church of *England*] do PERFECTLY AGREE with Your [i. e. with the *Switz*] Churches,

fiani, Biellenfes, item Genevenfes, fubfcriperunt. Eandem & comprobarunt Ecclefiæ ANGLIÆ, Scotiæ, Galliæ, Belgii omnes: Polonicæ quoque, Hungaricæ, atque Germanicæ Ecclefiæ multæ." —Chartula, Confess. *Helv.* præfix.—Apud *Syntagm. Confess.* Edic. Gen. 1612.

(k) *Strype's Annals*, Vol. II. p. 254. Chap. 48.

‘ Churches, and with your Confession of Faith lately set
‘ forth.’

Is the Reader desirous to see a Specimen of the *Helvetic* Confession? He shall have it. The Whole is very long: consisting of no fewer than *Thirty* Sections, or Chapters. It is drawn up with wonderful Candor, Piety, and Judgement. The *sixth* Chapter treats of *Divine Providence*: concerning which, it thus speaks: “ Every Thing whatever
“ is destined of God to some certain End, or Purpose. He
“ it is, who hath ordained, both it’s Commencement, and
“ the Means by which the End shall be attained. The
“ Heathens, indeed, attributed Things to blind Fortune,
“ and to precarious Chance: but St JAMES directs us to
“ say, *If the Lord will, we’ll do this or that.* So speaks St
“ AUSTIN: *All Things whatever, even those Things not ex-*
“ *cepted, which, to us vain Mortals, seem to come to pass rashly*
“ *and without Design; do, in reality, accomplish nothing but*
“ *the Command of God: for at His Command it is, that they*
“ *come to pass at all (1)*”.

The *Eighth* Chapter treats of *Original Sin*: and justly
“ observes, that, “ When God is, in Scripture, said to
“ *blind, to harden, and deliver Men over to a reprobate*
“ *Mind; the Meaning is, that God doth so, in a Way*
“ *of Just Judgement, as a righteous Judge and Avenger.*
“ Moreover, as often as Scripture affirms God to be the
“ Worker of any Evil, it does not mean that Evil is not
“ of Man’s own Committing; but that God, by his just
“ Judge-

(1) “ Deus enim, qui cuilibet Rei suum destinavit Finem, is et Principium, & Media, per quæ ad Finem usque pervenitur, ordinavit. Ethnici Fortunæ Res attribuunt cæcæ, & incerto Casui. S. Jacobus, 4. non vult ut dicamus, *Hodiè et cras in illam Urbem proficissemur et negociabimur: sed addit, Pro eo quod dicere debueritis, Si Dominus voluerit, &c.* Et Augustinus; *Omnia quæ vanis videntur in Rerum Naturâ temerè fieri, non faciunt, nisi Verbum ejus: quia non sunt, nisi Jussu Ejus.*” — Confess Helvet. Apud *Syntagm.* p. 24.

“ Judgement, PERMITS Evil to be wrought, and doth
 “ NOT HINDER it, tho’ it be in His POWER to hinder it
 “ if He so pleased. Or, it may be understood thus: that
 “ God makes a GOOD USE of Men’s EVIL ACTIONS; as
 “ He did of the Sins committed by *Joseph’s Brethren (m)*.”

The *Ninth* Chapter treats of *Free-will*. Part of it runs
 thus: “ The REGENERATE are active, as well as passive,
 “ in their Choice and Performance of what is good. For
 “ They are ACTED UPON by God, in Order to their doing
 “ what they do (n).”——Again: “ The WILL ITSELF is
 “ not only CHANGED by God’s Holy Spirit; but is also
 “ furnished with Ability, freely to will and do that which
 “ is good (o).”

I shall only add another Paragraph, from the *Tenth*
 Chapter, which treats of *God’s Predestination*. “ God hath,
 “ from Eternity, predestinated, or elected, freely, and
 “ of His own absolute Grace, without any Respect of
 “ Man [i. e. without any Respect of Man’s Goodness],
 “ the Saints whom it is His Will to save in Christ: ac-
 “ cording to That of the Apostle [Eph. i.] God *hath*
 “ *chosen us in Him, before the Foundations of the World.*
 “ And, again: *Who hath saved us, and called us with an*
 “ *holy Calling, not according to our Works, but according to*

I i 4

“ His

(m) “ Proinde, quando dicitur in Scripturis Deus indurare, ex
 cæcare, & tradere in reprobum sensum; intelligendum id est,
 quòd justo Judicio Deus id faciat, tanquam Judex & Ultor justus.
 Denique, quotiescunque Deus aliquid mali in Scripturâ facere
 dicitur atque videtur, non ideò dicitur, quòd Homo malum non
 faciat; sed quòd Deus fieri sinat, & non prohibeat, justo suo Ju-
 dicio, qui prohibere potuisset, si voluisset. Vel, quòd malo Ho-
 minum benè utatur; ut Peccatis Fratrum *Josephi*.”—*Ibid.* p. 27.

(n) “ Duo observanda esse docemus: Primum, Regenerato, in
 boni Electione & Operatione, non tantùm agere passivè, sed activè.
 Aguntur enim à Deo, ut agant ipsi quod agunt.”—*Ibid.* p. 29.

(o) “ Voluntas ipsa non tantùm mutatur per Spiritum; sed etiam
 instruitur Facultatibus, ut spontè velit & possit bonum.”—*Ibid.*

“ *His own Purpose, and Grace, which was given us in Christ,*
 “ *before the eternal Ages, but is now made manifest by the*
 “ *Appearing of our Savior Jesus Christ [2 Tim. i. 9, 10] (p).”*
 —So speaks the *Helvetic Confession*: with which, the
 Church of *England* doth so “ **PERFECTLY AGREE.**”

IX. Something has already been said, concerning what
 is commonly called Bishop *Ponet's* CATECHISM, drawn
 up in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* The same famous
 Catechism will supply us with an additional Proof of the
 continued Calvinism of our Church, under the Reign of
 Queen *Elizabeth.* For, that Catechism was not only re-
 vived, but enlarged, in the Year 1562; and allowed by
 the same identical Convocation, which resettled our 39
 Articles upon their present Footing. That I may not
 seem to advance any Thing rashly, I shall, as usual, produce
 the Authorities on which I go.

“ One considerable Thing more passed the Hands of
 “ this Convocation: *viz.* The CATECHISM in *Latin*, for
 “ the Use of Schools, and also for a brief Summary of Re-
 “ ligion, to be OWNED and PROFESSED in this Reformed
 “ Church. And this is the same with That which is
 “ commonly known, to this Day, by the Name of *Nowell's*
 “ *Catechism.* The Occasion was this. Upon Secretary
 “ *Cecil's* Advice, *Nowell*, Dean of *St Paul's*, drew up a
 “ Catechism in elegant *Latin*: yet making much Use of
 “ THE CATECHISM set forth towards the latter End of
 “ King *EDWARD's* Reign. This when the Dean had
 “ finished, he dedicated to the same Secretary who set him
 “ on Work. And the CLERGY of the CONVOCATION
 “ thought fit to PERUSE it: and, having well considered
 “ it, and making some Corrections, gave it a more PUB-
 “ LIC

(p) “ *Deus, ab æterno, predestinavit, vel elegit, liberè, et merè*
suâ Gratiâ, nullo Hominum Respectu, Sanctos, quos vult salvos
facere in Christo: juxta illud Apostoli, Deus elegit nos, &c. Et
iterum, Qui salvos fecit nos, &c. — *Ibid.* p. 30, 31. —

“ LIC CHARACTER, as proceeding from THEM, and so
 “ ALLOWING and APPROVING the Use of it.

“ This Catechism lay in *Cecil's* Hand, for above a Year;
 “ and then was returned to *Nowell* again, with some
 “ Learned Man's Notes: remaining with him, 'till 1570.
 “ And then it was CALLED FOR again, BY BOTH ARCH-
 “ BISHOPS, in Order to the PUBLISHING of it: and, by
 “ *Cecil's* Consent (to whom it was dedicated before), be-
 “ ing DEDICATED now by the Author to THE TWO ARCH-
 “ BISHOPS and the Bishop of LONDON, by Name, and
 “ to ALL THE REST OF THE BISHOPS, it was printed.
 “ And printed again, 1572. And again, 1578. Bearing
 “ this Title, *Christianaë Pietatis prima Institutio, ad Usum*
 “ *Scholarum Latine scripta*. This Catechism was Trans-
 “ lated also, by the same Dean's Procurement, into *English*
 “ and *Greek*, for the use also of Young Learners.

“ THIS CATECHISM seems to be THE SAME with
 “ That set forth a Month or two before King *Edward's*
 “ Death, and Licensed and Recommended by the said
 “ King's Letter set before it. For the two Persons that
 “ hold the Dialogue, in Both Catechisms, are *Magister*
 “ and *Auditor*. In that Letter, it is said to have been
 “ written by a certain Pious and Learned Man; and to have
 “ been, moreover, *diligently perused by certain Bishops, and*
 “ *other Persons of Learning*, to whom the King had com-
 “ mitted it. And [it was] likewise the same [Catechism]
 “ which, in Queen *Mary's* first Convocation was MUCH
 “ QUARREL'D WITH” [And no Wonder: for *Popery*
 “ *Calvinism* are but wet Friends]; “ and, lastly, which
 “ the POPISH Bishops brought with them, when they
 “ came to Mr *Philpot's* Examination: which *Philpot* [the
 “ Arch-Deacon and Martyr, of whom before], very proba-
 “ bly, was One of those Learned Men in Convocation, that
 “ King *Edward* had committed this Catechism to their Pe-
 “ rusal of.” Poor Mr *Wesley* thought, I suppose, that he had
 long ago taken leave of Bishop *Ponet's* Ghost; but we see,
 the

the Ghost is so unceremonious as to appear again : nay, enhances the Terrors of its Appearance, by stalking hand-in-hand with additional Ghosts ; even the Ghosts of *Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley*, and other “ CERTAIN BISHOPS and “ LEARNED MEN” of King Edward’s Convocation.—But I return to the Historian.

“ It was thought fit [namely, in the Reign of *Elizabeth*],
 “ that MINISTERS should converse in this Catechism, and
 “ LEARN TRUE DIVINITY FROM IT. But this some
 “ [viz. some of the rigid Puritans], conceited of their own
 “ Learning, afterwards thought much of. Thus *Thomas*
 “ *Cartwright*, in his *Admonition*, complained, that *Now*,
 “ *Ministers, like young Children, must be instructed, and*
 “ *learn Catechisms* : where, in the Margin, he placed these
 “ Words, *Ministers of London enjoyned to learn Mr Nowell’s*
 “ *Catechism*. To which, thus [Arch-Bishop] WHIT-
 “ GIFT [made Answer] : *That Catechism, which you, in*
 “ *Derision, quote in the Margin, is a Book fit for you to*
 “ *learn also. And I know no Man so well Learned, but it*
 “ *may become him to read and learn that Learned and neces-*
 “ *sary Book*. Such was the Esteem of this Catechism,
 “ upon its coming abroad, that, at some VISITATION,
 “ as it seems, in *London*, the Reading of it was recom-
 “ mended to the Ministers : and that with good Reason ;
 “ having passed the Synod.

“ Let me add, that, many Years after, concerning this
 “ Catechism, thus it was writ by a Great Bishop [*Cowper*,
 “ Bishop of *Winchester*], in Answer to [a Pamphlet, en-
 “ titled] *Martin Mar-Prelate*.—For a Catechism [said
 “ the Bishop], I refer them to That which was made by
 “ the *Learned and Godly Man, Mr Nowell, Dean of*
 “ *Paul’s*; received and allowed by the CHURCH OF ENG-
 “ LAND, and very fully grounded and established upon the
 “ *Word of God*. There may you see all the Parts of true Re-
 “ *ligion received*; the *Difficultys expounded*; the *Truth de-*
 “ *clared*;

“clared; the Corruptions of the Church of Rome re-
“jected (q).”

Thus do not only the Ghosts of King *Edward's* Bishops, and of Queen *Mary's* Martyrs; but the Ghosts also of Queen *Elizabeth's* Prelates, and of the whole Convocation which passed the Book of Articles; unite, with the Ghost of *John Calvin*, to frighten the vaunting Mr *Wesley* and the quaking Mr *Sellon*. Both the Knight and the Squire are haunted by the merciless Train, who are perpetually holding up *Ponet's* Catechism to view.

But that Catechism, tho' materially, was not exactly, the same with *Nowell's*. So, at least, I learn from the Annalist: for I have never been able to procure a Sight of Dean *Nowell's* Edition. But, that the Calvinistic Doctrines suffered no Injury nor Amputation, by passing through the Hands of that Learned Editor, and of the Convocation of 1562, I am fully satisfy'd. Should it be asked, On what Grounds I am convinced that those Doctrines continued with full Force to predominate in *Nowell's* improved Edition? My Answer would be, Let us attend to what *Heylyn* himself observes, concerning *Nowell's* Catechism. From whence an additional Advantage will also arise: for the Quotations from it, which the Arminian brings, will remedy, in some Measure, the Inability I am under of quoting it myself.

“It is objected,” says *Heylyn*, “that Mr *Alexander Nowell*, Dean of *St Paul's*, who was Prolocutor in this Convocation, maintaineth in his Catechism a Doctrine contrary to That which the *Arminians*, as some call them, do now contend for: and that it is not to be thought, that He and Others, engaged with them in the same Convocation, were either so ignorant, as not to know what they put into the [39] Articles; or so infatuated by God, [as] to put in Things quite contrary to their own Judgements: which being supposed,
“or

“ or took for granted, we are directed to his Catechism, written in the English Tongue, and dedicated to the two Archbishops.” The Sum of the Argument is this. The SELF-SAME Bishops and Clergymen in Convocation, who revised and allowed the XXXIX Articles as we have them at this very Day; did also revise and allow *Nowell's* improved Edition of *Ponet's Catechism*: and the said Houses of Convocation cannot, with any shew of Reason and Justice, be supposed to have been either so ignorant, or so infatuated, as to approve two contrary Systems of Religion, at one and the same time. Consequently, the Calvinism of the *Catechism* is an additional Argument that the *Articles* are Calvinistic; and the Calvinism of the *Articles* is an additional Argument to prove the Calvinism of the *Catechism*. Say not, that this Kind of Reasoning is circular, and therefore inconclusive. For, as Contraries are often admitted to illustrate each other; so may Cor-relates.

Heylyn found himself extremely hamper'd by the above Argument: which indeed proved a Circle, that hemm'd him tightly round. His subsequent Concessions, and subsequent Twistings, demonstrate, that this was a Circle which, on his own Arminian Principles, he knew not how to square. For his *Twistings*, I refer my Readers to his Book itself. But his *Concessions* merit a Place here.

He confesses, that the two following Passages are a Part of *Nowell's* Catechism. “ To the Church do all they properly belong, as many as do truly fear, honour, and call upon God, altogether applying their Minds to live holily and godly, and, with putting all their Trust in God, do most assuredly look for the Blessedness of Eternal Life. They that be steadfast, stable, and constant in this Faith, were CHOSEN and APPOINTED, and (as we term it) PREDESTINATE, to this so great Felicity.”—The other Passage, which *Heylyn* cites, is: “ The Church is the Body of the Christian Commonwealth; that is, the Universal Number and Fellowship of the Faithfull, whom God, through Christ, bath, before all Beginning of Time, APPOINTED to Everlasting Life.”

Heylyn

Heylyn observes, that those Passages have been alledged from *Nowell's* Catechism, “to prove, that Mr *Nowell* had “no Communion with *Arminians*.” And what says *Heylyn* in Answer to this? He was forced to acknowledge the Justness of the Inference: which he does, in the following remarkable Words. “To say Truth, he [i. e. *Nowell*] “could have no Communion with the *Arminians*, as “some please to call them, tho’ he had desired it: *Arminius* “being not born, or but newly born, when Mr *Nowell* “wrote that Catechism. And Mr *Nowell* had been dead “some Years, before the Name of an *Arminian* had been “heard in *England* (r).”

So much having been said, concerning this good Man’s *Catechism*; it may not prove disagreeable to the Reader, to be informed of some Particulars, relative to the good Man himself: which I have therefore subjoined, in the Note (s) below.

X. The

(r) This, and the preceding Quotations from *Heylyn*, occur in his *Miscell. Tracts*, p. 599.

(s) “Dr ALEXANDER NOWELL was born, A. D. 1510. of a “Knightly Family, at *Read*, in *Lancashire*. At thirteen, he was “admitted of *Brazen-Nose, Oxford*: where he took his Bachelor’s, “Masters, and Doctor’s Degrees, and obtained a Fellowship. “He was, successively, School-master of *Westminster*, Canon of “*Westminster Abbey*, Canon of *Windfor*, and Dean of *St. Paul’s*. “He was so fond of Fishing, that his Picture, kept in *Brazen- “Nose College*, represents him surrounded with his Hooks, Lincs, “and other Apparatus of the same Sort.—During the Reign of “*Edward VI*, he distinguished himself much, as a Promoter of “the Protestant Religion. But after the Accession of *Mary*, while “*Nowell* indulged himself in his favourite Amusement of Catch- “ing Fishes, *Bonner* was catching of *Nowell*, and designed him “for the Shambles: whither he had certainly been sent, had not “a Friend of *Nowell’s* safely conveyed him beyond the Seas.— “Without Offence [says *Fuller*], it may be remember’d, that “*Nowell*, after one of his Fishing Expeditions, happening to leave “a Bottle of Ale in the Grass; he found it some Days after, no “Bottle, but a Gun, so loud was the Sound at opening thereof:

X. The great, the general, the just Alarm, occasioned by the surreptitious Publication of such Books (which now and then made shift to steal from the Press) as tended to countenance the Doctrines of *Man's Free-will*, and the Possibility of *sinless Perfection* in this Life; is another glaring Proof, how totally those corrupt Tenets were then supposed to deviate from the Pure System of the Church of England. Let one Example stand for several.

“ The FREE-WILL MEN,” says Mr *Strype*, under the Year 1581, “ at this Time, gave some DISTURBANCE
“ by their Doctrine. And now they had procured *Cas-*
“ *talis*’s

“ and this is believed to have been the Original of Bottled Ale in
“ this Kingdom.

“ Queen *Mary* being dead, and *Elizabeth* having ascended
“ the Throne, *Nowell* returned from *Germany* to *England*, and
“ was the first of the exiled Protestants, who, on that happy Change,
“ revisited their native Country. Soon after his Arrival, he was
“ chose Member of Parliament for a Borough in *Cornwall*: but
“ his Election was declared void, on Account of his being in
“ Deacon's Orders.

“ *Elizabeth* quickly raised him to the Deanry of *London*: and
“ (adds Dr *Fuller*) for his meek Spirit, deep Learning, Prudence,
“ and Piety, the then PARLIAMENT, and CONVOCATION both,
“ chose, enjoined, and trusted him to be the Man to make a
“ *Catechism* for public Use: such an one, as should stand as a
“ Rule, for Faith and Manners, to their Posterity.—For 30 Years
“ together, he preached the first and last Sermons in *Lent*, before
“ the Queen: wherein he dealt plainly and faithfully with her,
“ and yet never incurred her Displeasure.—He was a Learned
“ Man; Charitable to the Poor, especially if they had any Thing
“ of the Scholar in them; and a great Comforter of Afflicted
“ Consciences. He died in 1602, aged more than 90 Years.
“ But, like another *Moses*, his Eyes were not dim, nor did he
“ ever make Use of Spectacles to read the smallest Print. A Man
“ of most Angelical Life; a great Defender of justification by
“ Faith alone, and yet a great Practicer of Good Works.”—
Wood's Athenæ, I, 271.—*Fuller's Worthy's*, p. 115. & *ejusd* Church
Hist. Book X. p. 4.

“*talio*’s Books to be printed here, or brought over hi-
 “ther (*t*).” This *Castalio* was, by Birth, a Frenchman :
 extremely poor, but very Learned and Ingenious. Tho’
 he always continued a Lay-man, he was yet a perpetual
 Dabbler in Divinity : his peculiar Notions in which, he
 sought to obtrude upon other People, with much Bigottry,
 and sometimes with little Decency. While he kept with-
 in any tolerable Bounds of Moderation, he experienced a
 generous and affectionate Patron in *Calvin* : but, by De-
 grees, his impatient, dogmatizing Zeal put him upon run-
 ning to such blasphemous Lengths against Predestination,
 as obliged *Calvin* to turn him adrift. Such, however, were
Calvin’s Benevolence and Candor, that, if *Castalio*’s own
 Account is to be relied on, he was dismissed from *Geneva*
 with a very favorable Attestation to his Character. Re-
 tiring to *Basil*, he obtained a *Greek* Professorship : and
 dyed there, in 1563. His Professorship was far from yield-
 ing him a Maintenance. It is even said, that he was
 forced to divide his Time between Study and manual La-
 bor. His Mornings were appropriated to Literature : his
 Afternoons to Digging, like a common Workman. But
 all would not afford him and his numerous Family a com-
 petent Support. He wanted Necessaries, to the very last.
 Hence his melting Complaint, to an opulent Friend : *You*
disfill your Oyl but by Drops, into my Lamp.—How discom-
 mendable soever his Heterodoxys might be deemed, the Re-
 flections of candid Posterity must forever bear hard on the
 Learned Men of that Age, for suffering a Person of *Castalio*’s
 fine Acquirements to languish under the Pressure of such
 complicated Difficultys.

When the Writings of this classical Free-willer began
 to appear publicly in *England*, the Friends of our Establis-
 hed Church took immediate Alarm. Among these, was Sir
Francis Knollis, Treasurer of the Queen’s Household : “Who,”
 says *Strype*, “thought it highly convenient to have the
 “ Book

(*t*) *Strype*’s Annals, Vol. III. p. 69.

“ Book searched for, and the Reading of it hinder'd (u).”
 With this View, he wrote a Letter to the Lord Treasurer, and to the Earl of *Leicester*. His Letter seems to have had the intended Effect. It ran thus:

“ My very good Lords,

“ Your Hableness and Readiness to do good, in
 “ these perilous Days of traiterous Practices both against
 “ God and against her Majesty, doth embolden me to
 “ presume to remember Your good Lordships, that, by
 “ your good Means, Order may be taken, that the true
 “ Authors and Favorers of the setting forth of *Castalio's*
 “ Book, with the (x) Abuses of the Bishop of *London* in
 “ that Behalf, may be diligently examined and bolted
 “ out: that, the Hypocrisy therein used, being known,
 “ the PESTILENT DOCTRINE thereof may be the more
 “ soundly suppressed. For it seemeth to me, that these
 “ FREE-WILL MEN, or ANABAPTISTICAL SECTARYS,
 “ do follow the same Scopes that the *Deify'd* Men of the
 “ *Family of Love* [afterwards known by the Name of
 “ *Ranters*] do follow: saving, that the same PERFECTION
 “ which the *Family of Love* do pretend to obtain by Virtue
 “ of LOVE, the same PERFECTION do *Castalio's* Sectarys
 “ pretend to obtain by the Virtue of FAITH (y). But it
 “ is not by Faith, in believing to be saved in the Merits
 “ of Christ; but by a Faith, in believing that EVERY
 “ Man is able to FULFILL THE LAW of God: and that
 “ the Cause, why Men do not fullfill the Law, is the
 “ Want of this *Castalio's* Belief. Now both these Sects
 “ [i. e. both the *Familists*, or *Ranters*; and the Followers
 “ of

(u) *Styrye*, ubi *supr*.

(x) It is very observable, that, in those Days, all the *Free-willers* were, to a Man (so far as appears), open Revilers of the Church of *England*, and virulent Defamers of the *Bishops*. ,

(y) Mr *Wesley* has improved upon

the Plan both of the *Ranters* and of *Castalio*, by associating the Principle of Each. The Methodistical *Perfection* pretends to be composed of *Faith* and *Love* together.

“ of *Castalia*] do SERVE THE TURNS OF THE PAPISTS :
 “ as all FREE-WILL MEN, and JUSTICIARYS, or JUSTIFIERS OF THEMSELVES, do. Yet, this Difference is
 “ betwixt the *Papists* and these *Seſtaries* (I do mean touching their Practices here in England): for *theſe Seſtaries* [i. e. the *Free-will Men* and *Perfectioniſts*] are MORE
 “ HYPOCRITICAL, and will ſooner DENY their Doctrines and Affertions, to avoid Punishment; than the *Papists* will.

“ London, September 29, 1581. (x).”

Such were the Sentiments, then entertained, concerning the poisonous Nature and dangerous Tendency of the Principles advanced by the FREE-WILL MEN !

XI. Mr *Sellon's* Impertinence obliges me to repeat a very remarkable Incident in the Religious History of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, which I have had Occasion to mention in a former (a) Publication : namely, the Case of *Thomas Talbot*, Parson of *St Mary Magdalen's*, in *Milk Street, London*. This *Talbot* presented a Petition, to the Bishops and Clergy assembled in Convocation ; which Petition set forth, That *the said Parson TALBOT, and some private Persons who concurred with him in Opinion, were* “ MIGHTILY
 “ CRY'D OUT AGAINST” by the Members of the Church of England, because the said *Talbot* and his Associates believed that God doth only FOREKNOW, but NOT predestinate, any
 “ Evil, Wickedness, or Sin.” For thus believing, the Petitioners complained, that they were “ Esteemed and taken,
 “ of their Brethren THE PROTESTANTS, for Fautors of
 “ false Religion ; and are constrained, hitherto, to sustain at
 “ their Hands, daily, the SHAMEFULL REPROACH and
 “ INFAMY of FREE-WILL MEN, Pelagians, Papists, Epicures, Anabaptists, and Enemys to God's Holy Predestination
 “ and Providence ; with other such like OPPROBRIOUS Words ;
 “ and Threatnings of such like, or as great PUNISHMENTS
 K k “ and

(x) *Styve*, u. s. p. 70

(a) See my *Church Vindicated from Arminianism*, p. 45—48.

“ and Corrections, as, upon any of the *aforesaid* ERRORS
 “ and SECTS, is meet and DUE to be executed.” The Peti-
 tioners next intreat, that they may enjoy their Opinion of
 ‘ God’s not being the Author and Predestinator of Man’s
 ‘ Sin and Damnation,’ “ *Without any Prejudice or Suspicion,*
 “ *to be had towards them, of the OPPROBRIOUS INFAMY*
 “ *of fuch HERETICAL Names above named: And, That*
 “ *none of thofe CORRECTIONS, PUNISHMENTS, and EXE-*
 “ *CUTIONS, which the Clergy hath in their Authority already,*
 “ *and hereafter, by the Authority of this prefent Parliament,*
 “ *from henceforth fhall have in their Authority, to exercife up-*
 “ *on any of the afore-faid ERRORS and SECTS, or any other*
 “ *fhall, in no wife, extend to be executed upon any Manner*
 “ *of Person or Persons, as do hold of Predefination as is*
 “ *above declared: EXCEPT it be duly proved, that the*
 “ *same Person or Persons do, by their exprefs Words or Writings,*
 “ *affirm, or maintain, that Man, of his own natural Power,*
 “ *is able to THINK, WILL, or WORK, of himfelf, ANY*
 “ *Thing that fhould, in ANY Cafe, HELP or SERVE TO-*
 “ *WARDS his own SALVATION, or ANY PART thereof (b).”*
 Hence, amongst feveral other Conclufions, I inferred, and
 ftill infer, That Our Proteftant Bifhops and Clergy were,
 in Elizabeth’s Reign, *more highly Calviniftical*, than, PER-
 HAPS, the Scripture itfelf will warrant; for they roundly
 affirmed God to be the *Author* both “ *of Man’s Sin and*
 “ *Damnation:*”—That fuch Perfons, as did not hold this,
 were looked upon as “ *DIFFERING from the reft*” of our
 Proteftant Church-men:—That thofe few People, who
 fuppofed God “ *not to be any Cause of Man’s Sin and Dam-*
 “ *nation,*” were, “ *mightily cry’d out againft,*” by the main
 Body of our Reformed Church, as “ *Fautors*” or Fa-
 vorers “ *of falfe Religion:*”—That “ *FREE-WILL MEN*”
 were ranked among “ *Pelagians, Papifts, Epicures, Ana-*
 “ *baptifts, and Enemy to God’s Holy Predefination and Pro-*
 “ *vidence:*

(b) See the whole of this memorable *Petition*, in *Strype’s Annals*,
 fub An. 1562. Vol I. Chap. 28. p. 331—333.

“ *videntes* .” — That, to be Called “ a Free-will Man,” was looked upon as a “ *Shameful Repröach*” and “ *approbrious Infamy* .” — Yes, That a Free-willier was deemed “ *Heretical* ;” and not only so, but exposed to the “ *Cursetsions, Punishments, and Executions*” of the Civil Magistrate . — That the few Opposers of Predestination were then both more *modest*, and more *Orthodox* (or, rather, less heterodox); than the Generality of our modern Arminians. More *modest* : in that the Milk-Street Parson only requested a bare TOLERATION for himself and his Semi-pelagian Brethren; which Request argued both a Confession, and an Acknowledgement; that he and they *dissented* from our Established Church. More *orthodox* : in that, as we have seen from the very Phrasology of their own Petition, they were ready to consent, That any Ecclesiastical Censure or Civil Penalty should be inflicted on such of their Number; as should “ *affirm and maintain, that Man, of his own natural Power, is ABLE to THINK, WILL, or WORK, of himself, ANY Thing that should in ANY case HELP or SERVE TOWARDS his own Salvation, or ANY PART thereof* .” I, therefore, ask, again; Where is NOW the Arminian, who would make such a Confession as This? Nay, Where Is Now the Arminian; who does not stiffly maintain the very Reverse? From whence I infer, that our new Anti-Calvinists are as much Degenerated from the Decency even of their Pelagian Fore-fathers, as those Pelagian Fore-fathers were degenerated from the Purity of the Protestant Faith in general, and from that of our own National Church in particular.

And now, what say Mess. *Wesley* and *Sellon*, by Way of Answer to my Argument for the Calvinism of the Church of England, drawn from the Tenor of the above-cited Petition? Instead of Answering, the astonished Arminians descant as follows: “ Good God! To what a pitch of “ *Tyranny and Wickedness* was the Calvinistic Faction gotten, in Elizabeth’s Days! — It is plain, that Dr *Hobbes* “ says

“ says true, when he tells us, *It was safer for any Man,*
 “ *in those Times, to have been looked upon as an HEATHEN*
 “ *or PUBLICAN, than an ANTI-CALVINIST.* This shews,
 “ what a *deplorable State the Church was at that Time in*
 “ *Reformed—from bad to worse; from Popish Superstition*
 “ *to Calvinistic Blasphemy.* ——— These BISHOPS and
 “ CLERGY” [*viz.* the Bishops and Clergy in the Con-
 vocation of 1562, to whom Talbot’s Petition was pre-
 sented; who were also the very identical Bishops and
 Clergy, that then settled the present *Liturgy* and framed the
 present XXXIX *Articles of the Church of England*] “ These
 “ BISHOPS and CLERGY were a Company of SILLY MEN,
 “ to say no WORSE (c).” The Church is much obliged
 to Mr *John* and his Man *Wat*, for their Complaisance to
 Her. Unhappily, however, for themselves and their Cause,
 they have, in the Ferment of their scurrilous Heat, un-
 warily set their Seal to the Whole of the Argument I plead
 for. They acknowledge (who could ever have thought it?)
 even *John Wesley* and *Walter Sellon* do, themselves, ac-
 knowledge, That the Church of England was “ Reformed
 “ from Popish Superstition to Calvinistic” Principles; and
 that, in good Queen *Bess’s* golden Days, when Calvinism
 had no Harm in’t, “ It was safer for any Man to have
 “ been looked upon as an *Heathen* or *Publican*, than an
 “ *Anti-Calvinist.*” Granted. And what is this, but the
 very Point for which I contend (d)?

XII. I

(c) *Sellon*, p. 55, 56, 57.

(d) The Compliment, which this Brace of Methodists pass on
 the Bishops, &c. who threw our 39 Articles into their present
 Form: *viz.* that “*They were a Company of SILLY Men, to say no*
 “ *worse*” of ’em; yea, (p. 56) that the said Bishops and Clergy
 were “*An HERD of Persecutors*;” reminds me of another very
 elegant Compliment offered, by the said Brace, to the Memorys
 of those great and good Men who translated the Holy Scripture
 into the English Version now used: *viz.* that they were “*Blun-*
 “ *derers and Blasphemers*” (p. 110). And yet, One of these
 Railers,

XII. I must repeat another Instance, than which it is hardly possible, perhaps, to alledge an Incident more strong, striking, and conclusive, in Favor of the absolute Calvinism of the Church of England: I mean, the Advice, offered and recommended by Queen *Elizabeth's* Bishops themselves, that “*Incorrigible Arians, Pelagians or FREE-WILL Men*, be sent into some one Castle, in *North-Wales*, or *Wallingford*; and there to live of their own Labor and Exercise; and none other be suffered to resort unto them, but their *KEEPERS*: untill they be found to *repent their ERRORS (e)*.”

This most remarkable Paper of Advice is thus introduced by Mr *Strype*: “Another Thing also was now drawn up in Writing, BY THE ARCH-BISHOP [*Parker*], AND BISHOPS, for the further *Regulation of the Inferior Clergy*. This Paper consisted of *Interpretations and further Considerations* of certain of the *Queen's Injunctions*, for the better Direction of the Clergy, and for *KEEPING GOOD ORDER IN THE CHURCH*. It was framed, as it seems to me, by the Pen of *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*; and *REVISED BY THE ARCH-BISHOP (f)*.”—Let it be noticed, that Dean *Nowell's* Catechism, together with the *Second Book of Homily*, as we have them at this Day in our Homily Book (*g*),” was compiled and published; as also the “*Articles of Faith* to be subscribed to by Ministers, and the *Form of Declaration*” [i. e. the Declaration

k k 3

of

Railers, viz. Mr *Wesley* himself, tells us, in the Preface to his wretched Bundle of Plagiarisms on the New Testament, that *there is something in the very Diction of our English Translation, which is, in his Estimation, peculiarly venerable*. That is, *Blunders and Blasphemys* are, in Mr *W's* Judgement, *peculiarly venerable*. I should have imagined as much, without his Information: they being, literally, two Species of Commodities, in which he drives a larger Traffick than any other Blunder-Merchant this Island has produced.

(e) See *Strype's Annals*, Vol. I. Chap. xvii. p. 214.

(f) *Strype*, u. s. p. 213.

(g) *Strype*, u. s. p. 216.

of Conformity to the Liturgy and Rites] "to be by them
 " openly spoken and professed: were likewise framed,"
 about (b) the same Time, and by the self-same Bishops who
 advised the Queen to shut up all "incorrigible FREE-WILL
 " Men in some one Castle in North-Wales, or Wallingford."

From my former *Vindication of the Church of England*,
 permit me to transcribe a brief Remark or two, which I
 then made, on this extraordinary Advice offered by Queen
Elizabeth's Bishops and Clergy in Convocation assembled.
 I observed, "I do not quote this mortifying Paragraph-
 [mortifying indeed, to Arminians and Arminianizers];
 from any *Approbation* I entertain of the Expedient recom-
 mended: for I abhor every Thing that even looks like Per-
 secution, for Principles merely Religious. But I cannot
 help deducing two Conclusions from this curious Portion
 of our Ecclesiastical History. 1st, That FREE-WILL MEN
 were considered, by the Church of England, when in her
 Purity, as some of the MOST DANGEROUS REQUISANTS she
 had to grapple with: else, she would never have advised
 the *Confining* of them in a remote Prison, where none should
 be permitted to have Access to them, *their* KEEPERS only
 excepted.—2^{dly}, That FREE-WILL MEN were, at that
 Time, very few in Number: otherwise, "Qua Castle,"
 however spacious, would not have been thought Large
 enough to contain them.—3^{dly}, I heartily congratulate
 our present, Free-willers, on their living in an Age of
 Liberty.

And I still congratulate them, with the utmost Sinceri-
 tity. Among which congratulated Number, I include
 even Mr *Wesley* and Mr *Sellon*. Had the Advice of the
 Episcopal Bench been followed, and had it continued in
 Force to this Day, Mr *Wesley*, instead of ranging the three
 Kingdoms, like a Bird of Passage; would have been caged
 on the dreary summit of a *Welch* Mountain: or, compelled
 to fix his Nest in some Hole of *Wallingford* Castle, must
 have

(b) *Strype, Ibid.*

have beat Time to the Music of the Winds. The melodious Mr *Sellon*, likewise, instead of improving and ravishing the Public with his mellifluous Notes, must have followed his Master to the Coop: and warbled his harmonious Woes to the dull, dark, damp, solitary Walls; or whistled his persuasive Strains to the Owls and to the Batts. — I mean if these two Arminians had stood to their Principles: of which I stand in much doubt.

I am glad the *sweet Singers* are at full Liberty to hop from Spray to Spray in pursuit of Flies, tho' I cannot wish them a large Capture. And whereas I had reasonably and naturally inferred, that *Free-willers* were once very few in Number, from the Circumstance of a *single Castle's* being deemed sufficient to hold them all; I am well pleased that the said *Nightingales* should have it in their Power to counter-act my Inference with this sage Objection (p. 39.): to wit, That “*One Castle would have held all the avowed Protestants in England, in Queen Mary's Days.*” But this happens to be a Mistake. For; tho' many Protestants fled, as Opportunity offered, into other Countrys; yet, the Multitude of those that remained was so great, that *Mary's* Popish Bishops were tired, and her Popish Administration were ashamed, of the Imprisonments, the Sufferings, and the Slaughters, by which her detestable Reign was distinguished. — Let *Strype* testify, whether “*One Castle would have held all the avowed Protestants in England.*” That authentic Historian affirms, that, in London only, “*The Tower, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, the King's-Bench, Newgate, and the Two Counters, were FULL of them (c).*” It was even computed, that no fewer than twenty Thousand Persons, who had been, from the very first, bigotted Papists; were, during the Persecution, converted to Protestantism, in the Course of one Twelve-month only (d). — A very elegant and masterly Historian, now living, confirms the Falschood of Mr *Sellon's* Conjecture. “*The*

(c) *Eccles. Mem.* Vol. III. p. 140.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 285.

" Patience and Fortitude, with which the Martyrs for the
 " Reformation submitted to their Sufferings; the Heroic
 " Contempt of Death, expressed by Persons of every
 " Rank, and Age, and Sex; confirmed many more in the
 " Protestant Faith, than the Threats of their enraged
 " Persecutors could frighten into Apostacy. The Busi-
 " ness of such as were entrusted with the Trying of He-
 " retics, GREW upon them, and appeared as ENDLESS
 " as it was odious. The Queen's ablest Ministers be-
 " came sensible, how impolitic, as well as dangerous, it
 " was, to irritate the People by the frequent Spectacle of
 " Public Executions, which they detested, as no less un-
 " just than cruel. Even *Philip* was so thoroughly con-
 " vinced of her having run to an Excess of Rigor, that
 " he assumed a Part, to which he was little accustomed;
 " becoming an Advocate for Moderation and Lenity (e)."

— In supposing therefore, that " *All the avowed Protes-*
 " *testants in England, might in the Days of Mary,*" have
 been comprehended in " *one Castle;*" Mr Sellon rashly
 estimates the Integrity of the *Martyrs*, by *his own*: but he
 should remember, that *they* were conscientious Calvinists,
 and *himself* is a prevaricating Arminian.

On the whole, it follows, That *One Castle* WOULD NOT
 have held all the professed Protestants in *Queen Mary's Reign*:
 But that *One Castle* WOULD have held ALL the Protes-
 tant FREE-WILLERS in the *Reign of Queen Elizabeth*.

XIII. The avowed and undeniable Calvinism of those
 Prelates, with whom that discerning Princess took Care to
 fill the Metropolitan See of *Canterbury*, during the whole
 of her Reign; supplies another Argument, for the palpable
 Calvinism of the Church. Indeed, the same Care was
 taken of the inferior Sees: witness the venerable Calvi-
 nistic Names of *Sandys*, *Hutton*, and *Matthew*, Arch-
 Bishops of *YORK*; *Aylmer*, and *Bancroft*, Bishops of *LON-*

DON;

(e) *Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. Book XI. Vol. IV. p. 162. Octavo.*

DON; *Horne, Watſon, and Cowper*, Bishops of WINCHESTER; *Cox, Barlow, Jewell, Gheast, Babington, Parkburſt, Yeung, Scambler, Pilkington*, and many others, who were rather Ornaments to the Mitre, than the Mitre to them.

I ſhould expatiate on too large a Field, were I (as I once deſigned) to enter on the Proof, which Hiſtory affords, of the Orthodox Principles of thoſe and the other leading (*f*) Bishops in that Reign. I muſt, therefore, confine myſelf to the Prelates of *Canterbury*: who were PARKER, GRINDAL, and WHITGIFT.

(1.) Dr

(*f*) Let the accomplished Dr *Jewell*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, whoſe able Defences of the Church of England have ſtamped Immortality on his Name; ſtand as one Proof for all, of that thorough-paced Calviniſm which was univerſally adopted by the valuable Fathers, who graced the Right Reverend Bench, in thoſe Times of Doctrinal Purity. — “ God,” ſays Bishop *Jewell*, “ hath CHOSEN
 “ you from the Beginning. His ELECTION is SURE FOREVER.
 “ The Lord knoweth who are His. You ſhall not be deceived
 “ with the Power and Subtilty of Antichriſt. YOU SHALL NOT
 “ FALL FROM GRACE. You ſhall NOT periſh. This is the
 “ Comfort which abideth with the Faithfull, when they behold
 “ the Fall of the Wicked; when they ſee them forſake the Truth
 “ and delight in Fables; when they ſee them return to their
 “ Vomit, and wallow again in the Mire. When we ſee theſe
 “ Things in others, we muſt ſay, alas they are examples for me,
 “ and lamentable Examples. Let him that ſtandeth take heed
 “ that he fall not. But God hath loved *me*, and hath choſen *me*
 “ to Salvation. His Mercy ſhall go before me, and his Mercy
 “ ſhall follow in me. His Mercy ſhall guide my Feet, and ſtay
 “ me from falling. If I ſtay by myſelf, I ſtay by nothing; I
 “ muſt needs come to Ground. — He hath LOVED me; he
 “ hath CHOSEN me; he will KEEP me. Neither the Example
 “ nor the Company of others, nor the enticing of the Devil, nor
 “ my own ſenſual Imaginations, nor Sword, nor Fire, is ABLE to
 “ ſeparate me from the Love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus
 “ our Lord. This is the Comfort of the Faithfull. —
 “ Whatſoever falleth upon others, tho’ others fall and periſh, al-
 tho

(1.) Dr. *Matthew Parker* was consecrated Arch-Bishop, Dec. 17, 1559, in *Lambeth Chapel*. Almost immediately afterwards, his Grace received a Letter from *Calvin*; which Letter he communicated to the Queen's Privy Council, who, when they had seriously considered its Contents, ordered the Arch-Bishop to transmit their THANKS to *Calvin* for his Pains and Kindness. I shall recite this Matter more at large, in the Historian's own Words.

A Letter was sent, this Year (1560), to Archbishop *Parker*, "From the Hands of a great Divine, *John Calvin*:
 "imporing, How he [*viz.* Calvin] rejoiced in the Happiness of England, and that God had raised up so gracious a
 "Queen to be instrumental in propagating the true Faith of
 "Jesus Christ, by restoring the Gospel, and expelling Idolatry,
 "together with the Bishop of Rome's usurped Power. Calvin
 "then made a serious Motion of uniting Protestants together, as he had done before (g) in King *Edward's*
 Reign.

"tho' they forsake Christ and follow after Antichrist, yet God
 "hath loved you and given His Son for you. He hath chosen
 "you, and prepared you unto Salvation, and hath written your
 "Names in the Book of Life. But how may we know that God
 "hath chosen us? how may we see this Election? or how
 "may we FREE it? the Apostle saith, thro' Sanctification, and
 "the Faith of Truth. These are tokens of God's Election.
 "This [*viz.* the Holy Spirit] comforteth us in all Temptations;
 "and beareth witness with our Spirit that we be the Children of
 "God; that God hath chosen us; and doth love us, and hath
 "prepared us to Salvation; that we are the Heirs of his Glory; that
 "God will keep us as the Apple of his Eye; that He will defend
 "us; and we shall not Perish."—Bishop *Jewel's* Explic. of the
 Epistles to the *Thessalonians*;—p. 143, 144. Lond. 1611.

(g) "The Sentiments of the Foreign Protestants concerning the
 "present English State" [*viz.* concerning the Church and Con-
 "dition of England under the Government of King *Edward VI.*]
 "deserves a particular Remark. They took such great Joy and
 "Satisfaction in this good King; and his Establishment of Re-
 "ligion; that *Bullinger*, *Calvin*, and Others, in a Letter to him;
 "offered

“ Reiga.—He [now] intreated the Arch-Bishop to prevail
 “ with her Majesty to summon a General Assembly of all the
 “ Protestants

“ offered to make him their Defender, and to have Bismors in
 “ their Churches, as there were in England, with a Tender of
 “ their Service, to assist and unite together.” (*Styve's Memorials*
 of *Cranmer*, p. 207.)—Nothing could be either more wisely, or
 more benevolently planned, than this excellent Scheme. It was,
 however, frustrated. And frustrated by *Whom*? By the *Papists*
 of that Time; who were, to the last Degree, stung and alarmed at
 the Prospect of a general Union among the Reformed. The Council
 of *Trent* was then sitting: some artful Members of which un-
 dertook, by Dint of callous Management, to disconcert a Mea-
 sure so formidable to the Interests of *Rome*. For thus the Historian
 goes on: “ This” [Proposal of *Calvin's* to King *Edward* and the
 Church of *England*] “ nettled the Learned at the Council of *Trent*,
 “ who came to the Knowledge of it by some of their private In-
 “ telligencers; and they verily thought, that *All the Heretics*, as
 “ they called them, *would now unite among themselves, and become*
 “ *one Body, receiving the same Discipline exercised in England:*
 “ *which if it should happen, and they should have Heretical Bi-*
 “ *shops near them in those Parts, they concluded that Rome and*
 “ *her Clergy would utterly fall.* Whereupon were sent Two of
 “ of their *Emissaries from Rotterdam into England*, who were to
 “ pretend themselves *Anabaptists*, and preach against *Baptizing*.
 “ *Infants*, and preach up *Re-baptizing*, and a *Fifth Monarchy*
 “ upon *Earth*. And, besides this, one *D. G.* authorized by these
 “ *Learned Men* [i. e. by the *Popish Synod* assembled at *Trent*],
 “ dispatched a *Letter*, written in *May*, 1549, from *Delft* in *Hol-*
 “ *land*, to two [of the *Popish* deprived] *Bishops* [here], whereof
 “ [*Gardiner*, *Bishop* of] *Winchester* was one; signifying the coming
 “ of these pretended *Anabaptists*, and that they should receive
 “ them, and cherish them, and take their Parts, if they should chance
 “ to receive any Checks: telling them, that it was left to them to
 “ assist in this Cause, and to some Others whom they knew to be well
 “ affected to *Mother Church*. This *Letter* is lately put in Print.
 “ *Sir Henry Sidney* first met with it in *Queen Elizabeth's Closet*,
 “ among some Papers of *Queen Mary's*. He transcribed it into
 “ a Book of his, called, *The Romish Policies*. It came afterwards
 “ into

“ Protestant Clergy, wheresoever dispersed; and that a SET
 “ FORM and Method [i. e. of Public Service, and Govern-
 “ ment of the Church] might be Established, not only in
 “ HER Dominions, but also among ALL the Reformed and
 “ Evangelical Churches abroad.

“ This was a Noble Offer: and the Arch-Bishop soon
 “ acquainted the Queen’s Council with it. They took
 “ it into Consideration, and desired his Grace to THANK
 “ Calvin, and to let him know, They LIKED his Proposals,
 “ which were fair and desirable: yet, as to the Government
 “ of the Church, to signify to him, that the Church of
 “ England would still retain her Episcopacy (b):” And it
 was Calvin’s Desire that she might. Nay, that great Re-
 former (as hath been already observed) wished for the In-
 troduction of Protestant Episcopacy into the Reformed
 Churches abroad. Witness, farther, what Mr *Strype* im-
 mediately subjoins:

“ This was a great Work; and created serious Thoughts
 “ in the Arch-Bishop’s Mind, for the framing a proper
 “ Method to set it on Foot: but he had considered but a
 “ little while of these Matters, when News arrived at
 “ Court,

“ into the Hands of Archbishop *Usher*; and was transcribed thence
 “ by Sir *James Ware*.” (*Strype, u. s. p. 207, 208*).

The Romish Church had Reason to dread the projected Co-alition
 of Protestants: and the restless Intrigues of her Emissarys, who,
 under various Characters and Appearances, went about, sowing
 Divisions, and seeking to unsettle the Minds of the People; doubt-
 less, contributed much to impede and dissipate the intended salu-
 tary Union. It would, however, in all Probability, have taken
 Effect, at the long run; if the State-Animosities and Factions,
 which divided King *Edward’s* Court, together with the early
 Death of the Good King Himself, had not superseded the excel-
 lent Design.

See more of *Cranmer’s* Correspondence with *Calvin*, in Mr
Strype’s above-quoted *Memorials*, from p. 409, to p. 413.

(b) *Strype’s* Life of *Parker*, p. 69.

“ Court, that Calvin was dead.—How Calvin stood affect-
 “ ed in the said Point of *Episcopacy*, and how READILY,
 “ and GLADLY He and other Heads of the Reformed
 “ Churches would have RECEIVED It, is evident enough
 “ from his Writings and Epistles. In his Book *Of the*
 “ *Necessity of Reforming the Church*, he hath these Words :
 “ *Talem nobis Hierarchiam exhibeant, &c. Let them give*
 “ *us such an Hierarchy, in which Bishops may be so above the*
 “ *rest, as they refuse not to be under Christ, and depend upon*
 “ *Him as their only Head; that they maintain a brotherly So-*
 “ *ciety, &c. if there be any that do not behave themselves with*
 “ *all Reverence and Obedience toward them, there is no*
 “ *Anathema, but I confess them worthy of it (i).”* Calvin’s
 Opinion

(i) Life of Parker, p. 69, 70.—The Historian mentions another very remarkable Proof, both of Calvin’s regard for Episcopacy, and of the Manner in which a seeming Difference arose between the Plan of Ecclesiastical Government adopted by that Reformer, and the Plan of Episcopal Government adopted by the Church of England. A curious Paper, in Arch-Bishop Abbot’s own Hand-writing, found among Arch-Bishop Usher’s Manuscripts, and published by Mr Strype, ran as follows: “ *Perusing some Papers of our*
 “ *Predecessor, Matthew Parker; we find, that JOHN CALVIN, and*
 “ *Others of the Protestant Churches of Germany and elsewhere,*
 “ *would have had Episcopacy, if permitted. — — — And*
 “ *whereas CALVIN had sent a Letter, in King Edward VI’s Reign,*
 “ *to have conferred with the Clergy of England, about some Things*
 “ *to this Effect; Two [Popish] Bishops, viz Gardiner and Bonner,*
 “ *INTERCEPTED the same: whereby Mr Calvin’s Offerure perished,*
 “ *and he received an Answer [from Gardiner and Bonner] as if*
 “ *it had been from the Reformed Divines of those Times; wherein*
 “ *they CHECK’D Him, and SLIGHTED his Proposals. From which*
 “ *Time, John Calvin and the Church of England were at Variance*
 “ *in several Points [respecting Church Government]: which,*
 “ *otherwise, through God’s Mercy, had been qualified, if those Papers*
 “ *of his Proposals had been discovered to the Queen’s Majesty [viz.*
 “ *to Queen Elizabeth] during John Calvin’s Life. But, being not*
 “ *discovered until, or about, the Sixth Year of her Reign, HER MA-*
 “ JUSTY

Opinion being so favorable to the English Episcopacy, it was no Wonder that He and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury

“*JESTY much LAMENTED, they were not found sooner: which she expressed before her Council, in the Presence of her great Friends Sir Henry Sidney and Sir William Cecil.*” *Styrye’s Life of Park.* p. 70.—So wrote that most respectable Prelate, Arch-Bishop Abbot; whose Evidence may be thus summed up: *Calvin’s* last Letter concerning Episcopacy, sent to the ruling Clergy of England in the Reign of Edward VI. was craftily intercepted by Bonner and Gardiner; who (to quash *Calvin’s* Scheme for Episcopizing the foreign Protestant Churches) forged a surly, snappish Answer to *Calvin*, in the Names of the Divines to whom his Letter had been addressed, but whose Hands it had never reached. *Calvin*, being disgusted at the Rudeness with which he supposed his Overture had been received here, dropt all Thoughts of making any further Advances on the Subject. And thus, had not the fraudulent Malice of two Popish Extinguishers put out the Design, *Calvin* had admitted the Discipline of the Church of England, with as much Zeal and Heartiness as the Church of England actually adopted *Calvin’s* Doctrines.—Let me add, that Queen ELIZABETH’S “*Much LAMENTATION before her Council,*” on the Detection of the above Popish Fraud, demonstrated how fair *Mr John Calvin* stood in her Majesty’s Esteem.

A very remarkable Passage occurs, likewise, in the *Examination of Mountagu’s Pelagian and Arminian Appeal*, written by the excellent Bishop *Carleton*, who had been one of the Representatives of the Church of England at the ever memorable Synod of *Dort*. A Passage, which demonstrates, that the Affection of the foreign Reformed Churches, to a protestant and primitive Episcopacy, did not expire with the Life of *Calvin*. “When wee [i. e. when we *English* Divines, who attended that Synod] were to yield our Consent to the *Belgic Confession* at *Dort*; I made open Protestation in the Synode, that whereas, in that Confession, there was inserted a strange Concoit of the *Parity of Ministers* to be instituted by Christ, I declared our Dissent utterly in that Point. I shewed, that, by Christ, a Parity was never instituted in the Church. — And herein I appealed to the Judgement of Antiquity, and to the Judgement of any Learned Man now living :

arbury were on Terms of most friendly and intimate Correspondence. The Truth is, they were reciprocal Admirers of each other, and agreed no less in Matters of Discipline than of Doctrine.

In the Year 1563, *Musculus's* Common Places, which contain a complete and very excellent System of Calvinistical Divinity, were translated into English, and the Translation dedicated to the said Arch-Bishop Parker. Nay, in the Opinion of *Mr Strype*, the Arch-Bishop himself honour'd the Book with the prefatory Admonition to the Reader, concerning Church-Discipline and Ceremonys. "*Musculus's* Common Places came forth, this Year, in Folio; translated out of Latin into English, FOR THE USE OF ENGLISH DIVINES and Others, IN ORDER TO INSTRUCT THEM IN A BODY OF SOUND DIVINITY

living: and essayed herein to be satisfied, if any Man of Learning could speak to the contrary. (My Lord of Salisbury is my Witness; and so are all the rest of our Company, who spake also in the same Cause.) To this there was no Answer made by Any. Whereupon, we conceived that they yielded to the Truth of the Protestation.—And somewhat I can say, of my own Knowledge: for I had Conferences with divers of the best Learned in that Synode. I told them, that the Cause of all their Troubles [*viz.* of all the Dissentions occasioned and fomented in the *Dutch Churches* by the *Arminians*.] was this, that they had not BROTHERS among them; who, by their Authorities, might repress turbulent Spirits that broached Novelties.—Their Answer was, that they did much HONOUR and REVERENCE the good Order and DISCIPLINE of the Church of ENGLAND; and, with all their Hearts, would be glad to have it established among THEM: but that could not be hoped for, in their State. Their Hope was, that, seeing they could not do, what they desired, God would be mercifull to them, if they did what they could. This was their Answer.—The Truth is, they groane under that Burthen [*viz.* the Burden of Ministerial Parity], and would be eased, if they could. This is well knowne to the rest of my Associates there."—*Bishop Carleton's Examination, &c.* p. 111, 112. Lond. 1626.

“NITY PURGED FROM THE ERRORS OF POPYRY. The
 “Author [viz. *Musculus*] was a Learned Professor of Di-
 “vinity, in *Bern, Switzerland*; and reckoned among the
 “most Profound Doctors that had written in the Church
 “of God. The Translator was Mr *Man*, Head of
 “*Merton College, Oxford*; who dedicated the Book to
 “our Arch-Bishop.” (*Strype’s Life of Parker*, p. 150)
 — In this Book, the Doctrines of Absolute Predestina-
 tion and Grace are wrought up to the highest Standard.
 I have the Latin Edition by me, and number it among
 my choicest Literary Treasures. Let me ask, Whether
 the Arch-Bishop would not only have permitted the En-
 glish Version of it to be Dedicated to himself, but also
 have prefixed to it a “Preface of his own,” if his Grace
 had not indeed looked upon that Performance as, what Mr
 Strype justly terms it, “a *Body of SOUND Divinity?*”

The extraordinary Countenance afforded by the same
 Arch-Bishop to the *GENEVA Bible*; is a strong accessory
 Proof of his Doctrinal Calvinism. One Mr *John Bodleigh*
 began to prepare a new Edition of that Bible, in 1569,
 and “Apply’d himself to the Queen’s Secretary, *Cecil*.
 “ — — — But the Secretary suspended giving his Fur-
 “therance, till he had heard the Advice of the Arch-
 “Bishop, and the Bishop of *London*. — — — Both the
 “Arch-Bishop and Bishop willingly gave their Letters to
 “the Secretary, in *Bodleigh’s* Behalf: writing to him,
 “That they thought so WELL of the first Impression, and the
 “Review of those who had since travelled therein, that they
 “[viz. the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *London*] wished it
 “would please him [Secretary *Cecil*] to be a Means, that
 “Twelve Years longer Term might be, by special Privilege,
 “granted him [i. e. to *Bodleigh*], in Consideration of the
 “Charges, by him and his Associates, in the first Impression,
 “and the Review since, sustained (k).” Thus, tho’ the
 Geneva

(k) *Strype’s Life of Arch-Bishop Parker*, p. 206, 207.

Geneva Bible never had the express Authority of the State to recommend it, it had the Approbation of the principal Ecclesiastics in the Church of England.

But the Translation, called, *the Bishops Bible*; mentioned above, and from which some striking Extracts have been given; puts the Calvinism of Arch-Bishop *Parker* (who had the Chief Hand in that Version) beyond all Controversy. "The Arch-Bishop took upon him the
 " Labor to contrive, and to set the whole Work a going
 " in a proper Method; by Sorting out the whole
 " Bible into Parcels, and distributing those Parcels to able
 " Bishops, and other Learned Men, to peruse, and col-
 " late, Each, the Books allotted them: sending, withall,
 " his Instructions for the Method they should observe,
 " and they to add some short MARGINAL NOTES for
 " the Illustration or Correction of the Text. And all
 " these Portions of the Bible being finished, and sent back
 " to the Archbishop, he was to add the last Hand to them,
 " and so to take Care for Printing and Publishing the
 " whole (1)." All which was accordingly done.—

History records many other Proofs of Archbishop *Parker's* Orthodoxy (the Modelling of the XXXIX Articles, for Instance; and his Concurrence with the rest of the Bishops, in the Proposal for Confining "Incorrigible FREE-WILL Men," to hard Labor and Discipline, "in some one Castle;" with various Particulars besides, all tending to the same Point): but the few, already specified, shall, at present, suffice. This good Archbishop, dying in 1575, was succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*,

(2.) By the Learned and Pious Dr *Edmund Grindal*: a Prelate, in whose Breast the entire Assemblage of Christian Graces met, and in whose Life every Moral Virtue shone. A remarkable Incident is related of him, when a Boy. He was, from his Infancy, byassed by a strong Propensity to Literature: and used to make some valuable

L 1 Book

(1) Ibid. p. 208.

Book or other, the constant Companion of his solitary Walks. Passing, one Day, through a Field, with his Coat or Waistcoat button'd half-way up, and a Volume resting in his Bosom; an Arrow, from some unknown Quarter, lighted on his Breast, and must have killed him immediately, if the Book had not intercepted the Point of the Weapon in its Way to his Heart (m).

Being transplanted from his native County of *Cumberland*, to *Cambridge*; he there became Fellow of *Pembroke Hall*: and, in Consideration of his distinguished Abilities and Merit, was nominated by Bishop *Ridley* to be one of his Chaplains; his other two being Mr *John Rogers* and Mr *John Bradford*, who were both (as was their Lord, the Bishop himself) afterwards martyr'd in the Reign of *Mary*. Dr *Grindal* would, probably, have been Baptized with the same fiery Baptism; had not that watchfull Providence, whose Care he eminently experienced from his earliest Years, enabled him to escape into *Germany*: where he stayed, 'till *Elizabeth* became Queen. On his Return to England, he was, successively, Bishop of *London*, Archbishop of *York*, and at last of *Canterbury*. He dyed, A. D. 1583. and lyes Bury'd in the Chancel of *Croydon Church*. Pious King *Edward VI.* sensible of *Grindal's* Worth, had nominated him to a Bishopric, a little before his [the King's] Decease: but Providence reserved our Prelate's Advancement, to the more fixed and settled Times of *Elizabeth*.

His Attachment to the Calvinistic Principles has never, so far as I can find, been disputed. And, indeed, his extraordinary Zeal for that pure, Protestant System, was the Reason why this good Archbishop has been so maliciously pecked at, by more than one Arminian Traducer; particularly, by the infamous *Peter Heylyn*.

A Person need but look into Mr *Fox's* inestimable Martyrology, and he will presently perceive, that Predestina-
tion

(m) *Strype's Life of Archbishop Grindal*, p. 4.

tion and its connected Doctrines are the Threads of Gold and Scarlet which pervade the whole of that Performance. The venerable Author was indebted, for much Assistance in his Work, to the Pains and Care of *Grindal* (n). “ Many Accounts of the Acts and Disputations, of the “ Sufferings and Ends, of the Godly Men under Queen “ Mary, came, from Time to Time, to *Grindal*’s Hands: “ and, as they came to his Hands, he conveyed them to “ *Fox*. Nor did he only do this; but, withall, frequent- “ ly gave *Fox* his Thoughts concerning them, and his “ Instructions and Counsels about them. — — — I find “ *Grindal*, soon after *Bradford*’s Martyrdom, sending *Fox* “ his History, together with many of his holy Letters. “ — — *Grindal* wrote him likewise, That he had a great “ Heap of such Papers: to whom *Fox* [replied], he doubt- “ ed not that he would, with the like Vigilancy and “ Faithfulness, peruse and digest them. — — — Indeed, “ *Grindal* had greater Opportunitys of knowing *Bradford*, “ and getting his Papers, than Others [had]: they two “ having been Fellow-Chaplains together to [Ridley] the “ Bishop of London, and to the King [viz. Edward VI.], “ and Fellow-Prebendarys of *St Paul*’s; and I might add “ also, Fellows of the same Colledge (o).” Doctor *Grindal* also furnished *Fox* with the Accounts of *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and Others of the eminent Martyrs. By which it appears, “ How earnest an Assistant *Grindal* was to *Fox*, in “ Compiling his Martyrology; both by his continual Coun- “ sel, and by supplying him with Materials for it: much “ whereof he sent him, drawn up and methodized by his “ own Pen, in English (p).”

I have already proved, that *Peter Martyr* was a Calvinist of the truest Dye: and under his Ministry it was, that *Grindal* sat, during the Exile of the latter in *Germany*, while *Mary* swayed the Sceptre in *England*. For, thus

L I 2

wrote

(n) *Strype*’s *Life of Grindal*, p. 9. 13.

(o) *Ibid.* p. 18.

(p) *Ibid.* p. 21.

wrote *Grindal*, in a Letter to the imprisoned Bishop *Ridley* ;
 “ We [i. e. the Protestant Refugees] be here dispersed
 “ in divers and several Places. Certayne be at *Tigurye* ;
 “ good Students, of either University, a Number: very
 “ well entreated of Maister *Bullinger*, &c. Another
 “ Number of us remayne at *Argentine*, and take the Com-
 “ modity of Maister *Martyr*’s Lessons, who is a very no-
 “ table Father (g).”

On his Return to England (which was in the very next Month after Queen *Elizabeth*’s Accession), he was one of the principal Commissioners, appointed to the Revision of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The Calvinism, therefore, of the Liturgy, evinces the Calvinism of *Grindal*. The Review of the Common-Prayer was quickly finished: and it was read, for the first Time after its Restoration, on Sunday, *May 12, 1559*, in the Queen’s Chapel; and on the succeeding *Wednesday (May 15)*, it was solemnly read in *St Paul’s Church*, after a prefatory Sermon, preached by *Grindal*.

No Reader, at all versed in the History of the Reformed Churches, need be told, that the famous *Jerom Zanchy* subscribed to some *Lutheran* peculiarities, concerning the Lord’s Supper, under certain Salvos and Restrictions of his own framing, and which he explicitly avowed. On this Occasion, *Zanchy* wrote to his old Friend, Dr *Grindal*, then Bishop of London. “ *Grindal* answered *Zanchy*’s Letter, in one dated in August [1563], from *Fulham*:
 “ wherein he [Bishop *Grindal*] signified, That,—for
 “ his own Part, he attributed so much to *ZANCHY*’s Piety
 “ and Prudence, that he had a good Opinion of ALL his Ac-
 “ tions: especially, since he had the Opinion of such a Learned
 “ Man as *CALVIN*, in what he had done. This, the Bishop
 “ said, much confirmed him: being apt to attribute much to
 “ his [i. e. to *CALVIN*’s] Judgement.” The excellent Prelate concluded with Commending *Zanchy* to God,
 “ Who,

“Who, he doubted not, would give him a Mouth and Wisdom
“which the Adversarys of the Truth could not resist (r).”

In a foregoing (r) Part of this Work, I have taken
some Notice of one *Justus Velsius*, a Dutch Free-willer,
who; A. D. 1563, made much Noise in London: He
was, what would now be called an *Arminian-Perfectionist*.
The Bishop of London [Dr Grindal] was concerned with
this Man, both as he was of the Dutch Congregation,
and had made Disturbance there, over which our Bishop
was Superintendent; as also because his Opinions came
as far as the Ears of the Court. For he [Velsius] pre-
sented, in the Month of March, to write bold Letters
to the Secretary [of State]; nay, to the Queen her-
self; superscribing to the Queen, *Ad proprias Manus*:
sending withall his Book unto them: Which he did,
also, two Months before, to the Bishop: avowing it
to be by him conceived and writ from the Enlightening
of the Spirit of Christ.

The Bishop therefore thought very fit, and that up-
on the Secretary's Advice, to write shortly some *Ani-*
madversions upon it [i. e. upon Velsius's heterodox Book].
Therein he [the Bishop] observed, 1. That he [Velsius]
set forth a Confession of Faith, as he ought; but prescribed
a Rule, according to which he would have all Consciences so
be tryed. Nor was there any Mention of FAITH. And
that he craftily passed over JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH;
and what he thought of the Powers in Man, and FREE-
WILL, and what concerning WORKS. (2.) That, in those
Things, it was most certain, he had, in foreign Parts,
DESPERATELY ERRED, and disquieted Men's Consci-
ences, and taught Matters CONTRARY to Orthodox Doc-
trine; and that there were Witnesses then in England of
it (t). Beside the Tenet of Free-will, and Justification
by Works, wherein the Bishop affirmed this Pelagian to

(r) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 76. (s) See above,
Sect. 6. p. 412, (t) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 92.

have “*desperately erred*;” there were several other monstrous Opinions, for which that able Prelate severely censured the said *Velsius*: such as the Doctrine of a *two-fold Regeneration*, to-wit, of the Outward Man, and the Inward; and that a Believer is *godded into God*. But the Bishop’s Judgement, concerning *Velsius*’s mad Tenet of *sales*; *Perfection*, deserves particular Notice: “*Hence it appeared, why he [Velsius] had said before, We are that which Christ is, and Christians are Gods in Men: because he had a Mind to affirm PERFECTION, which he feigned to be in a Christian, and that all Christians were Gods, that is, free of all Spot and Fault. Which ARROGANCE, how DETESTABLE it is, there is no pious Man but sees.——He could not more openly REJECT the Doctrine of FAITH, and the REMISSION OF SINS, and so set up a NEW GOSPEL (u).*” Nothing could be more wild, and remote from Truth, than *Velsius*’s corrupt Doctrines: nothing more sober, sound, and scriptural, than good Bishop *Grindal*’s calvinistical Animadversions.—In Conclusion, *Velsius* was “*Cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission; where the Bishop of London [Dr Grindal], and the Bishop of Winchester [Dr Horne], and the Dean of St Paul’s [Dr Alexander Nowell], conferred roundly with him, exposing the Errors of his Book before mentioned: which he stubbornly endeavouring to vindicate, they at last charged him, in the Queen’s Name, to depart the Kingdom (x).*”—This was the same *Velsius*, with whom *Calvin* himself had held a public Disputation, concerning *Free-will*, at *Frankford*, in 1556 (y). I will not venture to say, that another Divine (named *Horne*), who likewise disputed against *Velsius* at the same Place, in the same Year, and on the same Subject, was our *English* Dr *Horne*, afterwards the Bishop of *Winchester*, just mentioned: tho’, to me, it seems extremely probable. Certain it is, that Bishop *Horne* was then an Exile in *Germany*,

for

(u) *Ibid*, p. 93.(x) *Ibid*.(y) *Bayle*, Vol. V. p. 450.

for the Protestant Faith; and that he continued so, all through the Reign of Queen *Mary* (x).

Another Evidence of *Grindal's* Calvinism presents itself, under the Year 1566. “*Theodore Beza*, late Assistant to “*Calvin*, and now the Chief Minister of *Geneva*, made “a Present, this Year, to Bishop *Grindal*, of his *Annotations on the New Testament*: and the same Reverend “Father [i. e. the Bishop], soon after, sent him [i. e. sent “*Beza*] a Letter, thanking him for the Book; and with- “all a Gratification. What it [i. e. what *Grindal's* pre- “sent to *Beza*] was, I cannot tell: perhaps, it was the “Bishop's Picture, or his Ring. But *Beza* called it, “*Longe maximum gratissimumque Tui munusculum*, i. e. A “very great and most acceptable Remembrance of himself, “which he would keep for his sake. The Bishop, in his “Letter, had much commended his [*Beza's*] *Annotations*, “as Accurate and Learned: but *Beza* modestly declined “the Praise, and added, That then they might seem such “as the Bishop had character'd them, when they should be “critically corrected by Him, and by such Learned Men as “He (a).”——How “much” soever the Bishop “com- “mended” *Beza's* Annotations, hardly any Strain of Com- mendation could exceed the Merits and Value of those admirable Notes; or the Learning, Judgement, and Piety, of that eminent supra-lapsarian Writer.

Geneva, tho' never Episcopized since its Reformation from Popery, was nevertheless regarded and cherished by Queen *Elizabeth*, by her Statesmen, and by the English Bishops, as a Sister-Church, harmonizing with our own, in Doctrinals; tho' not consentaneous to it, in Ceremonials. Some Time in the Year 1581, that famous Protestant City had like to have been enslaved by an enterprizing Popish Neighbor (the Duke of *Savoy*); but was reliev'd by a sea-

(x) “Ubi [in *Germania*, scil.], *Maria* regnante, vixerat in “Exilio.” *Godwin*. De Præsulib. Angl. p. 233.

(a) *Strype's Life of Grindal*, p. 112.

sonable Accession of Forces from the *Swiss* Cantons: The Expences, however, to which the necessary Preparations for Defence had put the Citizens, obliged them to have Recourse to the Benevolence of other Protestant Communities. Amongst the rest, *England* was applyed to, through the Intervention of the Queen's Ambassador in *France*, and of good Dr *Grindal* at home. The Ambassador's importunate Letter, written, on this Occasion, to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Secretary of State, may be read in *Strype* (b). The Matter being lain before the Queen, her Majesty and Privy Council dispatched Circular Letters to All the Bishops of England, desiring them "To promote a liberal Charity upon this Occasion, through their severall Diocesses:" and styling it "A needful Service for The CHURCH (c)." —The Queen and Council farther observed, in their Letter to each Bishop respectively, that the Town of *Geneva* seemed to have "Deserved the Fruits of Christian Com-

passion, by former Courtesys and Favors, shewed to sundry her Majesty's Subjects, during the late Persecution in Queen *Mary's* Time: wherein, as they shall render Charity for Charity, and give good Demonstration to the World, that, in their Wealth and Peace, they are not careles of the Afflictions of *Joseph*; so shall you give us Cause to think, that you not only care, as in Christian Compassion you are bound, to relieve the present Distress of that poor Town, which, thro' God's Goodness, hath served, in this latter Age, for A NURSERY UNTO GOD'S CHURCH; but also to satisfy this Our Request: to the End we may continue that good Opinion we have of your Lordship (d)."

Thus was *Geneva* considered as "a Nursery to God's Church;" and her Distresses were termed, "The Afflictions of *JOSEPH*."—A Letter, issued, soon after, by Archbishop *Grindal*, as Metropolitan, to the Prelates of his Province, breath'd the same Spirit of Tenderness and brotherly

(b) U. s. p. 278.

(c) *Strype*, Ibid. 279,(d) *Ibid.* p. 280.

brotherly Affection for the said City and Church of *Geneva*.
 "Considering," said his Grace, "that, under her Majesty, and their Lordships of her most Honorable Privy Council, the immediate Charge of the Province doth appertain to me; and, especially, of the Clergy; and the Consideration of this pitifull Relief, tending to the Defence of so NOBLE and SINCERE a Church;—
 "I thinke it my Part and bounden Duty, to recommend the Furtherance of so good a Cause to your Lordship (e)."

I am not insensible, that this excellent Primate has been maliciously charged with Leaning to *Puritanism*: which Charge, were it provable, might go far toward invalidating that Branch of my Argument for the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church, drawn from the Doctrinal Calvinism of this her good Archbishop. But by whom is the Bill filed against him? Chiefly, by that Historic Knight of the Post, *Peter Heylyn*: a Writer, who had long taken a final Leave of Truth, whenever it stood in his Way; and who was quite petrify'd to every Feeling of Shame. There are accumulated Proofs, that *Grindal* was rather a *Bigot* to the Constitution and Discipline of the Church, than that his Attachment to Either was Lax and Cool. Instances occurred, in the Course of his Administration, wherein his Zeal, for the Exteriors of our Ecclesiastical Fabric, out-weighed, perhaps, that due Proportion of Moderation and Temper, which he has been falsely represented as possessing to an Extreme. A short Testimony, or two, from judicious and dispassionate Writers, shall, at present, suffice to support the Remark now made. Should future Occasion require more solid Proofs, I can carry my Appeal to some prolix, but most conclusive and incontestable *Facts*.

Dr Grindal had, at first, his Scruples respecting Conformity. But 'tis no less true, that he did not accept of Preferment in

(e) *Ibid.* p. 281.

in the Church, 'till those Scruples were solved to the Satisfaction of his own Mind. The satisfactory Solution of which Scruples rendered him, afterwards, (I will not say, a *fiercer*, but) a much *warmer* Churchman, than if he had conformed, hand over head, without previously examining Matters for himself.

“ Upon his first Coming over from his Exile, Queen Elizabeth being possessed of the Crown; when Preference in the Church was to be laid upon him, his Dread of Popery created him some Demurr in accepting the same: fearing to comply with the very Appearances and Shadows of it, in the Habits and some other Rites appointed, 'till he had SATISFACTION, partly by *serious Consideration* with himself, and partly by the Advice of certain foreign Divines; chiefly *Peter Martyr* and *Henry Bullinger*, Men of the greatest Learning in Divinity that Age afforded.———And therefore, AFTERWARDS, when some, for these external Matters in Religious Worship, made Seditions, and brake the Churches Quiet; he [*Grindal*] thought himself bound, as a faithful and careful Overseer of the Church of Christ in England (when all his mild Persuasions and Arguments proved ineffectual), to *prosecute* the Refusers, and to use the *severer* Methods, warrantd by the *Laws*, against them (f).———His Zeal and Affection to the State of the Reformed Church of England shewed itself, as on EVERY Occasion, so, particularly, in endeavoring to reclaim those they styled *Precisians* and *Puritans*; who, for some few Ceremonys, made a Breach in Christian Communion. Tho' his Spirit was easy and complaisant, and liked not of Rigor; yet, when he saw that no other Means would bring them to Obedience, he *approved* of *Restraint*: especially of the Heads of the Faction; whom he styled, *Fanatical* and *Incurable* (g).” Even *Collier*, it seems, vindicates our
 Prelate

(f) *Styrye's* Life of *Grindal*, p. 295. (g) *Ibid.* p. 302.

Prelate from Heylyn's Charge. "He was," says *Jeremy*,
 "no negligent Governor, nor a Person of Latitude, or
 "Indifference for the Ceremonys of the Church (b)." In the Judgement of the famous Lord *Bacon*, Dr *Grindal*
 was "The Greatest and Gravest Prelate of this Land (i)." And, amidst all the Insults he suffered from his con-
 temporary Aspersors, and all the malicious Dirt with which
 his venerable Memory has been pelted since his Decease;
 it reflects no small Ray of Honor on his Name, to add,
 that he had "A great Respect to *Calvin*, *Luther*, *Melancthon*,
 "Bucer, *Peter Martyr*, *Bullinger*, *Zanchy*, and the rest of
 "the pious foreign Reformers (k)."

(3.) Dr *John Whitgift* succeeded *Grindal*, in the Me-
 tropolitical Chair, A. D. 1583. He was a Prelate of
 great Abilitys, and of warm Piety; sound in the Faith,
 and very Zealous for the Church. If any Branches of
 his Conduct tended to shade, in some Degree, the Bright-
 ness of his acknowledged Virtues; the extreme Rigor
 which the Non-Conformists experienced at his Hands,
 and the perpetual Incense of profuse Adulation which he
 seldom failed to offer at the Shrine of secular Power, seem
 the most (perhaps, the only) vulnerable Parts of his Cha-
 racter.—And yet, on one Hand, Truth obliges us to con-
 fess, that some, among the then Puritans, were Persons of
 the most intractable and exasperating Perverseness, whose
 Separation from the Establishment was formed on the nar-
 rowest Principles of Prejudice, and whose outrageous Zeal
 against the Hierarchy and Ceremonys of the Church trans-
 ported them beyond all Bounds of Moderation and De-
 cency. While Protestants, agreeing in Doctrinals, were
 thus biting and devouring one another about Rituals;
Rome, the common Enemy to Both, laughed and enjoyed
 the Sport.—On the other Hand, let it be remembered, in
 Extenuation of *Whitgift's* lavish Complaisance to the Court,
 that

(b) See the *Biog. Diæ.* Vol. VI. p. 157.
 p. 300.

(k) *Strype, Ibid.* p. 307.

(i) *Strype, u. s.*

that he lived under the jealous Eye of a high-spirited Queen, who was constantly on the watch for every Occasion of screwing up her Ecclesiastical Supremacy to the utmost Height.

Strong, and numerous, are the Evidences of this Archbishop's Orthodoxy. I shall briefly select a few.

Some time in the Reign of Elizabeth, one *Peter Baro*, or *Baron*, born at *Eslampes*, a City of *Gabinois*, in *France*, thought proper to visit England, in Quality of a Protestant Refugee. A Protestant, 'tis true, he was; for he had not been long settled at *Cambridge*, before he publicly entered his Protest against some eminent Doctrines of the Church Established, which had so generously sheltered him in her Bosom.

Our *Universities* were, at that Time, like our Monarchs, Defenders of the Faith. *Cambridge* was all in Alarm, at the Heterodoxys vented by the *French* Divinity Professor. Complaint was made, that he "Taught the Popish Doctrine of the Co-Operation of Faith and Works to Justification: That he laboured to make Men believe, that the Reformed Church's Doctrine was not so differing from Popish Doctrine, but that, by Distinctions, they might be reconciled: with Other strange Matters, which they" [viz. the Complainants, who were the Heads of the University] "looked upon as DAMNABLE ERRORS; ———being the High-Way, not only to POPYRY, but to ATHEISM (l)."

Dr *Fuller* (m) gives us some other Propositions, maintained by *Baro*: which Propositions, tho' moderately orthodox (at least, the Heterodoxys were so decently wrapped up, as to elude a superficial Eye), were deemed of ambiguous Construction, and therefore branded in due Season.

The Transactions at *Cambridge*, relative to *Baro*, could not long escape Bishop *Whitgift's* Notice. This wakefull and discerning Guardian of the Church appears to have been

(l) Wood's *Fasti*, i. 741.

(m) *Hist. of Camb.* p. 145.

been doubtful of *Baro*, from the first; and never to have rightly relished the unsuspecting Patronage, afforded, by Lord *Burleigh*; to that artful Foreigner. The Event proved, that *Whitgift* could better see into Church Matters, with one Eye; than *Burleigh* could, with two. The good Prelate thought, among other Particulars, that *Baro* was not so tight a Predestinarian, as the Church and Universitys of England then expected a Divinity-Professor to be. *Whitgift*, says Mr. *Strype*, had his "Objections against *Baro*, for some Tenets, differing, as was thought, from the true Doctrine of the Decrees of God concerning the final State of Man (n)." Nor did his Lordship prove mistaken.

It was not 'till the Year 1595, that *Baro* ventured to unmasque his Batterys against the Established Doctrine of Predestination, in his Sermon *ad Clerum*. This Sermon gave vast and deserved Offence, both to the Church and to the Court of England: for not only the Bishops and the leading Clergy were displeas'd, but, as Mr. *Strype* expressly affirms, "The QUEEN also shewed herself PARTICULARLY ANGRY with *Baro*, in some discourse she had of these Matters with the Archbishop (o):" to whom her Majesty justly observed, that *Baro*, "Being an Alien, ought to have carried himself quietly and peaceably in a Country where he was so humanely harbor'd, and where both he and his Family had been enfranchis'd (p)."
The Archbishop, tho' he equally disapproved both the Pelagianism and the contentious Proceedings of *Baro*, candidly endeavour'd to soften the Queen's Resentment against him; and was, probably, the Means of restraining it from falling with Weight on the French Delinquent's Head.

Baro and *William Barrett* distinguished themselves, about one and the same Time, as Opposers of Predestination, in the University of Cambridge: and *Heylyn* himself gives us

(n) *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 94. (o) *Life of Whitg.* p. 464.
p) *Ibid.* p. 465.

to understand, that they, and one *Harfenet*, were the FIRST Protestant Divines, since the Reformation, by whom the Calvinistic System was publicly attacked. Mr *Tindal*, the Historian, has the same Remark: "The Predestinarian Controversy" [i. e. the Controversy agitated against Predestination] "was BROUN in 1595, by *Barrett*, Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, who preached against *Calvin's* Doctrine of Predestination, &c. for which he was censured by the Univerfity, and forced to retract in St Mary's Church. He was afterwards sent to *Lambeth*, and examined before Archbishop *Whitgift*; who ENJOINED him to confess his ERRORS, and not teach the like Doctrines for the future: but he chose rather to quit the Univerfity [and openly declare himself a Papist beyond-sea]. This gave Occasion for the famous LAMBETH ARTICLES: in which the Calvinistical Sense of Predestination, Election, and the other controverted Points, is strongly asserted; and to which the Scholars in the Univerfity were strictly enjoined to conform (q)."

Tho' *Whitgift*, as already observed, generously interceded with the Queen, in Behalf of *Baro's* Person; yet was he warmly displeas'd with the innovating Insolence of that pragmatistical Frenchman, who, presuming too far on the Tendernefs and Moderation with which he had been hitherto forborne, dared, at length, to broach the following Doctrines; which, being too grossly Pelagian for any further Tolerance, rais'd a Storm against him, that all his Craft and Interest could never afterwards compose.

"Docuit, Deum omnes & singulos, absolutâ Voluntate, ad Vitam æternam creasse.

"Voluntatem Dei duplicem esse, viz. Antecedentem, & Consequentem. Antecedente quidem Voluntate, Deum neminem rejecisse.

"Christum mortuum esse pro omnibus & singulis.

"Promissiones Dei ad Vitam universales esse: & æque spectare

“ spectare ad *Cainam & Abelem, Esavum* atque *Jacobum,*
 “ *Judam* atque *Petrum* ; & *Cainam* non magis a Deo fuisse
 “ rejectum, quam *Abelem*, antequam se excluderet (r).”

That is: “ *God created All and every Individual of Man-*
 “ *kind, with a real will to save them.*

“ *The Will of God is twofold: antecedent, and consequent.*
 “ *God reprobates no Man, by his Will of Antecedence.*

“ *Christ dyed for All and every Individual of the human*
 “ *Race.*

“ *God's Promises, respecting eternal Life, are Universal:*
 “ *and were made equally to Cain and Abel, to Esau and*
 “ *Jacob, to Judas and Peter. Nor, 'till Cain excluded*
 “ *himself, was he any more rejected of God, than was Abel.*”

These were the four monstrous Propositions, for which *Baro* was prosecuted in the Vice-Chancellor's Court. In an Age, when even a slack Predestinarian, or an Half-Calvinist, was started at, as a shocking Phænomenon ; a gross Free-willer, a palpable Universalist (who preached up an ignorant, a dependent, a disappointed, and a changing Deity, as an Object of Rational Worship), might well be shunned and exclaimed against, as a

Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui Lumen ademptum.

Lord *Burlaigh* was then Chancellor of *Cambridge*. Partly, through his Lordship's bad State of Health at that Time, which would not permit him to treat University Matters with his usual Attention ; and, partly, from a Principle of Compassion to the heterodox Foreigner as a Foreigner ; *Baro* was not (as *Barrett*, the English Pelagian, had just been) violently displaced, but allowed to resign. The Archbishop, however, in a previous Conversation with him, took him severely to Task : of which, his Grace gave some Account, in a Letter to Doctor *Goad*, the Vice-Chancellor ; in which Letter, the Archbishop informed *Goad*, “ That he was very sorry that
 “ Doctor

(r) *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 470.

“ Doctor *Baro*, notwithstanding all the Advertisements
 “ [or, Admonitions] which had been given to him, and
 “ his [i. e. *Baro*’s] faithfull Promise made to him [i. e.
 “ to himself the Archbishop], did nevertheless continue
 “ his troublesome Course of contending. That he [the
 “ Archbishop] had, of late, by Dr *Newille*, signified to
 “ him [to *Baro*], how hardly her Majesty had been in-
 “ formed against him for these Causes: and how unfit it
 “ was, that he, being a Stranger, and receiving such
 “ Courtesy and Friendship here, of Good Will, and not
 “ for any Need we had of him; should be so busy in an-
 “ other Commonwealth, and make himself as it were
 “ Author of new Stirs and Contentions in this Church,
 “ That at his last being with him, he [the Archbishop]
 “ shewed to him [to *Baro*] the Propositions [i. e. the
 “ *Lambeth Articles*], and demanded his Opinion of every
 “ one of them severally, and that at two several Times:
 “ And altho’, the latter Time, *Baro* seemed to make
 “ some frivolous and childish Objections against some one
 “ or two of them only; yet did he confess that *they were*
 “ ALL TRUE, and that they did not impugn any of his
 “ *Assertions* (s).”

What a Frontlet of Brass must *Baro* have possessed,
 e’er he could go about to face down Archbishop *Whitgift*
 with this most gigantic of Untruths, that none of his
 (i. e. of *Baro*’s) *Assertions were impugned* by any Thing con-
 tained in the *Lambeth Articles*! No other possible Over-
 strain of Falshood can transcend the Enormity of this. I
 know but of one, that can any Way pretend to come up
 with it: viz. the Declaration of those modest Arminians,
 who affirm, that there is nothing in the XXXIX Articles,
 which any Way impugns the Doctrines of Pelagius and Van
 Harmin.—The Fellow, who averr’d, that he once drove a
 ten-penny Nail through the Moon; and his Companion, who
 added, that he remember’d it very well, for he himself stood
 on

(s) Strype’s *Whitgift*, p. 468, 469. ubi plura.

on the other side, and clinched it; were but Dwarfs in the Art of audacious Falsification, when compared with Baro the First, and with those numerous Swarms of modern Baros, who have, since, so plentifully overspread the Face of the Church of England.

The most important of Baro's "Affertions," as he called them, for which he lost his Preferments, have been already specify'd. Let the Reader only compare those Affertions, with the *Lambeth Articles*; and he will immediately perceive, with what *Modesty* and *Veracity*, Baro would have persuaded the Archbishop, that there was no Contrariety between the two Systems.

The Articles of (t) *Lambeth* (so called, because drawn up at *Lambeth Palace*, under the Eye, and with the Assistance, of Archbishop *Whitgift* himself; in Concert with *Bancroft*, then Bishop of *London*, afterwards translated to *Canterbury*; together with *Vaughan*, Bishop of *Bangor*; *Tindal*, Dean of *Ely*; Dr *Whitaker*, the Queen's Divinity-Professor; and other eminent Dignitaries of the Church; the Articles of *Lambeth*, drawn up, as aforesaid, by these great Prelates and Divines) exhibit also an irrefragable Proof of the Primate's Calvinism. Translated into English, they run thus,

" 1. God hath, from Eternity, prædestinated certain Persons to Life; and hath reprobated certain Persons unto Death.

" 2. The moving, or efficient Cause of Prædestination unto Life, is not the Foresight of Faith, or of Perseverance, or of good Works, or of any Thing that is in the Persons prædestinated: but the alone Will of God's good Pleasure.

" 3. The Prædestinate are a præ-determined and certain Number, which can neither be lessened, nor increased.

" 4. Such as are not prædestinated to Salvation, shall inevitably be condemned on Account of their Sins.

M m

" 5. The

(t) For a fuller Account of those Articles, and the Occasion of them, see my *Church Vindicated from Arminianism*, p. 51—55.

“ 5. The true, lively, and justifying Faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, doth not utterly fail, doth not vanish away, in the Elect, either finally, or totally.

“ 6. A true Believer, that is, One who is endued with justifying Faith, is certifi'd, by the full assurance of Faith, that his Sins are forgiven, and that he shall be everlastingly saved by Christ.

“ 7. Saving Grace is not allowed, is not imparted, is not granted to all Men, by which they may be saved if they will.

“ 8. No Man is able to come to Christ, unless it be given him, and unless the Father draw him: and all Men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to his Son.

“ 9. It is not in the Will or Power of every Man to be saved (u).”

Such were these famous Articles; concerning which, his Grace of Canterbury expressed himself in the following very remarkable Terms: “ I know them to be SOUND Doctrines, and UNIFORMLY PROFESSED in this Church of England, and agreeable to the Articles of Religion established by Authority (x).” Under this just Persuasion, he communicated them to his Brother of York, Doctor Matthew Hutton: who returned them, with some judicious Remarks (which see in Strype), and with this remarkable Subscription:

Hæ Theses ex Sacris Literis vel apertè colligi, vel necessariâ Consecutione deduci, possunt; et ex Scriptis Augustini.

MATTH. EBOR.

That is: “ These positions are gatherable from the holy Scriptures, either expressly, or by necessary Consequence; and also from the Writings of St. Austin.

“ MATTHEW YORK.”

The

(u) See Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 461. (x) *Ibid.* p. 459.

The Lambeth Articles, thus approved by the Archbishops of both Provinces, were forwarded to Cambridge; accompany'd by a Letter, from *Whitgift* himself, to that University: wherein he requested the Heads of Houses, "To take Care, that nothing be publicly taught to the contrary," i. e. contrary to those Articles: adding, that He thought the said nine Articles "to be TRUE, and correspondent to the DOCTRINE PROFESSED IN THE CHURCH OF England, and ESTABLISHED by the LAWS of the Land (y)."

The Reader may, possibly, wish to know what became of *Peter Baro*. Dr *Hutton*, Archbishop of York, was for having him treated with exemplary Severity. *Whitgift* had wrote to *Hutton*, on the last Day of February, 1595, "wherein, among other Things, he desired his Opinion of *Baro's* Assertions: when that Prelate [viz. his Grace of York], in his Answer, shewed how little he liked of *Baro* and his Learning; wishing, that *Baro* was in his own Country, and not to disturb the Peace of our Church: and would have One to be put in his Place, who was learned, godly, and mild of Nature; and that Cambridge afforded Store of Such (z)." Thus, in the Judgement of that grave Archbishop, To preach against Predestination was to "disturb the Peace of the Church:" and the plain Drift of his Advice was, that *Baro* should be displaced from his Office at Cambridge, and be banished to France, his native Soil; where, without Molestation, he might safely disseminate his *Pelagian* Tares among his Popish Countrymen.

But *Whitgift* (prompted either by his own Candor, or, which is more probable, by his profound Deference to Lord *Burleigh*) was for pursuing more snug and gentle Measures. He prudently deemed it sufficient, to avail himself of *Baro's* natural Timidity, which, with proper Management, would make the *French* Free-willer glad to quit the University, and sheer off into his primitive Obscurity.

M m 2

This

(y) *Strype, Ibid.* p. 462.

(z) *Strype, Ibid.* p. 476.

This was tossing up Matters, with less Noise, than if he had been formally divested of his Professorship; and answered, to better Advantage, all the Purposes of more ostensible Rigor. The End of his Tri-ennial Lectures drawing near, the University were determined not to re-elect him, but to turn him decently and quietly adrift. He himself was sensible thereof, and besides, he saw the *Articles of LAMBETH* lately sent to the University; and foresaw, that *Subscription* thereunto would be expected from, yea, imposed on him. To which he could not condescend: and therefore resolved to quit his Place. So that his Departure was not his free Act, out of voluntary Election; but that wherewnto his Will was necessarily determined. Witness his own return to a Friend, who required of him the Cause of his Withdrawing: *Fugio*, said he, *ne fugarer*; I fly, that I may not be driven away. (a). So writes Dr Fuller. And Matters standing thus, we cannot wonder that *Anthony Wood* should style Baro's Decampment, a *Removal*: "He was," says that Writer, "REMOVED from his Place of Margaret Professor, about the Year 1596; not without the Consent of Dr *Whitgift*, Archbishop of Canterbury (b)." The Truth is, an English University, and the Church of England herself, were then too hot to hold an ARMINIAN. More Shame or Posturity, if our Love to our own essential Principles has, since, waxed so cold (tho' the said Principles themselves, unchanged to this Day, are alive to stare us in the Face); that not a few Arminian Salamanders, basking in the Rays of our Ecclesiastic and Academic Sun-shine, can say, with some certain good People of old, *Aha, I am warm: I have seen, and can stand, the Fire* (c) of Subscription, Conformity, Assent, and Consent; yea, I can even pass through the Fire,

(a) FULLER'S *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 152, 153.

(b) *Faust*

Own 1. 741. (c) *Isaiah* xlii. 16.

for dexterously, as not to singe an Hair of my Pelagian *Moloch's* Head.

Such Casuists remind me of an Anecdote, or two, related, with much Simplicity, by honest *Whiston*.

He mentions an Acquaintance of his (one *Dr Cannon*),

“Who would join with the Church in signing the 39

Articles, without BELIEVING them, as legal Qualifica-

tions for Preferment only.” Every body knows, that

Mr Whiston was a violent Enemy to the Doctrine of the

Trinity; and, in particular, proclaimed eternal War against

that admirable form of sound Words, commonly called

the *Athanasian Creed*. Whence, he thus proceeds in his

Information concerning the aforesaid *Dr Cannon*: “He

joined with the *Athanasian Creed* ITSELF, in the Cath-

edral of *Ely*, at a Time when I was there and refused

it. I asked him, *How One that BELIEVED so very*

LITTLE, could join in a Thing so absurd?—His Answer

was, *What is one Man's Meat, is another Man's Poyson.*

He also told *Mr Jackson*, that, *If he were at Paris, he*

would declare himself a ROMAN CATHOLIC; and, *if he*

were at Constantinople, he would declare himself a MU-

SULMAN.—He was ready to wonder at *Mr Jackson*,

for believing *St Paul* before himself, when they [viz.

St Paul and *Dr Cannon*] were of CONTRARY Sentiments.

So great an Opinion had he of his own Sagacity (d).”

'Tis some little Comfort, to consider, that Protean Ca-

suistry, like that by which *Dr Cannon* regulated his Mo-

tions, is not peculiar to some who wear Gowns and Cassocks.

Who would have suspected, so great a Man, as the Lord

Chancellor *King*, could have deviated into the same slip-

perry Path of Jesuitical Evasion? “I must,” says *Whiston*,

tell a melancholy Story, of my own Knowledge. When

I was once talking with the [then] Lord Chief Justice

King; we fell into a Debate about signing Articles, which

we did not believe, for Preferment: which he openly

(d) *Whiston's* Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 112.

“ justified; and pleaded for it, that *We must not lose our*
 “ USEFULLNESS for SCRUPLES.—Strange Doctrine,”
 adds *Whiston*, “ in the Mouth of One bred up among Dis-
 “ senters, whose whole Dissent from the legally Establish-
 “ ed Church was built on *Scruples!*—I replied, that
 “ I was sorry to hear his Lordship say so: and desired to
 “ know, *Whether in THEIR Courts* [viz. the temporal
 “ Courts of Law], *they allowed of SUCH PREVARICATION,*
 “ *or not?* He answered, *They did NOT allow of it.* Which
 “ produced this Rejoinder from me: *Suppose GOD Al-*
 “ *mighty should be as just, in the next World, as my Lord*
 “ *Chief Justice is in this? where are we then?* To which
 “ he made no Answer. And to which the late Queen
 “ *Caroline* added, when I told her the Story, *Mr Whiston,*
 “ *no Answer WAS to be made to it (e).*

“ I conclude this Matter, with that very pertinent and
 “ emphatical Reply, which a Fellow of *Emmanuel College,*
 “ in *Cambridge,* made to a Friend of his, of the same
 “ College. The latter, at the Restoration, had been re-
 “ presenting the great Difficultys” [as they seemed to him]
 “ of Conformity, in Point of Conscience: concluding,
 “ however, with these Words, *But we MUST live.* To
 “ which the other answered only, with the like Number
 “ of Words, *But we must* [also] *dye.* Than which, a
 “ better Answer could not possibly be given (f).”—
 Let those of the Sacred Order, whom it may concern,
 weigh the Answer well.

Peter Baro, tho’ a Pelagian in Grain, yet had not lost
 all sight of moral Honesty. Hence, he recoiled at sub-
 scribing the *Lambeth Articles*: yea, tho’ he had, before, so
 far strained his Veracity, as to tell Archbishop *Whitgift*,
 that those Articles did not contravene any of the Doctrines
 he had been teaching at *Cambridge*.—What a Contrast,
 between the Archbishop’s Faith, and that of the outed Pro-
 fessor! On the one Hand, *Whitgift* affirmed, that the *Lam-*
beth Articles “ were UNDOUBTEDLY TRUE, and not to be
 “ denied

(e) *Whiston*, Ibid. p. 162.(f) *Ibid.* p. 169.

“*denied of any sound Divina (g).*” On the Other, *Baro* chose rather to forsake the University, than subscribe them.

Let me just observe, that Monsieur *Baro* was, at one Time, a Man of a most acrimonious Spirit, and would very willingly have persecuted Those from whom he differed in Opinion. For, this was the same *Baro*, who, some Time before his own Downfall, had the Insolence to style the learned, holy, and laborious Mr *Perkins*, of Cambridge, “*Humuncio quidam*,” in a Letter to Archbishop Whitgift: and even importuned (but without Effect) Dr *Andrews*, to exert his Influence, that Mr *Perkins* and Dr *Som* might be displaced and silenced. How justly was the haughty, malicious Pelagian taken, himself, in the Net which he had spread for Others!

After his disgraceful Retreat from Cambridge, he settled in *London*: where (for a burnt Child dreads the Fire) his subsequent Behavior was so orderly and peaceable, that, dying three or four Years after, his Funeral, in *St Olave's, Hart-Street*, was attended by a respectable Appearance of City Divines, whose Favor his dutiful submission to Authority had deservedly conciliated.—Thus quietly did the once boisterous Dr *Baro* finish his Course; and thus were his latter Days better than his former: as having the negative Merit of raising no farther Storms in the academical Atmosphere, but of gliding gently and inoffensively away, within the peacefull Banks of silent Obscurity.

Another remarkable Instance of Archbishop *Whitgift's* Calvinism appears, in an Injunction, which he issued, enjoining all Clergymen, having Care of Souls, and not having taken the Degree of Master of Arts, to provide themselves with a Bible, and with Dr *BULLINGER's* *Decads*: which they were carefully to Study and make Extracts from.—The Reader must be reminded, that *Henry Bullinger*, Author of the *Decads* abovementioned, was a most learned Protestant Divine of *Switzerland*, a

deep Predestinarian, and a Disciple of the famous *Zuinglius*: on the (b) Death of whom, in 1531, *Bullinger* succeeded to the pastoral Care of the Church of *Zurich*. So highly was

(b) *Ulrichs Zuinglius* was the Reformer of *Switzerland*, and may, as a Prodigy of Parts, Grace, and Usefulness, be numbered among the most illustrious Ornaments of the Sixteenth Century.—In the Year 1531, five of the popish Cantons came to open Hostilities with the two Protestant Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich*. It has been affirmed, that *Zuinglius* was literally fighting for his Faith and for his Country, when he received the Wound, from the Popish Forces, which deprived him of Life. But the accurate *Melchior Adamus*, who was best qualified to know, positively denies that *Zuinglius* attended the Protestant Camp in a military Character: and affirms, that he only accompanied his heroic fellow-Citizens in Quality of Chaplain, or Pastor, [*See Theol. Germ. p. 38*]: deeming it ungenerous and dishonorable, that his Flock should expose their Lives, in Defence of the Truths they had received from him, without his participating the common Danger. A Resolution the more magnanimous, as he had, from the very first, a Conviction, strongly impressed on his Mind, that he should not survive the Battle of that Day.

The Compilers of the *Biographical Dictionary* [Vol. XI. p. 523.] in translating some of *Zuinglius's* dying Words, have been guilty of an Over-sight, which does no more Honor to their Precision, than Justice to the Christian Heroism of that Great Man. “Upon receiving his Death's Wound,” say they, “and falling, he was heard to utter these Words, *What a Misfortune is this?* &c.” Rather, what a misfortune is it, when fine Sentiments are murdered in the relating!—The Fact was this: During the Hurry of the Fight, *Zuinglius*, overwhelmed by the Press of the rushing Enemy, was thrice thrown down, and recovered his Feet as often. At last, a Weapon, doomed to extinguish one of the most valuable Lives that ever added Lustre to Religion and Learning, entering under his Chin, transfix'd his Throat. The holy Man, falling first on his Knees, and then sinking to the Ground, uttered these noble Sentences: “*Ecquid hoc Infortunium?*” CAN THIS BE CONSIDERED AS A CALAMITY? *Age, Corpus quidem occidere possunt; Animam non possunt.* WELL! THEY ARE ABLE, “INDEED,

was this eminent foreign Calvinist accounted of in our Church of England, that Archbishop *Whitgift*, and the rest of the Bishops (for a whole CONVOCATION of 'em concurr'd in the Direction given), thought *the BIBLE*, and *Bullinger's Decads*, a necessary and sufficient Library for two Parts in three of the Establish'd Clergy.—My Authority follows.

“ *Orders for the better Increase of Learning, in the Inferior Ministers ; and for more diligent Preaching and Catechizing : Agreed upon by the ARCH-BISHOP and other BISHOPS in CONVOCATION [1586].*

“ Every Minister, having Cure, and being under the Degrees of Master of Art, and Batchelor of Law, and not Licensed to be a public Preacher ; shall, before the second Day of *February* next, provide a BIBLE, and *Bullinger's Decads* in Latin or English, and a *paper-Book* : and shall, every Day, read over one Chapter of the HOLY SCRIPTURES ; and note the principal Contents thereof, briefly in his paper-Book. And shall, every Week, read over One Sermon in *the said DECADS* ; and note likewise the chief Matters, therein contained, in the said paper-Book. And shall, once in every Quarter, *viz.* within a Fortnight before or after the End of the Quarter, shew his said Notes to some Preacher

“ INDEED, TO SLAY THE BODY ; BUT THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO KILL THE SOUL” [*Melch. Ad u. l. p. 37*]. Could any Thing be more truly Christian, more divinely triumphant, more sublimely philosophic ? — His Body being found by the Papists, among the slain, they burned it to Ashes : which occasioned these elegant Verses, consecrated to his Memory by *Beza*.

ZUINCLIUS arderet gemino quum sanctus Amore,
 Nempe DEI imprimis, deinde etiam PATRIÆ ;
 Dicitur in solidam se devovisse anobus :
 Nempe DEO imprimis, deinde etiam PATRIÆ.
 Quam bene persolvit simul istis Vota duobus !
 Pro Patriâ exanimis, pro Pietate Cinis !

“ Preacher near adjoining, to be assigned for that Purpose.
 “ —*Item*, Such as shall refuse to perform the Exercises, or
 “ shall be negligent therein; and shall not, after Admo-
 “ nition by the Bishop or Arch-Deacon, or other Ord-
 “ nary aforesaid, reform himself; if he be beneficed, [he]
 “ shall be compelled thereunto, by Ecclesiastical Censures:
 “ if he be a Curate, [he] shall be inhibited to serve with-
 “ in the Jurisdiction (i).”

One Word more, and I take my Leave of *Whitgift*.
 Soon after the Archbishop's Decease, Dr *Benjamin Carrier*
 (who had been his Grace's Chaplain) publicly apostatized
 to the Church of *Rome*: and, with great Virulence, set
 foul on the Memory of *Calvin*. Doctor *George Hakewill*,
 Chaplain to Prince *Henry*, was appointed to answer this
 shameless Renegado. And, says *Strype*, “ I cannot but
 “ add one Passage, wherein the Answerer put the Apost-
 “ tate in Mind of the Archbishop, his old Master; giving
 “ *Carrier* a Rebuke on his Account, in regard of his [i. e.
 “ of *Carrier's*] Reproaching of *Calvin* and his Writings.
 “ *Your old Master* [said *Hakewill*], *Archbishop Whitgift*,
 “ was of another Mind;—laboring always, when any
 “ Occasion was offered, to countenance his own Writings with
 “ *Calvin's* Authority; and especially out of that Book which
 “ you most dislike [viz. *Calvin's* Institutions]: yielding him
 “ the Title of a famous and Learned Man (k).” Such was
 that great and good Prelate's Veneration for the great and
 good Mr *John Calvin*.

Thus have we seen, of what Principles and Spirit were
 the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, all through the Reign of
Elizabeth, the illustrious Re-foundress of the Church of
 England. They were, in Matters of Doctrine, true Cal-
 vinistic Sons of the Church; as they were, by Station,
 its venerable Fathers and Guardians.

A

(i) *Strype's Whitgift*, Append. p. 113.
Whitgift, p. 583.

(k) *Life of Whit-*

A farther Proof or two, out of many which remain yet unmentioned, shall be added to the Evidences, already given, of the incontestable Calvinism of our Church during that Queen's memorable Reign.

XIV. Every Body knows, that, when *Mary of Scotland* was brought to the Block, in *Fotheringay Castle*; *Fletcher*, Dean of *Peterborough*, was present, to offer that Princess his spiritual Services. Tho' she would not permit him to pray with her, the Dean was determined to pray for her; and, of the Prayer he made, the following remarkable Paragraph is preserved: "That it would PLEASE Almighty God to send her his Holy Spirit and Grace; and also, IF IT WERE HIS WILL, to pardon all her Offences, and of His Mercy to receive her into His heavenly and everlasting Kingdom (1)." A Petition, evidently formed on the highest Principles of Calvinism; and, of course, in exact Harmony with the prevailing Divinity of that Age (m)."

XV. Is

(1) *Roberison's Hist. of Scotland*, Vol. II p. 479. Oslav.

(m) The Speech, which the Dean made to her Majesty of Scots, was no less Calvinistical than his Prayer. In it, were these Passages:—"That you may be found of God, NOT *having* your own Righteousness, which is defiled and unclean, but the Righteousness of God, by Faith in Jesus Christ, upon all and in all them that believe.—The special Means, to attain to Forgiveness of Sins, is neither IN Man, nor BY Man; but by FAITH ONLY in Jesus Christ crucified: in Whom we, being justified, have Peace with God, and all Spiritual Security.—If you flee to the Throne of God, with Boldness ONLY in CHRIST's meritorious Obedience, and apply it to your Soul with the Hand of true FAITH, your Cross shall be your Life, and your Death shall be Your Vantage. O, Madam, trust not the Devices which God's Word doth not warrant.—To Christ give all the Scriptures Testimony, that, through FAITH in his Blood, We and all God's Church shall receive Remission of Sins." The Queen interrupted him, three or four Times, in the Course of his Exhortation; saying, *Master Dean, trouble not Your-*

XV. It was during *Elizabeth's* Reign, that one *Campneys*, a restless and abusive Pelagian, sought to disturb the Peace of the Church, by publishing a defamatory Tract in Opposition to the received Doctrine of Predestination.

This *Campneys* had, some Years before, render'd himself very obnoxious to the Protestant Government, in the Time of King *Edward VI.* His Affection to Popery, and his Abhorrence of the Reformation effected under the Auspices of that Prince, had been so turbulently and so indecently expressed, and were so generally known even in the succeeding Century, as to wring out the following reluctant Concession from the Pen of *Peter Heylyn* himself: viz. that this *Campneys* was "Of a sharp and eager Spirit," and "Not well weaned from some Points of Popery, in the first Dawning of the Day of our Reformation (n)." The Truth is, his Insolencies against the Reformed Church of England laid him open to the Laws: and he "was made to bear a Faggot at *Paul's Cross*, in King *Edward's* Time; the Learned and pious *Miles Coverdale* [Bishop of *Exeter*] preaching a Sermon when that Punishment was inflicted on him.

"When Queen *Elizabeth* had restored the true Religion, *Campneys* began to play his old Pranks; i. e. to cause Disturbance, by nibbling at such who were deservedly honor'd and preferred in the Church: publishing a Pamphlet, to which he had not Courage enough to affix his Name, against Predestination. This Pamphlet was encounter'd by Mr *John Veron*, a Chaplain to the

Yourself nor Me: for know, that I am settled in the ancient, catholic, Romish Religion.—The Earls of *Sbrevsbury* and *Kent*, who were appointed to see her executed, made the following Calvinistical Address to her: "Madam, we will pray for your Grace, with Master Dean, [that] IF IT STAND WITH GOD'S GOOD WILL, you may have your Heart enlightened, &c.—*Strype's Annals*, Vol. III. p. 386—388.

(n) *Heylyn's* Miscell. Tracts, p. 590.

“ the Queen, and Reader of the Divinity Lecture in St Paul’s Church; as also by Mr Robert Crowley, sometime Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, at that Time a famous Preacher in London. Both these put out Answers to *Campneys*; and their Answers were both LICENSED and APPROVED [by public Authority]; and *Veron’s* [Book in Favor of Predestination] was Dedicated to the Queen herself. Whereas *Campneys’s* virulent Pamphlet came forth surreptitiously: neither Author nor Printer daring to put their Names to it (n).”

I learn, from *Heylyn*, that the Answer, written by Mr *Veron*, and Dedicated to the Queen as aforesaid, was entitled, “ *An Apology or DEFENCE of the Doctrine of PREDESTINATION.*” Wherein, her Majesty’s Chaplain terms *Campneys*, “ *The BLIND GUIDE of the FREE-WILL-MEN:—a very PELAGIAN, and consequently a RANK PAPIST:—the Standard-Bearer of the Free-will-men (o), &c.*” Would a Chaplain to the Queen, and the Divinity Lecturer of St. Paul’s Cathedral, have made so free with *Free-will-men*, in a Book inscribed to his Royal Mistress, and published *cum Auctoritate*; if the Doctrinal System of the Church of England had not been deemed incontrovertibly Calvinistic?

XVI. Among the Particulars which I have already, in their due Place, noted, concerning *Martin Bucer*; the Reader must be reminded of Two: *viz.* that, during his Life-time, it was hardly possible for Man to wind up the Doctrine of Predestination to a greater Height, than was done by that great Reformer; and that, after his Decease, when Queen *Mary* introduced Popery again, his Bones, together with those of the Learned *Fogius*, were dug up, at *Cambridge*, and publicly burned in the Market-place there, by Order of Cardinal *Pole*.

At

(n) *Hickman’s Animadv. on Heylyn’s Quinqu. Hist.* p. 193, 194.—Edit. 1674. (o) *Heylyn’s Mist. Tr.* p. 594.

At the Time of their Exhumation by the Papists, Dr *Sest*, the Popish Bishop of *Chester*, alledged, as one Reason of that indecent Revenge, that *Martin Bucer*, in particular, had drank in the Heresy of *Wickliff*, who asserted, “*Omnia Fato et absolutâ Necessitate fieri: i. e. that What- ever comes to pass, is the Result of FATE and absolute NECESSITY (p).*” Dr *Perne*, the Popish Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, preached a Sermon on the Occasion: wherein, “Among other Things, he told how *Bucer* held Opinion, as he himself heard him confess, that God was the Author and Well-spring, not only of Good, but also of Evil: and that whatsoever was of that Sort, flowed from Him, as from the Head and Maker thereof (q).” — Dr *Watson* also, another zealous Papist, took the Opportunity of making a public Harangue: in which he exclaimed, “How perilous a Doctrine is that, which concerneth the fatal and absolute Necessity of Predestination! And yet They [meaning *Bucer* and *Fagius*] set it out in such wise, that they have left no Choice at all in Things: as who should say, *It skilleth not what a Man purposeth of any Matter, since he had not the Power to determine otherwise than the Matter should come to pass.* The which was the peculiar Opinion of them, that made God the Author of Evil: bringing Men, through this Persuasion, into such a careless Security of the everlasting Eternity, that, in the mean Season, it made no Matter, either toward Salvation or Damnation, what a Man did in his Life. These Errors were defended by them [i. e. by *Bucer* and *Fagius*] with great Stoutness (r).” So spake the *Ramish* Doctors, in the Reign of *Mary*: and thus (like too many offensive Protestants since) did they slander and distort the holy and blessed Doctrine of Predestination.

Queen

(p) See Fox's Acts & Mon. III. 645.

(q) Fox, *ibid.*

(r) 646.

(r) Fox, *ibid.* 648.

Queen *Elizabeth* had a better Opinion of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, and of the pure Protestant Doctrine which they had maintained. She had not been long on the Throne, when her Majesty gave a very promising Presage of her Intention to restore the Church of England to its Chastity of Calvinism, in commanding the Insults, which had been offered to the remains of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, to be, as far as was practicable, publicly and solemnly reversed, in the Face of the whole Univerfity; and all possible Honors to be rendered to the Memorys of those distinguished Calvinists. For which Purpose, Letters of Commission were issued to *Parker*, Archbishop of *Ganterbury*; to *Grindal*, then Bishop of *London*; and to others.

Mr *Ackworth* was, at that Time, Public Orator of *Cambridge*. Fox gives us the entire Speech, which that Gentleman delivered, at, what was termed, "The RESTITUTION of Martin Bucer and Paulus Fagius." In the Course of his Oration, *Ackworth* observed, concerning *Bucer*, "We saw [viz. in King *Edward's* Reign], with our Eyes, this Univerfity flourishing by his [*Bucer's*] Institutions: the Love of SINCERE RELIGION not only engender'd, but also confirmed and strengthened, through his continual and daily preaching. Infomuch that, at such Time as he was suddenly taken from us, there was scarce any Man, that, for Sorrow, could find in his Heart to bear with the present State of this Life: but that either he wished, with all his Heart, to depart out of this Life with *Bucer*, and, by dying, to follow Him into Immortality; or else endeavour'd himself, with weeping and sighing, to call him again into the Prison of the Bddy, lest he should leave us as it were standing in Battle without a CAPTAIN. ————— *Oxford* burnt up the Right Reverend Fathers, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, the noble witnesses of the clear Light of the Gospel. Moreover, at *London*, perished those two Lanterns of Light, *Rogers* and *Bradford*: in whom, it is hard to say, whether there were more Force of Eloquence

“ quence and Utterance in Preaching, or more Holiness
 “ of Life and Conversation.—What City is there,
 “ that hath not flamed with the Burning of holy Bodys?
 “ But *Cambridge*—played the mad *Bedlam* against the
 “ Dead. The Dead Men [viz. *Fagius* and *Bucer*], whose
 “ [Holiness of] Living no Man was able to find Fault
 “ with, WHOSE DOCTRINE NO MAN WAS ABLE TO
 “ REPROVE, were, by false Slanderers, indicted; con-
 “ trary to the Laws of God and Man, sued in the Law;
 “ condemned; their Sepulchres violated, and broken up;
 “ their Carcasses pulled out, and burned with fire.—
 “ *Bucer*, by the Excellency of his Wit and Doctrine,
 “ known to all Men; of our Countrymen, in Manner,
 “ CRAVED, of many Others INTREATED and SENT FOR,
 “ to the Intent he might INSTRUCT our *Cambridge*
 “ Men in the SINCERE DOCTRINE of the Christian
 “ Religion; He, being spent with Age, and his Strength
 “ utterly decayed, forsook his own Country; refused not
 “ the Tedioufness of that long Journey; was not afraid
 “ to adventure himself upon the Sea; but had more Re-
 “ gard to the dilating and amplifying the Church of Christ,
 “ than to all other Things. So, in Conclusion, he came.
 “ Every Man received and welcomed him. Afterward, he
 “ lived in such wise, as it might appear he came not
 “ hither for his own sake, but for ours. For, he sought
 “ not to drive away the Sicknes, which he had taken by
 “ troublesome Travel of his long Journey. Albeit his
 “ Strength was weakened and appalled, yet he regarded
 “ not the Recovery of his Health; but put himself to im-
 “ moderate Labor and intolerable Pain, only to TEACH
 “ and INSTRUCT us.—Toward this so NOBLE and
 “ WORTHY a Person, while he lived, were shewed all
 “ the Tokens of Humanity and Gentleness, Reverence
 “ and Courtesy, that could be.—He had free Access
 “ into the most gorgeous Buildings, and stately Palaces of

“ the greatest Princes : and, when he was dead, could not
 “ be suffered to enjoy so much as his poor Grave (s).”

I have largely shewn, in a foregoing Section, what the
 Doctrine of *Bucer* was. And the Particulars, cited under
 the present Article, demonstrate, that, in the Judgement
 of the Protestant Church and State of England, *regnante*
Elizabethâ, *Bucer's* Calvinistic Doctrine was esteemed and
 taken to be “ *Sincere* [i. e. *pure, genuine*] *Religion*”;—
 “ *Doctrine, which no Man was able to reproach* ;” — Yea,
 “ *The sincere Doctrine of the Christian Religion* :” and that
Bucer himself was a “ *noble*” and “ *worthy*” Person ; who,
 at his Death, left our Church-of-England-Protestants al-
 most “ *without a CAPTAIN*.”—Let me add, that Doctor
Pilkinton, then Margaret Professor of Divinity, and, soon
 after, Bishop of *Durham*, preached the *Restitution-Sermon*;
 from Psalm cxi. *Blessed is the Man that feareth the Lord*,
 &c. in Honor of the said *Bucer* and *Fagius* : and that “ The
 “ Entrance and Walls of the Church were all hung with
 “ Verses in their Praise.—An Account of this *Restitution*
 “ the University, on the 3d of August [1560], sent up
 “ to the Archbishop and the Commissioners ; acquainting
 “ them, with what great JOY, and TRIUMPH, and AP-
 “ PLAUSE, it was generally done : and that as soon as
 “ their [the Commissioners] Letters [enjoining this pub-
 “ lic Restitution of Honors to the Memorys of *Bucer* and
 “ *Fagius*] were read to the Senate, and the Injuriys of-
 “ fer'd [in the foregoing Reign of *Mary*] to the Dead
 “ Bodys, by them mentioned ; they were all presently on
 “ Fire to honor them (t).” — The next Year, in re-
 spect to the great *Peter Martyr*, then living beyond Sea,
 the Remains of his Wife (who had dyed and been buried
 at *Oxford*) were transferred from a Dunghill, to which
 Queen *Mary's* Papists had maliciously removed them ; and
 N n honorably

(s) *Fox*, *Ibid.* p. 649, 650.

(t) *Styrye's Life of Parker*, p. 85.

honorably re-interr'd in *Christ's Church* (u). So carefull was the Restored Church of England to testify her gratefull

(u) “ On the 11th of *January* [1561], happened a remarkable
 “ Action at *Oxford*: viz. the solemn Restoring of *Catharina*
 “ *Vermilia* (sometime the pious Wife of *Peter Martyr*) to honor-
 “ able Burial, after a strange Indignity offered [by the Papists, in
 “ 1556] to her Corps. For our Archbishop [*Parker*], together
 “ with *Grindal*, Bishop of *London*, *Richard Goodrick*, Esq; and
 “ Others; by Virtue, as it seems, of the Queen's Ecclesiastical
 “ Commission; deputed certain fit Persons in that Univeristy to
 “ enquire into a barbarous and inhuman Usage of that virtuous
 “ Woman's dead Body: who, [more than] two Years after her
 “ Burial, had been digged up, and carry'd away, and buried in
 “ a Dunghill belonging to Dr *Marshall*, then Dean of *Christ's*
 “ *Church*: whereof he himself was the great Actor, by Authority
 “ from Cardinal *Pole*.

“ Her Restitution was accordingly performed after this Man-
 “ ner. The Persons, appointed for this Business, cited those who
 “ had been concerned in Digging up the Body: who, being
 “ charged, shewed them the Place where she was first buried;
 “ which was near St *Frideswide's* Tomb, on the North Part of
 “ *Christ's* Church. Then requiring where they had conveyed the
 “ Corpse, they were conducted toward Dr *Marshall's* Stables:
 “ and there, out of a Dunghill, it was digged up, not quite con-
 “ sumed. Which they caused to be carefully deposited in a con-
 “ venient Receptacle, and so brought back therein to the said
 “ Church: leaving it thus to be watched by the Officers of the
 “ Church, 'till they might conveniently celebrate the Re-in-
 “ terrment.

“ There were, belonging to the said Church, two Silk Bags,
 “ wherein the Bones of St *Frideswide* were wrapt up and preserved:
 “ which were wont, on solemn Days, to be taken out, and laid
 “ upon the Altar, to be openly seen and reverenc'd by the super-
 “ stitious People. For the preventing any future Superstitions
 “ with those Relicks (and yet that no Indecency might be used
 “ toward the said Saint and Foundress's Bones), and, withall,
 “ for the better securing of this late bury'd holy Woman's Bones
 “ from being disturbed any more; by the Advice of Mr *Calfhill*,

“ the

gratefull Regard for whatever had any Relation to her pious, Learned, Calvinistical Reformers.

XVII. It

“ the Bones of Both were mixed and put together, and so laid
 “ in the Earth, in one Grave; in the upper Part of the said
 “ Church, toward the East: after a Speech had been made, to
 “ a very great Auditory, declaring the Reason of the present Un-
 “dertaking.—And, on the next Day, being the Lord's Day,
 “ One of the Society, named *Rogerson*, preached a learned and
 “ pious Sermon on the Occasion: and therein took Notice of
 “ *The Cruelty exercised by Papiſts to the Bodys of innocent and good*
 “ *Men, which they burnt alive; and then, of the horrible Inhumanity*
 “ *ſhewed to this pious Matron's dead Body: whose Life he propounded*
 “ *as an excellent Example to imitate.* For her farther Honor, the
 “ Univerſity hung upon the Church-Doors many Copyes of *Latin*
 “ and *Greek* Verſes, composed by eminent Members thereof.—
 “ This is the Sum of what *Calfbill*, one of the chief Managers,
 “ wrote to Bishop *Grindal* concerning this Matter.

“ The Papiſts have been twitted, by Proteſtants, with the baſe
 “ Uſage of this good Woman: and they, to leſſen their Fault,
 “ have labor'd to diſparage and defame her. One of them called
 “ her, *Fuſtiluggs*; being ſomewhat corpulent. This occaſioned
 “ Dr *George Abbot* [afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*], in his
 “ excellent Anſwer to that Romaniſt, to ſay ſome Things re-
 “ markable of her: which he had the Opportunity of knowing,
 “ being, himſelf, of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and living in or
 “ near thoſe Times. *She was*, ſaid he, *reaſonably corpulent; but*
 “ *of moſt Matron-like Modeſty: for the which, ſhe was much re-*
 “ *verenced by the moſt. She was of ſingular Patience, and of excellent*
 “ *Arts and Qualitys. Among other Things, for her Recreation, ſhe*
 “ *delighted to cut Plumb-Stones into curious Faces and Countenances:*
 “ *of which, exceedingly artiſtically done, I once had One, with a*
 “ *Woman's Viſage and Head-Attire on one Side, and a Biſhop with*
 “ *his Mitre on the other; which was the elegant Work of her Hands.*
 “ *By divers, yet living in Oxford [A. D. 1604], this good Woman*
 “ *is remember'd, and commended, as for her other Virtues, ſo for her*
 “ *Liberality to the Poor: which, by Mr Fox, writing how ſhe was*
 “ *treated after her Death, is rightly mentioned. For the Love of*

XVII. It was in the orthodox Reign of Elizabeth, that the Learned Dr *Willet's* inestimable Book first appeared, entitled, *Synopsis Papismi*, or, *A General View of Popistrie*. In this Performance, Dedicated to the Queen, and published by Authority, and which is one of the very best Batterys that were ever raised for the Demolition of Popery, no fewer than *fifteen Hundred*. "Herefys and Errors" are charged on the Church of *Rome*, and most ably refuted, by that profound and indefatigable Divine.

I cannot immediately recollect the exact Date of the *first* Edition. But a *Third* came out, in 1600. My Copy is of the *fifth* Edition, 1634. The Author was a Prebendary of *Ely*, and most zealously attached to the Church of England. Not a Grain of Puritanism mingled itself with his Conformity.—Let us hear what *Strype* says, relatively to the admirable Work now under Consideration.

"Now also [A. D. 1600] Dr *Andrew Willet* set forth a
 "Third Edition of the *Synopsis Papismi*: which Book
 "gave a large Account of all the Controversys between
 "the Church of *Rome* and the *Protestant* Reformed Church;
 "with particular Confutations of that Degenerate Church's
 "Errors. Or, as He himself saith of it, *Containing the*
 "Whole Sum of that HOLY FAITH and Religion, which
 "THE QUEEN MAINTAINED, and the CHURCH of
 "England PROFESSED (x)." Of

"true Religion, and the Company of her Husband, she left her own
 "Country, to come into England, in King Edward's Days. And
 "so good was her Fame here, that, when *Papists*, in Queen *Mary's*
 "Time, being able to get nothing against her, being Dead; would
 "needs rage upon the Bones of her, a Woman, and a Stranger: and
 "took them out of her Grave from *Christian* Burial, and buried them
 "in a Dunghill. Whereupon one made these Verses:

Fœmineum Sexum *Romani* semper amârunt :

Projiciunt Corpus cur muliebre foras ?

Hoc si tu quæras ; facilis Responso danda est :

Corpora non curant mortua ; viva petunt."

Strype's Life of Archbishop *Parker*, p. 100, 101.

(x) Life of *Whitgift*, p. 543.

Of that "*Holy Faith*," which was "*maintained by the Queen*," and "*professed by the Church of England*;" the Calvinistic Doctrines were an essential and an eminent Part. This will appear, by the following short Passages, extracted from the *Synopsis* itself.

(1.) Concerning *Predestination*. "Prædestination is the Decree of God, touching the Salvation and Condemnation of Men.

"God's Præscience is not the Cause of Prædestination: for, how can the Effect go before the Cause? God's Will is the Cause of Predestination.

"As He hath made all Men, so hath He freely disposed of their End, according to the Counsel of his own Will: selecting some, to be Vessels of Honor; and rejecting others, to be Vessels of Wrath. And this very well standeth both with the Mercy and Justice of God, to save some, and reject others: for He might justly condemn All to eternal Death (y)."

(2.) As to *Universal Grace*. "If God give Grace unto some, to obey their Calling, and thereby to be converted, and not to Others; we must not be inquisitive to search, but leave it unto God, whose Judgements may be hid and secret, but are always most just: for He hath Mercy on whom He will.

"It cannot be literally understood, that God would absolutely have all Men to be saved: for, why then should not All be saved? For who hath resisted God's Will? Neither can it be answered here, as sometime by the old Pelagians, that *God's Will is not fulfilled, because Man will not*: for this were to make Men mightier than God (z)."

(3.) *Limited Redemption*. "Here we are to consider the *Beginning* of Election, the *Progress* thereof, and the *End*.—The *Beginning*: in that God, according to His good Pleasure, elected his, in Christ, before the Foun-

n n 3

"dation

(y) *Synopsis Papiſti*, p. 881, 883. (z) *Ibid.* p. 886.

“ dation of the World.—The *Progress*: in that He hath
 “ given the ELECT unto Christ, to be saved and RE-
 “ DEEMED by Him.—The *End* is, that He hath purposed
 “ to bring them unto Glory.

“ Christ only was given to dye for the Company of the
 “ Elect. Not that it [*viz.* Christ's Death] is not *suffi-*
 “ *cient* for the whole World, in itself; but because, the
 “ *Efficacy* and *Benefit* of Christ's Death is only applied
 “ by Faith to Believers: and Faith only is of the Elect.
 “ —Christ dyed, only for Those that should *believe*
 “ in Him. But it is not given to All, to believe in
 “ Christ, except only to the Elect which are ordained to
 “ Life. *Ergo*, for them only Christ dyed (a).”

(4.) Concerning *Free-will*. “ They that affirm, that
 “ *God offereth Grace and Faith equally to All*; and that *God*
 “ *would have all Men to believe*; and, *if they believe not, 'tis*
 “ *not for Want of Grace, but the Fault is only in themselves*;
 “ do consequently hold, that, to believe, is either wholly,
 “ or in Part, in Man's Power.—The Absurdity of which
 “ Opinion, we declare thus.

“ All cannot have Faith; but such as are ordained and
 “ elected thereunto: *John* x. 26. *John* xii. 39. *Acts* xiii.
 “ 48. Faith, and every good Gift; the Beginning, Per-
 “ fection, and End; is only of God: *Rom.* ix. 16. *Phil.* ii.
 “ 13. *John* xv. 5. *John* 6. 44. They that are drawn
 “ of God: must needs come unto Christ.

“ The Patrons of *Common Grace* do fall into a flat Point
 “ of *Pelagianism*, whose Assertion was this: *Vitam æter-*
 “ *nam omnibus paratam esse, quantum ad Deum; quantum ad*
 “ *Arbitrii Libertatem, ab eis eam apprehendi, qui sponte Deo*
 “ *crediderunt*” [i. e. the Pelagian System maintains, that
Eternal Life is, on God's Part, provided for all Men; and
is, on the Part of Free-will, to be lain hold upon by as many
as spontaneously believe in God]. “ This did the old PELA-

“ GIANS

(a) *Ibid.* p. 893, 894

“GIANS hold; this do the *New UNIVERSALITS* affirm (b).

“A Freedom of Will from Necessity, we grant to have been in our first Parents: whereby it was in their Power, to have chosen either the good, or the evil Way. But since that, by *Adam's* Transgression, the whole Power of Nature was shaken, and all the [spiritual] Gifts and Graces of Creation decayed; there remaineth no Freeness of Will, unto Good, in Man: but only a voluntary Promptness and Inclination to Evil without Constraint (c).”

(5.) Hear him on *Justification*. Under the Head of “*POPISH subtile Sleights and DISTINCTIONS*,” he deservedly places the Antichristian Doctrine of “*Two Justifications*: the *first*, which is only of *Grace*; and the *second*, wherein we proceed daily by *good Works*.” By Way of Antidote against this palpable Poyson, Dr Willet observes, that “The Scripture speaketh of but *One Justification* [before God], which *Glorification* followeth: *Whom He justified, them He also Glorified*; Rom viii. 30. If, then, this *One Justification* do bring us to *Glorification*, what need a *Second* (d) ?”

He adds, elsewhere. “Faith doth not justify us, by the Worthiness and Dignity thereof; or as it is a Quality inherent in Man, by any meritorious Act, or by the Work of Believing; or as a proper, efficient Cause: but by Way of an Instrument only; being as it were the Hand of the Soul, whereby we do apprehend the Righteousness of Christ.

“Faith, whereby we are justified, is *Passive* in apprehending the Promises of God in Christ, and applying Christ with all His Benefits: in which Respect, Faith only justifieth. It is also *Active*, in bringing forth good Fruits, and in quickening of us to every good Work: but so it justifieth not [except be-

(b) *Ibid.* p. 908, 909. (c) *Ibid.* p. 921, 922. (d) *Ibid.* p. 1321.

“ fore Men]. Faith, then, is inseparably joined with
 “ Hope and Love, and necessarily yieldeth in us good
 “ Fruit : but none of all these do concur with Faith in
 “ the Act of our Justification : but it is the Office only
 “ of Faith, to apply unto us the Righteousness of Christ,
 “ whereby only we are made Righteous before God (e).”

(6.) His Testimony to the Great Doctrine of *Final Per-*
severance shall close these Extracts, “ These Patrons of
 “ Universal and Conditional Election and Grace [viz. the
 “ *Papists* and *Pelagians*], who affirm, that *Men are ne-*
 “ *otherwise ELECTED, but with Condition, if they BELIEVE ;*
 “ *and so long are they elected, as they CONTINUE in Faith ;*
 “ do consequently also hold, that *Men may both LOSE their*
 “ *Election, and lose their Faith : and, of Vessels of Honor, if*
 “ *they FALL from Faith, become Vessels of Wrath.*—Now,
 “ on the contrary, that both our *Election* is SURE before
 “ God, neither that the *Faith* of the Elect (though it may
 “ fail and impair, yet) CANNOT utterly be LOST, we
 “ are assured by the evident Testimony of Scripture.

“ All that are Elected, shall be assuredly raised up to
 “ Life eternal. And God, to such as He hath chosen,
 “ will give Grace to continue. *They, therefore, that finally*
 “ *fall away, were not elected* in the Beginning. And that
 “ Faith, which some have made Shipwreck of, is not the
 “ justifying Faith of the elect ; but a temporary, or his-
 “ torical Faith. Men’s falling away from Faith, then,
 “ cannot make God’s Election void, as the Apostle saith :
 “ *Shall their Unbelief make the Faith [i. e. the unalterable*
 “ *Faithfulness] of God without Effect ? Rom. iii. 3. (f).*

“ The *Papists* say, *A Man may fall away from the Faith*
 “ *which once truly he had, and be deprived altogether of the*
 “ *State of Grace, so that he may justly be counted among the*
 “ *Reprobates.*

“ Our Sentence [i. e. the Judgement and Opinion of
 “ us Church of *England* Men] is this : That he, who
 “ Once

(e) *Ibid.* p. 983, 985.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 911, 913.

“ Once hath received a true, lively Faith, and is thereby
 “ justified before God, can never finally fall away. Neither
 “ can that Faith utterly perish, or fail in him. Though
 “ it may, for a while, somewhat decay, and be impaired,
 “ yet shall it revive, and he be raised up again (g).”

Such were the Doctrines which Queen Elizabeth “main-
 “ tained,” and the “ Church of England professed.”

XVIII. Another conclusive Argument, to the same Effect, may be drawn from the Learned Dr *William Fulke's* Confutation of *the Rhemish Testament*, published about the Middle of this Reign. The Occasion was as follows.

The English Papists in the Seminary at *Rheims*, perceiving, as *Fuller* observes, that they could no longer
 “ blindfold their Laity from the Scriptures, resolved to
 “ fit them with false Spectacles; and set forth the *Rhemish*
 “ Translation (b),” in Opposition to the Protestant Versions. No Man fitter, in Point either of Learning, or of Grace, to stand forth, in the Name of the Church of England, than Dr *Fulke*, Master of *Pembroke Hall*, and *Margaret* Professor of Divinity, in *Cambridge*. He accordingly undertook, and successfully accomplished, an entire Refutation of the Popish Version and Commentary. The late great and good Mr *Hervey* (who, from an exuberance of Candor, was, sometimes, rather too sanguine and indiscriminate, in his public recommendation of Books; witness the high Strains of undue Panegyric, in which he condescended to celebrate *Bengelius's* Gnomon) passed a very just encomium on Dr *Fulke's* Noble Performance: which he styles, a “ Valuable Piece of ancient Controversy and Criticism, full of sound Divinity, weighty Arguments, and important Observations.” Adding: “ Would the young Student be taught to discover the very Sinews of Popery, and be enabled to give an Effectual

(g) *Ibid* p. 1009, 1010.

(b) See *Fuller's* Account of Dr *Fulke*, in the *English Worthys*; Lond. 219.

“fectual Blow to that Complication of Errors; I scarce know a Treatise, better calculated for the Purpose (i).”

It was dedicated to the Queen, and did Honor to the Royal Patronage. Two or three brief Extracts will suffice to shew, what is *Poperly*, and what is *Protestantism*, in the Estimation of the Church of England.

1. In their Note on *Matth. xxv. 20.* the Romish-Rhemish Commentators express themselves thus: “Free-will, with God’s Grace, doth merit.” No, says FULKE, in his Answer: “The Will, the Work, and the Fruit thereof, and the Faith from whence it floweth, are, All, the Gifts of God, and no Merit of Man (k).”

The Papists affirmed, that Christ “worketh not our Good, against our Wills; but our Wills concurring.”—The Protestant Doctor replies, “Man hath no Free-will to accept God’s Benefits, before God, of Unwilling, by His only Grace maketh him Willing (l).”

The Catholics admitted, as some moderate Arminians do now, that Man “was wounded very sore in his Understanding and Free-will, and all other Powers of Soul and Body, by the Sin of Adam: but that neither Understanding, nor Free-will, nor the rest, were extinguished in Man, or taken away.”—Fulke Answers: “Against this vain Collection by Allegory, the Scripture is plain, that we are all DEAD in Sin, by the Sin of Adam. So that neither the Will, nor the Understanding, have any heavenly Life in them (m).”

2. ’Tis amusing, to observe, what a curious Hash (Bishop Latimer would have said, *Mingle-Mangle*) the Catholic Expositors tossed up, of *Merit*, and *Grace*, *Free-will*, and *Predestination*, in their Note on *Rom. viii. 30.* They observe, that “God’s eternal Foresight, Love, Purpose,” &c. are “the Gulf,” whereon “many proud Persons”

(i) *Theron and Aspasio*, Vol. II. p. 436. Edit. 1767.

(k) Fulke’s *Confutation of Rhem. Test.* p. 91.—Edit. Lond. 1617.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 166.

(m) P. 195.

“*sons*” have founded “*most horrible Blasphemys against*
 “*GOD’S MERCY, and divers damnable Errors against*
 “*MAN’S FREE-WILL, and against all good Life and Re-*
 “*ligion :*” but that “*this said eminent Truth of God’s eternal*
 “*PREDESTINATION, doth stand with Man’s FREE-WILL*
 “*and the true LIBERTY of his Actions, ——— nor taketh*
 “*away the Means or Nature of MERITS, and CO-OPERA-*
 “*TION with God to our own and other Men’s Salvation.*” —
 In Opposition to which wretched Jumble, our Church of
 England Champion thus replies : “*The Eternal Predesti-*
 “*nation of God excludeth the Merits of Man, and the*
 “*Power of his Will, thereby to attain to eternal Life :*
 “*yet forceth not a Man’s Will, to Good, or Ill ; but AL-*
 “*TERETH the WILL, of him who is ORDAINED TO*
 “*LIFE, from Evil to Good (n).*”

The aforesaid Papists affirmed, that “*God is not the Cause*
 “*of any Man’s Reprobation or Damnation.*” — On the con-
 trary, Dr Fulk insisted, that “*God reprobateth, justly,*
 “*whom he will ; and condemneth the Reprobate, justly, for*
 “*Sin (o).*”

The Catholics would have it, that, toward the Effect-
 ing of Conversion and Salvation, Grace and Free-will con-
 tribute, each, its Quota : with this Difference, however,
 that Grace is the *principal*, and Free-will the *subordinate*,
 Contributor. “*We may not,*” say they, “*with Heretics,*
 “*infer, that Man hath not Free-will, or that our Will work-*
 “*eth NOTHING, in our Conversion, or coming to God. But*
 “*this only : that our willing, or working, of any good, to*
 “*our Salvation, cometh of God’s special Motion, Grace, and*
 “*Affsistance ; and that It [viz. Free-will] is the SECONDARY*
 “*Cause, not the principal.*” — Excellent, and full to the
 Point, is Dr Fulke’s Demolition of this artful, but in-
 sufficient Sophism ; which he demolishes thus : “*Our*
 “*Election, Calling, and first coming to God, lieth wholly*
 “*in*

“ in God’s Mercy ; and not either *wholly*, or *principally*,
 “ or any Thing *at all*, in our own *Will*, or *Works*. But
 “ whom God ELECTETH before Time, He CALLETH
 “ in Time by Him appointed ; and, of unwilling, by His
 “ Grace maketh them willing to come to Him, and to
 “ walk in good Works unto which he hath elected them.
 “ So that *Man hath NO FREE-WILL, untill it be FREED (p).*”

3. I shall only add a Passage or two, from each Side, concerning *Justification*.

At, and soon after, the Reformation ; the Papists, finding themselves hard pushed by the numerous Scriptures which assert Justification without Works, were driven to the false and absurd Resource of there being *more* Justifications than *One*. That great Ornament of our Reformed Church, Bishop *Downname*, seems to have considered Cardinal *Bellarmino* as the first Broacher of these multiplied Justifications (q). But, let them have been invented by whom they would, the *Romish* Divines caught at the Multiplication, with no little Eagerness. The Plurality of Justifications soon passed as current, in that Church, as Peter-Pence ; and, like the hunted Slipper, circulated, with all possible Glibness, from Hand to Hand.—Among the rest, thus speak the *Rhemish* Translators : “ *Not Faith alone,*
 “ *but good Works ALSO do justify. Therefore, St Paul mean-*
 “ *eth the same that St James.——The FIRST Justification*
 “ *[is] without Works: the SECOND, by Works. St Paul*
 “ *speaketh of the FIRST, specially ; St James, of the SECOND.*” Agreeably to this ridiculous Distinction, they affirm the *first* Justification to take place, “ *when an Infidel, or ill*
 “ *Man, is made just, who had no acceptable Works before,*
 “ *to be justified by.*” Which Man, it seems, must, some Time afterwards, be justify’d over again : and this *second*, or over-and-above Justification, they define to be, “ *An*
 “ *INCREASE of former Justice, which he, who is in God’s*
 “ *Grace,*

(p) P. 465. (q) See Bishop *Downname* on Justification, p. 452, & 532 —Edit. 1633.

“ Grace, daily proceedeth in, by doing all Kind of GOOD
 “ WORKS ; and for doing of which, he is just INDEED be-
 “ fore God.” Observe, by the Way, how wretchedly
 these two Popish Justifications hang together. The *first*
 makes us *just* : the *second* makes us *just indeed*. As if be-
 ing *just indeed* was not included in being *indeed just* !—
 We have heard the Popish Distinction, and the Popish ex-
 plication of that Distinction. Let me now administer Dr
 Fulke’s Protestant Antidote against the Poyson of Both.
 “ Your Distinction of the *first* and *second* Justification be-
 “ fore God, is but a new Device, not threescore Years
 “ old, [and] utterly unheard of among the Ancient Fa-
 “ thers. For whom God justifieth by Faith without
 “ Works, He also glorifieth ; *Rom.* viii. 30. And that
 “ which you call the second Justification, or Increase of
 “ Justice, is but the *Effect* and *Fruits* of Justification be-
 “ fore God ; and a *Declaration* before Men, that we *are*
 “ just. And so meaneth St James : that *Abraham*, who
 “ was justified, or made just before God, through Faith ;
 “ was also justified, or *declared* to be just, before Men,
 “ by Works. — We affirm, that God justifiyeth us,
 “ when He IMPUTETH Justice [i. e. Righteousness] to
 “ us, without Works : by which Imputation, we are
 “ not *falsely* accompted, but are indeed by God *truly* made
 “ Just, by the Righteousness of Christ, which is given un-
 “ to us, and which we apprehend by Faith (r).”

XIX. I cannot help touching on another Proof of that
 exquisite, but not undue, Jealousy and Care ; with which
 the Doctrinal Calvinism of our Church was watched and
 guarded, in the Reign now under Consideration.

So precious a Palladium were the sister-Doctrines of *free*
Predestination and of *Justification by Faith only*, then deemed ;
 that whosoever lifted but a Finger against Either, was
 supposed to touch the Apple of the Church of England’s
 Eye.

(r) Dr Fulke, u. s. p. 441.

Eye. Witness what Mr *Strype* relates, concerning a poor Handfull of *Free-will Men*, who could not assemble in a private Conventicle, without attracting the Rod of Ecclesiastical Censure, and suffering, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Means, the Rigorous Penalty of Imprisonment itself.

“ There was a religious Assembly now [A. D. 1586],
 “ taken Notice of (whereof one *Glover* was a Chief, and,
 “ as it seems, a Minister), COMPLAINED OF, for their
 “ OPINIONS, to the Archbishop [*Whitgift*]: which *Glover*,
 “ with some Others, was IMPRISONED. But whatsoever
 “ this Society was, they seemed so excusable to the Lord
 “ Treasurer *Burleigh*, that he wrote a Letter to the Arch-
 “ bishop in their Favor. In which Letter may be seen,
 “ what their Tenets and Doctrines were: namely, about
 “ the Sense of *Justification* and *Predestination*. Followers,
 “ perhaps, of Dr *Peter Baro*, and *Corranus* (s).”—In all
 Probability, Lord *Burleigh's* humane Application to the
 Primate, in behalf of these theological Delinquents, pro-
 cured them a Goal-Delivery, and set the *Free-will Men*
 corporally free. So, at least, I conjecture, from the Letter
 of Thanks, written, by the said *Glover*, to the said Lord
 Treasurer: which Letter who so listeth to read, may find
 in *Strype's* Volume and Page below-mentioned. Thus
 much, however, I shall observe from it; that Mr *Glover*,
 the *Free-will Man*, lays all the Cause of his and his Bre-
 thren's Imprisonment, on their dissenting from *Luther's*
 Doctrine of Justification without Works, and from *Calvin's*
 Doctrine of unconditional Predestination; and loudly
 complains of the “ *Iniquity* and *Tyranny*” of their Prose-
 cutors: which included a tacit Fling at the Archbishop
 himself. And, to say the Truth, the Bishops, that then
 were, had just as much Regard for the *Free-will Men*,
 as St *Paul* had for the Viper he shook into the Fire.

XX. One

(s) *Strype's Annals*, Vol. III. p. 431.

XX. One Proof more shall finish our Review of Queen *Elizabeth's* ecclesiastical Administration. And that Proof shall be drawn from the Order that was issued, and which was as punctually obeyed, for the placing of good Mr *Fox's* Calvinistic Martyrology in all the Parish Churches of England, for the Instruction and Edification of the People at the Intervals of Divine Service. Hence it is, that, in some of our Churches, we see those inestimable Volumes preserved to this Day. Nor, perhaps, could our present Secular and Ecclesiastical Governors do a more substantial Service to the Souls of the common People, than by renewing that well-judged Command, and taking Care to have every Church re-furnished with those venerable Records of Protestant Antiquity: which, with their suitable Companion, the *Book of HOMILYS*, might be more conducive to the Expulsion of the Religious Darkness that now overwhelms this Land, than all the *apostolic* Travels of a Thousand *Lancashire* Missionarys.

“ This History of the Church [viz. *Fox's* Martyrology] “ was,” says *Strype*, “ of such Value and Esteem for the “ Use of it to Christian Readers, and the Service of our “ Religion Reformed; that it was, in the Days of Queen “ *Elizabeth*, ENJOINED to be set up, in some convenient “ Place, IN ALL THE PARISH CHURCHES, to- “ gether with the BIBLE, and Bishop *Jewel's* Defence of “ the *Apology* of the Church of England: to be read, at “ all suitable Times, by the People, before or after Ser- “ vice (1).”

Nor was this All. By the *Canons* of the Convocation, held, under Archbishop *Parker*, in St Paul's Cathedral, A. D. 1571; it was enjoined, that *Each of the ARCH- BISHOPS, and every BISHOP, should procure the Holy Bible of the largest Edition, and FOX'S MARTYROLOGY, and other similar Books conducive to Religion; and place the said Books,*

(1) *Strype's Annals*, Vol. III. p. 503.

Books, either in the Hall of their respective dwelling Houses, or in their principal Dining-Room: that so those Books might be serviceable both to such Company as might come to visit the said Dignitaries, and likewise to their own Servants and Domestics (u)."

Moreover, Every DEAN was enjoined, by the Canons aforesaid, to see that each CATHEDRAL Church, respectively, was furnished with the Books above-mentioned: which Books were to be placed in such an open and convenient Part of each Cathedral, that they might be both HEARD and READ by the Priests-Vicars, Minor Canons, and other Ministers, and also by such Strangers and Travellers, as might occasionally resort to the said Cathedrals.—The Word “heard” [ut commodè *audiri* & *legi* possint] seems to indicate, that Fox’s Martyrology was publicly and audibly read by the Clergy (in the Nave, or some other capacious Part of each Cathedral Church, at such Times as Divine Service was not celebrating in the Choir), to those Persons who attended, out of Church Hours, for that Purpose. It is much to be wished, that the same laudable Practice was still continued.

To

(u) *Quivis Archiepiscopus, & Episcopus, habebit Domi suæ Sacra Biblia, in amplissimo Volumine, uti nuperrimè Londini excusa sunt; et plenam illam Historiam, quæ inscribitur, Monumenta Martyrum: et alios quosdam Libros ad Religionem appositos. Locentur autem isti Libri, vel in Aulâ, vel in grandi Cœnaculo; ut, & ipsorum Famulis, & Advenis, Usui esse possint.*

Eisdem illos Libros, quos proximè diximus, *Decanus* quisque curabit emi, & locari in Ecclesiâ suâ Cathedrali, ejusmodi in Loco, ut à Vicariis, & minoribus Canonicis, & Ministris Ecclesiæ, & ab Advenis, & Peregrinis, commodè audiri & legi possint.

Eisdem Libros illos *Decanus, & Primarius* quisque *Residentiarius*, quos appellant Ecclesiæ Dignitates, ement suo quisque Familio; eosque, opportuno aliquo in Loco, vel in Aulâ, vel in Cœnaculo, locabunt.

Quivis *Archidiaconus* habebit, Domi suæ, & alios Libros, & nominatim eos, qui inscribuntur, **MONUMENTA MARTYRUM.**

See Bishop Sparrow’s Collections, p. 227, 228.—Edit. 1684.

To all this, I must add: that, by the same Ecclesiastical Injunctions, passed in full Convocation, Every *Dean, Prebend, Canon Residentiary, and Archdeacon*, was to procure the said Predestinarian Martyrology, and place it in some conspicuous and frequented Room of his House, for the Benefit of Servants, Visitors, and all Comers and Goers. The same Order, according to *Anthony Wood (x)*, was extended to all the *Heads of Colleges*, in the two Universities: who were required, to place the *Martyrology* in their College Halls respectively.

Let us next examine, whether Fox's Martyrology be indeed a *calvinistic* Performance:

Proof has already been given, of the ample Testimony, which that History bears, to the Calvinism of those excellent Men, whose Martyrdoms it records. Not does it bear less Testimony to the Calvinism of the admirable Historian himself. Witness what immediately follows.

“*The SECRET PURPOSE of Almighty God,*” says Mr Fox, “*disposeth ALL Things (y).*” A golden Sentence, which, alone, might suffice to shew *what Completion* his Book is of. But the *Completion*, both of Him and It, will appear, still more explicitly, from an Abstract of what he delivers, in that Part of his Work which professedly treats on Election and Reprobation.

“As touching the Doctrine of *Election*,” says this most venerable Master in our Protestant Israel, “Three Things must be considered:

“1. *WHAT God's Election is, and what is the Cause thereof.*

“2. *HOW God's Election procedeth in working our Salvation.*

“3. *TO WHOM God's Election pertaineth, and how a Man may be certain thereof.*

“Between *Predestination* and *Election*, this Difference there is. *Predestination* is as well [i. e. relates as much]

O o

“ to

(x) *Asben.* 1. 187.

(y) *Acts & Mon.* III. 761.

“ to the *Reprobate*, as to the *Elect*: Election pertainteth
 “ *only* to them that be *saved*.

“ *Predestination* is the *Eternal Decree*ment of God, pur-
 “ posed before in Himself, what shall befall on All Men,
 “ either to Salvation, or Damnation.

“ *Election* is the free Mercy and Grace of God, in His
 “ own Will, through Faith in Christ, His Son, *choosing*
 “ and *preferring* to Life such as *pleaseth* Him.

“ In this Definition of Election, first goeth before the
 “ *Mercy and Grace* of God, as the Causes thereof: where-
 “ by are EXCLUDED all *Works* of the Law, and *Merits*
 “ of Deserving, whether they go before Faith, or come
 “ after. So was Jacob chosen, and Esau refused, before
 “ either of them began to work.—In that this Mercy
 “ and Grace of God, in this Definition, is said to be *free*;
 “ thereby is to be noted the proceeding & working of God
 “ not to be bounded to any ordinary Place, Succession of
 “ Chair, State or Dignity of Person, Worthiness of Blood,
 “ &c. but ALL goeth by the MERE WILL of His own Pur-
 “ pose. — — — It is added, in His own Will. By
 “ this falleth down the Free-will and Purpose of Man,
 “ with all his Actions, Counsel, and Strength of Nature:
 “ according as it is written, *It is NOT of him that WILL-*
 “ *ETH, nor of him that RUNNETH; but of God that sheweth*
 “ *Merry*. So we see, how Israel ran long, and yet got
 “ nothing. The Gentiles later began to set out, and yet
 “ got the Game. So they, who came at the first Hour,
 “ did labor more: and yet they, who came last, were
 “ rewarded with the first. The working Will of the Pha-
 “ risee seemed better: but yet the Lord's Will was rather
 “ to justify the Publican. The elder Son [in the Parable]
 “ had a better Will to tarry by his Father, and so did in-
 “ deed: and yet the fat Calf was given to the younger
 “ Son that ran away.

“ Whereby we are to understand, how the Matter goeth;
 “ not by the Will of MAN; but by the Will of GOD, as
 “ it *pleaseth* Him to accept: according as it is written, *Who*

“ were

“ were born, not of the Will of the Flesh, NOR by the WILL
 “ of MAN; but of GOD.

“ God’s Mercy and free Grace bringeth forth ELECTION.
 “ Election worketh VOCATION, or God’s Holy Calling.

“ Which Vocation; through Hearing; bringeth Knowledge
 “ and FAITH of Christ. Faith, through Promise, ob-

“ taineth JUSTIFICATION. Justification, through Hope,
 “ waiteth for GLORIFICATION:

“ Election is before Time: Vocation and Faith come
 “ in Time. Justification and Glorification are without
 “ End.

“ ELECTION, depending on God’s free Grace and
 “ Will, excludeth all Man’s Will, blind Fortune, Chance, and
 “ all Peradventures.

“ VOCATION, standing upon God’s Election, excludeth
 “ all Man’s Wisdom, Cunning, Learning, Intention, Power,
 “ and Presumption.

“ FAITH in Christ, proceeding by the Gift of the Holy
 “ Ghost, and freely Justifying Man by God’s Promise,
 “ excludeth all other Merits of Men, all Condition of De-
 “ serving, and all Works of the Law, both God’s Law and
 “ Man’s Law, with all other outward Means whatsoever.

“ This Order and Connection of Causes is diligently
 “ to be observed, BECAUSE OF THE PAPISTS; who have
 “ miserably confounded and inverted this Doctrine; teach-
 “ ing, that Almighty God, so far forth as He FORE-
 “ SEETH Man’s MERITS before to come, so doth he dis-
 “ pense His ELECTION. As tho’ we had our Election,
 “ by our Holiness that followeth after; and not; rather,
 “ have our Holiness, by God’s Election going before!

“ If the Question be asked, Why was Abraham chosen,
 “ and not Nachor? Why was Jacob chosen, not Esau?
 “ Why was Moses elected, and Pharaoh hardened? Why
 “ David accepted, and Saul refused? Why few be chosen,
 “ and the most forsaken? It cannot be answered otherwise
 “ but thus—BECAUSE IT WAS SO THE GOOD WILL OF
 “ GOD.

“ In like Manner, touching *Vocation*, and also *Faith*.
 “ If it be asked, Why this *Vocation* and Gift of *Faith*
 “ was given to *Cornelius* the Gentile, and not to *Tertullus*
 “ the Jew? Why the Beggars, by the High-Ways, were
 “ called, and the Bidden Guests excluded? We can go
 “ to no other Cause, but to God’s Purpose and Election;
 “ and say, with Christ our Savior, EVEN SO, FATHER,
 “ FOR SO IT SEEMED GOOD IN THY SIGHT.

“ And so for *Justification* likewise. If the Question be
 “ asked, Why the *Publican* was Justified, and not the
 “ *Pharisee*? Why *Mary* the Sinner, and not *Simon* the
 “ Inviter? Why *Harlots* and *Publicans* go before the *Scribes*
 “ and *Pharisees* in the Kingdom? Why the Son of the
 “ Free Woman was received, and the Bond Woman’s
 “ Son, being his Elder, was rejected? Why *Israel*, which
 “ so long sought for Righteousness, found it not; and the
 “ *Gentiles*, which sought not for it, found it? We have
 “ no other Cause hereof to render, but to say, with St
 “ Paul, *Because they sought for it by Works of the Law, and*
 “ *not by Faith*: which Faith cometh not by Man’s Will
 “ (as the Papist falsely pretendeth), but only by the *Election*
 “ and *free Gift* of God.

“ Wheresoever *Election* goeth before, there *Faith* in
 “ Christ must needs follow after. And again, Whosoever
 “ believeth in Christ Jesus, through the *Vocation* of God;
 “ he must needs be Partaker of God’s *Election*.

“ Whereupon resulteth now the Third Note, or Con-
 “ sideration: which is, to consider, *Whether a Man, in*
 “ *this Life, may be CERTAIN of his ELECTION?*

“ Although our *Election* and *Vocation* simply indeed
 “ be known to God only in Himself, *à priore*; yet, not-
 “ withstanding, it may be known to every particular faith-
 “ full Man, *à posteriore*: that is, by *Means*: which *Means*,
 “ is Faith in Christ Jesus crucified. And therefore it is
 “ truly said, *De Electione judicandum est à posteriore*: that
 “ is to say, *We must judge of ELECTION by that which cometh*
 “ AFTER; i. e. by our *Faith* and *Belief* in Christ, which
 “ certifieth us of this *Election* of God. For albeit that
 “ *Election*

“ Election be first certain in the Knowledge of *God*; yet,
 “ in *our* Knowledge, FAITH only, that we have in Christ,
 “ is the Thing that giveth to us our CERTIFICATE and
 “ COMFORT of this Election. Election [is] first known
 “ to God, and last opened to Man (x).”

So speaks the Book, with which the *Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Prebendarys, and Canons Residentiary*, were en-joined to enrich their principal Apartments: Which all *Deans* were commanded to place in their Cathedrals; Which all *Heads of Colleges* were required to exhibit in the public Halls of each University: and Which constituted Part of the Religious Furniture of every *Parish Church*, throughout the Kingdom.

Well, therefore, might Bishop *Davenant* affirm, that *Lord's Parasite, Samuel Hoord* the Arminian, “ so farre forth
 “ as he seemeth to oppose the ABSOLUTE DECREE of
 “ PREDESTINATION, and the ABSOLUTE DECREE of
 “ negative REPROBATION, or NON-ELECTION; reducing
 “ them to the contrary *foreseen Conditions* of good or bad
 “ ACTS in Men; he crosseth the received Doctrine of the
 “ Church of England (a). — — — I will,” adds the Bishop, “ lay down such fundamental Doctrines, concern-
 “ ing *Predestination* or *Election*, as I conceive are grounded
 “ upon the XVIIth Article, and have ALWAYS been
 “ taken for the common received Doctrine of our
 “ CHURCH: the contradictory [Doctrines, viz. the
 “ Doctrines of *Pelagius* and *Arminius*] having been AL-
 “ WAYS, when they were broached, held and censured
 “ for *erroneous* by our UNIVERSITYS and Reverend
 “ BISHOPS (b). — — — As for those, whom you [viz.
 “ you *Samuel Hoord*] term *Sublapsarians*, you should have
 “ taken Notice, that in this Number you must put All
 “ who embrace *St Augustine's* Doctrines, and who have

(x) Fox's *Acts & Mon.* III. 292, 293. (a) Bishop *Dave-*
nant's Animadversions on Hoord, p. 5.—*Cambridge*, 1641.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 7, 8.

“ subscribed to the XVIIth Article of our Church.—
 “ So that, by joining yourself with the *Remonstrants* [i. e.
 “ with the *Arminians*], you have as clearly FORSAKEN the
 “ *Doctrine of the CHURCH of England*, as [you have for-
 “ saken the *Doctrine*] of *Beza*, *Zanchius*, or *Piscator* (c).
 “ ————Our Church of England was more willing
 “ and desirous to set down *expressly* the *Doctrine of Ab-*
 “ *solute Predestination*, I mean of *Predestination* causing
 “ Faith and Perseverance, than it was of [setting down
 “ *so expressly*] absolute negative *Reprobation*. — — ’Twas
 “ Wisdom, which made our Church so clear in the Article
 “ for *absolute Predestination*, and yet so reserved in the
 “ other [viz. in the Point of *Reprobation*]: easily perceiv-
 “ ing, that [the] *Predestination* of some Men [to eternal
 “ Life] cannot be affirmed, but *non-Predestination* [to
 “ Life], or *Preterition*, or negative *Reprobation*, (call it
 “ as you please) of some Others, MUST NEEDS therewith
 “ be understood.—For the Truth of Absolute *Repro-*
 “ *bation*, so farre forth as it is connected and conjoined
 “ with Absolute *Predestination*; when the main Intent of
 “ the *Remonstrants* is, by opposing the *former*, to over-
 “ throw the *latter*, it importeth those, who have subscribed
 “ to the 17th Article, not to suffer it to be obliquely un-
 “ dermined (d).” The Learned Prelate’s Reasoning is
 masterly and just. For, 1. the *Predestination* of some to
 Life, asserted in the 17th Article of our Church, cannot
 be maintained, without admitting the *Reprobation* of
 some Others unto Death.—2. This *Reprobation*, tho’ not
 expressly asserted in the Article, is palpably deducible from
 it: yea, so necessary is the Inference, that, without it, the
 Article itself cannot stand.—Consequently, 3. Whoever
 opposes *Reprobation*, “ *obliquely undermines*” the 17th
 Article.—And, 4. All, “ who have *subscribed*” to the said
 Article, are bound in Honor, Conscience, and Law, to
 defend

(c) *Ibid.* p. 28, 29.(d) *Ibid.* p. 55, 56.

defend *Reprobation*, were it only to keep the 17th Article upon its Legs.—So argues Bishop DAVENANT.

From the Proofs, which this Section hath alledged, of the Calvinism of our Established Church, through the entire Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; it follows (no less clearly than *Reprobation* follows from our 17th Article), that the Established Religion of this Land was, *originally*; remained, *successively*; and still continues to be, *intrinsically*; as REMOTE from, and as essentially the REVERSE of, *Pelagianism* and *Arminianism*, in every Point and Respect whatsoever, as any two Things, within the whole Compass of Existence, can be remote and different from each other.

A Conviction of this most plain and certain Truth made Dr *Carleton*, Bishop of *Chichester*, express himself in these positive, but not too positive, Terms: “ I am well ASSURED, that the Learned Bishops, who were in the Reformation of our Church in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, did so much honor St *Augustin*, that, IN THE COLLECTING OF THE ARTICLES AND HOMILYS, and Other Things in that Reformation, THEY HAD AN ESPECIAL RESPECT UNTO ST AUGUSTINE'S DOCTRINES (e).”

This I much suspect to be the chief Cause of Mr *Wesley*'s unappeasable Wrath against the Memory of old Queen *Bess*: tho' his ostensible Reason is, the Behavior of that Princess to her female Neighbor of Scotland.—'Tis curious to observe the tissing Vehemence, wherewith the petty Dragon spits his harmless Fire at the Dead Lions. “ *What then was Queen ELIZABETH? As just and merciful as NERO, and as good a Christian as MAHOMET (f).*”

Let the following authentic Account of the truly pious Manner, in which that great Monarch closed her Life, determine what Degree of Credit is due to the spitting

(e) *Carleton's Examin. of Mountagu*, p. 49.
Journal from 1765 to 1768, p. 124.

(f) *Wesley's*

Journalizer; and shew, whether she was a *Mahometan*, or a Christian.

“ She [*Queen Eliz.*] had several of her Learned and Pious Bishops frequently about her, performing the last Offices of Religion with her. Particularly, *Watson*, Bishop of *Chichester*, her Almoner; the Bishop of *London*; and, chiefly, the Archbishop [*Whitgift*]: with whom, in their Prayers, she, very devoutly, both in her Eyes, Hands, and Tongue, and with great Fervency, joined;—making Signs and Shews, to her last Remembrance, of the sweet Comfort she took in their Presence and Assistance, and of the unspeakable Joy she was going unto.

“ Her Death drawing near, the Archbishop exhorted her to fix her Thoughts on God; the better to draw off her Mind from other secular Things, concerning her Kingdom and Successor, which some of her Court then propounded to her. To which good Advice, she answered him, *She did so; nor did her Mind wander from God.* And, as a Sign thereof, when she could not speak, she was observed much to lift up her Eyes and Hands to Heaven.

“ Her Almoner rehearsing to her the Grounds of the Christian Faith, and requiring her Assent unto them by some Sign; she readily gave it, both with Hand and Eye. And, when he proceeded to tell her, That it was not enough, generally to believe that those Articles of Faith were true; but that All Christian Men were to believe them true to THEM, and that THEY THEMSELVES were Members of the true Church, and Redeemed by Jesus Christ, and that THEIR Sins were forgiven to THEM; She did, again, with great shew of Faith, lift up her Eyes and Hands to Heaven, and so stayed them long, as a Testimony she gave of Applying the same unto Herself (g).”

“ This

(g) *Strype's Life of Whitgift*; 558, 559.

" This Queen, says Lord *Bacon*, as touching her Religion, was pious, moderate, constant, and an Enemy to Novelty. For her PIETY, tho' the same were most conspicuous in her Acts, and the Form of her Government; yet it was pourtrayed also in the common Course of her Life, and her daily Comportment. Seldom would she be absent from hearing Divine Service, and other Dutys of Religion, either in her Chapel, or in her privy Closet. In the Reading of the *Scriptures*, and the Writings of the *Fathers*, ESPECIALLY OF ST. AUGUSTIN, she was very frequent: and she composed certain Prayers, herself, upon emergent Occasions. — — Within the Compass of one Year, she did so establish and settle all Matters belonging to the Church, as she departed not one Hair's Breadth from them to the End of her Life. Nay, and her usual Custom was, in the Beginning of every Parliament, to forewarn the Houses not to question or innovate any Thing already established in the Discipline or Rites of the Church.

" Her (*b*) Stature [*say Guthrie, Welwood, and Bacon*] was somewhat tall, and her Complexion fair. She understood the *Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, and Dutch Languages*. She translated several Pieces from *Xenophon, Isocrates, Seneca, Boetius*, and other Antients, with Taste and Accuracy. The Augustan Age was revived in her Reign: and the True Religion was so well established before She left the World, that her Reign ought justly to be termed THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND (*i*).²

(*b*) She was *five Feet, and eleven Inches*, in Height: two Inches taller than *Augustus* the Roman Emperor.

Derham's Phys. Theol. p. 331.

(*i*) *Rolt's Lives of the Reformers*, p. 202.

SECTION XIX.

State of the Calvinistic Doctrines in England, from the Death of ELIZABETH, to That of King JAMES the First.

JAMES the First's Accession to the Crown of England was, for many Years, followed by no shadow of Alteration in the Theological Principles of our ruling Ecclesiastics. The King himself was a Calvinist in Theory: but more, by Virtue of outward and visible Education, than of inward and spiritual Grace. His own personal Morals did by no Means comport with the Rectitude of his speculative System. England had seen few Princes more warmly orthodox; and not very many, whose private Manners were so thoroughly profligate and excentric. A Proof, that the purest Sett of Religious Tenets, when they float merely on the Surface of the Understanding, and are no otherwise received, than Scholastically, as a Science, without reaching the Heart; are sure to leave the Life and Manners uncultivated and unrenewed. The regenerating Influence of God's Holy Spirit on the Soul, is the best Door for the Doctrines of Grace to enter at. When they flow to us through the Channel of celestial Experience, they cannot fail to throw our Hearts, our Tempers, and our Morals, into the Mold of Holiness. There are two sorts of Persons, whose Condition is eminently dangerous; Those, who know just enough of the Gospel System, to hate it; and Those, who profess to love it, but hold it in Unrighteousness.

King James, amidst all his Deviations from Virtue; amidst all his mental Weaknesses, and political Absurdities; was the most Learned secular Prince then in Europe. His Talents, as a Scholar, were far from being so extremely def-

despicable and superficial, as his Defect of Wisdom and his Excess of Self-Opinion have led some Historians to suppose. Had his Judgement and his Virtues borne any Proportion to his Acquirements, his Name would have adorned, instead of dishonoring, as it does, the Catalogue of Kings. His two Sons, Prince *Henry*, and *Charles* the First, tho' they had not half the literary Attainments of their Father, yet eclipsed him totally, even as a Man of Parts; by Force of superior Genius, and by possessing a larger Stock of private Virtue. Vice (especially those species of it, to which *James* was enslaved) has a native Tendency to debase, enfeeble, and diminish the Powers of the Mind. To which must be added, that the Erudition, as well as the whole personal and civil Conduct, of this mean Prince, appeared to peculiar Disadvantage, after the wife, the shining, the vigorous Administration of *Elizabeth*: who was immensely his Superior, both in elegant Learning, and in the Art of Government.

That *James* was a speculative Calvinist, his own Writings abundantly declare. Mr *Hume* gives a sort of ambiguous Intimation (*k*), that, toward the End of his Reign, he adopted the Principles of *Arminius*. I wish that polite, but not always impartial Historian, had favor'd us with the Authoritys (if any such there be) on which that Implication was grounded. I should be extremely glad, to see it proved, that *James* actually did apostatize, in his latter Years, to the Arminian Tenets. For he really was no Honor to us. King as he was, the meanest Calvinist in his Dominions might have blushed to call him Brother, It were Pity, that a Man of so corrupt a Heart should live and dye with a sett of sound Opinions in his Head.

But I have never been able to find, that there is the smallest shadow of Foundation, for supposing, that he ever dropped, what Mr *Hume* pleases to term, "*The more rigid Principles of absolute Reprobation, and unconditional De-*
"*crees.*"

(k) Hist. of Eng. Vol. V. p. 572.

“*cross.*” On the contrary, his Religious Tenets, and his Principles of political Tyranny, seem, like Flesh and Spirit, to have been in perpetual Conflict with each other, during the last Years of his Life.—Let me explain myself. The Point is curious: and not altogether uninteresting.

James was wicked enough, to hunger and thirst after the Libertys of his People. But, with all his boasted *King-Craft* (as he called it), he was, Providentially, destitute both of Wisdom and Spirit, to carry his Wish into Execution. Much of his Reign was wasted, in contemptibly striving to balance Matters between the *Protestants* and the *Papists*; the latter of whom he affected to keep fair with, on Account of their being, as he phrased it, “*dextrous King-Killers.*” Just as some Indians are said to worship the Devil, for fear he should do them a Mischief.

For some Time before his Death, James’s wretched Politics took a Turn, somewhat different. His Royal Care was, to trim between the *Calvinists* and the *Arminians* (tho’ the latter, at that Time, hardly amounted to an Handfull): or, rather, to play ’em off against each other, while he buckled himself the faster into the Saddle of Despotism.

The *Calvinists*, tho’, even in his own Judgement, *religiously Orthodox*; were consider’d by him as *State Heretics*, because they were Friends to the Rights of Mankind, and repressed the Encroachments of Civil Tyranny.

On the other Hand, the *Arminians* (then newly sprung up; or, rather, newly imported from the Dutch Coast) were detested by James, for the Novelty, and for the supposed ill Tendency, of their *Religious Sentiments*. The *Arminians* had, therefore, but *one Card* to play, in Order to save a losing Game: which was, to compensate for their *religious Heterodoxy*, by *State Orthodoxy*. They were forced, even to avoid the Inconveniencies of Persecution itself (for James had given Proof, that he could burn Heretics as well as any of his Predecessors), to fall in with the Court-Measures for extending the Prærogative.

This

This Card the Arminians accordingly play'd. It won: and gave a new Turn to the Game. It not only sav'd them from Civil Penaltys, but (of which, probably, at first, they were not so sanguine as to entertain the most distant Expectation) they even began to be regarded, at Court, as *serviceable* Folks.

Hence, from being exlamted against, as the very Pests of Christian Society; they gradually obtained Connivance, Toleration, and Countenance.—To sum up all: they got Ground, in the Close of *James's* Reign; and, in That of *Charles*, saw themselves, for the first Time, at the Top of the Ecclesiastical Wheel.

Every One, who is at all acquainted with the History of *James's* Administration, knows, that I have not overcharged a single Feature. For the sake, however, of such Readers, as may not be versed in this Kind of Enquirys; I confirm the Account, already given, by the following Extract from *Tindal*.

“ Soon after the Accession of King *James*, the Canons
 “ of the Church were confirmed by the King and Convo-
 “ cation.—— Things were in this State, when a great
 “ TURN happen'd in the DOCTRINE of the CHURCH. The
 “ ARMINIAN, or *Remonstrant* Tenets, which had been
 “ condemned by the Synod at *Dort*, BEGAN to spread in
 “ *England* (1).—— The Calvinistical Sense of the [39]
 “ Article was discouraged: and Injunctions were pub-
 “ lished against Preaching upon Prædestination, Election,
 “ Efficacy

(1) Observe: the “ *Arminian* Tenets” did not “ *begin*” to “ *spread in England*,” ’till AFTER the said Tenets had been condemned “ *by the Synod at Dort*.” Which Condemnation by that Synod took place, A. D. 1619; about *sixteen* Years after *James's* Accession to the English Crown, and little more than *five* Years before his Majesty's Death. Of such very *modern* standing, in *England*, is that *Arminianism*, which, coming to its full Growth under *Charles* the First,

*Per Populos Graiūm, mediæque per Elidis Urbem,
 Ibat ovans, Divamque sibi poscebat Honores!*

“ Efficacy of Grace, &c. while the *Arminians* were suf-
 “ fer’d to inculcate their Doctrines (m)” without Con-
 troll.

So much for the *Conduct* of James and his Court. Now,
 for the *Reason* of that Conduct. This the above Historian
 immediately assigns, in Manner and Form following.

“ As ARMINIANISM was FIRST embraced by THOSE
 “ who were for EXALTING THE [King’s] PREROGA-
 “ TIVE ABOVE LAW; All, who adhered to the Side of
 “ [Civil] Liberty, and to the Calvinistical Sense of the
 “ Articles, tho’ ever so GOOD CHURCHMEN, were brand-
 “ ed by the Court with the Name of PURITANS.—
 “ By this Means, the [real] Puritans acquired great
 “ Strength: for, the Bulk of the PEOPLE and CLERGY were
 “ at once confounded with them (n),” under the absurd,
 new-invented Names of Doctrinal and State-Puritans.

What if, to the Testimony of this *Whig* Historian, we
 add that of a *Tory* Compiler?—“ The whole Nation was
 “ now” [viz. A. D. 1622.] “ divided between the Court
 “ and the Country Partys. All the PAPISTS, and the AR-
 “ MINIANs (who were by THIS Time formed into a SECT
 “ in England), espoused the Cause of the King.—
 “ Those who professed the Tenets of *Arminius*, were now
 “ as much CARESSED, as they had been formerly DE-
 “ TESTED, by the Courtiers. And *William Laud*, who
 “ had adopted this Faith, was promoted to the Bishopric
 “ of *St David s* (o).”

It is plain, then, that the Reason, why *James I.* was
 “ insensibly engaged, towards the END of his Reign, to FAVOR”
 [for it does not appear that he ever ADOPTED] “ the milder
 “ Theology of ARMINIUS (p);” was, Because, the Par-
 tizans of that new Theology were much “ milder” and
 more friendly to *James’s* Scheme of setting himself above
 Law,

(m) *Tindal’s* Cont. of Rapin, Vol. III. p. 279, 280. Octavo.

(n) *Tindal*, Ibid. 280.

(o) *Smollett’s* Hist. Vol. VII. p. 80.

Octavo. 1759.

(p) *Hume*, Vol. V. p. 572.

Law, than were the Partizans of the Established Calvinistic Doctrines. The moving Cause, why that weak and vicious Prince labor'd to ram *Arminianism* down the Throats of his Protestant Subjects, was, *the INNATE FITNESS of Arminianism* to subserve and promote the Purposes of *Arbitrary Power*. At the very Time that James manifestly appears to have *abhorred* the Religious Tenets of Arminius, *considered AS Religious*; he professedly *patronized* the Maintainers of those identical Tenets, because he regarded both the Tenets and their Maintainers as the best *State-Engines* he could employ, to effectuate that Plan of secular Tyranny, on which he had so vehemently set his Heart.

To what an unprinciply and uncomfortable Dilemma had *James* reduced himself! He could not persist in carrying on his old theological War against *Arminianism*, without weakening the Foundations of the Tyrannical Fabric he intended to rear. Nor could he proclaim Peace, without rendering himself, to the last Degree, contemptible, for his Inconsistencys.—On one Hand, Conscience, religious Conviction, and a Regard to his own Character, united to dissuade him from taking the *Arminians* into his Alliance: and haunted him with, *O my Soul, go not thou into their secret; unto their Assembly, mine Honor, be not thou united.*—On the other Hand, his “King-Craft,” i. e. the shallow Cunning of a mean and vicious Policy, suggested to him, in behalf of the *Arminian Sect* he so deeply hated, *If ye be come peaceably unto me, to HELP me, my Heart shall be knit unto you.*

To help him, they accordingly tryed. And knit to them, as a State Party, he certainly was, for the last four Years of his Life. Should it be asked, ‘What could render the Friendship of the *Arminians* so important in *James’s* Idea, ‘seeing their Number was then so very few?’ The Answer is obvious. The *new* and *few* *Arminians* were joined by the whole Body of Roman Catholics: and it was this Junction of Forces, which augmented their Weight. Each of these two obnoxious Partys, lying open to the Last of
the

the Law, wished to recommend themselves to the Favor of the Court. Effectually to do so, they adopted and propagated the then Court-Maxim of *Unlimited Obedience to Princes*, with all possible Fervor. A Co-alition of Interests naturally produces a Co-alition of Partys. It was no wonder, therefore, as the *Papists* and the *Arminians* had one and the *same End* to promote, and promoted that End by the self-same *Means*; that they should, as a State-Faction, swim Hand in Hand with each other. Not was the Association, consider'd even in a *religious View*, at all unnatural. Arminianism pulls up, and removes, FIVE, at the very least, of those ancient *Land-Marks* (might I not say, five and twenty?) by which Protestantism and Popery are sever'd from each other. Such a *theological and political Co-incidence* might well produce (as it actually did) a Civil Union between the Partizans of *Rome* and the Disciples of *Arminius*. They both aspired, in amicable Conjunction, to the Favor of James: and James caught at *their Alliance*, with as great Eagerness, as they aspired to *his*.

But the Accession of such Recruits, as these, reflected no Honor on the King; and, in Reality, did him no Service. It added to the National Jealousy, and quickened the National Resentment. In all Appearance, *James* dyed just at the Time when Matters were ripening to a Crisis between him and his People. Had his Reign been protracted much longer, 'tis probable, either that his Crown would have trembled on his Brow; or, that its Security must have been purchased by a Number of just and necessary Concessions to a brave and injured Nation.

With what Propriety and Decency this Prince affected to cherish Arminianism, let the Productions of his own Pen testify. But, before I briefly appeal to these, let *James's* best Historiographer, the honest Mr *Arthur Wilson*, supply us with an Introduction to them.

“ Our Neighbors of the *Netherlands* had” [in the Beginning of the seventeenth Century] “ a Fire kindled in their own Bosoms: [namely,] a Schism in the Church,
“ and

“ and a Faction in the State. The first Author of the
 “ Schism, was (q) *Arminius*: who had been Divinity-
 “ Professor at *Leyden*. He dyed in the Year 1609; leav-
 “ ing behind him the Seeds of the *Pelagian* Heresy.

“ This Rupture in the Bowells of the Church [of *Hal-*
 “ *land*] grew so great, that it endangered the Body of the
 “ State. The chief Rulers and Magistrates, in the sever-
 “ al Provinces, being tainted with this Error, strove to
 “ establish it by Power: among whom, *Barneveldt* was a
 “ principal Agent. He, by the Assistance of *Hoogenberchts*
 “ of *Leyden*, *Grotius* of *Rotterdam*, and *Leidenburgh* Se-
 “ cretary of *Utrecht*, with others their Adherents, drew
 “ on the Design: which was, to SUPPRESS the PROTES-
 “ TANT Reformed Religion, and ESTABLISH the Tenets of
 “ ARMINIUS; being fomented by the Kings of *France* and
 “ *Spain*, as the immediate Way to introduce POPERY. This
 “ went on so smoothly, that the Orthodox Ministers were
 “ expelled out of their principal Towns, and none but
 “ *Arminians* admitted to Preach to the People: which, in
 “ some Places, bred many Combustions, that tended to
 “ nothing but popular Confusion.

“ But, long before this Time, our King [*James I.*] saw
 “ the Storm coming upon them [viz. that was coming
 “ on the *Dutch* Provinces]. For, in the Year 1611, he
 “ forewarns the States: telling them, That, by the unhappy
 “ Succession of two such Prodigys in one Sphere, as ARMINIUS
 “ and VORSTIUS, some DREADFUL MISCHIEF would
 “ succeed.

“ For, *Arminius* was no sooner Dead, but those that
 “ drew on the Design had an Eye on *Vorstius*, his [i. e.
 “ *Arminius's*] Disciple, to make him Divinity-Professor
 “ in his Place. Which the King hearing of, and having
 “ read some of *Vorstius's* blasphemous Writings; sends to
 “ his then Ambassador, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, resident there,
 “ to let the State know, that VORSTIUS rather deserved

P p

“ PUNISH-

(q) For some Account of this *Arminius*, see a Pamphlet of mine,
 entitled, *More Work for Mr John Wesley*: p. 25, 26.

“ PUNISHMENT, than Promotion : That the Head of such
 “ a VIPER should be TROD UPON and CRUSHED, which
 “ was likely to eat his Way through the Bowells of the State :
 “ And if, nevertheless, they should persist to prefer him, he
 “ [viz. King James himself] would make known to the World,
 “ publicly in Print, how much he DETESTED such ABO-
 “ MINABLE HERESIES, and all Allowers and Tolerators of
 “ them (r).”

The States, however, invested *Vorstius* with the Pro-
 fessorship, lately vacated by the Death of *Arminius*.
 This greatly incensed King James. It, at once, stung
 his Pride, and gravel'd his Orthodoxy. True enough it
 was, that he had no Right to dictate to the *Dutch* Magis-
 trates, on whom they should bestow their own Preferments.
 “ For what is it to his Majesty,” said his Embassador *Win-*
wood, in a Remonstrance presented to the States by the
 King's Directions, “ what is it to his Majesty, whether
 “ DOCTOR VORSTIUS be admitted Professor in the University
 “ of Leyden, or not? Or, whether the Doctrine of ARMI-
 “ NIUS be preached in your Churches? Saving that, as a
 “ Christian Prince, he desires the Advancement of the Gospel.
 “ ———— Let yourselves be Judges, in how great a Danger
 “ the State must needs be at this present, so long as you permit
 “ the Schisms of ARMINIUS to have such Vogue, as now they
 “ have, in the principal Towns of Holland. ———— The
 “ Disciples of SOCINUS, with whose Doctrine VORSTIUS
 “ hath been suckled in his Childhood, do seek him for their
 “ Master, and are ready to embrace him. Let him go : he
 “ is a Bird of their own Feather : Et dignum sane patellâ
 “ Operculum, a fit cover for such a Dish. ———— His Majesty
 “ doth exhort you, that you would not suffer the Followers of
 “ ARMINIUS to make your Actions an Example for them to
 “ proclaim throughout the World that WICKED DOCTRINE
 “ of

(r) *Wilson's Life and Reign of King James I.* inserted into
Bishop Kennet's Complete Hist. of Eng. Vol. II. p. 714, 715.

“ of the APOSTACY OF THE SAINTS (s).” Thus did *James* cover his own Bigotry and Haughtiness, with the plausible Mantle of Zeal for the Glory of God and the Good of *Holland*.

Mean while, his Majesty was not idle at Home. By his express Command, *Vorstius's* Writings were publicly burned at *St Paul's (t) Cross* in London, and in the two
Universitys

(s) Complete Hist. u. s. p. 715, 716.

(t) *Paul's Cross*, of which so frequent Mention is made in the Religious History of this Kingdom, was situate in the Church-yard belonging to the Cathedral of *St Paul*, on the North-side of that Church, towards the East End, where a Tree now stands. (See *Dugdale's* Hist. of *St Paul's*, p. 130. And the *Osborne* Edition of *Latimer's* Sermons, Vol. I. p. 39.)

It seems to have been standing, till the Great Fire in 1666; and was of very high, but unknown, Antiquity. *Stowe*, in his Survey of London, calls it, “ A Pulpit-Cross of Timber, mounted upon “ Steps of Stone, and covered with Lead : in which are Sermons “ preached by Learned Divines, every Sunday in the Fore-noon.” *Stowe* dyed in 1605. So that it appears by his Testimony that Preaching at this famous Cross, in the open Air, was continued after the Accession of *James I.*

It was usual to deliver Sermons, and other public Annunciations, at *Paul's Cross*, for some Ages before the Reformation. In 1259, King *Henry III.* ordered a general Muster of the *Londoners* to be made at the Cross: all of whom, from twelve Years of Age, inclusive, there took the Oaths of Fidelity to that Prince and his Successors, in Presence of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

At the same Cross, in 1262, was publicly read Pope *Urban* the Fourth's Bull, absolving *Henry* from the Oath he had taken, relative to the *Oxford* Barons.

In 1299, about the 27th of *Edward I.* the Dean of *London* solemnly Cursed, at *Paul's Cross*, some Persons who, in Expectation of finding a rich Booty, had searched the Church of *St. Martin in the Fields*. (See *Stowe*, u. s.)

Michael de Northburg, or *Northbrooke*, Bishop of *London*, who dyed in 1361, bequeathed a standing Fund of a Thousand Marks,

Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. One Reason, assigned by *James* himself for a Step so very humiliating to the new
Arminian

to his Church, for the Accommodation of such as might be in Want of small Sums ; payable again in one Year, and for which an æquivalent Pledge was to be deposited by the Borrower. It was an Article in this Bishop's last Will, that " If, at the Year's " End, Payment were not made of any Sum so borrowed; the " Preacher at *Paul's Cross* should, in his Sermon, declare, that " the Pledge would be sold within '14 Days, if not retrieved before."

In the Eleventh of *Richard II.* i. e. about the Year 1388, *Robert de Braybroke*, Bishop of *London*, issued Letters to the Clergy of his Diocese, desiring 'em to solicit the Contributions of the People for the Repair of *Paul's Cross*, which had been much shattered by Storms. He styled it, *Crux alta, in majori Cæmeterio Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis, ubi Verbum Dei consuevit Populo prædicari, tanquam Loco magis publico et insigni*: " The High Cross, standing in the larger Burying-Ground belonging to the Cathedral, " where the Word of God had been usually preached to the People, as a Place eminently public and renowned." (See *Dugdale*, u. f.)

In Process of Time, the old Cross being much dilapidated by Years and Weather, a new one was erected, on the same Spot, by *Thomas Kempe*, Bishop of *London*, who dyed in 1489. *Crucem Paulinam* (says Bishop Godwin), *quâ nunc Formâ cernitur, construxit*: " Kempe built up *Paul's Cross* in the same Manner as it still appears;" i. e. as it then appeared, in 1616. (*De Præs. Ang.* p. 189.)

I cannot find, that this Structure, while it remained, underwent any farther Alterations, from that Time. But, when God was pleased to visit this Land with the Beams of the Reformation, *Paul's Cross* was put to a nobler Use than ever. It might be called the City-Fountain, from which the Streams of purest Doctrine replenished the Metropolis, and the Kingdom. Here, our great Reformers Preached, in the Days of *Edward* the Good: and, Here, the great Restorers of the Reformed Doctrines continued to dispense the Waters of Life, through the long Reign of *Elizabeth*. —There are THREE distinguished (I had almost said, *sacred*) Spots of

Arminian Party, was, what his Majesty styles, the “*Impudence*” of *Bertius*; who was another Chip of the said *Arminian* Block, *Vorstius*’s intimate Friend, and who, together with *Vorstius*, had been *Arminius*’s Pupil.

Does the Reader ask, ‘Wherein the “*Impudence*” of *Bertius* consisted?’ King *James* shall answer the Question. *Bertius* had written against the *Final Perseverance* of the Elect; and, not content with barely That, was, says his Majesty, “*so IMPUDENT, and so SHAMELESS, as to maintain, that the Doctrine, contained in his Book, was agreeable with the Doctrine of the Church of England! Let the*

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Church

of Ground, which, I think, no genuine, considerate *Englishman* can survey, without some Emotion of awful Rapture. I mean, that Part of *St Paul’s* Church-yard, which was beautified by the Feet of the Reformers;—*Smithfield*, from whence so many of our Protestant *Elijahs* ascended, in Chariots of Flame, to Glory;—and *Runne-mead*, adjoining to *Egham*, where the signature of the Great Charter was extorted from King *John*.

The Area of *Paul’s* Cross was, formerly, more spacious, than That on which the *Tree* at present stands. It commanded an Extent of vacant Ground, large enough to admit, with Convenience, some Thousands of Auditors. For, *Bishop Jewel*, in a Letter to *Peter Martyr*, written about the Year 1560, informed his Learned Friend, That *Nothing* contributed more to the visible Increase of Protestantism, than the Inviting the People to SING PSALMS: That *This* was begun in one Church in London, and did quickly spread itself, not only through the City, but in the neighboring Places: And that, Sometimes, at *Paul’s* Cross, there would be SIX THOUSAND People singing together. *This* (added *Bishop Jewel*) was very grievous to the *Papists*. — It was said, *White* [the Popish Bishop of *Winchester*] died of Rage. (See *Burnet’s* Hist. of Ref. Vol. III. p. 290).

At this famous Cross it was, that the Books of *Vorstius*, the Disciple and Successor of *Arminius*, were publicly BURNED, in the Year 1611, by the express Order of King *James* I. And it was almost the only Act of his whole Reign, that reflects Honor on his Memory. For, could a juster Sacrifice, than *Vorstius*’s *Arminian* Writings, be consumed at the Protestant Shrine of *Paul’s* Cross?

“ Church of Christ then judge, whether it was not HIGH
“ TIME for us to BESTIR Ourselves.”

But it may be worth while, to hear the King's own Words at full Length, “ Some of VORSTIUS's Books were brought over into England; and, as it was reported, not without the Knowledge and Direction of the Author. And, about the same Time, one BERTIUS, a Scholar of the late ARMINIUS (who [viz. Arminius] was the FIRST in our Age that infected Leyden with HERESY) was so IMPUDENT as to send a Letter unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a Book, entitled, De Apostasiã Sanctorum. And, not thinking it sufficient to avow the sending of such a Book (the TITLE whereof ONLY, were enough to make it WORTHY THE FIRE), hee was moreover so SHAMELESS, as to maintaine, in his Letter to the Archbishop, that the Doctrine contained in his Booke was agreeable with the Doctrine of the Church of England. Let the Church of Christ then judge, whether it was not high Time for Us to bestir Ourselves, when as this GANGRENE had not only taken Hold amongst our neereſt Neighbourſ [viz. the Dutch], ſe as Non ſolum Paries proximus jam ardebat, not only the next Houſe was on Fire, but did alſo BEGIN to CREEP into the Bowells of OUR OWN KINGDOM. For which Cauſe, having firſt given Order that the ſaid Books of Vorſtius ſhould be PUBLICLY BURNT, as well in Paul's Church-Yard, as in bothe the Univerſitys of this Kingdome; We thought good to renew our former Requeſt unto the States [of Holland], for the BANISHMENT of VORSTIUS (u).”

This curious King-Text deſerves a Commentary. And let us Note, 1. What an horrible Opinion James entertained of Arminius himſelf: Whom his Maſteſty termed, an Infecter of Leyden with “ Heresy.” This was neither more nor leſs, than calling the ſaid Van Harmin an Heretic; yea, an Hereſtarch, or an Heretical Ringleader.—
2. Obſerve, how vigorously the King aſſerted the Doctrine
of

(u) Works of King James I. p. 354.—Lond. 1616.

of *Final Perseverance*. He denominates the contrary Tenet, of the *Defectibility* of the Saints, “*a Gangrene* :” and affirms, that the very “*Title-page alone*” of Bertius’s Treatise render’d both Title and Treatise “*worthy of the Flames*.” —3. His Majesty stared (and well he might), with Wonder and Amazement, at Bertius’s “*Impudence*,” in presuming to send “*such*” a Book (a Book which maintained that *Saints might CEASE to persevere*) to an Archbishop of the Church of *England*; who, as a Father in that Church (and she never had a worthier Father than Archbishop *Abbot*), could not but abhor the Pelagian Dream of *falling finally* from Grace. —But, 4. Behold the Royal Surprize wound up to the highest Astonishment, at the *accumulated Effrontery* of Bertius. It was “*impudent*” in the said Arminian to make a Present of his Book, against Perseverance, to the Archbishop of Canterbury: but for the Present-Maker to insinuate, that “*the Doctrine, contained in his* “*BOOKE, was agreeable with the Doctrine of the CHURCH* “*of ENGLAND;*” was indeed “*shameless*” beyond all Sufferance: seeing the Church Herself avers, in the 17th Article, that They, who are endued with the *excellent Benefit of Election, or Predestination unto Life*, do, at length, actually attain to *EVERLASTING Felicity*. —Observe, 5. The *Anxiety*, with which King James marked the Progress of *Arminianism* in *Holland*. He trembled, lest the “*Gangrene*” should extend to *England* also. He considered the Dutch Netherlands as his next-door Neighbors: and, *their House* being “*on Fire*” with the *Arminian Heresies*, he was apprehensive lest the Heretical Flames might, by Popish Winds, be blown over to *Britain*. —6. He expressed a Fear, that *Arminianism* had already “*began*” to “*creep*” into the Bowels of his Kingdom. His Fears, however, at THAT Time (x), seem to have been premature.

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7. But

(x) It was not 'till ten or eleven Years after this Period, that, as Fuller quaintly expresses it, “*many English Souls took a Cure*”

—7. But the King's Fears, Bertius's "*Impudence*," and Vorstius's Impiety, all conspired to produce one very good Effect: to-wit, the Burning of Vorstius's Books.—8. Let it be added, that *James* had been almost *Nine Years* on the Throne of England, when he burned the Books aforesaid. A Proof, that he did not *soon* discountenance the Doctrines of the Reformation. His Zeal for those Doctrines was red-hot, till he happened to find out, that his Orthodoxy and his Politics stood in each other's Way. Nor must I omit, that his own Writings, which have supply'd me with the Materials from whence the above Conclusions are drawn, furnish me likewise with another Proof, that his *Perseverance* in Defending the Faith was *long*, tho' not *final*. For, the Edition of his Works, which I am now making Use of, was printed in 1616: which will spin out his Calvinistic Majesty's Perseverance to, at least, *that Year*; and that Year was the *Fourteenth* of his Reign.

We have seen, that what King *James* entitles, his *Declaration against VORSTIUS*, is not only pregnant with Threatnings, and almost with Slaughters, against that Learned Arminian; but likewise breathes a very bitter Spirit of implacable Resentment against the Memory of *Arminius* himself, who had been then Dead about two Years. Not satisfy'd with terming *Vorstius* a "*wretched HERETIC*," "*or rather ATHEIST (y)*," a "*Monster*," an *Anti-St John*,"
and

"TOO MUCH of BELGIC WINE: whereby their Heads have not only grown dizzy, in Matters of less Moment; but their whole Bodys stagger in the Fundamentals of their Religion." Church-Hist. of Brit. Book X. p. 61.

By the Belgic, or Dutch Wine, Dr Fuller meant *Arminianism*. Which Wine, tho' made in *Holland*, was pressed from the *Italian Grape*. *Rome* and *Socinus* supply'd the Fruit, and *Arminius* squeezed out the Juice.

(y) It must be acknowledged, that *Vorstius* laid himself very open to this formidable Charge. Among the Tenets, for which he was stigmatized by the King of England, were the following:

God

and a "*Samofatenian* (z);" the King hardly gives better Quarter to *Arminius*, from whose Root *Vorstius* had sprung. His Majesty's Instructions to his Ambassador in *Holland*, have these remarkable Words: "*You shall repaire to the States General, with all possible Diligence, in Our Name: telling them, that Wee doubt not, but that their Ambassadors, which were with Us about 2 Years since, did inform them of a FORE-WARNING, that Wee wished the said Ambassadors to make unto them IN OUR NAME, to beware, in Time, of SEDITIOUS and HERETICAL Preachers; and*"
 " no^t

God is NOT UNCHANGEABLE in His WILL.

God's FOREKNOWLEDGE is, in some Sort, CONJECTURAL; as having to do with Things of uncertain Event.

Future Contingencies may, comparatively speaking, be said to be less certain, even to God himself, than Things Past or Present.

If all Things whatever, and every Event whatever, were precisely determined from Eternity; God's Providence would cease to be needfull.

Doctor *Fulier*, the Historian, was not mistaken in giving the following Character of *Vorstius* and his System. "This *Vorstius* had both written and received several Letters from certain *Samofatenian* Heretics in *Poland*, and thereabouts: and it happened, that he had handled Pitch so long, that at last it stuck to his Fingers, and [he] became infected therewith. Whereas it hath been the Labor of the Pious and Learned, in all Ages, to mount Man to GOD, as much as might be, by a sacred Adoration (which, the more humble, the more high) of the Divine Incomprehensibleness; this Wretch did seek to stoop GOD to Man, by debasing his Purity; assigning Him a material Body; confining His Immensity, as not being every where; shaking His Immutability, as if His Will were subject to change; darkening His Omniscience, as uncertain in future Contingents; with many more monstrous Opinions, fitter to be remanded to Hell, than committed to Writing." *Church Hist.* X. 60.

In short, if *Vorstius* was (as he strongly appears to have been) a *Materialist*; the King did him no Injury in calling him an *Atheist*.

(z) *James's Works*, p. 349, 350, 365, 377.

“ not to suffer *Any such to creepe into their State.* OUR PRINCIPAL MEANING was of ARMINIUS: *who though himself was lately Dead, yet had hee left too many of his DISCIPLES behind him (a).*” The King added, that “ *the above-named ARMINIUS*” was “ *of little better Stuff (b),*” than his Disciple *Vorslius.* Arminius’s own Writings bear full Witness to the Justness of James’s Remark. And, continued his Majesty, “ *Though [Arminius] himselfe be dead, he hath left his STING yet living among them (c).*”

In a Letter to the States themselves, his Majesty informs them, “ *It was Our [i. e. King James’s own] hard Hap, not to Heare of this ARMINIUS, before he was Dead, and that All the Reformed Churches of Germany had with open Mouth complained of him. But as soon as Wee understood of that Distraction in your State, which after his Death he left behind him, We did not faile, taking the Opportunitie when your last Extraordinary Ambassadors were here with Us, to use some such Speeches unto them, concerning this Matter, as Wee thought fittest for the Good of your State, and which Wee doubt not but they have faithfully reported unto you. For, what need we make any Question of the ARROGANCIE of these HERETIQUES, or rather ATHEISTICAL SECTARIES, among you; when One of them [viz. Bertius, already noted], at this present remaining in your Town of Leyden, hath not only PRESUMED to publish, of late, a BLASPHEMOUS Booke Of the Apostacie of the Saints, but hath, besides, beene so IMPUDENT as to send, the other Day, a Copie thereof, as a goodly Present, to Our Archbishop of Canterbury? together with a Letter, wherein he [Bertius] is not ashamed (as also in his Booke) to LIE so GROSSLY, as to avow, that his HERESIES, contained in his said Booke, are agreeable with the Religion and Profession of Our Reformed Church of England. For these Respects, therefore, have We Cause enough, very heartily to request you to ROOTE OUT, with speed those HERESIES and*

“ SCHISMES,

(a) King James’s Works, p. 350. (b) *Ibid.* (c) *Ibid.*

“SCHISMES, which are beginning to bud forth among you :
 “which if you suffer to have the Reines any longer, you cannot
 “expect any other Issue thereof, than the CURSE of God,
 “INFAMY throughout all the Reformed Churches, and a per-
 “petual RENT and DISTRACTION in the whole Body of
 “your State. But if, perchance, this wretched VORSTIUS
 “should denie or equivocate upon those BLASPHEMOUS Poynts
 “of HERESIE and ATHEISM, which already he hath
 “broached; that, perhaps, may moove you to spare his Per-
 “son and not cause HIM to be BURNED (which NEVER ANY
 “HERETIQUE BETTER DESERVED, and wherein We
 “will leave him to your owne Christian Wisdoms) : but to
 “suffer him, upon any Defence, or Abnegation, which hee
 “shall offer to make, still to continue and to teach amongst you,
 “is a Thing so ABOMINABLE, as We assure Ourselfes,
 “it will not once enter into any of your Thoughts (d).”

More Matter for Disquisition! But my Remarks shall
 not be exuberant. Observe, then, 1. That *Bertius's* Book
 against *Final Perseverance*, and his Presenting a Copy of it
 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, but chiefly his having
 affirmed that he [*Bertius*] and the Church of England
 were of one Mind in that Point; were Insults, which
James's Orthodoxy could neither forget nor digest.—
 2. In his Majesty's Opinion, VORSTIUS was an “*Heretic,*”
 a “*Monster,*” and an “*Atheist,*” and ARMINIUS was
 “of little better Stuff.”—3. So obscure was *Arminius*,
 during his Life-time, and so little Progress had Arminia-
 nism then made; that the King had never so much as
 heard of *Arminius* till after the said *Arminius* “was dead.”
 A Circumstance, which *James* lamented, and called by
 the Name of “*hard Happ;*” intimating, that had he known
 of *Arminius's* Schism, while the Schismatic himself was
 in the Land of the Living, the Royal Pen would have been
 drawn no less against *Van Harmis* himself, than it was,
 afterwards, against *Vorstius*.—4. As soon as *Arminius's*
 Pelagian

Pelagian Innovations became known, the Protestants were struck with Alarm: "All the Reformed Churches in Germany," and elsewhere, "complained of him," i. e. complained of *Arminius*, "WITH OPEN MOUTH."—5. When King *James* became acquainted with *Arminius's* Tenets, Conduct, and Character; his Majesty pronounced him to have been, "a SEDITIOUS and HERETICAL Preacher:" Yea, a Monster with a "Sting," and an "Enemy of God."—6. *James* also declared the new Arminians, or (as himself expressed it), the "too many Disciples" whom *Arminius* "left behinde him," to be "arrogant Heretics," and "Atheistical Sectaries."—7. In the Judgement of the said King, *Bertius's* Treatise against PERSEVERANCE, was a "sumptuous" and a "blasphemous" Book: and the Author himself an "impudent Heretic," and a "gross Liar." Terms, these, I acknowledge, utterly unfit for a King to make use of: but *James* had no more of *Politeness* in his Composition, than he supposed the *Arminians* to have of *Christianity* in their System.—8. He "very heartily" requested the States General to "root out" the Arminians, as "Heretics" and "Schismatics:" and enforces his Exhortation, under the Penalty of God's "Curse," of "Infamy" among Men, and of perpetual "Rent" and "Distraction" throughout the whole Body of the Dutch Provinces.—9. He desires them to *divest* *Vorstius* of his Promotion:—10. To *banish* him from their Dominions:—and, 11. In his Plenitude of outrageous Zeal, he drops a pretty broad Hint, that the Magistrates of Holland would greatly *oblige* the King of England, were they to "*cause*" *Vorstius* "to be BURNED:" a Death, says his Majesty, "*which never any Heretic better deserved.*" An horrid Intimation! but worthy of the Sanguinary Tyrant that gave it! The Calvinistic Doctrines, retained by such an ungracious Bigot, resembled (what some Naturalists have feigned) a Pearl in the Head of a Toad.—12. Let it not be overlooked, that *James's Declaration against Vorstius*, in which
the

the above cited Particulars occur, is solemnly *dedicated* and *inscribed*, by the King himself, to JESUS CHRIST (e). I see, therefore, no Reason to doubt of the *Sincerity* with which he opposed *Arminianism*. Bad as he was, he was certainly *in earnest*. Tho' some *other* Ingredients, besides that of mere Zeal for the Protestant Doctrines, had, 'tis probable, a *Share* in the violent Counsels with which his Britannic Majesty so officiously pester'd the States of Holland.

It was, however, no new Thing with *James*, to hate and oppose Arminianism. Of This, he had before given sufficient proof, during the *Conference* held at *Hampton-Court*, in the very Infancy of his English Reign.

The Severity of *Elizabeth's* Laws, against the Puritans, had retained a great Number of that Body within the visible Pale of the Church Established, and forced them into a sort of outward Conformity to Institutions which they were extremely remote from cordially approving. These, and a very few Others, whom no coercive Penalties had induced to temporize, flatter'd themselves, that *James*,
who

(e) That frivolous Pride, which displays it's Plumes, in order to attract the Admiration of our fellow Mortals, froths and evaporates into *Vanity*. But the solemn Pride, which dares unfurl itself to the Eye of Heaven, blackens and condenses into *Impiety*. 'Tis hard to say, whether *James* discovered more Weakness, or Profaneness, in this extraordinary Dedication; wherein he presumed to address the SAVIOR of Sinners, in a Style, which breathed more of Equality, than of Adoration: subscribing himself, our Lord's

“ Most Humble, and

“ Most OBLIGED Servant,

“ J A M E S,

“ By the Grace of God,

“ KING of GREAT BRITAIN,

“ FRANCE, and IRELAND;

“ Defender of the Faith.”

Works, p. 348.

who was by Profession a Presbyterian, would, on succeeding to Elizabeth's Throne, relax and widen the Terms of Communion.

It is extremely problematical, whether James, even when King of Scotland only, entertained any serious Intention to favor those People, should he ever have it in his Power. He seems, from the first, to have drank very deeply into the low Arts of a narrow Subtilty, which disfigured and discolored all the leading Actions of his Life. Twelve or thirteen Years before he ascended the Throne of England, he labor'd to ingratiate himself with the Scotch Kirk, by an indecent (and, as Heir presumptive to Elizabeth, by a very impolitic) Censure of the English Ritual. "As for our neighbor Kirk of England," said he, standing in an Assembly of his Clergy, with his Head uncover'd, and his Hands (in one of which, he held his Bonnet) raised toward Heav'n; "As for our neighbor Kirk of England, their Service is an evil Mass said in English. They want nothing of the Mass, but the Listings. I charge you, my good Ministers, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, Gentlemen, and Barons, to stand to your Purity, and to exhort the People to do the same. And I, forsooth, as long as I brook my Life, shall maintain the same." This was in 1590. Eight Years after, he told his Parliament, that he had no Intention "To bring in papistical or Anglican BISHOPS (f)." Such were his Compliments on the Church of England. But

(f) See Harris's Life of James I. p. 25, 26.

(g) A Masque indeed it seems to have always been: but, if James's own Attestation be admitted as valid, his Hypocrisy is certain, and placed beyond Dispute. For, says Barlow, his Majesty professed, at the Hampton Conference, that tho', in the foregoing Part of his Life, he had "lived among Puritans, and was kept, for the most Part, as a Ward under them; yet, since he was of the Age of his Sonne, ten Years old, he EVER DISLIKED their Opinions: as the Savior of the World said, Tho' he lived AMONG them, he was not OF them." (Summe and Subst. of the

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But he was no sooner at the Head of that Church, than he either dropped the (*g*) Masque, or was proselyted by the English Prelates, who had seasonably and discretely gained his Ear. The Puritans in this Kingdom quickly found, that they had mistaken their Man: for *James* was shot up, all at once, into a very High Church-man.

Under Pretence of trying to bring Matters to an amicable Compromise between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, a Conference was opened, at *Hampton Court*, between the two Partys, on Saturday, the 14th of January, 1604. But, on the King's Side, the whole interview was only a mere State Manœuvre, and no otherwise designed from the first. Every Circumstance demonstrated, that it had been resolved, beforehand, to let all Things continue as they were. Dr *Welwood* is undoubtedly right, in affirming, that the Conference at Hampton Court "was but a BLIND to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland: all the Scotch Noblemen, then at Court, being designed to be present; and Others, both Noblemen and Ministers, being called up, from Scotland, to assist at it, by the King's Letter (*b*)."

How contemptible *James* render'd himself, in the Course of the three Days Debate, abundantly appears, even from the well-glossed Narrative of *Barlow*. So far from preserving the Dignity of a King, or the Candor of a public Father, or even the decent Coolness of a Moderator; he behaved, on one Hand, with all the Weakness of a Dupe: and, on the other, with all the Insolence of a Bully.

His

the Conference, &c. p. 20 Edit. 1625.}—Thus was *James* not ashamed, to confess himself an Hypocrite from the *Tenth* to the *Thirty Seventh* Year of his Age: i. e. an Hypocrite of seven and twenty Years standing! And (which crowned this unblushing Declaration with the most shocking Impiety) the Adorable Redeemer of Men, in whose Mouth was no Guile, is profanely lugged in, as a Pander to the Duplicity of the most contemptible Dissembler that ever entangled the Reins of Government.

(*b*) *Compl. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 665.

His Majesty, and *Bancroft* Bishop of London, monopolized much of the Conference to themselves. That Pre-late has been represented, as having leaned to Arminianism: but, for my Life, I could never find any Proof of it. Sure I am, that, during the said *Hampton* Conference, his Lordship acquitted himself, in all theological Respects, like a sober, judicious, well-principled Calvinist.

Dr Reynolds, One of the Four who appeared for the Puritans, moved, that Part of the 16th *Article* might be explained; and that the famous *Lambeth* Articles might be incorporated with the XXXIX (*i*).

James, it seems, had never heard of those *Lambeth* Articles before: and therefore, says *Barlow*, “ His Majesty could not suddenly answer; because he understood not what the Doctor meant by those Assertions, or Propositions at *Lambeth*. But, when it was informed his Majesty, that, by Reason of some Controversies, arising in *Cambridge*, about certaine Points of Divinity, my Lord’s Grace” [*viz. Whitgift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*] “ assembled some Divines of especial Note, to set downe their Opinions, which they drew into Nine Assertions; and so sent them to the University, for the appeasing of those Quarrels: Then his Majesty answered, 1. That, when such Questions arise among Schollers, the quietest Proceeding were, to determine them in the Universities, and not to stuffe the Booke [*viz. the 39 Articles*] with Conclusions Theological. 2. The better Course would be, to punish the Broachers of false Doctrine, as Occasion should be offered: for, were the Articles never so many and sound, who can prevent the contrary Opinions of Men ’till they be heard?”

Hence it appears, 1. That one Reason of *James*’s declining to super-add, by express Authority, the Articles of *Lambeth* to the Nine and Thirty established Articles of the Church,

(i) *Summe of the Conf.* p. 24, & 39.

Church; was; not any Dis-approbation of the Lambeth Articles themselves; but because he was unwilling to “*suffe*,” i. e. to enlarge, the 39 Articles with more “*Con- clusions theologicall*,” than were needfull. And, herein, the King judged wisely enough. There was no Sort of Necessity for inserting the *Lambeth* Propositions: since they do not affirm any single Doctrine, which is not, either expressly, or virtually, contained, in the 39 Articles already established. ——— I observe, 2. That the King, on being informed what the *Lambeth* Articles were, and on what Occasion they had been framed; did tacitly allow the *Orthodoxy* of the said Articles: for he gave the Company to understand, that there was the less Need of embodying those Articles with the *Thirty-nine*, as himself stood in constant readiness to “*punish*” the “*Broachers of FALSE Doctrine*.” i. e. to punish those who might broach any Doctrine contrary to That of the *Lambeth* Articles, and of the 39 Articles of the Church of *England*.

No sooner did *James* intimate this his Design of *punishing* the “*Broachers of false Doctrine* ;” than a certain Person, then present, took the Alarm, and began to enter a Caveat in his own Behalf. This was Dr *John Overall*, at that Time Dean of St Paul’s, and who dyed Bishop of *Norwich*. He was supposed, by some, to have been a sort of Mongrel Divine; half-Calvinist, and half-Arminian. But I am not disposed to judge so harshly of that Learned Man. The only Article, in which (so far as I can hitherto re-collect) he appears to have deviated from the Protestant System, was, respecting the Possibility of a *total* (though he deny’d the Possibility of a *final*) Fall from Justification,

“ Upon this,” i. e. instantaneously on *James*’s professing his Intention to *punish the Broachers of false Doctrine as Occasion should be offered*, “ the Deane of *Paules*, KNEEL- ING DOWNE, humbly desired LEAVE TO SPEAK: signifying unto his Majesty, that *this Matter somewhat more* “ *nearely concerned HIM* [*viz.* the speaking Dean], by *Rea-*

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“ *son*

“son of Controversie betweene him and some other in Cambridge, upon a Proposition which he had delivered there: namely, That Whosoever, although before Justified, did commit any grievous Sin, as Adultery, Murder, Treason, or the like, did become, ipso Facto, subject to God's Wrath, and guilty of Damnation; or were in State of Damnation, quoad præsentem Statum, untill they repented (k).”

Thus spake the kneeling Dean: and the Sum of his Opinion certainly amounted to This, that a *Justified Man* might TOTALLY lose his *Justification*. But whether the said Dean (who, doubtless, kept his Eyes steadily fixed on the King, and acutely watched every Motion of the Royal Face) actually discerned any Symptoms of incipient Displeasure lurking on his Majesty's Brow; or whether the prudent Ecclesiastic only intended to guard himself, in general, against all possible “Punishment” as a “Broacher of false Doctrine;” cannot, at this distance of Time, be infallibly determined. Thus much, however, is certain: that, for some present Reason or other, the Dean, in the very midst of his Oration, suddenly wheeled about, and positively DENYED that *Justification* could be even TOTALLY, much less finally, lost. For thus the Narrative proceeds: “Adding hereunto,” i. e. Dean Overall, immediately after declaring that justify'd Persons, who fall into atrocious Sins, are in a *State of Damnation*, quoad præsentem Statum, untill they repent; subjoined, in the same Breath, “That Those which were Called and Justified according to the Purpose of God's ELECTION, howsoever they might, and did, sometime fall into grievous Sins, and thereby into the present State of Wrath and Damnation; yet did never fall, either totally, from all the Graces of God, [so as] to bee utterly destitute of all the Parts and seed thereof, nor finally from Justification: but were in Time renewed by God's Spirit, unto a lively Faith and Repentance, &c. (l).”

This.

(k) Summe of the Conf. p. 41, 42.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 42.

This reasonable Salvo saved *Overall's* Credit with his Majesty. *James*, whose Science lay more in Terms, than in Things, was extremely well satisfied with his Dean's Orthodoxy. As long as some ostensible Respect was paid to the two Words, *total* and *final*; the Royal Disputant looked no farther.

The King, however, embraced this Opportunity of entering "into a longer Speech of Predestination and Reprobation, than before; and of the necessary conjoyning Repentance and Holiness of Life with true Faith: concluding, that *it was Hypocrisie, and not true Justifying Faith, which was severed from them. For although,*" added his Majesty, "PREDESTINATION and ELECTION depend not on ANY QUALITYS, ACTIONS, or WORKS of MAN, which be mutable; but upon God's ETERNAL and IMMUTABLE DECREE and PURPOSE: yet, such is the Necessity of Repentance, after knowne Sinnes committed, as that, without it, there could not be, either Reconciliation with God, or Remission of those Sins (m)."

Should the Reader ask, 'Why I so carefully recite what passed, in the Hampton-Court Conference, respecting Predestination?' I answer: To shew the total Want of Truth; with which some late Arminian Writers insinuate, that Predestination was not, at that Time, a sacred Article of Faith with *James* and the ruling Clergy.

In this same Conference it was, that *Bancroft* (then Bishop of *London*, and, shortly afterwards, Archbishop of *Canterbury*) suggested that scriptural and judicious Caution, concerning Predestination, which has been already referred to in a (n) preceding Part of this Work. That great and able Prelate's own Words shall close our present Sketch of the *Hampton* Interview.—"The Bishop of *London* took Occasion to signify to his Majesty, how very many, in these Daies, neglecting Holiness of Life, presumed too much of persisting of Grace, laying all their Religion upon

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"Pre-

(m) *Ibid.* p. 43, 44.

(n) See p. 290.

“ Predestination; [arguing thus with themselves], *If I shall be saved, I shall be saved*: which he [the Bishop] termed [and with great Reason] a desperate Doctrine, contrary to good Divinity, and the TRUE Doctrine of PREDESTINATION; wherein we should reason, rather ASCENDENDO, than DESCENDENDO, thus: I live in Obedience to God, in Love with my Neighbour; I follow my Vocation, &c. therefore I trust, that God hath elected me, and predestinated me to Salvation. *Not thus, which is the usual Course of Arguments*, God hath predestinated and chosen me to Life, therefore, tho’ I sin never so grievously, yet I shall not be damned (o).”

In this excellent Caveat against the Abuse of Predestination, Bancroft goes no farther than Calvin himself had gone before him. *Sit igitur hæc nobis inquirendi Via, ut Exordium sumamus a Dei Vocatione*; says that illustrious Reformer: *i. e. In all our Enquiries into Predestination, let us never fail to begin with Effectual Calling (p).*—Again: *There are some who go on securely, in Sin; alledging, That, if they are in the Number of the Elect, their Vices will not hinder ’em from going to Heaven.* Such execrable Language, as this, is not the Holy Bleating of Christ’s Sheep; but, as Calvin very justly styles it, *scædus porcorum grunnitus*, the impure grunting of Swine. For, adds that incomparable Man, *We learn from St Paul, that we are elected to this very End, even to Holiness and Blamelessness of Living.* Now, if Sanctity of Life is the very End, Scope, and Drift of Election itself; ’twill follow, that the Doctrine of Election should awaken and spur us on to Sanctification, instead of furnishing us with a false Plea for Indulgence (q). Thus perfectly were Calvin and Bancroft agreed.

Almost

(o) Summe of the Conf p. 29. (p) Calvini Instit. L. 3. C. 24. S. 4.

(q) Ille autem scædus Porcorum Grunnitus à Paulo ritè compescitur. *Securos se in Vitiis pergere, dicunt; quia, si sint è Numero Electorum, nihil obfutura sint V. tia, quæminus tandem ad Vitam perducantur*

Almost fifteen Years after the *Hampton-Court* Conference, King *James* and the Church of *England* gave the most public Proof of their continued Calvinism, by the distinguished Part they bore in the Transactions of the *Synod of DORT*.

The Disturbances, raised and fomented by the *Arminian* Faction, in *Holland*; were, in the Year 1618 (i. e. about nine Years after *Arminius's* Decease), risen to such a Height, as threatened to involve both the Church and State of the United Provinces in one common Mass of total Ruin. What emboldened the *Arminians*, was, the secret Encouragement they received from foreign and domestic *Papists*. We have already heard, from *Wilson*, that the Kings of *France* and *Spain* clandestinely blowed the *Arminian* Flame in *Holland*, "as the IMMEDIATE Way to introduce *POPE RY*:" And *Mr Camden* has preserved the Name of one of the *French* Agents, who were privately dispatched to *Holland* on that laudable Errand. "July 27, News was brought [wit. " to the English Court], of *Baiffes*, a *Frenchman*, being " sent into the Low Countries, to STRENGTHEN the CA- " THOLIC and ARMINIAN Parties (r)." *Sir Dudley Carlton*, also, who was *Embassador* from the English Court to the *States General*, makes express Mention, in a Letter to *Archbishop Abbot*, of "The *French* *Embassador's* private " Practises in Favor of the *Arminian* Party (s)." Could the Dutch *Arminians* justly complain, if they were treated as *Enemies* to their Country?

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Treated

Estantur. Atqui in hunc Finem electos esse nos *Paulus* admonet, ut Sanctam ac inculpata[m] Vitam traducamus. Si Electionis scopus est Vitæ Sanctimoniam, magis ad eam alacriter meditandam expurgare et stimulare nos debet, quam ad Desidiæ Prætextum valere.

Calvinus, *Ibid.* Cap. 23. S. 12.

(r) *Camden's Annals* of King *James I.* sub An. 1618.

(s) See the Letters annexed to *Mr HALPS's Remains*; p. 176. —Edit. 1673.

Treated so they undoubtedly were, for a Time; and no Faction upon Earth ever deserved it more. They artfully attempted to make *Europe* believe, that they were *persecuted*, entirely, on account of their *Religious Tenets*. But it was no such Thing. They were *repressed* as public Enemies to the *State*. The Danger, indeed, and the Venom of their *political* Views conduced, very naturally, to bring their *theological* Principles into additional Discredit. Yet were they *persecuted* (as they called it); not merely as *Aminians*, but as *Traytors*.

“ On the 19th of August [1618], the prime Ring-leaders of the SEDITION, *Barnevelt*, *Hoogenberchts*, and *Grotius*, were seized on at the *Hague*, as they were entering the Senate, and committed to several Prisons.”
 “ This cast a general Damp on the Spirits of the *Remonstrants* [for so the *Arminians* called themselves], as if they had been crushed in the Head (t).”

Of the three Delinquents, only *Barnevelt* was sacrificed to the Justice of his injured Country. He suffered Decapitation, at the *Hague*, May 14, 1619. The Sentence, by which he was condemned, enumerated, without any Exaggeration, the principal Crimes, whereby he had violated the Dutys of a good Citizen. Among others, he was justly charged with having *endeavored to disturb the Peace of the Land*; with *kindling the Fire of Dissention in the Provinces*; *raising Soldiers in the Diocese of Utrecht*; *revealing the Secrets of the State*; and *receiving Presents and Gifts from foreign Princes*. Even *Peter Heylyn* confesses to have heard, that the *Spanish Court* “secretly fomented the Designs of *Barnevelt* (u).”

Nor could any Thing be more natural. *Philip III.* still considered the United Provinces as a Parcel of his own Dominions: and, indeed, they had shaken off his Yoke but a very few Years before, and were not acknowledged, by *Spain*, as a free State, till Thirty Years after, viz. the
 Year

(t) *Wilson*, u. s. p. 718. (u) *Hist. of the Presbyterians*, p. 396.

Year 1648. No Wonder, therefore, that King *Philip* sought, with Eagerness, to avail himself of the *Arminian* Schism: a Schism, which, at once, bade fair to exterminate the Protestant Religion from the Dutch Netherlands, and to reduce them afresh to the Obedience of Spain. Hence arose *Philip's* secret Tamperings with *Barneveldt*, the secular Head and Protector of that Arminian Sect, from whose Doctrinal Innovations and political Intrigues the Spanish Monarch had so many Advantages to expect. But the Wisdom, Courage, and Activity of *Maurice*, Prince of Orange, were the Means, which Providence used, to defeat the iniquitous Schemes of the *Arminian* and *Spanish* Faction. The seizure of the principal Rebels and Incendiarys, together with the Execution of *Barneveldt*, in whom both those Characters were united; laid, once more, that Foundation of national Liberty and Safety, which the Dutch to this Day enjoy, and which have since conduced to render that illustrious Republic of such Weight and Importance in the European Scale.

What Prince *Maurice* did for the State, the Council of *Dort* did for the Church, of Holland: as if Pure Religion and Civil Liberty were irreversibly fated to fall and rise together.

The REFORMATION appears to have been first introduced into the *Dutch* Provinces, by the numerous *French* Refugees, who fled thither, about the Middle of the Sixteenth Century. For some Time, Protestantism diffused itself insensibly among the Natives, who were then subject to the Crown of Spain. By Degrees, the Progress of Evangelical Truth became so extensive, and the Number of its Partizans grew so considerable, that, about the Year 1567, they ventured to draw up a *Confession of Faith*, formed entirely on the System of *Calvin*. Their Spanish Governors soon took the Alarm. To check the spreading Heresy, and to restrain the Dutch within the Bonds both of Popish and of Spanish Obedience, the Inquisition was est-

established by Force; and that bloody Tribunal dispatched Multitudes of Souls, by a short Way, to Heaven. Civil and Ecclesiastical Grievances were, at length, so multiplied and aggravated, that the People, harrassed by a never-ending Train of intolerable Oppressions, were compelled to seek Relief in themselves. Every Tyranny has its Crisis; which having attained, the mock-Sun declines, more rapidly than it rose. Providence succeeded the pious and patriotic Efforts of the Dutch. After some Years noble and obstinate Struggle, those Provinces threw off Popery and Slavery together. The pure Religion of the Gospel continued to shine, with uninterrupted Beams, for the most Part, on that free and happy People; 'till *Arminius* darkened and disturbed their Hemisphere. The Commotions, began by that pestilent Schismatic, and raised to almost a ruinous Height, by his immediate Followers; were, as has been already intimated, suppressed by Prince *Maurice* and his Patriots, so far as concerned the State. To extinguish the Fire which had half consumed the Church, and to re-settle its Faith on its Original Calvinistic Basis, was the Task assigned to the Synod at *Dort*.

That famous Assembly began to sit, on *Tuesday* Morning, *November* the Thirteenth, 1618. The States of *Holland* intended, at first, that the Synod should consist of no more than their own Provincial Divines. It was at the Persuasion of (*) King *James* I. (whose Request was signify'd and seconded by *Maurice* Prince of Orange), that select Ministers, deputed from *England* and from other Reformed Country's, were admitted to assist in the Deliberations

(*) "Ad eandem [viz. Synodum], præter Professores nostros, ac Ministros, Senioresque, exquisitæ Eruditionis Viros; ex vicinis Regnis, Ditionibus, ac Rebuspublicis, quæ Religionem præstantur Reformatam, suâsu imprimis Maximi ac Serenissimi *Jacobi* I. Dei Gratiâ, *Magnæ Britanniæ* Regiâ, & *Aurificano* Principe in Consilium adhibito, celeberrimos Theologos vocavimus."

Acta Synodi Dordrecht. In Dedic.—Edit. Dord. 1620.

tions at *Dort*. His Majesty, doubtless, wished to seize so fair an Occasion of avowing, to all *Europe*, both his own Doctrinal Calvinism, and That of the Church of *England*,

Heylyn himself gives us to understand, that *James's* immediate view was, to condemn the Arminian Tenets with the greater Formality: "Those Opinions," says *Heylyn*, "which he [the King] had LABORED TO CONDEMN at the Synod at *Dort* (y)." The same Writer informs us, that the Dutch, antecedently to the actual Calling together of that Synod, took Care "to invite to their Assistance, some Divines, out of ALL the Churches of CALVIN'S Platform: and NONE ELSE (z)." In saying whereof, the Arminian unwarily concedes the Church of ENGLAND, among the rest, to be a Church of CALVIN'S Platform: as, its Point of Doctrine, she certainly is, and has been from her very first Reformation.

James's Request being granted, and what Divines, he might please to send, being invited; his Majesty nominated four very eminent Dignitaries, to represent the Church of *England*, in the Synod; and One Divine, to represent the Church of *Scotland*. The English Representatives were, Dr GEORGE CARLETON, then Bishop of *Landaff*, and afterwards of *Ghisbester*: Dr JOSEPH HALL, then Dean of *Worcester*, afterwards Bishop of *Exeter*, and, lastly, of *Norwich*: Dr JOHN DAVENANT, then Master of *Queen's* College, Cambridge, and Margaret Professor; afterwards, Bishop of *Salisbury*: and Dr SAMUEL WARD, Master of *Sydney* College, and Arch-deacon of *Taunton*.

The Four English Divines waited on the King, at *Newmarket*, to receive his Instructions. What those Instructions were, may be seen in *Fuller* (a). On the 8th of October, 1618, Dr *Davenport* and Dr *Ward* attended his Majesty, once more, at *Roxton*: who, commanding them to sit down, conversed very familiarly with them for two Hours;

(y) *Life of Laud*, p. 120.
Hilt, Book X. p. 77, 78.

(z) *Ibid.* p. 75.

(a) *Church*

Hours ; and, on Parting, solemnly besought God to bless their Endeavors at the ensuing Synod (b).”

Sailing from the English Coast, our four Delegates landed at *Middleburgh*, in *Zealand*, October 20 ; arrived at the *Hague*, on the 27th, where they had the Honor to kiss the Hand of the Laurel'd Patriot, Prince *Maurice* ; and, from thence, repaired to *Dort*, the main Scene of Action. Dr *Balcanqual*, who appears to have sat out later, did not take his Place in the Synod, 'till December 10.

The Members of this Synod formed a Constellation of the Best and most Learned Theologians that had ever met in Council, since the Dispersion of the Apostles ; unless we except the Imperial Convocation at *Nice*, in the fourth Century. Read but the Names of *Heinsius*, *Lydius*, *Hommius*, *Voetius*, *Bislerfeld*, *Triglandius*, *Bojermannus*, *Sibelius*, *Gomarus*, *Polyander*, *Thysius*, *Waleus*, *Scultetus*, *Altingius*, *Deodatus*, *Carlston*, *Davenant*, *Hall* ; exclusively of the many other first-rate Worthys, who constituted and adorned this ever memorable Assembly ; and doubt, if you can, whether the Sun could shine on a living Collection of more exalted Piety and stupendous Erudition.

That low and virulent Arminian, *John Goodwin* the Fifth-Monarchy Man, compares the Synod with *HEROD*, who, “ *for his Oath's sake, contrary to his Minde, caused John the Baptist's Head to be given to Herodias in a Platter (c).*” Intimating, that the *Dordrechtan* Fathers had, before the Commencement of their Synodical Business, taken an Oath to condemn the *Arminians* at all Events.—Dr *Fuller* is even with *Goodwin*, and repays that Libeller in his own Coin, by comparing him to *Pilate*. “ See here,” says the Historian, “ how this *suggester*, tho' at first he takes Water, and washes his Hands, with a ‘ *Farre be it from me to subscribe the Report* :’ yet, afterwards, he crucifies the Credit of an whole Synod, and makes them all guilty of no less than damnable Perjury.

“ I

(b) *Fuller*, *Ibid.* p. 78.

(c) See *Fuller*, u. s. p. 84.

" I could have wished, that he had mentioned, in the
 " Margin, the *Authors* of this Suggestion. Whereas, now,
 " the Omission thereof will give Occasion to some, to sus-
 " pect *him* for the first Raiser of the Report. — — —
 " Musing with myself on this Matter, and occasionally
 " exchanging Letters with the Sons of Bishop *Hall*; it
 " came into my Mind, to ask them *Joseph's* Question to his
 " Brethren, *Is your Father well? the old Man, of whom ye*
 " *spake, is he yet alive?* And, being informed of his Life
 " and Health, I addressed myself, in a Letter, to Him, for
 " Satisfaction in this Particular: who was pleased to honor
 " me with this Return, herein inserted.

" Whereas you desire from me a just Relation of the Car-
 " riage of the *Business* at the Synod at *Dort*; and the Con-
 " ditions required of our *Divines* there, at or before their Ad-
 " mission to that grave and learned *Assembly*; I, whom God
 " was pleased to imploy as an unworthy Agent in that Great
 " Work, and to reserve still upon Earth, after all my Reverend
 " and Worthy Associates; doe, as in the Presence of that God
 " to Whom I am now daily expecting to yield up my Account,
 " testify to you, and (if you will) to the World, that I cannot,
 " without just Indignation, read that slanderous Imputation,
 " which *Mr Goodwin*, in his Redemption Redeemed, re-
 " ports to have been raised and cast upon those *Divines*, eminent
 " both for Learning and Piety, that they suffered themselves
 " to be bound with an Oath, at, or before their Admis-
 " sion into that Synod, to vote down the Remonstrants
 " [i. e. the *Arminians*] howsoever: so as they came deeply
 " præ-engaged to the Decision of those unhappy Differences.
 " — Truly Sir, AS I HOPE TO BE SAVED, all the Oath
 " that was required of us, was this: After that the Moderator,
 " Assistants, and Scribes were chosen, and the Synod formed,
 " and the severall Members allowed, there was a solemn Oath
 " required to be taken by every One of that Assembly; which
 " was publicly done, in a grave Manner, by every Person, in
 " their Order, standing up, and laying his Hand upon his
 " Heart, calling the great God of Heaven to Witnesse, that
 " he

“ he would unpartially proceed in the Judgement of these
 “ Controversies, and no otherwise: so determining of
 “ them, as he should find in his Conscience most agree-
 “ able to the Holy Scriptures. *And this was all the Oath,*
 “ *that was either taken, or required. And farre was it from*
 “ *those holy Souls, which are now glorious in Heaven, or mine*
 “ *(who still, for some short Time, survive, to give this just*
 “ *Witnesse of our sincere Integrity), to entertain the least*
 “ *Thought of any so foul Corruption, as, by any over-tuling*
 “ *Power, to be swayed to a Pre-judgement in the Points con-*
 “ *troversied. — — — Sir, since, I have lived to see so*
 “ *foul an Aspersion cast upon the Memory of those worthy and*
 “ *eminent Divines, I blesse God that I yet live to vindicate*
 “ *them, by this my knowing, clear, and assured Attestation;*
 “ *which I am ready to second with the solemnest Oath, if I*
 “ *shall be thereto required.*

“ Your most devoted Friend, &c.

“ *Jos. Hall, B. N.* (d)

“ Higham, Aug. 30. 1651.”

Judge now, what Degree of Credit is due to the male-
 volent Insinuations of *John Goodwin*. The Wretch lived
 no fewer than *ten* Years after Dr Fuller’s Publication of the
 above Letter. Yet he never, so far as I can find, either
 retracted the Slander he had advanced, or even apologized
 for it. So hardened was his Front, and so thoroughly was
 he drenched in the petrifying Water of a Party (a) !

King

(d) Fuller, u. s. p. 85, 86.

(a) The Oath, taken by each Member of the Synod, of which
 Bishop Hall recites the Substance; ran, *verbatim*, thus:

Promitto, coram Deo, quem præsentissimum Renumque & Cor-
 dium Scrutatorèm cædo et vënor, me, in totâ hâc synodali Ac-
 tiõne, quâ Instituetur Examen, Judicium, & Decisio, tum de notis
 quinque Articulis, & Difficultatibus inde orientibus, tum de om-
 nibus reliquis doctrinalibus; non ulla Scripta humana, sed solum
 Dei Verbum, pro certâ ac indubitâ Fidei Regulâ adhibiturum:
 mihique

King James's Heart was quite wrapt up in the Synod; and all his Attention seemed collected to a Point, as long as the Divines were sitting. With such Eagerness and Anxiety did he interest himself in the *Condemnation of ARMINIANISM*, that he commanded his British Divines to send him "a weekly Account of all memorable Passages transacted at [Dart]. Yet it happened, that, for a Month, or more, the King received from them no Particulars of their Proceeding: whereat his Majesty was most highly offended. But, afterwards, understanding that this defect was caused by the Counter-mands of an higher King, even of Him who gathereth the Winds " in

mihique, in totâ hâc Causâ, nihil propositum fore, præter Dei Gloriam, Tranquillitatem Ecclesiæ, & cum primis Conservacionem Puritatis Doctrinæ. Ita propitijs mihi sit Servator meus JESUS CHRISTUS: quem precor ardentissimè, ut, in hoc Proposito, Spiritûs sui Gratia mihi perpetuò adsit.

i. e.

I promise, before God, whom I believe and worship as the ever present Searcher of the Reins and Hearts, that I will, in the whole Business and Transaction of this Synod (wherein shall be appointed an Enquiry, Judgement, and Decision, as well concerning the famous FIVE POINTS, and the Intricacys arising from them, as concerning all the other Doctrinal Matters); that I will not admit of any Human Writings, but alledge the Word of God only, as the certain and undoubted Rule of Faith: and that I will propose nothing whatsoever to myself, in this whole Business, but the Glory of God, the Peace of the Church, and especially the Preservation of pure Doctrine. May my Saviour JESUS CHRIST so be mercifull to me: whom I most earnestly beseech, that He would, by the Grace of His Spirit, be ever present with me in this my Purpose and Resolution.

Acta Synodi Dordr. p. 66.

The Reader need not be told, that what the Oath styles "the famous Five Points," were, the Doctrines of *Election*, limited *Redemption*, the *spiritual Inability of the Human Will* through Original Sin, the *Invincible Efficacy of Grace* in Regeneration, and the *Final Perseverance* of truly converted Persons.

“ in His First, stopping all Passages by contrary Wea-
 “ ther; he was quickly pacify'd: yea, highly pleased,
 “ when four weekly Dispatches (not neglected to be or-
 “ derly sent, but delayed to be accordingly brought) came,
 “ all together, to his Majesty's Hands (*f*).” The Royal
 Baby of Fifty-three received his Rattles, and was con-
 tented. For, by *James*, Religion itself seems to have
 been regarded chiefly as a Play-thing, which contributed
 to his *Amusement*; or, at most, as a Pedestal, on which his
Vanity might display itself conveniently. Two or three
 Years, indeed, after the Period of which we are now treat-
 ing, he consider'd it under the more serious Idea of a com-
 modious Engine, which he thought himself capable of
 working and managing to much *political* Advantage.

Two and Twenty Sessions had elapsed, e'er any Thing
 was done by the Synod, relative to the *Arminians* (*g*): and
 yet those People complained (for they came with a Reso-
 lution to complain at all Events), that sufficient Time had
 not been allowed them to prepare their Papers of Defence.
 As if they had not known, seven or eight Years (*b*) before
 the Synod was called, that such an Assembly was to be
 convened! And as if, even after the Synod began to sit,
 ample Space had been denyed them, wherein to provide
 for their Appearance!

Determined to clog and interrupt, as much as possible,
 every Wheel of public Business; the *Arminians*, with *Epis-
 copius* at their Head, affected openly to resent their being
cited to the Synod, as Delinquents, instead of being in-
vited to sit in it, as Judges.—A wonderfull Hardship in-
 deed, that Criminals, indicted for transgressing the Laws
 of their Country, should not be invited to take their Seat
 on the Judicial Bench!

For

(*f*) Fuller, p. 79.
 Necnon *Acta Synodi*, p. 55.
 P. 170. AIT. GROTIUS.

(*g*) See Mr Hales's Letters, p. 28.—
 (*b*) See the *Biogr. DiB.* Vol. VI.

For the farther clearing of this supposed Grievance, let it be considered, 1. That the then Arminians of Holland (for 'tis of the *Dutch* Arminians, and of those only who were then living, that we are now treating) had, by kindling a Flame in the Church, formed likewise a very dangerous Faction in the State: even such a Faction, as menaced the Loss, not only of Religious, but of Civil Liberty, to the whole Community at large. Hence, 2. They rendered themselves, by every Law of Society whatever, responsible to that Public, whose Ruin they had so nearly accomplished. Especially, 3. When it was found, that the Popish Courts of *France* and *Spain* (those natural Enemies, whose Power the United Provinces, then in their Infancy of Strength, had so just Reason to dread) were actually grafting political Machinations on these Ecclesiastical Disputes, by aiding, seconding, and encouraging the *Arminians* to effect the total Overthrow of the new-born Republic.

Should it be said, that "Tho' these heinous *political* Offences deserved Punishment, yet their Punishment should have been assigned, not to the *Synod* of Dort, but to the *secular* Courts of Justice;" I answer, 1. An injured State, whose legal Forms of Procedure (like those of *Holland* at the above Period) have not attained their full Maturity, Digestion, and Establishment, by the Length of Time, the Regularity of equal Custom, and the leisurely Wisdom of general Deliberation and Consent, requisite to such a fixed Settlement; a State, so circumstanced, is at full Liberty to refer the Cognizance of it's domestic Disturbers to what Court soever It's self may please to authorize.—2. The *Synod* of Dort not only assembled and sat by *Virtue* of the *CIVIL* Authority; but was, intrinsically, both an *Ecclesiastical* and a *Civil* Court. It was far from consisting of Ecclesiastics only. Lay Assessors (or, as they were termed, "*political* Delegates") sat, with the Spiritual Deputies, in that Great Assembly.—Consequently, 3. A Court, formed on this *mixed* Plan, was the properest Court in the World to judge a set of Misdoers, whose Crimes were of

a *mixed* Nature. The Arminians had sinned, equally, against Church and State. The Civil Power contented itself with laying hold on two or three of the most dangerous and Inflammatory: and consigned the rest to a *mixed* Tribunal, consisting of Churchmen and of Laymen. Could any Government have acted with more Prudence, Temper, and Equity?—4. After all, what if some of the Arminians *refused* to sit in the Synod, when that Favor was offer'd them? We shall soon see that this was actually the Case.

But the Synod of Dort did not profess to condemn these Delinquents, for their *State-Offences*; but for their *Doctrinal Deviations* from the Purity of the Protestant Faith." Be it so. The Arminians were liable to Two very heavy Charges: viz. of *Undermining the Public Safety*; and of *Seeking to overthrow the Reformed Religion*. When Two Indictments thus hang over a Man's Head, One of which, if proved, will suffice to incapacitate him, forever, from doing any further Mischief, and the Man be actually found Guilty of that One; what Reason can be assigned, for Trying him on the Other? He could but be condemned, if convicted of a Thousand Crimes.

—The Synod of Dort fixed on One of the two Charges against the Arminians. It was a Matter of Indifference, on which of the two they should proceed. That single Charge being demonstratively proved, there was no sort of Occasion for their examining the Merits of the Second. All the Purposes, both of Church and State, were answered, without farther Trouble; and without exposing the malpractices of the *Arminians*, beyond what absolute Necessity required. That Sect were, already, sufficiently the (A) Objects

(A) Before Matters were reduced again, to their first Protestant Settlement, by the Synod of Dort; 'tis impossible to express the popular Odium, under which the Disciples of *Arminius* labored, for having so wantonly and violently unbridged the public

Objects of public Indignation. It would have been unmerciful, to have needlessly ript open the Whole of their Criminality ; when amply enough of it appeared, to justify every hostile Step, taken against them by the Synod.

Thirteen Arminian (1) Teachers were summoned to appear at Dort. On their Arrival in that City, their three Chiefs (*viz.* *Episcopus*, *Corvinus*, and *Dwington*) waited privately on our Bishop *Carleton*, in Hopes of being able to prejudice him in their Favor. That sound and trusty Church of England Man gave them an exceeding cool Reception, “ They intreated me,” says his Lordship, “ to mediate for them, that *Grevinchovius* might be admitted to their Company. I told them, that *The* [Dutch] Church had Deposed *Grevinchovius*, and the States had approved the Deposition : and therefore I could not meddle in that Thing. Yet they were very earnest. I told them, I would send for my Colleagues ; and they should have a common Answer. Whilst we staid for my Fellows, I fell into some speech with *Corvinus*, concerning some Things which he had written : and found him nothing constant in those Things which he hath published. When the rest [of the British Divines] came, They gave the same Answer.

“ *Corvinus* came to Mr Mayer, the Professor of Basil, and told him, that he [*viz.* *Corvinus*] was drawn into these troublesome Courses by Others : and shewed some

R r

“ Dislike,

lic Peace, “ All,” says Monsieur *Bayle* from *Curcellæus*, “ was in an Uproar and Confusion : and in this Conflict no Man was more exposed to the Imprecations of the Populace, than the most Learned among the *Arminians* : because they were looked upon as the first Cause of these Disorders.”—Vol. II. p. 793.

(1) Their Names follow. *Leo*, *Wezek*, *Hollinger*, *Episcopus*, *Corvinus*, *Dwington*, *Poppius*, *Rijckwaert*, *Pynacker*, *Sapma*, *Goswinus*, *Mathisus*, and *Niellius*.—Acta Syn. p. 18, 19.

Of all these, *Episcopus* was, by far, the ablest and most learned. He and *Grotius* were the greatest Men the Arminians and Socinians ever had to boast of.

Dislike, as if he meant to withdraw himself from them [i. e. from the *Arminian* Party, by whom he had been inveigled] (*m*).—The Bishop adds: “We hear, that the *JESUITS* are much offended at the Synod. It must be some great Good, that offends them (*n*).” The *Jesuits*, it must be confessed, had Reason enough to be “offended” with the Meeting of this glorious Protestant Synod. But it makes very little for the Credit of any professed Protestants, to stumble at the same Stone with the Disciples of *Loyola*.

Nothing could exceed the Insolence, the Perverseness, and the studied Chicanery, with which the *Arminians*, through the course of their Appearance in the Synod, exercised the Humility and Patience of the venerable Assembly.

Had the *Arminians* been required to hold up their Hands at the Bar of that Court, it had been no more than strict Justice would have authorized. But, instead of thus treating them with Ignominy, the Synod, with much Candor, desired them to sit: for which Purpose, a long Table had been provided, surrounded with Chairs and Forms, in the middle of the Synod-house (*o*). As soon as they were seated, the President politely informed them, That he had, at their Request, moved the Synod to grant them longer Time; but that the Deputies of the States were pleased to order their Appearance then, and that they should have Liberty to open their Cause themselves (*p*).

Episcopus, instead of reciprocating the Civility which himself and his Party had received, rose sullenly from his Chair, and gave the Assembly to understand, that he and his Associates were come, *ad Collationem instituendam*; i. e. not to appear as Defendants, but to open a Conference with the Synod: and That they [the *Arminians*] were ready,
even

(*m*) Bishop *Carleton's* Letter from Dort to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.—Hales's Rem. 173, 175. See also, p. 53.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 175.

(*o*) Mr *Hales's* Letters to Sir *D. Carib.*

p. 29.

(*p*) *Ibid.*

even at that present, to begin the Business they came for, without farther Delay. (q).

Polyander, the *Leyden* Professor, took Occasion to animadvert on the Haughtiness of the above Speech. "The "Arminians" (said that great Man) "ought to know, that "they were not sent for, to hold a Conference: nor does "the Synod sit here as an adverse Party to them. Con- "ferences have been held with 'em often enough, in Time "past: and all to no Purpose. They should recollect, "that they were not now called hither to confer, but "were cited to give in their Opinions, with the Reasons "by which those Opinions are supported. The Synod "sit as Judges, not as Opponents, of the Arminians (r)."

To provoke the Synod into rigorous Measures, seems to have been the Wish and Design of the *Arminian* Faction; that they might have some plausible Color of Complaint, and be able to spread an artificial Mist before the public Eye: just as the *Cuttle-Fish*, when in Danger of being taken, emits an inky Fluid, to darken the Water, and favor its own Escape.—"You are incompetent Judges," said the Arminians to the Synod: "You are Schismatics, "Innovators, and Cherishers of Schism. Not you, but the "Civil Magistrate, have a Right to adjust our Contro- "versys (s)."

Could any Thing be more insolent, more scurrilous, and more untrue? Here is an Handful of novel Schismatics, whose Separation from the Reformed Churches had began but about fourteen or fifteen Years before, charging the Reformed Churches themselves with Schism and Innovation! *Ravallac*, who murdered Henry the Fourth of France, might with equal Reason, Modesty, and Truth, have labored to transfer the Name of *Assassin*, from himself, to Henry.

But what Reply did the President, as Mouth of the Synod, return, to the audacious, indecent, and false In-

(q) *Ibid.*

(r) *Ibid.* p. 30.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 3^r, 3^b.

vectives of the Arminians? He answered, with all the
 Dignity and Gentleness which might be expected from so
 great a Man. "When it shall be made plain to the Synod,"
 said he, "what the received Doctrine of the Church has
 " been; then will it appear, who they are that have re-
 " ceded from her Doctrine, and on which of the two Partys
 " the Guilt of Schism is justly chargeable. If you except
 " against Us Members of this Assembly, merely because
 " our Religious Sentiments are different from Your own;
 " by what Tribunal would you wish to be Tried? By
 " Yourselfes? or by the Papiſts? or by the Anabaptiſts?
 " or by the Libertines? or by some other Faction in these
 " Countries? Even supposing we actually were the Schif-
 " matics you have styled us; yea, were we Scribes and
 " Pharisees, or worse than they; yet would the present
 " Synod, as such, be a lawful Court. For, it is called
 " and empower'd by the Civil Government, whose Au-
 " thority cannot be questioned. It is composed of Dele-
 " gates and Representatives, regularly chosen and deputed.
 " Every Individual has also taken a solemn Oath, to de-
 " cide according to Justice. If all this will not suffice to
 " render us competent Judges, what can (t)?" The *Ar-*
minians had nothing to offer, in Opposition to President
Bojermann's cool and solid Reasonings, but saucy Cavils
 and vain Janglings.

The Learned Mr *John Hales* very justly wonders at the
 shameless Indecency of *Episcopius* and his Comrades: "It
 " was much, that they should grow to that Boldness, as
 " that, openly, they should call the Synod, the Seculars,
 " the Chief Magistrates, yea the Prince of *Orange* himself,
 " SCHISMATICS (u)." But the Dutch Arminians had
 not yet learned the profitable Lesson of Absolute Obedi-
 ence to the Civil Power. Their Brethren in England
 were wiser; and, almost as soon as they arose, began to
 profess an unbounded Subjection to the Will of the Chief
 Magistrate.

(t) See *Ibid.* p. 38.

(u) *Ibid.* p. 39.

Magistrate. This it was, that saved them from *James's* iron Hand, and even lifted them into Favor. 'Twas by this Clasper, that the Tendrils of Arminian Novelty twined round the Royal Leg of *James*; and, afterwards, under *Charles* the First, flourished as a green Bay Tree in the Court of the King's House.

After the Synod of *Dort* had long borne with the grossest Insults at the Hands of the Arminians, it was agreed, That the said Arminians should be *admonished to behave, for the future, with more Decency and Respect*. At the same Time, a Decree of the States was read to those Sectarists: importing, that *Whereas the Arminians had made many dilatory Answers to the Injury [i. e. to the Hinderance] both of the Ecclesiastics and Seculars; it was decreed by them [i. e. by the States], that they [the Arminians] should lay aside all frivolous Exceptions and dilatory Answers, and forthwith procede to set down their Mind concerning the FIVE ARTICLES, for which End they were come together (x)*.

Episcopius now began to draw in his Horns, and pretend to some Degree of Veneration for the States. "In the *Imputation of Schism*," said he, "we include not the *Seculars, but the Ecclesiastics only*." Ridiculous! As if the Ecclesiastics and the Seculars were not of one Mind, and embarked in the same Cause!

The President then urged the Arminians to give an Answer, whether or no they would set down their Minds concerning the Points in Controversy. But they still flew from the Point: alledging, as before, that "the Synod were not their competent Judges." The President asked, *By whom then are you willing to be Judged?* They insolently replied, "That's a Question which we will not Answer: suffice it, that we except against this Synod." Remember, said the Secular President, *that You are Subjects, and ought to shew decent Respect to the Laws of your Country*. "The Magistrates," answered the Arminians, "have no

(x) *Hales*, Ibid. p. 39.

“ Authority over our Consciences (y).” True. But this was not the Article in Question. The Magistracy did not pretend to *prescribe* to the Arminians what they *should* believe; but only claimed a Right to *know*, from their own Mouths, what they *did* believe. They were called thither by the State, not to have a Creed obtruded upon them, but *Ut Sententiam suam dilucidè & perspicuè exponerent & defenderent*: i. e. in Order to give them an Opportunity of *fairly and clearly proposing and defending THEIR OWN Doctrinal Principles* (z). What Shadow of Magisterial, or of Ecclesiastical Tyranny, was there in This?

Still the Arminians refused to give any Account of their own positive Tenets. They would not so much as carry on the *Conference* they had pretended to desire, unless they might be permitted to *begin* with an Attack on the Doctrine of *Reprobation* (a): to which the Synod objected. *Reprobation*, or *Præterition*, is but a negative *Consequence* of Election. Election, therefore, ought, as first in Order of Nature, to be *first* considered: for, how absurd would it be, to discuss the naked Conclusion, without antecedently canvassing the Premises! So that, in proposing such a wild and illogical Method of Procedure, the Arminians at the Synod of Dort acted neither as Men of Peace, nor as Men of Honesty, nor as Men of Sense. They pretended, indeed, that it was “ a Matter of *Conscience* with them, to put *Reprobation* foremost.” But, as the Synod very reasonably observed, “ The *Prætext* of “ *Conscience* was idle and absurd. *Conscience* is conversant with Matters of *Faith* and *Practice*. But how can “ *Conscience* be interested in what relates simply to the “ mere Order and Arrangement of a Disputation? as, “ whether *Præterition*, or Election, shall be handled first.

Great

(y) *Ibid.* p. 39, 40.—Also, *Acta Synodi*; à p. 89. ad p. 92. where the whole of that Afternoon's Debate is much more largely and more accurately related, than in the English Letters.

(z) *Hales*, *Ibid.* p. 41.

(a) *Hales*, *Ibid.* p. 56.

Great Complaint had been made, by the Arminians, against the Palatine Catechism and Confession. A Paper, containing their Objections, was delivered to the Synod. Hear Mr *Hale's* Remarks on that frivolous Paper, so far as related to the Confession. "These Considerations are
 " nothing else but *Queries*, upon some Passages of the
 " [Palatine] Confession, of little or no Moment. So that
 " it seems a Wonder unto many, how these Men [i. e.
 " the *Arminians*] who, for so many Years past, in so many
 " of their Books, have threatened the Churches with such
 " wonderfull Discoverys of Falsehood and Error in their
 " Confession and Catechism, should at last produce such
 " poor, impertinent Stuff. There is not, I persuade
 " myself, any Writing in the World, against which, Wits,
 " disposed to wrangle, cannot take Abundance of such Ex-
 " ceptions (b)."

The Affair of *Reprobation* was again, with equal Art and Insolence, resumed by the Arminians. Nothing would content them, but making *Reprobation* take the Lead of Election: and the stale Plea of "*Conscience*" was repeatedly urged. "As for *Conscience*," reply'd the Synod, "the
 " Word of God is the Rule of it. Only prove from Scrip-
 " ture, that God has prescribed the Mode of Disputation
 " you contend for; we'll immediately admit that Mode
 " to be a Matter of *Conscience*, and allow you to pro-
 " ceed in your own Way (c)." Mr *Hales* very justly re-
 marks, that, *By thus stiffly urging their* [Pretence of] *Con-*
science, the Arminians did exceedingly wrong the Decree of
 the States and Synod, as if by them something against the Word
 of God, some *Impiety*, were commanded (d): Whereas, in
 Reality, the Command was only, that *firstly* should go be-
 fore *secondly*; that the Chain of Disquisition should com-
 mence, at the right Link; and that every Point of Enquiry
 should proceed regularly, and in its own natural Order.
 — "No," rejoined *Episcopius*, in the Name of his Armi-

(b) *Ibid.* p. 55.

(c) *Hales*, *Ibid.* n. 60

nian Brethren: "unless we be at absolute Liberty to pursue what Method of Argumentation we please, and to begin with whatsoever Article we ourselves chuse, we will not move a Step. For, we are RESOLVED, *agers pro fudicio nostro, non pro fudicio Synodi*; to act according to OUR OWN Pleasure, and not according to the Pleasure of the Synod (e)." You stand, reply'd the Synodical President, *in the Presence of God, and in the Presence of your Lawfull Magistrates*. 'Tis, moreover, a Cause wherein the Church of Christ is concerned: the Peace of which Church, such Behavior as Your's is by no means calculated to promote.— "My Conscience will not let me act otherwise," answered Episcopius. Which impertinent Allegation the President, with much Dignity of Patience and Strength of Reason, repelled as before: *Adds Verbum Dei, shew us upon what Text of Scripture your Conscience is grounded; otherwise, you wrong both the Magistrates and the Synod (f)*. But Episcopius and his Brethren had no such Passage of Scripture to produce.

What could the Synod do? The Arminians would not dispute, unless they might be permitted to dispute backward, as a Crab walks: i. e. unless they were allowed to turn all due Method up-side down, and to obtrude their own perverse and unheard-of Rules on the Synod.—Neither would they give a fair and direct Answer to such Questions as the Synod should put to them.—In a Word, so refractory and untractable were these new Sectarists, that they would

(e) Ibid. p. 60.

(f) On observing the Obstinacy, with which the Arminians insisted upon opening the Trenches against Reprobation, antecedent to Election; the Learned *Lydius* took Occasion to remind the Synod, that "It was the usual Practice of those who favor'd PELAGIANISM, to begin with kicking up a Dust against REPROBATION." Nothing can be more true.

would neither (g) sit in the Synod, as Members of it; nor yet appear before It, in Quality of (what they indeed were by all the legal Authority of the Civil Power) a cited Party.

(g) Though the Dutch Arminians, both as a political and as a schismatical Sect, were extremely obnoxious to the Laws of their Country, and very criminal Enemies to its Civil and Religious Constitution; yet, by an almost unparalleled Excess of Candor and Moderation, the Synod of Dort actually permitted *Episcopius* and the other Arminian Delegates from Utrecht, to take their Seats in the Synod, as Members and Judges: and, in the said Synod of Dort, the said Arminian Delegates might have continued to sit, had they agreed to a few necessary and equitable Conditions: viz. 1. If they would promise and engage, *not to consider themselves as determined Devotees to a Party*, but as candid Investigators of Truth at large: 2. If they would *neither aid, counsel, nor about the other cited Arminians*: Nor, 3. *prematurely divulge the Acts of the Synod*: Nor, 4. *delay it's Proceedings by any needless or unseasonable Interruptions*. The Arminians rejected these reasonable Terms of Alliance: and, in Consequence of this their Haughtiness, Refractoriness, and Temerity, they themselves as fairly vacated their own Seats (See *Hales*, u. l. p. 34.), as ever James the Second vacated the Throne of England.

On the whole, I am quite at a Loss to know, what a very Capital Writer intends, by the "*proud Cruelty*" of the Synod of Dort, (See *The Confessional*, p. 77). I can discern no Glimpse, either of *Cruelty*, or of *Pride*, in any Part of that Synod's Behavior to the Arminians. But, in the Behavior of the Arminians to the Synod, I can see *Pride*, *Envy*, *Malice*, and *Uncharitableness*, little short of *Luciferian*. Nor did the President at all exaggerate, when he told them, at their final Dismission from the Assembly, *Sinceritati, Lenitati, Mansuetudini Synodi, Fraudes, Artes, Mendacia opposu-issis*. He might have added, *Arrogantiam, et Inurbanitatem*. One of the Arminian Ministers, *Sapma* by Name, crowned the Insolence of his Party, with the following Speech, when he quitted the Synod: *Exeo*, said he, turning on his Heel, *ex Ecclesiâ Malignantium!* i. e. "Thus depart I from the Congregation of Malignants!"—*Hales*, Ibid. p. 77.

Mr *Hales*, writing from *Dort* to *Sir D. Carleton*, who was then at the Hague, thus expressed himself, in relation to the Contumacy and Pettulance of the *Arminians*: “The State of our Synod now suffers a great Crisis; and, one Way or other, there must be an Alteration. Either the *Remonstrant* [i. e. the *Arminian* Party] must yield, and submit himself to the Synod, of which I see no great Probability; or else, the Synod must vail to Them: which to do [i. e. for the Synod to accommodate itself to the perverse Humors of the *Arminians*], farther than it hath ALREADY done, I see not how it can stand with their Honor [i. e. with the Honor and Dignity of the Synod].—————But the Synod, bearing an Inclination to *Peace*, and wisely considering the Nature of their People, resolved yet farther, tho’ they had yielded sufficiently unto them already, yet to try a little more, &c. (b).” The President recommended to the Assembly, “To consider, whether there might not be found some Means of *Accommodation*, which might mollify the *Remonstrants* [i. e. soften the Obstinacy of the *Arminians*], and yet stand well with the Honor of the Synod (i).” What could be more healingly and more meekly said? But the *Arminian* Fierceness was too harsh and stubborn to be moderated by any lenient Measures. And, hitherto, none but softening Measures had been tried. For, those Decrees of the Synod, extorted from the Synod by Dint of Insolence, and which carry’d any Implication of seeming Severity, were, as Mr *Hales* observes, “mere Powder without Shot, which gives a Clap, but does no Harm (k).” Infomuch that, as the same unprejudiced Writer adds, “Some thought the Synod had been too favorable to the *Remonstrants* already; and that it were best now not to hold them, if they would be going: since, hitherto, they [the *Remonstrants*, or *Arminians*] had

(b) *Hales*, u. l. p. 63.(i) *Ibid.* p. 64.(k) *Ibid.*

“ had been, and, for any Thing appeared to the contrary, meant hereafter to be, an Hindrance to all peaceable and orderly Proceedings (l).” And such they most undoubtedly were, in every Respect, and on every Occasion.

As they persisted in a peremptory Refusal to give any Account, either of their Faith, or of the Reasons on which it was grounded; there remained but one Thing for the Synod to do: which was, to convict them of Error; from their own Writings, which they themselves had formerly published to the World (m). In the Discussion of which Arminian Writings, the following Departments fell to the British Divines, in Consequence of a Plan previously settled among themselves: “ We have now,” said Dr *Balcanqual*, “ divided the Business among us. Dr *WARD*’s Part is, “ To refute the Arminian Doctrine of a Decree to save Men, consider’d as Believers. My Lord of *LANDAFF*’s Part is, To Answer and solve such Arguments, as the Arminians are wont to urge, in Behalf of that general Decree. Doctor (n) *GOAD*’s Part is, To refute the Arminian Tenet of Election on Faith foreseen; and to prove, in Opposition to it, that Faith, is [not the Cause, or Condition, but] the FRUIT, and EFFECT, of Election. Doctor *DAVENANT*’s Part is, To vindicate the Orthodox Doctrine of Election, from the Objections alledged against it by the Arminians. My Part is, To encounter all the Arguments in general, which the Arminians bring, against the Orthodox [i. e. against the Calvinistic] Scheme (o).”

The Arminian Teachers were, in the End, deposed from their Ministry, by the Synod; and the Sentence of Depo-

(l) *Ibid.*

(m) *Ibid.* p. 69. & 74.

(n) Doctor *Hall* having been forced to retire from Dort, on Account of his ill State of Health; the King sent over, in his Room, Dr *Thomas Goad*, Archbishop *Abbot*’s Chaplain.

(o) Dr *Balcanqual* to Sir *D. Carlton*; Append. to *Hales*, u. i. p. 72, 73.

Deposition was ratify'd by the States.—The Divines from *England*, having first entered a Proviso in Favor of Episcopacy, testify'd their entire Consent to the (p) *Dutch* Confession of Faith, so far as Matters of Doctrine were concerned. Which Testification of Consent was as strong a Proof as they could give, of their rooted Attachment to the strictest Principles of Calvin (q).

“ On the 29th of *April* [1619], the Synod ended. The
 “ States, to express their Gratitude, bestowed on the
 “ *English* Divines, at their Departure, Two Hundred
 “ Pounds, to bear their Charges in their Return (r). Be-
 “ sides, a *Golden Medal*, of good Value, was given to
 “ every one of them, whereon the sitting of the Synod
 “ was artificially represented.—And now these [five
 “ *British*] Divines, who, for many Months, had, in a
 “ Manner, been fastened to their Chair and Desks; thought
 “ it a Right due to themselves, that, when their Work
 “ was ended, they might begin their Recreation. Where-
 “ fore they view'd the most eminent Citys in the *Low-*
 “ *Countrys*; and, at all Places, were bountifully received,
 “ *Leyden*

(p) Fuller's *Church Hist.* Book X. p. 81. (q) See the *Dutch* Confession, at full Length, in the *Syntagma Confessionum*, p. 163—185.

(r) That the Bishop and Clergymen from *England* might be able, while in *Holland*, to support a Style of Living, suitable to the Dignity of the Church they represented; they were allowed, by the States General, Ten Pounds, Sterling, per Day. At the Conclusion of their spiritual Embassy, they received an additional Present, as Fuller informs us above, of 200l. to defray their Expences homeward. Mrs *Macaulay* (a Name superior to all Eulogium) acquaints us, That each of them received that Sum, to his own respective Share; That they were jointly complimented with “ An Acknowledgement of the Excellency of the Constitution of the Church of *England*; and that the Dutch regretted that “ the Conveniency of their own State did not admit of the same “ System of Subordination.”—Mrs *Macaulay's* Hist. of Eng. Vol. I. p. 117. Oct.

“ *Leyden* (s) only excepted.———This gave Occasion
 “ to that Passage in the Speech of Sir *Dudley Carlton*, the
 “ English Embassador, when, in the Name of his Master,
 “ he tender’d the States public Thanks, for their great
 “ Respects to the English Divines; using Words to this
 “ Effect: That *they had been entertained at Amsterdam,*
 “ *welcomed at the Hague, cheerfully received at Rotterdam,*
 “ *kindly embraced at Utrecht, &c. and that they had SEEN*
 “ *Leyden* (t).”

It must not be forgot, that the Reformed Churches in *France* would very gladly have deputed a select Number of their Body, to represent them at the Synod at *Dort*, and to assist in the Condemnation of Arminianism: but the French King, like a sturdy Catholic, refrained them from this step, by his peremptory Prohibition. He could not, however, restrain the Protestant Clergy of that Kingdom from solemnly receiving and approving the Decisions of *Dort*, in a National Synod, hold at *Alex*, in 1619. (u).

On the Return of our five Divines to England, their first Care was, to wait on King *James*. As they enter’d the
 the

It seems, the Apartment, in which the Synod was held; and the Seats, on which the Members of it sat; are, to this Day, carefully preserved at *Dort*, in Statu quo, and shewn to Travellers. —See the *Complete Syst. of Geogr.* Vol. I. p. 573.

(s) The cold Reception, which our Divines, who had been so eminently active in the Synod of *Dort*, met with, at *Leyden*; is easily accounted for. *Arminius*, *Vorslius*, and *Episcopius*, had successively filled the Divinity Chair of that University: and, as King *James* expresses it, had “*infected*” many of the Academics “*with Heresie.*” — But, in a short Time after the Synod was held, the “*Infection*” ceased: and the University of *Leyden*, recovering, at once, it’s Orthodoxy and it’s Credit, has since given both Education and Residence to as great Men, as ever adorned the Republics of Religion and Learning: In the present Age, indeed (*referenti dolet*), both Learning and Religion seem to be at a Dead Stand, in almost every Part of Europe.

(t) *Fuller*, u. f. 82.

(u) *Du Pin’s Hist. of the Church*, Vol. IV. p. 253. — Edit. 1724. Duodecimo.

the Palace Court, his Majesty saw them from a Window, and said, with an Emotion of sensible Pleasure, "Here come my good Mourners:" they being in Mourning for the Queen, who had dyed during their Absence. "Then," adds Fuller, "after courteous entertaining of them, he favorably dismissed them; and, afterwards, on Three of them bestowed Preferment: removing (x) *Carleton* [from the

(x) Bishop *Carleton* was a Prelate of very elevated Parts, and of very distinguished Literature; and no Man ever adher'd more steadily to the Doctrines of the Church of England. Let me briefly exemplify this latter Feature of his Character, by two very striking Proofs. 1. He could not endure the Tenet of a *Redemption absolutely universal*: Utterly denying it to be (they are his own Words) "a Truth of the *Scripture*, or the Doctrine of the Church of England." For, as his Lordship unanswerably argued, "Wheresoever the Grace of *Redemption* goeth, there goeth also *Remission of Sins*:" so that, if we admit the Grace of Redemption "to be common to *All*," we must "admit also, that *All Men* "have *Remission of Sins*." See his Letters, annex'd to *Hales's Rem.* p. 180.—2. Many Years after, in the Arminian Reign of Charles the First, his Lordship published, in direct Opposition to the Court-System, his valuable Defence of the pure Doctrines of the Established Church, against the high Insolencys and the low Aspersions of that Learned, but profligate Pelagian Theorist, Dr *Richard Mountagu*; whom the positive and misguided Charles raised, soon after, to an Episcopal Chair, in open Defiance of Church, of Parliament, and of every prudential and religious Restraint.

Our good Bishop *Carleton* acquitted himself, at the Synod of *Dort*, so much to King *James's* Satisfaction, that he translated him to *Chichester*, within about 4 Months after his Return. His next Translation was to Heaven; in 1628. On whose Decease, Dr *Mountagu*, abovemention'd, became his unworthy Successor at *Chichester*: with such an high Hand of Insult did *Arminianism*, under *Charles* and *Laud*, begin to carry all before it!

Mr *Camden's* Attestation to *Carleton's* Merit, deserves to be noted: "I loved him," said that Learned Antiquarian, "for his excellent Proficiency in Divinity and other polite Parts of Learning."—See *Biogr. DiB.* Vol. III. p. 68.

“ the Bishopric of *Landaff*] to *Chichester*; preferring
 “ *Davenant* to [the See of] *Salisbury*; and bestowing the
 “ Mastership of the *Savoy* on *Balcunqual*. So returned
 “ they all, to their several Professions: Bishop *Carleton*,
 “ to the carefull Governing of his Diocess; Doctor *Dave-*
 “ *nant*, besides his Collegiate Cure, to his constant Lec-
 “ tures in the [University-] Schools; Dr *Ward*, to his
 “ discrete Ordering of his own College; Dr *Goad*, to his
 “ diligent Discharging of domestical Dutys in the Family
 “ of his Lord and Patron; and Mr *Balcunqual*, to his
 “ Fellowship in *Pembroke-Hall* (y).”

Some pacific Disquisitions, concerning the Extent of
 Redemption, having amicably and privately passed, among
 the English Divines at *Dort*; several Arminian Writers
 (equally disposed to magnify a Barly-corn into a Mountain,
 or reduce a Mountain to a Barly-corn, as convenient Oc-
 casion may require) have labor'd to raise, on the narrow
 Bottom of that slender Incident, the following enormous
 Pile of Falsehood: viz. that the said Divines were for
 absolutely unlimited Redemption. But it so happens, that
 those excellent Divines, tho' Dead, are yet able to speak
 for themselves. Consult the Records of the Synod itself,
 and then judge. And for the mere English Reader, the
 ensuing Passage, from a Letter, written, at *Dort*, by the
 British Divines themselves, and sent to the Archbishop of
Canterbury, subscribed by the Hands of them All; will at
 once demonstrate, how infinitely distant our Religious Ple-
 nipotentiarys were, from *Arminianizing* in the Article of
Redemption. That Passage runs, verbatim, thus: “ Nor
 “ do we, with the Remonstrants, leave *at large* the Be-
 “ nefit of our Savior's *Death*, as only propounded *loosely*
 “ to All, *ex æquo*, and to be applied by the arbitrary Act
 “ of *Man's Will*; but we EXPRESSLY AVOUCH; for the
 “ Behoof of the *Elect*, a *special Intention*, both in *Christ's*
 “ *Offering*,

(y) Fuller, *Ibid.* p. 84.

“Offering, and God the Father accepting: and, from that
 “Intention, a particular Application of that Sacrifice, by
 “conferring Faith, and other Gifts, infallibly bring the
 “Elect to Salvation (x).”

The Transactions of the Synod of *Dort* have given grievous Offence, to more than One class of Men. A late respectable Compiler, to whose literary Endeavors the Friends of Civil and of Religious Liberty are under considerable Obligation, raises *two* Objections, in particular, against that renowned Assembly. As I honor the Memory, and value the Labors, of the worthy Objector; I shall weigh his Remarks attentively, tho’ with Brevity.

(1.) We are told, that “Whoever calls to Mind the
 “Deprivations, and Banishment, which followed the Decisions of this Synod, of such great Men as *Episcopius*,
 “*Utenbogart*, *Corvinus*, &c. and the Persecution, which
 “ensued, throughout the United Provinces, against the
 “Arminians; will be apt to entertain but a poor Opinion
 “of those Men who were Actors in it (a).” To clear this Matter, let it be remembered, 1. That, if the Decisions of the Synod were followed by any Thing that resembled a Persecution of the Arminians, such seeming
 Persecution

(x) Added to the End of *Hales’s* Rem. p. 185.

The gross Slander, cast, by certain Writers, on the above Divines, as tho’ the latter were in *Arminius’s* licentious Scheme of indiscriminate Redemption; reminds me of a similar Falsehood, launched by Mr *Wat Sellon*: to-wit, that Archbishop *Usher*, and Bishop *Dausnant*, dyed *Arminians*. To this flat Untruth I, at present, only oppose a flat Denial: because the said *Sellon* does no more than *nakedly affirm* the Premises, without cloathing his Affirmation with a single Rag of Proof. My simple *Negatur*, therefore, uncloathed as it is, needs not be ashamed. A naked *no* is as good as a naked *yes*.—Let me add, however, that I am ready to cloath *my* Side of the Question (tho’ a Negative) with *Proof*, when called upon to produce it.

(a) Dr *William Harris’s* Life of King *James* the First, p. 127, 128.

Persecution was the Act; not of the Synod; but of the Civil Power: and how were the Members of that Synod accountable for the Conduct of the *secular Magistrate*? especially; for a Conduct which did not take place, till long enough *after* the Synod had ceased to sit?—2. Even supposing (which I can by no Means grant) that the Synod actually did persecute the Arminians; yet, certain it is, that the Arminians themselves gave the first Blow, and persecuted the Dutch Protestants, long before the Dutch Protestants were feigned to have persecuted the Arminians. And, tho' nothing can justify Persecution, even when it amounts to no more than a Retaliation; still, it is but too natural for a persecuted Party (as the Dutch Calvinists had undeniably been) to take the first Opportunity of turning the Tables on their Oppressors.

When the Arminian Faction, in Holland, began to gather Strength and come to an Head; so fiercely intolerant was the Bigotry, with which they espoused their new System; that they meditated, and in part accomplished, an absolute Suppression of such Magistrates, Ministers, and even military Officers, as discovered a Resolution to abide by the old Doctrines of the Reformation (b). Legal Magistrates were riotously deposed; Legal Pastors were deprived by violence; and the Orthodox even among the Commonalty were liable to Loss of Property, Loss of personal Liberty, and to every vexatious Injury, which the new Sect were able to devise. So furiously did the Arminians drive, at first setting off; that, as far as their Power extended, not a Calvinistic Minister was suffer'd to exercise his Function. All Freedom of Conscience was denyed: nothing would content the Drivers, but a total Extinction of the Reformed Interest, and that Arminianism should

Ss

should

(b) See *Wilson's Hist. of James I.*—Complete Hist. Vol. II. p. 715, 718.—Also, *Hickman* again *Heylyn*, p. 101, 102.

should reign without a Partner and without Limitation. Sedition, Tumult, Rapine, Imprisonment, and Banishment, were the gentle Instruments, made use of by the Arminians, to establish their pretended Theory of *Universal Love!*

All this happen'd, a considerable Time before the Synod of Dort assembled: and was, in Reality, one Reason why that Synod was convened. Complaints, therefore, of Persecution, would have come with an exceeding ill Grace from the Mouths of the Arminian Faction, if the Synod had even meted to them the same Measure which themselves had so liberally dealt to their innocent Neighbors.— But I must add, 3. that *the Arminians were NOT persecuted* in Return, so far as I have been able to find. *Punished*, in some Degree, they were: but Punishment and Persecution are essentially different. Social Enormity justly exposes an Offender to the former: tho' no Religious Errors, how great and many soever, can justly subject a Person to the latter. Shall the twelve Judges of England be stiled twelve Persecutors, because they vindicate the Majesty of Law against its Transgressors? Shall legal Prosecution, and legal Punishment, be denominated Persecution, where the Offence is of a secular Nature, and adequate in Degree to the inflicted Penalty? Weigh the political Vices of the first Arminians; and then pronounce them *persecuted*, if you can.—Nor must I omit to observe, 4. on the Credit of a very candid and capable Writer, that, notwithstanding the due Indignation of the Dutch States against the social Crimes of the primitive Arminians; the said States, highly Calvinistic as they were, consented that “*the mere Arminian,*” who did not connect Turbulence and Sedition with religious Mistakes, should be “*continued and cherished* in the Bosom of the Church (c).” The same Learned and accurate Author adds, that *Episcopus* himself, even that very *Episcopus* who had flown in the Face of the
Synod

(c) *Hickman*, u. f. p. 114.

Synod and of his Country, was hardly displaced from his *Leyden* Professor-ship, before he was permitted, "both at *Rotterdam* and *Amsterdam*, to enjoy an honorable and "gainfull Preferment (c)." With such exemplary Moderation did the Dutch Calvinists use the Victory which God had given them!

(2.) Doctor *Harris's* other Complaint is, that "The Kings, Princes, and great Men concerned [in the Synod of *Dort*], had, undoubtedly, *worldly Views*, and were "actuated by them: for tho' Purity of Doctrine, Peace of the Church, Extirpation of Heresy, were pretended; "the State-Faction of the Arminians was to be suppressed, "and That of *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*, exalted (d)." I am glad, that the Impartiality of this respectable Writer induced him to term those Arminians a "*state*", i. e. a *secular* or *political* Faction: for such they were. And, if so, why might not *political Persons*, legally invested with just Authority, seek to tye up the Hands of a pernicious *political Faction* from doing any farther political Mischief? Be it so, then, that Prince *Maurice* had his "*worldly Views*" in filing down the Tusks of some restless Arminians. The Preservation of the United Provinces from relapsing under the Yoke of *Spain* was, indeed, a "*worldly View*," but a very lawfull and a very expedient One. Antecedently to the assembling of the Synod, Providence had so ordered Events, that the Interests of pure Religion and of public Policy were happily twisted together. Hence resulted the *Dordrechtan* 'Alliance between Church and 'State.' A Consequence whereof was, that two Birds of Prey were disabled, at one Shot: *viz.* Doctrinal Error, and Civil Sedition. Nor unreasonably: for, the Poyson being compound, why should the Antidote be single?

Sir *Richard Baker*, tho' a very high-principled Historian, mentions the Synod of *Dort*, in Terms of remarkable Moderation and Respect. It was assembled, says he, "To

(c) *Ibid.* p. 115.

(d) *Life of James*, p. 128.

“ examine and determine the Doctrine of *Arminius*, 1.
 “ Concerning God’s Predestination, Election, and Repro-
 “ bation: 2. Concerning Christ’s Death, and Man’s Re-
 “ demption by it: 3. Concerning Man’s Corruption, and
 “ Conversion to God: 4. Concerning the Perseverance of
 “ the Saints. In all which Points, the Doctrine of *Ar-*
 “ *minius* was rejected, as also of *Vorstius*; and THE TRUE
 “ DOCTRINE established by a general Consent, toge-
 “ ther with the Approbation of the Lords the States.
 “ Which yet *the PAPISTS* made so little Reckoning of,
 “ that One of them, in Scorn, made Echo to censure it
 “ [i. e. to censure the Synod] in this Distich:

“ *Dordraci Synodus? Nodus. Chorus integer? Ager.*
 “ *Carventus? Ventus. Sessio Stramen? Amen.*

“ But who knows not, that Ill-will never speaks well?
 “ and that nothing is so obvious, in the Mouth of an
 “ Adversary, as Scandals and Invectives (e)?”——Let
 this be a Word in Season, to Mr *Wesley* and his Man
Watty: and restrain ’em, in Time to come, from singing
 in Chorus with “the *Papists*,” by traducing the Synod of
Dort.

Thus have we traced King James’s Doctrinal Perseve-
 rance in Orthodoxy, down to the Year 1619, inclusively:
 and the Church kept Pace with his Majesty. His having
 interested himself, so zealously, in the Condemnation of
 Arminianism, struck the secret Favorers of that System,
 in England, with a temporary Stupor. Even *Laud* was
 forced to lye still, and to roll his Principles, in private, as
 a sweet Morfel, under his Tongue; ’till a more favorable
 Day should invite them to walk abroad with safety.—
James was always very suspicious of *Laud*’s Orthodoxy:
 and the Reluctance, with which he lifted him to Epif-
 copal Rank, suppls us with another very strong Proof of
 the Monarch’s Calvinism.

The

(e) *Baker’s Chronicle*, p. 419.

The authorized Bibles, during the first Nine Years of *James's* Reign, were those of Queen Elizabeth; enriched with such Marginal Annotations, as we have produced sufficient Samples of, in the preceding Section. *James* desired to signalize his own Reign, by a Translation more exactly conformable to the Original Languages of the Old and New Testaments. In 1611, that Translation (used at this Day) was finished by the excellent Divines, to whose Care this great Work had been assigned, and who had spent about three Years in the important Employ. Instead of human Annotations, the Margin of this Version is very properly filled with References to parallel Scriptures: so that the Bible is now a Commentary on Itself. If it be asked, 'Whether the antient Notes were omitted, with a simple View to render the Scripture it's own Interpreter?' I must confess, that this is a Question which I can answer by Conjecture alone. And my Conjecture is, that *James's* suspicious Policy was afraid to entrust even the Bishops and Clergymen of the Church of England, concerned in this Translation, with the Insertion of any Marginal Notes at all; lest some Remark or other might slip in, tending to emblazon the Wickedness and Absurdity of Despotic Power. He was a better Textuary, than to be ignorant, that there are a Multitude of Passages, and of Instances, in the inspired Volume, which grind the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* to Powder, and disperse its Atoms in empty Air. Better, therefore, in *James's* Opinion, to forego all Explications whatever, than to run the Risk of rendering those unfavorable Passages more visible than they render themselves. This I (e) conceive to have been

(e) Since the above was written, I recollected to have formerly met with something, in the *Account of the Hampton Court Conference*, relative to the Omission of Marginal Notes from the present Translation of the Bible. On recurring to that Account, I find myself warranted to assign the Reason already hinted, not as

been the true Cause of the Simplicity, by which our present Version is distinguished.—As to the Calvinistic Doctrines, there is no Need, nor was there any Need from the first, of erecting Marginal Banners, to distinguish in what Places of Scripture they are to be found. What I observed, several Years ago, concerning the Liturgy; I now observe, concerning the Bible: *Open God's Word where you will, CALVINISM stares you in the Face.*

In the Year 1621, the English Arminians began to recover from the Panic, into which they had been thrown, two Years before, by the Proceedings at *Dort*. The King's enormous (f) Concessions to the Church of *Rome*, in Order
to

a Conjecture of my own, but as the true and undoubted Cause of the said Omission.—Bishop *Barlow* informs us, that the King complained, he had never yet seen a Bible “well translated in English: “but the worst of all, his Majesty thought the *Geneva* Bible to “be,” for a Reason which quickly follows. The Royal Plaintiff then expressed his Intention of having a new Translation undertaken: “and this to be done by the best Learned in both the “Universities; after them, to be reviewed by the Bishops, and “the chiefe Learned of the Church; from them, to be presented “to the Privie Counsel; and, lastly, to be ratified by his royall “Authority: and so this whole Church to be bound unto It and “none other. Marrie, withall, hee gave this Caveat (upon a “Word cast out by my Lord of London), that *no Marginal Note,* “should be added: having found, in them which are annexed “to the *Geneva* Translation, which hee saw in a Bible given “him by an English Lady, some Notes, very partially untrue, “*seditions,* and favouring too much of *dangerous* and *traiterous* “Conceits. As for Example: *Exod. i. 19,* where *the Marginall* “*Note alloweth Disobedience unto Kings.*”—Bishop *Barlow's* Summe of the Conf. p. 47, 48.

(f) “*It has ever been my Way,*” said James, “*to go with the* “*Church of ROME, usque ad Aras:*” i. e. to symbolize with that Church, in Matters of Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship, as far as Prudence would permit, and Policy might require.—(See the *Complete Hist.* Vol. II. p. 767.) Indeed, the Papal Supremacy
over

to facilitate the Conclusion of the *Spanish Match*, gave new Life to the Popish Party, who had the Comfort to see themselves Objects of Court Indulgence, their Religion openly protected, and their imprisoned Priests enlarged.

Where is the Wonder, that *Arminianism* also, taking Advantage of a Juncture so favorable, should rear its Head, unseal its Eyes, and venture into open Day? — “ The King’s Mercy and Indulgence extending towards the *Papists*, taught many Men to come as near Popery as they could stretch; finding it the next Way to Preferment. So that *Arminius’s* Tenets flew up and down, from Pulpit to Pulpit, and preaching was nothing but Declamation, little tending to Edification: such Orthodox Ministers, as strove to refute these erroneous Opinions, being looked upon as Puritans and Anti-monarchical (g).” To crown the Infelicitys of this memorable Year 1621, Dr *Laud* found means (tho’ not without much Difficulty and many hard Struggles) to climb, from the Deanry of Gloucester, to the Bishopric of *St David’s*. He was Consecrated to that See, November (h) 18. A dark Day, in the Annals of the Church of England.

It was not without Reason, that even the impolitic and undiscerning *James* prognosticated the bad Effects, which would probably ensue from *Laud’s* Promotion. That Incident drew after it a Train of Consequences, which sadly warranted the Justness of his Majesty’s Misgivings: and resulted in a Complication of Catastrophes, too ruinous and fatal, for a much wiser Prince to have foreseen. In fact, *Laud* owed his Bishopric, not to the King, but to the Duke of *Buckingham*: into the good Graces of whom, the *Arminian* Ecclesiastic had insinuated himself, with extreme

Labqr

over Kings themselves, and the Lawfullness of *King-killing*, seem to have been the only popish Doctrines which he considered as indigestible.

(g) *Wilson*, in Compl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 751, 752.

(h) *Godw. De Præs. Angl.* p. 587.

Labor and Art, and by a long Series of servile and obsequious Adulation. What I, in this Place, can but barely intimate; shall appear, with sufficient Extent, if Providence give me Health and Leisure to complete my intended *History of Archbishop Laud's Life and Times*.

This Prelate had not worn Lawn Sleeves, much longer than eight Months; before he became instrumental in procuring, and in drawing up, a well-known Court-Paper, entitled, *Directions concerning Preachers*. The Third Article of these Directions enjoined, "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 the Universality, Efficacy, Resistibility, or Irresistibility, of God's Grace; but leave those Themes rather to be handled by the Learned Men [in the two Universities]: and that moderately and modestly, by Way of Use and Application, & rather than by Way of positive Doctrines; being fitter for the Schools, than for simple Auditorys (i)." This was the first Blow, given by Royal Authority, to the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Established Church, since the Death of Mary the Bloody. For, tho' it, *primæ Facie*, seemed to muzzle the Arminians, no less than the Calvinistic Clergy; yet it's Design was, to bridle the latter, and leave the former at Liberty to spread their New Principles without Restraint.—The above Paper of *Directions* was dated from *Windsor*, 4 August, 1622.

Let not the Reader, however, suppose, that the King took this extraordinary Stride, out of mere Complaisance to *Laud*. That insidious Prelate, in promoting and in helping to frame the said Directions; only struck in with the Opportunity, and availed himself of certain political Circumstances, which had, previously, sour'd and embarrass'd the Mind of *James*.

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(i) See *Wilson, Fuller, Heylyn* (Life of Laud), &c. sub 1622.

The Case stood thus. His Majesty, in Order to strengthen his unnatural and ill-judged Union with Spain, was (*k*) projecting a general Toleration of Popery throughout the British Dominions. So far is certain. And, perhaps, we should not overshoot the Mark, were we to suspect, that something more, than a mere Toleration, was remotely in View.

When two Houses are to be thrown into one, you must down with the Partition Wall. The Calvinistic Doctrines of the Church of England were consider'd as the interposing Barriers between him and Popery. Tho' the King was attached to those Doctrines, in his Heart; yet, as they stood in the Way of his political Schemes, he lent his Authority to certain Arminian Engineers, who lost no Time in be-

ginning

(*k*) This latent Intention of giving a free and full Toleration to Popery, appears, from the subsequent Transactions of the next Year, viz. 1629, when the following Articles were agreed to by James, in the Spanish Treaty: namely, That no Law, repugnant to the Roman Catholic Religion, should, at any Time hereafter, directly, or indirectly, be commanded to be put in Execution. That the King should SWEAR to this, and That the privy Council should take the same Oath: That the King and the Prince of Wales should interpose their Authority, and do all that in them lay, to make the Parliament ~~void~~ and ABOGATE all Laws, both general and particular, which had been enacted against Roman Catholics; and, That neither the King, nor the Prince of Wales when King, should ever, at any Time, consent to the Passing of any new Laws to the Prejudice of the Catholics. The Oath of each Privy Counsellor ran in these Words:

I, A. B. do swear, that I will truly and fully observe, as much as belongeth to me, all and every of the Articles which are contained in the Treaty of Marriage between the most gracious Charles, Prince of Wales, and the most gracious Lady, Donna Maria, Infanta of Spain. Likewise, I swear, that I will neither commit to Execution, or cause to be executed, either by Myself, or by any inferior Officer serving under me, any Law made against any Roman Catholic whatsoever, nor will execute any Punishment inflicted by those Laws, &c.

See Mrs Macaulay's Hist. Vol. I. p. 202, 203.

ginning (not to assault and batter, but) to undermine and sap the said Wall.

Add to This, that, when *James* consented to publish the above *Directions concerning Preachers*, his Mind was chafed and nettled, by a recent Quarrel with the Parliament. He had flatter'd himself, for some Time, that his Designs in Favor of Popery were formed with such Secrecy, as to elude the Vigilance of the House of Commons. But he perceived his Mistake, when Word was brought him, that those wise and zealous Guardians of the Church and Nation had prepared a very strong Remonstrance against Popery, and against *the illegal Encouragement already shewn to Papists*. He was stung to the quick, at receiving this Intelligence; and prohibited the House from presenting him with an Address so peculiarly unacceptable: giving them to understand, that these were "Matters above their Reach and Capacity;" and tended to his "high Dishonor, and Breach of his Prerogative Royal (l)." What had chiefly offended him in the Remonstrance (of which he had procured a Copy), was, the Patriotic Wish, expressed by the National Representatives, That his Majesty would *break with Spain, and marry his Son to a Protestant Princess*. Several Altercations passed between his Majesty and the Commons. The latter, who had Sagacity to discern, and Integrity to pursue, the real good of the public; conducted themselves with a respectful Decency toward the King, yet with an unrelaxing Adherence to the Cause of their Country. *James* did not maintain his Share in the Debate, with any Degree of Prudence. He inculcated Maxims of Despotism, unheard of, 'till broached by himself; and, to save those Maxims from being canvassed by the Parliament, he Dissolved it, by Proclamation, in January, 1622 (m).

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(l) See *Wilson*. (m) The Papers and Messages, which passed between the King and Parliament, prior to his timid and angry Dissolution.

It must be observèd, that the Members of the Lower House in that Parliament, were *Calvinists* in Matters of Doctrine, as well as Friends to the true Interest of the State. Never was a Nation more faithfully represented, than by that uncorrupt Body of Senators. The Pulse of all the honest Protestants in England beat in Harmony with That of the Parliament. *James* was apprised of this, and dreaded the Effect, *Laud* and Others, who were on the Watch for a Trade-Wind, immediately hoisted Sail, and took Advantage of the ill Humor into which the King's Affairs had thrown him. 'Twas not very difficult to persuade such a Monarch as *James*, that the Parliament, the Clergy, and the Majority of the People, were Puritanic, because they hated Popery; and disaffected to the Crown, because they hated Tyranny: That, at once, to wean them from their Abhorrence of *Rome*, and break them into the Trammels of absolute Subjection to the Throne, Calvinism must be discountenanced and Arminianism encouraged.—*James* listened, liked, and acted accordingly.—Thus it appears, that the “*Directions concerning Preachers*” were begot on *James* by Motives of mistaken sæcular Policy, arising from the *Spanish Alliance*, and from the intended *Papish* Toleration. The just Opposition, which the Parliament and Nation raised against his Majesty's dangerous Designs, brought the said “*Directions*” to the Birth: and *Dr Laud*, aided by his College of Associates, was glad to act as principal Midwife and Nurse, on the Occasion.

Here the Matter rested, during the Remainder of *James's* Reign. For I must do him the Justice to observe, that the *Preaching Directions* were the *first*, and the *only*, public Step, taken by that Prince, to the professed Detriment of the Religion established in England, if we except his Negotiations with *Spain* and *France*, and his Tendernefs for Papists.

Diffolution of the latter, deserves the Perusal of every Englishman. See them laid together in the *Parliamentary History*, Vol. V. p. 487—525.

Passifs.—It does not appear, that the Protestant Preachers paid much Regard to the King's "Directions," by excluding the Doctrine of Predestination from the Spiritual Provision with which they nourished their Flocks. In the ensuing Reign of Charles the First, when Laud attained to the Zenith of Ecclesiastical Power, those Directions (somewhat amply'd, and improved into a Proclamation) were enforced with Rigor; even to the Bringing of the great and good Bishop Davenant on his Knees before the Privy Council.—But tho', while James liv'd; scarce any Severity seems to have seconded the Injunction, by which he imposed Silence on his Divines concerning some of the Calvinian Articles; yet, his Publication of that Order tend'd, more than a little, to sink him in the public Esteem. For, how did such a Measure comport with his late Professions of Zeal against Arminianism? It was no farther back, than the Winter of 1617, that he had reprov'd some of the Cambridge Doctors, for permitting the Arminian Leaven to gain Ground in that University (n). It was but in January, 1619, that his Majesty flew into a violent Passion, at reading some Arminian Positions of *Episcopius*, sent over hither from Dort (o). And, after bearing so eminent a Part in the Condemnation of Arminianism, by the Synod there assembled; his "Directions," of 1622, can be imputed only to a low, absurd, and misguided Policy, which reflect'd equal Dishonor on his civil and religious Character.

While he liv'd, Calvinism still supported itself in the Saddle; and Arminianism, unable to keep its Legs, could scarcely

(n) "November 10. The King CHIDES the Doctors of Cambridge, about the spreading of the ARMINIAN *Sect* amongst the Students."
—Camden's Annals of K. James, sub 1617.

(o) "He [the Archbishop of Canterbury] sent me Word, that the King had the *Bishops' Theses* which I sent; and that he was MIGHTILY INCENS'D at them." — Dr Bakenwael to Sir D. C. apud Hales's Rem. p. 72.

scarcely creep on its Hands and Knees. Within a few Months of his Majesty's Decease, his Zeal and Vigilance against the Encroachments of Arminianism extorted Thanks from the eminently Learned and profoundly Loyal Dr *John Prideaux*, then Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, and afterwards Bishop of *Warcester*: whose elegant Oration to the King, at *Woodstock*, on the 24th of August, 1624, is still extant, and has Passages to the following Effect. "Do we rejoice, that the University of *Oxford* is preserved, untainted, from the Leaven of *Poper*y? We are indebted, for that Preservation, to your Majesty's pruden- tial Care. Do we congratulate ourselves, that our Seats remain uninfected by the *Arminian* Pestilence? 'twas Your Fore-cast, which supply'd us with the timely Antidote. Are the Discipline of the Church, the good Order of our Colleges, and the Episcopal Govern- ment itself, preserved from the levelling and con- founding Innovations of *Puritanism*? 'tis Your royal and experieced Wisdom, which has damped the Rage of *Puritans*, and restrained them with the Bridle they deserve. Yes: to You we owe, that *Poper*y hangs its Head; that *Arminianism* is repressed; and that *Puritanism* does not lay waste our Borders.—Within the last nine Years, *Oxford* has sent forth *Seventy-three* Doctors in Divinity, and more than *One Hundred and Eighty* Bachelors in the same sacred Science. I, as Your Majesty's Divinity-Professor, had the Honor to be concerned, in the Conferring of those Degrees. And I can confidently affirm, that *All those TWO HUNDRED, and FIFTY, THREE Divines and more, are warm Detestors of POPERY, remote from favoring ARMINIANISM, and strong Disapprovers of PURITANISM.* (p)." Some needfull

(p) "Gloriamur, Academiam, inter tot adversantium Cuniculos, a *Papismi* Fermento esse conservatam? Conservavit tua Prudentia. Gratulamur, *Arminianismum* nostras Cathedras non infecisse? Exhibuit

needfull Allowance must be made, for the high Strains of Complaisance to his Majesty, wherewith the Learned Vice-Chancellor thought meet to season his Address. This great Man (and he was a very great Man indeed) knew, that *James's* Palate must be tickled: and therefore, like an experienced College Cook, he discretely larded the Oration to the Monarch's Taste. But the *Facts*, which Dr *Prideaux* affirmed; and the *Conclusions*, deducible from those Facts; are more than a little important to the Argument now in hand.

Death closed the Eyes of King *James*, on the 27th of March, 1625.—Guthrie has hit off his Character, with much Judgement and Exactness: "He was," says that Writer, "a King despicably great; a Scholar impertinently Learned; a Politician unprofitably cunning; and a Man immorally religious (*p*)."—Burnet justly observes, that "No King could die less lamented, or less esteemed. His Reign in *England* was a continued Course of mean Practices. He was become the Scorn of the Age. And, while hungry Writers flattered him out of
" Measure,

hibuit tua Providentia Antidotum. Disciplinam, Academias, Episcopatus, fusque deque raptassent jamdudum *Puritanismi* Furores; nisi frigidum suffudisset, & injecisset Frænum, felicissimo Rerum Usu maturatum tuum Judicium.—Quòd *Papismus* non invaluit, non prævaluit *Arminianismus*, non dissipavit *Puritanismus*, tuæ Prærogativæ est Peculium.—Intrâ proximè elapsum novennium (obstetricante, pro modulo meo, qualicunque, Professoris tui, Conatu), *septuaginta tres* emisit [Acad. Oxon.] in S. Theologiâ Doctores; ut omittam ultra *centum et octoginta* ejusdem Facultatis Baccalauros: quos confidenter dicam, non tantùm *Papismum* execrari, *Arminianismum* non fovere, *Puritanismum* explodere; sed etiam, &c.

Vide *Alloquium Sreniss. Regi Jacobo*; ad Calcem *Viginti-duarum Læctionum* in Theologiâ, à JOH. PRIDEAUX, Exon. Coll. Rectore, & S. Theol. Prof. Regio, & Acad. Oxon. Vice-Can.—Edit. Oxon. 1648.

(*p*) Guthrie's Hist. of Eng. Vol. III. p. 819.

“ Measure, at home ; he was despised by All, abroad, as
 “ a Pedant, without true Judgement, Courage, or Sted-
 “ diness: subject to his Favorites, and delivered up to
 “ the Counsels, or rather the Corruption, of *Spain* (q).”

He is said to have been the first of our Kings, who assumed the Appellation of “ *Most sacred Majesty.*” And certain it is, that he was the first of them, who, for his Weakness, Vanity, Inconstancy, and Pusillanimity, obtained the nick-name of *Queen*, both among Foreigners, and among his own Subjects. The Terms, “ *King ELIZABETH,*” and “ *Queen JAMES,*” shew, to what an Ebb of Contempt the latter was reduced, when set in Competition with his magnanimous Predecessor.

In the Language of Sycophants, the *reigning* King never fails to be the *best* that ever filled a Throne. Such was *James*, while living, represented to be, by those artfull Flatterers (and by those only), whose Interest led them to practice on his Weakness, and to mold him to their own Purposes. He was pronounced, “ *The SOLOMON of the Age ;*” a “ *pithy and sweet Orator,*” whose “ *Words were as Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver :*” yea, that “ *he spake by the Instinct of the SPIRIT of God.*” They declared him to be “ *such a King, as, since CHRIST’s Time, the like had not been.*” His Writings were styled, “ *Blazing Stars,* which Men look upon with *Amazement ;*” and which were “ *fuller of excellent Counsels, than a Pomegranate is full of Kernels.*” On some Occasions, his Pen teemed with what are still better than “ *Kernels ;*” even with “ *Pearls.*” He was “ *a Divine :*” he was “ *a Natural Philosopher :*” he was a Non-pariel, both “ *for Parts of Nature, for Gifts of Learning, and Graces of Piety* (r).”

But

(q) Bishop Burnet's *Summary of Affairs*, &c. p. 17.

(r) For all this Rubbish, and for more of the same Sort, consult Bishop *Barlow's* Account of the Conference at Hampton-Court, and Bishop *Mountague's* Preface to *James's* Works.

But the Cant-Compliment of the Time, which seems to have been most current and in Vogue, and to have flowed from the Tongue's End of every Court Lord who had a Fortune to make or to mend, was, "Your Majesty is the Breath of our Nostrils." 'Tis the *Gramps repetita*, which occurs, again and again, in the Court Conversations of that Reign.—No Strains of Adulation were too fulsome, for James to relish; nor too gross, for his Digestion. He would even suck in Blasphemy itself, when the Vehicle of his own Panegyric. Witness that horrid Profanation of Scripture, mentioned by *Balmes* (1). One of the Spanish Embassadors in England, receiving a Visit from the King, saluted his Majesty's Entrance, with those Words of the Centurion to Christ, *Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my Roof.* But what Fumes of licentious Flattery were ever known to disgust James's Nostrils? The stronger the Incense, the sweeter.

Had not this King's political Degravity been counter-balanced by almost an equal Portion of invincible Timidity; either Himself, or the Nation, had infallibly been ruined: so that his constitutional Cowardice, even while it renders him peculiarly despicable, must be considered as a very happy Ingredient in his Composition.—He laid, without doubt, the Foundation of those Calamitys which so sadly distinguished the Reign of his Son: and the ill Effects of his tyrannical Maxims and distemper'd Politics operate even at this Day. The State Partys, which still continue to divide the Interests and the Affections of Englishmen, originated in his Reign.—Sorry I am to add, that so detestable a Prince, and so profligate a Man, dyed, in all Appearance, a speculative Calvinist. I wish *Dr Hickman* had less respectable Authority, than that of *Dr Featly*, for assuring us, that "King James called the ARMINIANS, HERETICS, not many Weeks before his Death (1)."

S E C T.

(1) See *Bayle*, Vol. I. p. 725.
p. ult.—Edit. 1674.

(1) *Hickman* against *Heslyw*,

SECTION XX.

The Introduction of ARMINIANISM by Archbishop LAUD.—Short Review of the CALVINISM of our BISHOPS and UNIVERSITIES, antecedently to that Æra.—Objections answered :—And the Whole Concluded.

KING *Charles* the First ascended the Throne, at a very unfavorable Time, and under Circumstances of peculiar Disadvantage: a Consideration, which should never be forgot, amidst the just Censures wherewith impartial Posterity must always brand the calamitous Maxims by which he steered.

To develop the intricate Complication of untoward Coincidents, or the political Situation of Things, which marked the Æra of *Charles's* Accession; does not fall within the Province of my present Undertaking. It shall, therefore, suffice, to observe, that, had *Laud* possessed any Degree of common Prudence, the civil Completion of the Times would, alone, have taught him, how necessary it was for him to restrain his own restless Spirit from raising a Storm in the Church, when the Symptoms of approaching Convulsion had already began to endanger the State. But, on the Death of *James*, the Prelate, who had been kept in considerable Awe by that Prince; was over-joyed to find himself in a State of perfect Liberty under *Charles*, whose Favor he had cultivated with Success, and into whose Ear he continually distilled the most pernicious Poison a Prince can imbibe.

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Indeed,

Indeed, *Laud* found no great Difficulty in bringing the new Monarch to his Lure. He did but sow in Ground already ploughed to his Hands. Charles was imperious, by Nature; and tyrannic, by Education. With the Crown, he inherited all the arbitrary Principles of his Father. The Plan of Despotism, rudely sketched by *James*, was hurry'd into an absolute System by *Charles*; who adopted it with more settled Obstinacy of Determination, and pursued it with more daring Boldness of Execution.

If *Heylyn* may be credited, *Laud* had formed a Design, so far back as the (u) Year 1600, of endeavoring to pervert the Church of England from her Calvinistic Doctrines. A very extraordinary Object, for so raw a Youth, as he, at that Time, was! or, as *Heylyn* himself expresses it, "A desperate Attempt, for a single Man, unassisted, and not well-befriended, to oppose himself against an ARMY, to strive against so strong a STREAM, and cross the Current of the Times!" He was then about Twenty-five Years of Age; a young Master of Arts; no more than Fellow of St John's College, Oxford; not many Years emancipated from School; in Deacon's Orders only; his Finances very moderate; without any Ecclesiastical Preferment; and with hardly a Friend in the University, to countenance him amidst that Torrent of general and public Odium, which his haughty Behavior and his peevish Byass had drawn upon him from every Side! For a Man, under those Circumstances, and in so early a Part of Life, to project a Scheme of such Consequence and Difficulty, as the Divorcing of the Established Church from her own essential Principles; exhibits an Instance of wild Self-sufficiency, and of audacious Restlessness; scarcely to be exceeded in the whole Compass of History.

No wonder, that a Person, stimulated by this outrageous Enthusiasm for Innovation, drove so furiously when *Charles* entrusted him with the Reins. *Mosheim* shall give

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(u) *Heylyn's Life of Laud*, p. 48.

us a concise View of the Plan; adopted Both by the Sovereign and the Prelate.

“ All the Emotions of his [i. e. of King Charles's] Zeal, and the whole Tenor of his Administration, were directed towards the three following Objects :

“ [1.] The Extending the Royal PRÆROGATIVE, and raising the Power of the CROWN above the Authority of the LAW.

“ [2.] The Reduction of all the Churches in Great Britain and Ireland under the Jurisdiction of Bishops.

“ [3.] The SUPPRESSION of the Opinions and Institutions peculiar to CALVINISM.

“ The Person, whom the King chiefly intrusted with the Execution of this arduous Plan, was *William Laud* [who, in July, 1628, became] “ Bishop of *London*.—

“ This haughty Prelate executed the Plans of his Royal Master, and fulfilled the Views of his own Ambition, without using those mild and moderate Methods, which Prudence employs, to make unpopular Schemes go down.

“ He carried Matters with an high Hand. When he found the Laws opposing his Views, he treated them with Contempt, and violated them without Hesitation.

“ He loaded the Puritans” [and not them only, but All who avowed the Doctrinal System of the Church, tho' ever so zealous for the Hierarchy and Ceremonys] “ with

“ Injurijs and Vexations, and aimed at nothing less than their total Extinction. *He rejected the Calvinistical Doctrine of Predestination, publicly, in the Year 1625*” [viz.

in the First Year of Charles's Reign]; “ and, notwithstanding the Opposition and Remonstrances of [Archbishop] Abbot, substituted the Arminian System in its place (x).”

The Arminians, therefore, were no Losers, by the Death of King *James*. On the contrary, their Influence continually increased, from the Moment *Charles* began to wield

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(x) Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. IV. p. 518, 519.—Octavo, 1768.

the Sceptre. Being the avowed Enemies of limited Monarchy, this unhappy Prince enter'd as warmly into their *religious* Principles; as they did, into his *political* Views. Between eight and nine Years after his Accession, the Court-Credit of the Arminian Faction arriv'd to it's Meridian; when, on the Decease of good Archbishop *Abbot*, *Laud* was list'd to the See of *Canterbury*, and the Reformed World, with Indignation and Concern, saw *Lambeth* Palace become the Head Quarters of *Arminianism*, A. D. 1633.—There had been Six Protestant Metropolitans, from the Reformation, to the Advancement of *Laud*: viz. *Cranmer*, *Parker*, *Grindal*, *Whitgift*, *Bancroft*, and *Abbot*. Not One of these was tainted with Arminianism. *Laud* was the FIRST *Arminian* Primate of England, who made Profession of the Reformed Religion. Nor is it unworthy of Notice, that *Arminius* himself, whose Doctrines the high-flying *Laud* so fiercely adopted, was neither more nor less than a *Dutch* PRESBYTERIAN and REPUBLICAN.

I shall confine myself to two remarkable Instances of the Force and Fraud, with which this grand Corruptor of our Established Church labored to debauch her Purity of Faith.

I. The *Directions concerning Preachers*, issued by *James* the First (as already noted), in the Year 1622; forbad every Clergyman, under the Degree of a *Bishop*, or of a *Dean*, to preach, in public, either for or against such of the Doctrines of Grace as were specified in those Directions. But as this Prohibition was (y) very displeasing to the

(y) Among the Remarks, to which *James's* absurd Injunction had given Occasion, were the following. Some observed, that "In prohibiting the Preaching of Predestination, Man makes "That the *forbidden Fruit*, which God appointed for the *Tree of "Life*: to esordial [are] the Comforts contained therein [i. e. "contained in the Scripture-Doctrine of Predestination], to a "distressed Conscience."—Others season'd their Complaints with Sarcasm and Invective: saying, "*Bishops* and *Deans*, forsooth, and none under their Dignity, may preach of Predestination. What is this, but to *have the Word of God in Respect* " of

the public in general, so was it far from producing universal Obedience. The King, perceiving how much Offence his *Directions* had given to the Nation, thought proper to publish a subsequent (z) *Apology* for his Conduct in that Matter: which discrete step conduced, both to calm the Minds of the People, and to blunt the Force of the *Directions* themselves. This was not the first Time that *James* had been drawn into a Scrape by *Laud*: nor the first Time of his Majesty's receding from the imprudent Measures into which he had been hurry'd by that warm and forward Ecclesiastic (a).

But *Charles* had very little of his Father's "King-Craft." In June, 1626 (i. e. hardly more than four Months after his Coronation), *Laud* got him to revive the unpopular *Directions concerning Preachers*; of which a new Edition appeared, in the Form of a Proclamation, extending the Prohibition to Bishops and Deans themselves: who were, by this ill-judged Stretch of Royal Supremacy, commanded to forbear from treating of Predestination in their Sermons and Writings (b).

One immediate Design of this Proclamation was, to shelter *Richard Mountagu* (who had lately written in Behalf of the *Arminian* Doctrines, and of (c) *Absolute Obedience* to

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Kings)

"of Persons? As if all Discretion were confined to Cathedral-Men! and they best able to preach, who use it the least!"

Fuller's Church Hist. Book X. p. 110.

(z) *Heylyn's Life of Laud*, p. 94.

(a) See, for Example, Bishop *Hacket's* Life of Archbishop *Williams*, Part I. p. 64.—Folio, 1693.

(b) *Heylyn's Life of Laud*, p. 147, 148.

(c) *Arminianism* took Care, in that Age, to connect itself with *Despotism*. And these two Systems, cemented by their mutual Interest in each other, constituted that grand Combination, against the *Doctrines* of the Church and against the Constitutional *Liberty* of the Public, which soon issued in the Overthrow of Nation, Church, and King.

Kings) from the printed Refutations, which were showering upon him from all Quarters. Among the numerous Champions, who had hewn *Mountagu's* Arminianism in Pieces; were, Dr *Sutcliffe*, Dean of *Exeter*: Bishop *Carlton*, of *Chichester*: and Mr *Wootton*, Divinity Professor in *Gresham* College (d).——The Parliament too, near a Twelvemonth before, had severely censured *Mountagu's* Performance (entitled, *An Appeal to Cæsar*), in which, said the Committee of Enquiry, “ There are many Things directly contrary to the [xxxix] Articles of Religion established by Parliament. He denys that *Arminius* was the first who infected *Leyden* with Errors and Schisms. The Synod of *Dort*, so honor'd by the late King, he calls foreign and partial. He plainly intimates, that there are *Puritan Bishops*: which, we conceive, tends much to the Disturbance of the Peace in Church and State. He respects *Bellarmino*, but slights *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Perkins*, *Whitaker*, and *Reynolds*. He much discourtenances God's Word; disgraces Lectures, and Lecturers, and Preaching itself; nay, even Reading the Bible. Upon the whole, the Frame of the Book is, to encourage Popery, in maintaining the Papists to be the true Church, and that they differ not from Us in any fundamental Point (e).” So spake the Committee of the House of Commons, 1625.

'Tis very observable, that *Charles* and *Laud* had Recourse to a Proclamation, because they were afraid to trust the Arminian Controversy to the Management of a Convocation. *Heylyn* has blabbed this curious Secret: and unwarily informs us, that the Bishops and Clergy of England were so averse to Arminianism, that it would have been highly unsafe to have staked, on their Decision, the Court Design of banishing Predestination from the Pulpits. Read his own Words: “ *Andrews* did not hold it fit for
“ any

(d) Fuller, Book XI. p. 108, 109.

(e) Parliamentary History, Vol. VI. p. 353, 354.

“ any Thing to be done in that Particular” [viz. concerning new modelling the Church of England from Calvinism to Arminianism], “ as the Case then stood: the “ Truth in those Opinions” [by the *Truth*, Heylyn means the *Arminian Tenets*] “ not being so generally entertained “ among the *Clergy*, nor the *Archbishop* [viz. Abböt, who “ was then living] and the greater Part of the *Prelates* “ so inclinable to them [i. e. to Arminius’s Doctrines], AS “ TO VENTURE THE DETERMINING OF THOSE “ POINTS TO A CONVOCATION. But that which “ was not thought fit, in that Conjunction, for a *Convocation*; his Majesty was pleased to take Order in, by “ his *Royal Edict*. Many Books had been written against “ *Mountagu, &c. (f).*”

Some considerable Time after the said Proclamation, or “ *Royal Edict*,” had been issued; Dr *Davenant*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, preached before the King at *White-Hall*. His Text, as himself acquaints us, was *Rom. vi. 23. The Gift of God is eternal Life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.* “ Here,” says his Lordship, “ I expounded the threefold “ Happiness of the Godly.

“ 1. Happy in the *Lord*, whom they serve: God, or “ Christ Jesus.

“ 2. Happy in the *Reward* of their Service: Eternal “ Life.

“ 3. Happy in the *Manner* of their Reward: *χαρισματα*, “ or *gratuitum Donum in Christo* [i. e. the *Reward* is God’s “ free, unmerited Gift in Christ].

“ The two former Points were not excepted against, “ In the Third and last, I consider’d *Eternal Life* in three “ divers Instances:

“ [1.] In the *ETERNAL DESTINATION* thereunto, which “ we call *ELECTION*.

T t 4.

“ [2.] In

“ [2.] In our CONVERSION, REGENERATION, or² [manifestative] “ JUSTIFICATION : which I termed the Em-
 “ bryo of *Eternal Life*.

“ [3.] And, last of all, in our *Coronation*, when full
 “ Possession of eternal Life is given us.

“ In all these, I shewed it to be *χαρισμα*, or the
 “ free Gift of God, through Christ; and not procured, or
 “ *præmerited*, by any special Acts depending upon the *Free-*
 “ *will* of Men. The last Point, wherein I opposed the
 “ *Popish Doctrine* of MERIT, was not disliked. The
 “ Second, wherein I shewed, that *Effectual Vocation*, or
 “ *Regeneration*, whereby we have *Eternal Life* inchoated
 “ and begun in us, is a *free Gift*; was not expressly taxed.
 “ Only the First was it which bred the Offence: not in
 “ Regard of the Doctrine itself, but because, as my Lord’s
 “ Grace [i. e. *Harsenet*, Archbishop of *York*] said, *the*
 “ *King had PROHIBITED the Debating thereof (g).*”

What was the Consequence of the excellent Bishop’s pre-
 suming to assert Predestination to the Face of the Arminian
 King and his whole Court? “ Presently after my Sermon
 “ was ended, it was signify’d unto me, by my Lord of *York*,
 “ my Lord of (b) *Winchester*, and my Lord Chamberlain,
 “ that

(g) Bishop *Davenant’s* Letter to Dr *Ward*, extant in *Fuller’s*
 Church Hist. Book XI. p. 140, 141.

(b) The Learned and Orthodox Dr *Launcelot Andrews* was this
 Bishop of *Winchester*: a Prelate, who, tho’ a Calvinist in Sentiment,
 knew how to keep his Calvinism to himself, like a good
 Courtier, when Necessity or Conveniency required. But if his
 Lordship could discretely throw a Mantle over his religious Prin-
 ciples, to conceale them from *Charles*, King of *England* (or, rather,
 superinduce a Veil of Gauze over them, by occasional Court-
 Compliance, to render them not so glaringly visible); yet, he dared
 not dissemble with GOD, the King of Heaven. On his Knees
 in his Closet, Bishop *Andrews* was as purely and scripturally or-
 thodox, as *Abbot*, *Usher*, *Carleton*, or *Davenant*. Witness, among
 many others, the following Passages, which occur in his private
 Devotions: and which, tho’ they passed the translating Pen of an
 eminent modern Arminian (for I never met with the *Greek* Ori-
 ginal)

“ that His Majesty was much displeas'd that I had stirr'd
 “ this Question, which he had forbidden to be meddled with-
 “ all, one Way or other. My Answer was, that I had de-
 “ livered Nothing but the RECEIVED DOCTRINE of our
 “ Church, ESTABLISHED in the SEVENTEENTH ARTICLE:
 “ and that I was ready to justify the Truth of what I had
 “ then taught. Their Answer was, that The DOCTRINE
 “ was NOT GAINSAYED; but His Highness had given
 “ Command, that these Questions should not be debated: and
 “ therefore He took it more offensivly, that any should be so
 “ bold, as, in His own Hearing, to break his Royal Com-
 “ mands.

“ My

ginal), run in this truly Evangelical Strain. “ Hold thou me in,
 “ with BIT and BRIDLE, when I would break away from thee. O
 “ thou, who hast invited me, COMPEL me to come in to my own Hap-
 “ piness!”——“ From thee, O Christ, the Anointed, Let me have
 “ the UNCTION of THY CHOSEN.”——“ Think upon the CONGRE-
 “ GATION which thou hast PURCHASED and REDEEMED of old.”
 “ ——What shall thy Servant say? That I will pay thee all? oh,
 “ no! I do most truly and sorrowfully confess, that I have NOTHING
 “ at all to pay.”——“ I have neither UNDERSTANDING, to dis-
 “ cern; nor POWER, to effect; nor, as I ought to have, even WILL
 “ to desire and seek, my truest and best Good.”——“ We have sinned,
 “ and have all become as an unclean Thing: Our RIGHTEOUSNESSES
 “ are like FILTHY RAGS;”——“ In me, that is, in my Flesh, dwell-
 “ eth NO good Thing.”——“ I believe His PROVIDENCE, by which
 “ the World, and ALL Things in it, are preserved, GOVERNED and
 “ perfected.”——“ Turn thou us, O good Lord, unto Thee; and so
 “ SHALL we be turned.”——“ O let Christ be an EFFECTUAL Pro-
 “ pitiation for my Sins, who is a SUFFICIENT Propitiation for the
 “ Sins of the whole World.”——Thou hast sent, “ Thy Christ, the
 “ Son of thy Love, that, by His spotless and holy LIFE, He might
 “ FULLFILL the OBEDIENCE of the Law; and, by the Sacrifice of
 “ his Death, might take away the Curses.”——“ Visit me with the
 “ Favor which thou bearest unto THY CHOSEN.”——Dean Stanhope's
 Translation of Bishop Andrews's Devotions, p. 19, 20, 22, 26, 41,
 52, 53, 56, 59, 71, 73, 93, 109.

“ My Reply was only this: that I never understood his Majesty had forbid the Handling of any Doctrine comprized in the ARTICLES of our Church; but only the raising of new Questions, or adding of new Sense thereunto: which I had not done, nor ever should do. This was all that passed betwixt us, on Sunday Night, after my Sermon.

“ The Matter thus rested, and I heard no more of it, ’till coming to the Tuesday Sermon, one of the Clerks of the Council told me, that I was to attend, at the Council Table, the next Day, at Two of the Clock. I told him, I would wait upon their Lordships, at the Hour appointed.

“ When I came thither, my Lord of York made a Speech of well-nigh Half an Hour long, aggravating the Boldness of my Offence, and shewing the many Inconveniences which it was likely to draw after it. ———
 “ When his Grace had finished, I desired the Lords, that, since I was called thither as an offender, I might not be put to answer a long Speech on the sudden; but that my Lord’s Grace would be pleased to charge me, Point by Point, and so to receive my Answer: for I did not yet understand, wherein I had broken any Commandment of his Majesty’s, which my Lord in his whole Discourse took for granted. Having made this Motion, I made no farther Answer: and all the Lords were silent for a while.

“ At length, my Lord’s Grace said, I knew, well enough, the Point which was urged against me: namely, the Breach of the King’s Declaration. Then I stood upon this Defence: That the Doctrine of Predestination, which I taught, was not forbidden by the Declaration; (1.) Because, in the Declaration, all the [thirty nine] Articles are established: amongst which, the Article of PREDESTINATION is One. — (2.) Because all Ministers are urged to SUBSCRIBE unto the Truth of the Article [viz. of the 17th Article, which concerns Predestination]; and all Subjects to continue in the Profession of THAT, as well as of the rest. Upon these
 “ and

“ and such like *Gerquadi*, I gathered, *It* [i. e. Predestination]
 “ could NOT be esteemed among FORBIDDEN, CURIOUS, or
 “ NEEDLESS *Doctrines*.

“ And here, I desired, that, out of any Clause in the
 “ Declaration, it might be shewed me, that, keeping myself
 “ WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF THE ARTICLE, I had
 “ transgressed his Majesty's Command. But the Declara-
 “ tion was not produced, nor any particular Words in it.
 “ Only this was urged, that the King's WILL was, that,
 “ for the Peace of the Church, these high Questions should be
 “ *forborne* (i).” His Lordship, after discretely promising
 a general Conformity to his Majesty's Pleasure, saluted the
 Council, and withdrew.

Fuller observes, that the Bishop, at his first coming into
 the Council Chamber, presented himself, before the Board,
 on his Knees. A Circumstance of mortifying Indignity,
 which the spiteful *Laud* was, in all Probability, the Pro-
 curer of. A very strange Sight, to behold a Bishop of
Salisbury, one of the most respectable Peers of the Realm,
 constrained to that humiliating Posture, only for Preach-
 ing a Doctrine to which he had solemnly subscribed; and
 which was confessed to be a true Doctrine, by the very
 Persons themselves who were the Inflicters of the Dis-
 grace, and at the very Time when the Disgrace was in-
 flicted! This we learn from the Bishop's own Narrative:
 “ *Tha' it grieved me,*” says *Davenant*, “ that the ESTA-
 “ BLISHED DOCTRINE of our CHURCH should be *distasted*;
 “ yet, it grieved me the less, because the TRUTH of what I
 “ delivered was ACKNOWLEDGED even by Those who thought
 “ fit to have me Questioned for the Delivery of it (k).” With
 what Face could *Charles's* Arminian Bishops reprimand so
 great a Prelate as *Davenant*, for inculcating a scriptural
 Tenet, to which the Reprimanders themselves had set
 their own Hands, and even then admitted to be a Truth
 of the Bible and of the Church?

On

(i) *Idem*, apud *Eund. Ibid.* p. 139, 140. (k) *Ibid.* p. 139.

On his Knees he might have remained, during the whole Time of his Continuance before the Privy Council, “ for any Favor he found from any of his own Function there present. But the Temporal Lords bade him *Arise, and stand to his own Defence; being as yet only Accused, not Con- victed* (l).” Bishop *Laud*, who had, ’tis likely, been one of *Davenant’s* Auditory at Whitehall, when the offensive Sermon was preached; and who was, evidently, the Contriver of the Preacher’s Embroilment; contented himself with having already, effectually played his Part behind the Curtain: and, tho’ present as a Privy Counsellor, slyly refrained from assuming any visible Share in the Examination of *Davenant*. “ Doctor *Harsnet*, Arch- bishop of *Yörk*, managed all the Business against [*Salisbury*]. Bishop *Laud*, walking by, *all the while, in Silence, spake not one Word* (m).” But every Body knew; by whose Magic this Court Storm had been raised.

The Storm, however, was quickly layed. Within a short Time, good Bishop *Davenant* was admitted to kiss the King’s Hand, What passed, on that Occasion, is worthy of Perusal. “ When I came in, his Majesty declared his Resolution that he would NOT HAVE this high Point” [viz. the high Point of Predestination] “ meddled with, or debated, either the one Way, or the other; because it was too high for the People’s Understanding: and other Points, which concern Reformation and Newness of Life, were more needfull and profitable. I promised Obedience therein: and so, kissing his Majesty’s Hand, departed (n).” Was not the King an hopefull Proficient in *Laud’s* Arminian School? He “ would not have” Predestination “ meddled with, or debated, either ONE Way or the other:” i. e. he pretended to prohibit the opposing, no less than the asserting, of that Doctrine. But he meant no more than Half of what he said. *Mountagu* (to mention

(l) Fuller, *Ibid.* p. 138. (m) Fuller, *Ibid.* (n) *Ibid.* p. 149.

mention a single Instance, out of many) was ENCOURAGED and PROMOTED, for *opposing* Predestination: i. e. for literally transgressing the King's ostensible Injunction. Who sees not the Drift, and Design, of all this?—Let me add, that the *Absolute Sovereignty* of the Most High and Only Wife GOD, manifested in the free Predestination of Men, according to the Purpose of His unerring Will; was contravened, with an exceeding ill grace, by such a Monarch as *Charles*, who was for rendering HIS OWN Authority ABSOLUTE over the Lips, the Actions, the Property, the Persons, and even the religious Opinions, of All the Men who lived within the Limits of the British Dominion.—An *Earthly* Prince may establish an unbounded Authority, and be blameless! but the King of *Heaven* cannot dispose as He pleases of His own, without being tyrannical and unjust!

II. The other Instance, which I shall just mention, of the Methods by which *Laud* sought to graft Arminianism on the Creed of these Nations; discovers no less of insidious Artifice, than his foregoing Treatment of Davenant displays of open Insolence and Coercion.—I mean the thin Craft and the shallow Subtilty, with which he pretended to supersede those *Articles of Religion*, which had been solemnly recognized and admitted by the Bishops and Clergy of *Ireland*, assembled, in full Convocation, at *Dublin*, in the Year 1615.

Of those Articles, the following are some.

“ God, from all Eternity, did, by His unchangeable
 “ Counsel, ordain whatsoever in Time should come to
 “ pass. Yet so, as, thereby, no Violence is offered to
 “ the Wills of the reasonable Creatures: and neither the
 “ Liberty, nor the Contingency, of the second Causes, is
 “ taken away; but established rather.

“ By the same Eternal Counsel, God hath predestina-
 “ ted some unto Life, and reprobated some unto Death
 “ of both which, there is a certain Number, known
 “ only to God, which can neither be increased nor di-
 “ minished.

“ The

“ The Cause, moving God to predetermine to life; is;
 “ not the foreseeing of Faith, or Perseverance, or good
 “ Works, or of any Thing which is in the Person pre-
 “ destined; but only the Good Pleasure of God himself:
 “ For, all Things being ordained for the Manifestation
 “ of His Glory, and His Glory being to appear both in
 “ the Works of His Mercy and of His Justice; it seemed
 “ good to His heavenly Wisdom, to chuse out a certain
 “ Number, towards whom He would extend His unde-
 “ served Mercy: leaving the rest, to be Spectacles of His
 “ Justice.

“ All God’s Elect are, in their Time, inseparably united
 “ unto Christ, by the effectual and vital Influence of the
 “ Holy Ghost, derived from Him [i. e. from Christ], as
 “ from the Head, to every true Member of his mystical
 “ Body. And, being thus made one with Christ, they
 “ are truly Regenerated, and made Partakers of him and
 “ all his Benefits (o).”

More of these excellent Articles may be seen, in the
 Performance refer’d to below. The *Lambeth* Articles, and
 also as many of our own xxxix as directly relate to the Cal-
 vinistic Doctrines, were incorporated with the *Irish* Con-
 fession; and the Whole ratified by the Authority of King
James I. the then reigning Prince.

His Son *Charles* had filled the Throne, between 9 and
 10 years, e’er *Laud* would venture to nibble publicly at
 the said Confession. With what low Arts of Intrigue and
 Address he, at length, in the Year 1634, feigned to have
 compassed his Point, may be learned from *Heylyn* (p).
 Matters were conducted with such Duplicity, that even
 the Learned and Sagacious Archbishop *Usher* did not pe-
 netrate the more than Jesuitic Slyness of *Laud*, *Strafford*,
 and *Bramhall*. Witness that Part of *Usher*’s Letter to his
 Friend Dr. *Ward* (the same Dr. *Ward* who had assisted
 at the Synod of *Dort*); wherein the upright, unsuspect-
 ing

(o) *Anti-Armin.* p. 17—20. (p) *Life of Laud*, p. 255—258.

ing Primate thus apprizes *Ward*, of what had passed in the *Irish Convocation of 1634*. "*The Articles of Religion, agreed upon in our former Synod, ANNO 1615, we BEP STAND AS THEY DID BEFORE. But, for the MANY FESTING of our AGREEMENT with the Church of England, we have RECEIVED and APPROVED your Articles ALSO*" [i. e. the 39 Articles], "*concluded in the Year 1572: as you may see in the First of our Canons (9)*"

The Archbishop was in the right. But *Laud* and his Party endeavored to infer, that the Church of Ireland, by receiving and approving the 39 Articles of the Church of England, had actually QUITTED and ABOLISHED the *Irish Articles antecedently established in 1615*. This was the Quirk, which *Laud* had in view from the first. But it was a Quirk, and nothing else. For, by "*receiving*" and "*approving*" the English Articles "*Also*"; the Irish Prelates and Clergy did neither cancel nor supersede their own prior Articles, but only "*manifested*"; or publicly and deliberately avowed, their Doctrinal "*Agreement*" with the Church established on this side St. George's Channel. So that *Laud's* Arminian Policy amounted to no more, after all, than a Stroke of mere Chicane; which shewed, indeed; the Sophistry and Deceit whereof he was capable, but which, in Reality, left the Old Articles standing in full Force "*as they did before*."

The Articles of 1615, are, to this Day, a Part of the National Creed established in *Ireland*. They were solemnly admitted by the Ecclesiastical Power, and as solemnly ratified by the Civil. They could only be repealed and abolished by the same Authority, which had established them. But this has never been done. Consequently, they are in full Force, to this very Hour; and, together with our own xxxix (admitted "*Also*," merely by way of declaratively "*manifesting*" or acknowledging the "*Agreement*" between the two Churches), constitute the
legal

(9) *Usher's Letters*, annexed to his Life by *Dt. Parr*; Let. 185. P. 477.

Legal Standard of Faith in that Kingdom. For the Truth of this, we have not only the unexceptionable Testimony of Archbishop *Usher* himself (who presided, personally, in this Convocation of 1634, when the English Articles were “*Also*” received); but likewise the Evidence of the Canon, then and there passed, and which to this Moment keeps its Place at the Head of the Irish “*Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical.*” It runs thus. “For the *Manifestation* of our *Agreement* with the Church of England, in the Confession of the *same* Christian Faith, and the 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 the Convocation holden at *London*, in the year of our Lord God, 1572, 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* or *erroneous*; or such as he may not, with a good Conscience, subscribe unto; Let him be Excommunicated, and not Absolved before he make a public Revocation of his Error.” Here is not the remotest Hint, concerning any setting aside of the former Articles. The Canon only *associates* the 39 Articles with the preceding Ones, and gives to the former the same Weight of Respectability in *Ireland*, which they bear in *England*.

Dr *Fuller*, therefore, was too hasty, in asserting, that the Irish Articles were “utterly excluded (r).” There was no Exclusion, nor Amputation, in the Case. *Laud* himself, some years afterwards, confessed the very Point I am now maintaining. He tells us, that one of the Accusations against him, on his Tryal, in 1644, was, concerning “*The Articles of Ireland, which call the Pope the Man of Sin.* But,” continues *Laud*, “*the Articles of Ireland* *bind*

(r) Church Hist. B. II. p. 149.

“ bind neither this Church nor me (s).”——*Exceptio probat Regulam in non-exceptionis.* His Grace’s Observation decides the Question at once. “ The Articles of Ireland bind not” the Church of England, “ nor me” as an English Prelate. What was this, but allowing, to every Purpose of Argument, that the Irish Articles CONTINUED to “ bind” the Church and Bishops of *that* Kingdom, though they bound not the Church and Bishops of *this*? I must again remind my Reader, that *Laud* advanced the above Remark, in the year 1644: which was no fewer than *Ten* Years after the Irish Articles are pretended to have been sat aside.—It remains, That the famous Articles of Ireland were *never Repealed* at all. Without doubt, *Laud intended* to repeal them, when due Opportunity should serve; and associated the English Articles with the Irish Ones, by way of Prelude to the future Abolition of the latter. But the Civil Storm, which soon began to thicken, rendered That, and many similar Projects of his, abortive. It saved the 39 Articles themselves from Annihilation.

How violently Matters were carried, in *England*, for the Suppression of the Old Doctrines, and for the Extension of Arminianism; appears, among a Thousand Instances besides, from the Visitation-Articles, issued by *Laud’s* trusty Friend and pliable Machine, *Dr. Richard Mountagu*. When this profligate Priest disgraced the Mitre of *Norwich*; among the Questions, propounded to the Church-Wardens of that Diocese, was the following: “ *Doth your Minister, commonly, or of set Purpose, in his popular Sermons, fall upon those much-disputed and little-understood Doctrines of God’s eternal PREDESTINATION, of ELECTION antecedent, of REPROBATION irrespective without Sinne foreseene, of FREE-WILL, of PERSEVERANCE and not Falling from-Grace; Points obscure, unfoldable, unfoord-able, untractable (t)?*”

U u

This,

(s) *Laud’s* Hist. of his own Troubles and Tryal, Vol. I. p. 390. Published by Mr. *Wharton* 1695. (t) *Canterburie’s Doome*, p. 177.

This, and similar Practices of such Diocefans as were Tools to the Court, were the Fruits of Archbishop *Laud's* own "Injunctions", signify'd to the Bishops in general, and charging them, "*In his Majesty's Name*," that they should "Take SPECIAL Care, that no Minister, nor Lecturer, in their Dioceffe, should Preach upon the prohibited controverted Points, contrary to his Majesty's Declarations and Instructions:" and that they, the Bishops, "should give an yearly Account, to the Archbishop, of their Proceedings herein (u)." And thus, as Mr (x) Prynne, truly observes,

(u) Ibid, (x) Let none except against Mr *William Prynne*, as tho' he were an incompetent Evidence, The very Reverse is true. Hence he is frequently cited and referr'd to by *Heylyn* himself: and (which imparts infinitely stronger Sanction to the Precedent) by the respectable Mr *Strype*, who was particularly delicate, as to the Sources from whence he drew his Intelligence.—*Prynne* was warmly attach'd to the Doctrinal Principles of the Church of England, and even wrote much in their Defence: tho' the inhuman Severitys, which he experienced at the hands of the furious Ecclesiastics then in Power, gave him some Distaste of Episcopacy itself. Nor were even his political Sentiments carry'd to such an Extreme, as to render them peculiarly obnoxious. In the long Parliament, he attached himself, with Zeal, to the Interests of King *Charles I.* and was one of Those who voted his Majesty's Concessions *satisfactory*: for which, the Army excluded him from the House of Commons. He was deemed so sturdy a Royalist, that, during the Usurpation, *Cromwell*, on whom he had severely reflected in his Writings, threw him into Prison. When Things began to verge toward the Restoration of *Charles II.* in 1659, Mr *Prynne* was permitted to resume his seat in Parliament: where his Services, to the then excluded Prince, were so distinguished; and his Warmth, for recalling him, so violent; that even General *Monk* advised him, to moderate his Zeal. *Charles* the Second, when restored, was so sensible of his Ability and Merit, that he appointed him Chief Keeper of the Tower Records, with a Salary of 500*l.* per Annum; which Office he enjoyed to his Death. His Acceptance of this Promotion is, perhaps, the largest Blot in his Scutcheon. That a Man of

Prynne's

observes, "The *Arminian* Errors were freely vented, in
 " all Diocesses, without any public Opposition: and
 " Those

Prynne's noble Spirit, who had, both under the Encroachments of *Charles* the First, and under the Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*, made such glorious stands against Tyranny, and suffer'd so greatly in the Cause of Civil and Ecclesiastical Liberty; should, afterwards, so far degenerate from the Fervor of his first Love, as to hold an Appointment under so abandon'd a Being as the Second *Charles*; would Astonish, if any human Deviations from *Vir.ue* could justify Astonishment — Had *Prynne* lost his Life, when he lost his Ears; his Name had descended, with untarnish'd Lustre, to Posterity.

This Learned, Orthodox, and indefatigable Man, was born at *Swainswick*, in *Somersetshire*; received his School Education at *Bath*; was a Graduate of *Oriel* College, *Oxford*; and became Barrister, Benchet, and Reader, at *Lincoln's* Inn. During the Civil Commotions, he sat in Parliament for *Newport*, in *Cornwall*. After the Restoration, he was one of the Members for *Bath*.

He was a profound and masterly, but neither a concise, nor a polite, Writer. His Works, many of which (particularly, in Divinity and Antiquity) are extremely valuable and usefull; are said to amount to no fewer than *forty* Volumes in Folio and Quarto.

Old *Anthony Wood*, who treats the Memory of this great Man with much indecent Scurrility, yet does Justice to his Industry: "I verily believe," says *Anthony*, "that, if rightly computed, he wrote a *Sheet*, for every *Day* of his Life; reckoning from the Time when he came to the Use of Reason and the State of Man."

The said *Anthony's* Account of Mr *Prynne's* Method of Study, is amusing, for the Quaintness with which it is expressed. "His Custom, when he study'd, was, to put on a long quilted Cap, which came an Inch over his Eyes; serving, as an Umbrella, to defend them from too much Light: And, seldom eating a Dinner, would, every three Hours or more, be maunching a Roll of Bread; and now and then refresh his exhausted Spirits with Ale, brought to him by his Servant. — He brought his Body into an ill Habit, and so, consequently, shorten'd his
 " Days,

“ Those who out of Zeal to Truth, durst open their
 “ Mouths to refute them, were silenced, suspended, and
 “ brought into the High Commission, to their Undoing ;
 “ while the *Arminians*, on the contrary, had free Liberty
 “ to broach their erroneous Tenets, without Controll,
 “ and were advanced to the greatest Benefices and Ec-
 “ clesiastical Dignitys (y).”

Had *Charles's* political Views been crowned with Suc-
 cess, Archbishop *Laud* would, most undoubtedly, have
 given the *coup de grace* to our Established Calvinism, by
 procuring the xxxix *Articles* to be repealed in Form, and
 by substituting *Arminian* ones in their Room. Together
 with the utter Extinction of *Civil Liberty*, the *Church*
 would have been shorn of those Evangelical Principles,
 which, through the good Hand of God upon us, are still
 it's Glory. We had been made

“ An Island in our Doctrines, far disjoin'd
 “ From the whole World of Protestants beside.”

But, as Things then stood, the Repeal of the *Articles* would
 have been too dangerous a Stride. Tho' *Laud* took Care to
 have the *Bishoprics* and *Crown Benefices*, as fast as they
 became vacant, filled up, for the most Part, by a Colony
 of new *Arminians* ; yet, the old Calvinistic *Prelates* and
Beneficiarys did not dye off, with sufficient Rapidity, for
 him to secure a Majority in the Convocation. Besides:
 the Body of the People, incapacitated from being corrupt-
 ed by *Preferment*, would never have parted tamely with
 their

“ Days, by too much Action and Concernment Day and Night.”
 —This hard Student, however, held out 'till the 69th, if not the
 70th Year of his Age. A Period, whereof poor *Anthony Wood*
 came short, by six or seven Years.

Mr *Pryane* dyed, at his Chambers in *Lincoln's Inn*, A. D. 1669.
 And lies bury'd in the Walk, under the Chapel there, among the
 Pillars which support that elegant Fabric.

(y) *Cant. Decme*, u. f.

their Protestant Creed, had *Laud* even been able to have pack'd an Ecclesiastical Convocation to his Mind. The Members of the Church of England had, in general, at *that Time*, a very large Portion of *Principle* and *Virtue*: which render'd them, as a Body, not only respectable, but formidable. Religion was deemed *sacred*, by the Public; and a thing *worthy of* CONTENDING *for*. The Temper of those Times would not have borne the Total Alteration at which *Laud* aimed. Matters were, therefore, to be done by Degrees. The Reformed Doctrine, established by Law, and rooted in the Hearts of the Nation, could not, with Safety to its Assailants, be taken, *Sword in hand*; but they flatter'd themselves, that it might be gradually *undetermined*. The Archbishop was forced to content himself, for the present, with altering the *Face* of the Church, before he would venture to make a home Thrust at her *internal* Constitution. He was for *painting* her first, and for completely *debauching* her afterwards. The Superinduction of *Popish Ceremonys* was to clear the Way for That of *Popish Arminianism*: which two Streams, when united in their Course, were to have empty'd themselves into the Dead Sea of *Arbitrary Power*.

But, just as the luckless Metropolitan had made a promising Entrance on his Toil; Providence stopped him short: and the Adventurer *fell*, himself, *into the Pit which he had made* for the Country that bred him, and for the Church that fed him. How unjustifiable soever (humanly speaking) the Means might be, which brought this Prelate to the Scaffold; the Church and Kingdom of England would have had little Reason to lament his Fall, had he fallen alone, and not, like the apostate Son of the Morning, dragged *other Stars*, from their Orbits, with his Tail. —It is very remarkable, that, on his Tryal, he utterly denied himself to be either an Arminian, or a Promoter of Arminianism. A Denial, badly calculated to impress us with a favorable Idea of his Regard to Veracity. “*I answer in general,*” said he, “*that I NEVER endeavoured*

“ to introduce ARMINIANISM into our Church; nor EVER
 “ maintained any ARMINIAN Opinions. ——— I did
 “ neither PROTECT, nor COUNTENANCE, the ARMINIANS
 “ Persons, Books, or TENETS. ——— True it is, I was,
 “ in a Declaration of the Commons House, taxed as a Favourer
 “ [and] Advancer of ARMINIANS and their OPINIONS;
 “ without any particular Proofs at all: which was A GREAT
 “ SLANDER to me (z).” O Human Nature, how low
 art thou capable of falling !

I shall close this Essay, With a short and general Review,

1. Of the Calvinism of our Old English Bishops.
2. Of the Calvinism of our English Universities.
3. Of the State of the Calvinistic Doctrines in our Church, from the Death of Archbishop Laud, to the present Time ;
—And,
4. Obviate an *Objection* or two, by which those Doctrines are defamed.

I. Wha has been already observed, concerning the principal Bishops, who flourished under King *Edward VI.* (during whose Reign the Reformation was first established in England); renders any farther Demonstration, of their Calvinism, entirely needless. *Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Ferrar, Ponet*, were eminent among the golden Fathers who adorned that truly Protestant Period.

Under *Elizabeth*, the Church could boast of Prelates no less sound, holy, and learned. Hear how pathetically their Orthodoxy was lamented by the Popish Party. “ In
 “ England,” said the zealous *Schultingius*, “ CALVIN’S
 “ *Book of Institutions* is almost preferred to the Bible itself”
 [had the Papist said, ‘ In England, Calvin’s Institutions are valued next after the Bible,’ he had come nearer the Mark]. “ The pretended English Bishops enjoin
 “ all the Clergy to get the Book almost by Heart, never to have
 “ it out of their Hands, to lay it by them in a conspicuous Part
 “ of their Pulpits; in a Word, to prize and keep it as carefully,
 “ fully, as the old Romans are said to have preserved the Sy-
 “ billine

(z) *Cant. Doome*, p. 508.

“*billine Oracles.*” Another angry Papist (Stapleton, a Native of our own Island) thus made his Moan: “*The Institutions of CALVIN are so greatly esteemed in England, that the Book has been most accurately translated into English, and is even fixed in the Parish Churches for the People to read. Moreover, in Each of the two Universities, after the Students have finished their Circuit in Philosophy; as many of them, as are designed for the Ministry, are lectured first of all in that Book (a).*”

Indeed, the Doctrinal Calvinism of Elizabeth's Bishops is almost incapable of Exaggeration. Would they, in the memorable Convocation of 1562, have “Thought fit that Ministers should converse in *Ponet's Catechism,*” in Order to “Learn true Divinity from it (b);” if they themselves had not been Calvinists of the strongest Dye?

Parkhurst, Bishop of *Norwich,* shall give us a Sample, how highly the foreign Calvinistic Divines were esteemed and venerated by our Episcopal Bench. That ingenious Prelate thus celebrated the Praises (A. D. 1573.) of some transmarine Worthies who were then living:

*De BULLINGERO, BIBLIANDRO, MARTYRE, ZANCHÔ,
Et GUALTHERO, GESNERO, de PELICANO,
Nostrum Judicium si, forsan, COLE, requiris;
Has ego Doctrinâ eximios, Pietate gravesque,
Judice: quis similes perpaucos hic habet Orbis (c).*

That is: “Do you ask, What I think of *Bullinger,* “*Bibliander,* *Peter Martyr,* *Zanchius,* *Gualter,* *Gesner,* “and *Pelicanus*? My Opinion of them is, that they are “illustrious in Point of Learning, venerable for their “Piety, and that they have very few equals in the whole “World.”

Even in the Reign of *Charles I.* a new Edition of *Doctor Willett's* famous Book, entitled, *Synopsis Papismi* (from which, some Extracts have been laid before the Reader,

(a) Quoted by *Bayle*, Vol. V. p. 87. (b) *Strype's Annals*, Vol. I. p. 354. (c) *Strype's Annals*, Vol. II. p. 283.

SECT. XVIII.) was favor'd with a Patent, the Preamble to which takes Notice, "That the Doctor was a very pain-
 " full Man in Behalf of the Church, and that his *Synopsis*
 " had been *approved by the BISHOPS*; held in *great Esteem*
 " *by the TWO UNIVERSITYS*; and much desired by All
 " the Learned, *both of the CLERGY and LAITY*, through-
 " out the King's Dominions (*d*)." This was in 1630. So uncorrupt in Doctrine did the *Bishops*, the *Universitys*, the *Clergy*, and the *People*, generally, continue; even under the malignant Aspect of the *Laudæan Planet*!

Descend we lower still. The Reign of *Charles II.* was not wholly undignify'd with Calvinistic Bishops. Witness the great Doctor *Saunderson*, Bishop of *Lincoln*. "When I
 " began," says this valuable Prelate, "to set myself to the
 " Study of Divinity as my proper Business, *Calvin's* In-
 " stitutions were recommended to me, as they were ge-
 " nerally to all young Scholars in those Times, *as the BEST*
 " *and PERFECTEST System of Divinity*, and the *fittest* to
 " be laid as a *Groundwork* in the Study of that Profession.
 " And indeed my Expectation was not at all deceived,
 " in the Reading of those Institutions (*e*)." Dr *Edwards*,
 to whom I am indebted for this Quotation, adds, that, as Bishop *Saunderson* "began with *Calvin*, so he proceeded
 " to approve of his [*Calvin's*] Sentiments, through his
 " whole Life: as we see in his Letters to Dr *Hammond*,
 " and in other Parts of his Writings (*f*)."—His Lordship was the Author of an admirable Treatise, intitled, *Pax Ecclesiæ*: in which, among a great Number of other judicious Observations, the discerning Prelate thus accounts for the "Advantages," on which the "*Arminian Party*
 " hath and yet doth gain Strength to itself." As, for Instance, "The publishing of Mr *Mountagu's* Appeal, with
 " Allowance [i. e. under the Sanction of Court-Counte-
 " nance]: which both hath given Confidence to sundry,
 " who before were *Arminians*; but in secret, now to walk
 " unmasked,

(*d*) *Acta Regia*, p. 789.

(*e*) See *Edwards's Veritas Redux*, p. 542,

(*f*) *Ibid.*

“ unmasked, and to profess their Opinions publicly in all
 “ Companys.” The good Bishop also accounted for the
 Progress of the new Doctrine, on another Consideration :
 viz. “ The *Plausibleness* of Arminianism, and the *Congruity*
 “ it hath, in sundry Points, with the Principles of *corrupt*
 “ *Nature* and of Carnal Reason. For ’tis a wonderfull
 “ *Tickling* to Flesh and Blood, to have the Powers of Na-
 “ ture magnify’d, and to hear itself flatter’d, as if She
 “ carry’d the greatest Stroke in the Work of Salvation :
 “ especially, when those Soothings are conveyed under the
 “ *Pretence* of Vindicating the Dispensations of God’s Pro-
 “ vidence from the Imputation of Injustice.” His Lord-
 ship then proceeds to specify, what he terms, “ The
 “ *manifold Cunning* of the *Arminians*, to advance their
 “ own Party : as, 1. In pleading for a Liberty for every
 “ Man to abound in his own Sense, in Things undeter-
 “ mined by the Church : that so they [the *Arminians*]
 “ may spread their own Tenets the more freely. Whereas,
 “ yet, it is too apparent, by their Writings and Speeches,
 “ that their Intent and Endeavor is, to take the Benefit
 “ of this Liberty, themselves ; but not to allow it to those
 “ that dissent from them.—2. In *bragging* out some of their
 “ private Tenets, *as if* they were the received *Established*
 “ *Doctrine* of the Church of England ; by *forcing* the Words
 “ of Articles, or Common Prayer Book, to a Sense which
 “ appeareth not to have been intended therein : as Mr
 “ *Mountagu* hath done, in the Point of *falling from Grace*.
 “ Whereas the CONTRARY Tenet, viz. of the FINAL
 “ PERSEVERANCE of the Righteous in Grace and Faith,
 “ may be, by as strong Evidence, every Way, and by
 “ as natural Deducement, collected out of the said Books :
 “ as shall be easily proved, if it be required.—3. In seek-
 “ ing to derive Envy on the opposite [i. e. on the Calvi-
 “ nistic] Opinions ; by delivering them in Terms odious,
 “ and of ill and suspicious Sound.—4. Which is the most
 “ *unjust* and *uncharitable* Course of all the rest, in seeking
 “ to

“ to draw the Persons, of those that dissent from them,
 “ into Dislike with the State: as if they [i. e. as if the
 “ *Calvinists*] were *Puritans*, or *Disciplinarians*, or that
 “ Way affected.” So much for Bishop *Saunderson*’s Judge-
 “ ment, concerning the “ *manifest, unjust, and uncharitable*
 “ *Cunning* of the *Arminians*, to advance their own Party.”

—But what was his Judgement, concerning the *Calvinistic*
System itself? Read it, in his own Words. “ Lest this Co-
 “ venant [i. e. the Covenant of Grace and Redemption]
 “ should yet be ineffectual, and Christ dye in vain; be-
 “ cause none of the Sons of Adam, left to themselves,
 “ especially in this wretched State of [original] Corrup-
 “ tion, could actually have repented and believed in Christ;
 “ [it pleased God] for the Glory of His GRACE, to elect
 “ and call a certain Number of particular Persons, out of
 “ the Corrupted Lump of Mankind, to be advanced into
 “ this Covenant, and thereby entitled to Salvation: and
 “ that without ANY Cause, or Motive, at all, in themselves;
 “ but MERELY of His [i. e. of God’s] own free Grace
 “ and good Pleasure in Jesus Christ: Prætermittting, and
 “ passing by the rest, to perish justly in their Sins.”—It is,
 adds His Lordship, a Part of God’s Decree, “ To confer,
 “ in due Season, upon the Persons so elected, all fit and
 “ effectual Means and Graces, needful for them, unto Sal-
 “ vation: proportionably to their personal Capacitys and
 “ Conditions. ————— Thus much, concerning the
 “ Salvation of those, whom God hath of His free Mercy
 “ elected thereunto. But, with the *Reprobates*, whom He
 “ hath in His Justice appointed to Destruction, He dealeth
 “ in another Fashion: as concerning whom, He hath De-
 “ creed, either,

“ 1. To afford them neither the Extraordinary, nor so
 “ much as the Outward and Ordinary Means of Faith.
 “ Or else,

“ 2. In the Presence of the Outward Means of the
 “ Word and Sacraments, to withhold the inward Concur-
 “ rence of his enlightening and renewing Spirit to work
 “ with

“ with those Means. For want whereof, they [the outward Means] become *ineffectual* to them [viz. to the Reprobate] for their good; working upon them either *malignantly*, so as their Hearts are *the MORE hardened* thereby in Sin and Unbelief; or *infirmly*, so as *not to work* in them a perfect Conversion: but to produce (instead of the gracious Habits of Sanctification, as Faith, Repentance, Charity, Humility, &c.) some weak and infirm *Shadows* of those Graces: which, for their formal Semblance sake, do sometimes bear the *Name* of those Graces they resemble, but were *never*, in the mean Time, the very *true* Graces themselves; and, in the End, are *discovered to have been FALSE*, by the *Want of PERSISTENCE* (g).—I shall only add, from the same masterly Tract, his Lordship's Idea of *Efficacious Grace*. Upon the *Elect*, says he, who live to the Use of Reason, God confers “Such a Measure of *Faith* in the Son of God, of *Repentance* from Dead Works, of new and holy *Obedience* to God's Commandments, together with *final Perseverance* in all these; as, in His excellent Wisdom, He seeth meet: wrought and preserved in them, *outwardly*, by the Word and Sacraments; and, *inwardly*, by the Operation of His holy Spirit, shed in their Hearts. Whereby, *sweetly* and without Constraint [i. e. without forcible Compulsion], but yet *effectually*, their *UNDERSTANDINGS, WILLS, and AFFECTIONS*, are *subdued* to the Acknowledgement and Obedience of the Gospel: and both these are done, ordinarily, and by ordinary Means (h).” So writes the Bishop, to whom our English *Liturgy* is indebted for its judicious *Preface*, which begins with, “*It has been the Wisdom of the Church, &c.*”

The truly Apostolic Bishop *Pearson* (who succeeded the no less excellent Bishop *Wilkins*, in the See of *Chester*) was
Another

(g) Bishop *Saunderson*, in his *Pax Ecclesiæ*; p. 59, 61—63, 69, 70, 72, 73 — Annexed to his *Life* by *Walton*. Edit. 1678.

(h) Bishop *Saunderson*, *Ibid.* p. 70, 71.

Another of *Charles* the II's Prelates, who did Honor to the Rochet. *Dr Pearson's* Calvinism is so well known, (consult, for Instance, his valuable Exposition of the Creed), that I shall only cite a memorable Anecdote of him, on the Testimony of the Learned *Dr John Edwards*. "When I was a young Master of Arts," said *Pearson*, to *Edwards*, "I thought there was no Difficulty in these grand Articles" [viz. in the Articles which divide the Calvinists and the Arminians]; "and that I was able to determine any of them with Ease: especially, on the *Arminian* Side. But I have, since, found it otherwise. And I disapprove of Men's rash censuring and condemning the other [viz. the *Calvinistic*] side (*i*)."
And, indeed, as *Dr Edwards* observes, we might have guessed this to be the *Bishop's* Inclination, by his approving of *Mr Hales's* Remains.

So lately, as in the Reign of *Queen Anne*, the English Bench was graced with a *Beveridge*. But further, than the Reign of that *Queen*, this Deponent saith not.

II. Now for a Sketch of the former *State of Religion* in the two UNIVERSITIES.

Every Body knows the Situation, in which Religious Affairs were left by *Henry VIII*. That Monarch, as *Luther* smartly and justly expressed it, "Killed the Pope's Body, but saved his Soul alive (*k*):" i. e. his Majesty stabbed the Papal (*l*) Supremacy; continuing, however,
 to

(*i*) *Edwards's Veritas Redux*, p. 543. (*k*) *Luther's Divine Discourses*, or *Table Talk*; p. 464.—Lond. 1652. Folio.

(*l*) And even "the Pope's Body," as *Luther* termed it, bade very fair, at one Time, for a Revival: *Henry* having consented to negotiate a Reconciliation with *Clement* the Seventh, under the healing Auspices of the French King (*Francis I.*), who had "Pre-vailed with the Pope to promise, that, if the King [of England] would send a Proxy to Rome, and thereby submit his Cause to the holy See; he [the Pope] would appoint Commissioners to meet at *Cambray*, and, immediately afterwards, pronounce
 " the

to the last Hour of his Life, a devoted Bigot to the essential *Doctrines* of the Roman Church.

But, "After the Death of *Henry*; by the industrious
 "Zeal of *Calvin* and his Disciples, more especially *Peter*
 "Martyr, ——— the [*English*] UNIVERSITYS, SCHOOLS,
 "and CHURCHES, became the ORACLES of CALVINISM.
 "—————Hence it happened, that, when it was proposed,
 "under the Reign of *Edward VI.* to give a fixt and stable
 "Turn to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church [of
 "England]; *Geneva* was ACKNOWLEDGED as a Sister-
 "Church, and the *Theological System*, there established by
 "CALVIN, was adopted, and rendered THE PUBLIC RULE
 "OF FAITH in England. This, however, was done, with-
 " out

" the Sentence of Divorce, required of him. *Bellay*, Bishop of
 " Paris, was next dispatched to London: and obtained a Promise
 " of the King, that *he would submit his Cause to the Roman Con-*
 " *sistory, provided the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction were excluded*
 " *from it.* The Prelate carry'd this Verbal Promise to Rome:
 " and the Pope agreed, that, *If the King would sign a written*
 " *Agreement to the same Purpose, his Demands should be fully com-*
 " *plied with.* A Day was appointed, for the Return of the Mes-
 " senger. But the greatest Affairs, often, depend on the most fri-
 " volous Incidents. The Courier, who carry'd the King's writ-
 " ten Promise, was detained beyond the Day appointed. News
 " was brought to Rome, that a Libel had been published in
 " England against the Court of Rome, and a Farce acted before
 " the King in Derision of the Pope and Cardinals. The Pope
 " and Cardinals entered into the Consistory, enflamed with Anger:
 " and, by a præcipitate Sentence, the Marriage of *Henry* and
 " *Catharine* was pronounced valid, and *Henry* declared to be ex-
 " communicated if he refused to adhere to it.—Two Days after,
 " the Courier arrived: and *Clement*, who had been hurry'd from
 " his usual Prudence, found, that, tho' he repented heartily of
 " this hasty Measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it,
 " or re-place Affairs on the same Footing as before." *Hume*,
 Vol. IV. p. 126, 127.

Thus, had not the Pope regarded his *Infallibility*, as too nice a
 Point of Honor to be sacrificed by rescinding his late Act; his
Jurisdiction had been re-established in England.

“out any Change of the Form of Episcopal Government”(m).” Thus stood Matters, while *Edward* swayed the Sceptre.

When *Mary* governed, the Protestant Fabric, reared by *Edward*, was overturned: and as the Universities, under *Him*, had been Reformed from Popery to Calvinism; they were, under *Her*, forcibly carry'd back from Calvinism to Popery.

Elizabeth brought Things to the right Pass again; and our “Universities,” as well as our Churches, became, once more, “the Oracles of Calvinism:” and so they continued, not only 'till that good Queen ascended to a brighter Crown, but through the Reign of her Successor *James*, and (notwithstanding *Laud*'s vehement Efforts to the contrary) through the Arminian Reign of *Charles* the First.—I shall give a few Instances.

In 1595, *William Barrett*, for having contradicted the Doctrine of *Final Perseverance*, and for having aspersed *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Zanchius*, and other Luminaries of the Protestant Church; was forced to make Reparation, both to the Truths of God, and to the venerable Names which he had so slipantly traduced, by publicly reading his Recantation: which Recantation had been drawn up for him, by the University of *Cambridge*, for that Purpose (n).

Peter Baro's Troubles in the same University, and in the same Year with *Barrett*, have been already noted in our XVIIIth Section.

To the above Brace of Brothers, let me add *Dr John Houson*, by Way of making up a Leash.—This said *Houson*, tho' a Canon of *Christ's Church*, and tho' he had been Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, fell under the Censure of the University, for (what was then esteemed a Crime of no small Magnitude) “advancing somewhat, tending to the
“Disparagement of the *Geneva* Annotations on the Holy
“Scrip-

(m) *Mosheim*, Vol. IV. p. 87, 88.

(n) See my Tract, entitled, *The Church of England vindicated from Arminianism*, p. 48—51.

“ Scriptures (o).” The Sermons, in which he launched this *indirect* “ Disparagement,” were termed, *Conciones publicas, minus orthodoxas, & plenas Offensionis*: i. e. “ not sufficiently Orthodox, and replete with Offence.” In fine, the Preacher was “ Called in Question, and *suspended*, “ by Dr Robert Abbot” [Brother to Archbishop Abbot, and shortly after Bishop of *Salisbury*], “ who was then “ Doctor of the Chair and Vice-Chancellor (p).” So fared it with Canon *Houſon*, A. D. 1614.

And no Wonder. For *Heylyn* himself gives us the following needless Information: “ It cannot be denied,” says the Arminian, “ but that, by the Error of those “ Times, the Reputation which *Calvin* had attained to “ in *both Universities*, and the extreme Diligence of his “ Followers” [i. e. of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity in general] “ for the better carrying on of their own Designs” [*viz.* the laudable Designs of barring out Popery and Pelagianism], “ there was a GENERAL Tendency unto His “ [i. e. to *Calvin's*] Opinions (q).” The same Arminian adds, that *Calvin's* “ Book of Institutes was, for the most “ Part, the FOUNDATION on which the Young Divines “ of those Times did build their Studys.” He even confesses, that he could “ find” but “ Two Anti-Calvinists,” in the whole University of Oxford, at the Period here treated of: which poor “ Two” were, *Buckridge*, Tutor to Laud; and the above suspended Dr *Houſon*. Well, therefore, may the said *Heylyn* observe (tho’ we should have known it without his Information), that, in the two Universities, the *Anti-Calvinians* were “ But FEW in “ Number, and make but a very THIN Appearance (r).” Extremely few and thin indeed, if their whole Number amounted to no more than *Two*! So that *Heylyn* should not have apply’d (as he does) that Line, to the Case in Hand,

Apparent

(o) *Heylyn's Hist. & Misc. Tracts*, p. 632. (p) *Ibid.*
 (q) *Heylyn, Ibid.* p. 626. (r) *Ibid.* p. 627.

Apparent RARI nantes in Gurgite vasto ;
but should rather have altered it to

Apparent GEMINI nantes in Gurgite vasto :

I mean, supposing Dr *Buckridge* was really *not* a Calvinist. Of which, however, I stand in some Doubt. Should my Doubt be well grounded, Virgil's Line must undergo a second Alteration: and we must say, of solitary *Houfon*,

Apparet SOLUS natans in Gurgite vasto.

If *Buckridge* was then an Anti-Calvinist; he seems to have been an *hidden* one: else would not Vice-Chancellor *Abbot* have SUSPENDED the Fellow of *John's*, with as little Scruple, as he inflicted that Censure on the Canon of *Christ's Church*? Heylyn's *even Number*, therefore, of *Two*, does not hang well together. Divide his two Arminian Doctors, by one; and, in all Probability, the remainder will give the (1) Quotient.

Unhappily for the Credit of Arminianism, *Laud* himself, its grand Hero in England, incurr'd no little Danger and Molestation, at *Oxford*, on Account of his having been suspected to lean towards that new and hated System.— In the Year 1606, Mr *Laud*, who had then but just taken his Bachelor's Degree in Divinity, “ was QUESTIONED
“ [i. e. called to Account], by Dr *Airy*, the Vice-Chan-
“ cellor, for a Sermon preached in St Mary's Church on
“ the

(1) With Regard to Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, *Heylyn* does not pretend to alledge a single Instance of public Opposition to *Calvin's* Doctrines, during the whole of that long Period, in the University of *Oxford*. “ *Of any Men,*” says he, “ *who publicly OPPOSED*
“ *the CALVINIAN Tenets, in this University, 'till AFTER the Be-*
“ *ginning of King James's Reign, I must confess, that I have hither-*
“ *to found NO good Assurance.*” Ibid. p. 626. He, indeed, pretends to think, that there were some who “ *secretly*” trained up their Pupils in other Principles: but, unless he had produced better Authority, for this Supposition, than his own Conjecture; the Supposition may well pass for groundless.

“ the 26th of October, as containing in it *undry* SCANDALOUS and POPISH Passages: the good Man [i. e. the Vice-Chancellor] taking all Things to be Matter of Popery, which were not held forth unto him in Calvin’s Institutes (t).” It appears, that the Orthodox University, at large, were of the Vice-Chancellor’s Mind, both as to the Excellency of *Calvin*, and as to the Malignity of *Laud*. For Heylyn adds: “ Which Advantage being taken by Dr *Abbot*, he so violently persecuted the poor Man [i. e. poor Mr *Laud*], and so openly branded him for a *Papist*, or at least *very popishly inclined*; that it was almost made an Heresy, as I have heard from his [viz. from *Laud*’s] own Mouth, for any one to be *seen in his Company*; and a Misprifion of Heresy, to *give him a civil Salutation* as he passed the Streets (u).” They saw what Materials he was made of, and stigmatized him accordingly.

Eight Years after *Laud*’s public Disgrace, above recited; to wit, A. D. 1614, when the said *Laud* had risen to the Presidentship of *St John’s* College; the spirited and active Dr *Abbot* (not the Archbishop, but the Bishop) took him openly to Task, in a very sacred Place, and on a very solemn Occasion: or, as Heylyn phrases it, “ Fell violently foul on Dr *William Laud*, whom, in his Sermon at *St Peter’s*, on Easter-Sunday, he [Abbot] PUBLICLY EXPOSED TO CONTEMPT and SCORN; under the Notion of a *Papist*: as *Barret*’s Doctrines had been formerly condemned at *Cambridge*” [and with ample Reason], “ by the Name of *Ppery* (x).” As to *Barrett*, he justified the Suspicions, which were entertained of him at *Cambridge*, by actually declaring himself a *Papist*, shortly after (y). And for *Laud*, a few Years made it sufficiently plain, that the *Oxonians* were not very wide of the Mark, in questioning the genuine Protestantcy of that

X x

unhappy

(t) *Heylyn’s Life of Land*, p. 49.

(u) *Ibid.* p. 50.

(x) *Heylyn’s Tracts*, p. 532.

(y) *Faller’s Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 151.

bridge, p. 151.

unhappy Gentleman. Considering the zealous Orthodoxy of the University in those Days, *Laud* was well off, to escape without Expulsion.

Various were the subsequent Toils, which *Laud* met with: many a weary Step did he take, and many a mortifying Repulse did he suffer; e'er he could climb the Hill of Promotion, to which he so ardently aspired. *Heylyn* laments, very pathetically, the Difficultys, which this his Patron had to surmount, on his first Attempts to ascend the Ladder Ecclesiastic. "At this Time," says he, viz. about the Year 1624, and the last of King *James's* Reign, "Bishop *Laud*, to whom the raising and promoting of the Arminian Doctrines (as they call them) is of late ascribed, was hardly able to promote and preserve Himself: oppressed with an hard Hand, by Archbishop *Abbot*; secretly traduced to the King, for the unfortunate Buffiness of the Earl of *Devonshire*; attaining, with GREAT DIFFICULTY, the poor Bishopric of *St David's*, after ten Years Service" [i. e. after ten Years Court Attendance]; "and, yet, but green in Favor with the Duke of *Buckingham* (z)." However, in due Season, the "green" Favorite waxed a grey one.

Nothing is more prolific, than Heresy. About three Years after *Laud* had been "publicly exposed to Contempt and Scorn," by Vice-Chancellor *Abbot*, in the Pulpit of *St Peter's, Oxford*; another Bird of *Laud's* Feather (but whose Nest was in the University of *Cambridge*, as Fellow of *Trinity College* there) underwent a very uncomfortable Plucking. This Gentleman's Name was *Edward Sympsen*: who, A. D. 1617, Preached a Sermon before King *James I.* at *Roxton*; taking, for his Text, "John iii. 6. That which is born of the Flesh is Flesh. Hence he endeavour'd to prove, That the Commission of any great Sin doth EXTINGUISH Grace and God's Spirit, for the
"Time,

(z) *Heylyn's Tracts*, p. 634.

Time, in the Man. He added also, That St. Paul, in
 “ the 7th of Romans, *spake not of himself as an Apostle and*
 “ REGENERATE, but *Statu Legis.* Hereat his Majesty
 “ took, and publicly expressed, great Distaste: because
 “ *Arminius* had lately been blamed for extracting the like
 “ Exposition out of the Works of *Faustus Socinus.* Where-
 “ upon, he [King James] sent to the two Professors in
 “ Cambridge, for their Judgement herein: who [i. e. the
 “ two Cambridge Divinity-Professors] proved, and sub-
 “ scribed, the Place in the 7th Chapter of Romans to be
 “ *understand of a REGENERATE Man, according to St*
 “ *Austin's later Opinion in his Retractions.*” What was
 the Result? “ The Preacher was enjoined a PUBLIC RE-
 “ CANTATION before the King: which accordingly was
 “ performed. Nor doth such a Palinody found any Thing
 “ to his Disgrace: having St *Austin* himself, for his Pre-
 “ cedent, who modestly *retracted* what formerly he had
 “ written therein (a).”

Nor must we forget Mr *Gabriel Bridges*, of Corpus
 Christi College, Oxford: who, “ By preaching, on the
 “ 19th of January [1623], against the *Absolute Decree,*
 “ *is Maintenance of Universal Grace,* and the *Co-operation*
 “ *of Man's Free-will* prevented by it, in the public Church
 “ of the University; laid him more open to the Prosecu-
 “ tion of Dr *Prideaux*, and to the Censure of the Vice-
 “ Chancellor, and the rest of the Heads, &c. (b).” We
 learn, from another Writer, that the Prosecution of Mr
Bridges terminated in his *public Recantation* of his Errors,
 and that the said Recantation, tho' forced at first, proved
 eventually real and sincere: the good Man being brought
 to a better Mind, and to a serious Conviction of the Truths
 he had too hastily opposed (c).

Some Years afterwards, I find another Religious De-
 linquent; one Mr *Brookes*, of Wadham College, Oxford:
 x x 2
 censured

(a) Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 160.
 p. 633.

(c) Anti-Arm. p. 252.

(b) Heylyn's Tracts,

cenfured, “ by the Univerfity Heads, for broaching and
 “ juftifying fome *Arminian* Affertions, in a Sermon preach-
 “ ed at St *Mary's* (d).” This young Culprit, thus cen-
 fured and disgrac'd in the Reign of *James*; was rewarded;
 in that of *Charles*, by Promotion to a wealthy Cure of
 Souls.

The *Theses*, publicly maintained by fuch as proceeded
 Doctors in Divinity, are an additional Demonftration of
 the old Univerfity-Calvinifm. Mr Prynne has collected
 a great number of thefe, from the authentic Acts of *Ox-*
ford in particular: and introduces them, with the follow-
 ing juft Remark. Thefe “ Act-*Theses* and Questions are
 “ always (before they are either admitted, printed, pub-
 “ lished, or difputed on) propounded to a GENERAL Convo-
 “ cation of the WHOLE Univerfity, and by them particular-
 “ ly allowed, voted, and then recorded in the Univerfity
 “ Register, for a Testimony to Pofterity, as orthodox, and
 “ confonant to the eftablihed Doctrines, Faith, and Articles,
 “ of the Church of England. So that the whole Univer-
 “ fity's Judgement is comprized in them [i. e. in thofe
 “ *Theses*], as well as theirs that give them (*).”

In felecting a few Specimens of which Univerfity Pro-
 pofitions, I fhall begin with the Times of ELIZABETH.

“ *Æternâ Dei Predeftinatione continentur, aliorum E-*
 “ *lectio ad Vitam æternam, aliorum ad Mortem Reproba-*
 “ *tio: i. e. The Election of fome Perfons to everlafting Life,*
 “ *and the Reprobation of others unto Death, are comprized,*
 “ *refpectively, in God's eternal Decree of Predeftination.*

“ *Electorum certa eft Salus, ut perire non poffint. The*
 “ *Salvation of the Elect is fo certain, that they cannot poffibly*
 “ *perish.*

“ *Electi*

(d) *Anti-Armin.* Ibid. (e) *Anti-Armin.* p. 241.—For
 the *Theses* themfelves, of which I give a Sample; fee the fame
 Book, from p. 242, to p. 251.

“ Electi non possunt, in hâc Vitâ, implere Legem Dei.
 “ —*The Elect are unable, in the present Life, to fulfill the*
 “ *Law of God.*

“ Doctrina Prædestinationis olim tradita ab *Augustino*,
 “ & nostris Temporibus à *Calvino*, eadem est.—*The Doc-*
 “ *trine of Prædestination, which St AUSTIN antiently taught,*
 “ *is the same with that Doctrine of Prædestination, which,*
 “ *in our own Times, CALVIN hath taught.*

“ Præscientia Dei æterno Decreto omnia ordinantis,
 “ non pugnavit cum Arbitrii Libertate primis Parentibus
 “ concessâ.—*The Fore-knowledge of God, who ordaineth all*
 “ *Things by His eternal Decree, did not clash with that Free-*
 “ *dom of Will which he granted [in the State of Innocence]*
 “ *to Adam and Eve.”*

In the Reign of *James I.* the *Oxonian* Doctors maintain-
 ed the following, and similar Positions, for that Degree
 in Divinity :

“ Tota Salus Electorum est merè gratuita.—*The Salva-*
 “ *tion of the Elect is, from first to last, absolutely free and*
 “ *unmerited.*

“ Electi debent esse, & sunt tandem, suæ Salutis certi.
 “ —*The Elect ought to be assured of their Salvation; and,*
 “ *sooner or later, they are so.*

“ Reprobis quisque suâ folius perit Malitiâ.—*Every Re-*
 “ *probate perishes in Consequence of his own Wickedness only.*

“ An, Qui in Christo sunt perire possint? NEG.—*They,*
 “ *who are in Christ, cannot perish.*

“ An certi Salutis suæ omnes salventur? AFF.—*All,*
 “ *who are assured of their Salvation, shall surely be saved.*

“ An fideles possint, certâ Fide, statuere, remissâ esse
 “ Peccata? AFF.—*Believers may, with an assured Faith,*
 “ *conclude that their Sins are forgiven.*

“ Non est Liberum Arbitrium.—*Man's Will is not free.*

“ Sancti non possunt excidere Gratiâ.—*Real Saints can-*
 “ *not fall entirely from Grace.*

“ An, Homo possit se preparare ad Gratiam recipiendam? NEG.—*Man cannot prepare himself to receive Grace.*

“ An, Homo possit scire, se habere Gratiam? AFF.—*A Man, who has Grace, may know that he has it.*

“ An, Electio sit ex prævisis Operibus? NEG.—*Election is not occasioned by God's Foresight of good Works.*

“ An, Decretum Reprobationis sit absolutum? AFF.—*The Decree of Reprobation is absolute.*

“ An, Deus Autor Peccati, juxta Reformatorum Sententiam, statuatur? NEG.—*The Doctrine of the Reformers, or of the Reformed Divines, does not make God the Author of Sin.*

“ An, Gratia Regenerationis Omnibus offeratur? NEG.—*The Grace of Regeneration is not offered to All Men.*

“ An, Gratia Regenerationis possit resisti? NEG.—*The Grace of Regeneration is irresistible.*

“ An, Voluntas, in primâ Conversione, habeat se tantum passivè? AFF.—*The Will of Man is entirely passive, in the first Reception of Grace.*

“ An, Reconciliatio per Mortem Christi sit singulis Hominibus impetrata? NEG.—*Christ's Death did not procure Reconciliation with God for every Man.*

“ An, Lapsus Adami, diverso respectu, dici possit necessarius et contingens? AFF.—*The Fall of Adam was both contingent and necessary.*

“ An, Decretum, de dandâ Fide, sit, in Mente Divinâ, prius Decreto de dandâ Salute? NEG.—*God first decreed to save His People; and, in Consequence of that Decree, resolved to give them Faith.*

“ An, Semel verè Justificatus semper maneat justificatus? AFF.—*The Man, who is once truly Justified, continues justified for ever.*

“ An, Voluntas humana resistere possit Gratia Dei efficaci? NEG.—*Man's Will cannot resist the efficacious Grace of God.*

“ An,

“ An, post *Adami Lapsum*, Libertas ad Bonum sit prorsus amissa? **AFF.**—*Ever since the fall of Adam, the Human Will has utterly lost all its Freedom to [spiritual] good.*

“ An, Omnes Baptizati sint Justificati? **NEG.**—*All Baptized Persons are not therefore in a State of Justification.*

“ An, Ipse Actus Fidei nobis imputetur pro Justitiâ Legis, sensu proprio? **NEG.**—*Strictly speaking, the Act of Believing is not imputed to us for legal Righteousness.*

“ An, Fides, & Fidei Justitia, sint propria Electorum? **AFF.**—*Faith itself, and the Righteousness of Faith, are peculiar to the Elect.*”

Among others, the *Theses*, which next follow, were asserted by the *Oxford Doctors*, even after the Accession of King *Charles I.* when Calvinism ceased to enjoy the Sunshine of Court Encouragement.

Anno 1625. “ An, Prædestinatio sit ex prævisâ Fide, vel Operibus? **NEG.**—*Predestination to Life is not for Faith and good Works foreseen.*”

Anno 1627. “ An, Prædestinatio ad Salutem sit mutabilis? **NEG.**—*Predestination to Life is an Unchangeable Act of God.*

“ An, Fides, semel habita, possit amitti? **NEG.**—*True Faith, once had, can never be lost.*

“ An, vera Fides cadat in Reprobum? **NEG.**—*No Reprobate can truly Believe.*

“ An, Efficacia Gratiæ pendeat à libero Influxu Arbitrii? **NEG.**—*The Efficacy of Divine Grace is not suspended on the free Influence of Man's Will.*

“ An, Christus Divinæ Justitiæ, vice nostrâ, propriè & integrè satisfecerit? **AFF.**—*Christ did, literally and completely, make Satisfaction to the Justice of God, in our Room and Stead.*”

Anno 1628. “ An, Arbitrium humanum determinet Gratiâ Divinam? **NEG.**—*God's Grace is not determined by Man's Will.*”

Examples might be multiplied, to a Volume. But the Reader may judge of the Crop, by the small Gleaning here presented to his view. The Church of England, in

those Days, might boast of *Oxonians* who believed, as well as subscribed, her Thirty nine Articles.

Nor did our other "*Oculus Angliæ*," the Univerfity of *Cambridge*, yield a Jot to her elder Sister, in Point of Orthodoxy. The eminent Dr *Samuel Ward*, in May, 1628, thus wrote, from *Cambridge*, to Archbishop *Usher*: "As for our Univerfity, none do patronize these [i. e. the "*Arminian*] Points, either in Schools, or Pulpit. Though, because Preferments at Court are conferred on such as incline that Way, causeth some to look that Way (f)." In the same Letter, he blames a Doctor *Jackson*, who had lately "professed himself an *Arminian*:" and adds, concerning the said *Jackson*, "I do conceive, all that which he disputeth in his Book, against negative Reprobation, as not sorting with the antecedent Will of God, for the Salvation of all; to be against the 17th Article of Religion, which plainly averreth a gratuitous Predestination of SOME, and NOT of All. Therefore, from thence [i. e. from the 17th Article of the Church of England] is inferred, a not-Election of Others to that Grace: which is that which, properly, is styled, Reprobation (g)."

More than six Years after, viz. in June, 1634, when Arminianism had waxed both older and bolder, the same Dr *Ward* wrote as follows, to the said great and good Archbishop. "We have had some doings here [at *Cambridge*], of late, about One of *Pembroke-Hall* [viz. Mr *Tourney*]; who preaching in *St Mary's*, about the Beginning of Lent, upon *James ii. 22*. seemed to avouch the Insufficiency of Faith to Justification, and to impugn the Doctrine of our 11th Article of Justification by Faith only: for which he was convented by the Vice-Chancellor, who was willing to accept of an easy Acknowledgement. But the same Party, preaching his *Latin* Sermon, *pro Gradu*, the last Week, upon *Rom. iii. 28*; he said, he came not *Palinodiam canere, sed eandem Cantilenam*
" canere.

(f) *Usher's* Letters, Let. cxxvii. p. 394.

(g) *Ibid.*

“ *caners*. Which moved our Vice-Chancellor, Dr *Love*,
 “ to call for his Sermon: which he refused to deliver.
 “ Whereupon, on *Wednesday* last, being *Barnaby Day*,
 “ the Day appointed for the Admission of the Batchelors
 “ of Divinity, which must answer, *Die Comitiorum*;
 “ he [viz. the *Arminian Preacher*] was *slayed* [i. e. stopt of
 “ his Degree] by the MAJOR Part of the Suffrages of the
 “ DOCTORS of the Faculty. And tho’ sundry Doctors
 “ did favor him” [even as many as wished to recommend
 “ themselves at Court and at *Lambeth*], “ and would have had
 “ him to be the Man that should answer, *Die Comitiorum*;
 “ yet he is PUT BY: and one Mr *Flatkers*, of our [viz.
 “ of *Sidney*] College, chosen to answer; whose first
 “ Question is, *sola Fides justificat*.——The Truth is,
 “ there are some Heads among us, that are great Abet-
 “ tors of Mr *Tourney*, the Party above mentioned; who,
 “ no Doubt, are backed by Others. *I pray God, we may*
 “ PERSIST in the DOCTRINE of our CHURCH, contained
 “ in our ARTICLES and HOMILYS! *Innovators* are too
 “ much favor’d, *now a days*. Our Vice-Chancellor hath
 “ carry’d Business, for Matter of Religion, both stoutly
 “ and discretely.——It may be, you are willing to hear
 “ of our University Affairs. I may truly say, I never
 “ knew them in worse Condition, since I was a Member
 “ thereof: which is almost 46 Years. Not but that, I
 “ hope, the greater Part is *Orthodox*. But new Heads are
 “ brought in, and they are backed in maintaining *Noveltys*,
 “ and them which broach *new Opinions*. Others” [i. e.
 “ those who abide by the *old Calvinian Truths*] “ are *dis-*
 “ *graced*, and *checked*, when they come above” [i. e. when
 “ they either went to Court, or waited on *Charles’s* new
 “ *Arminian Bishops*] “ as I myself was, by my Lord of *York*”
 “ [viz. *Richard Neile*] “ last *Lent*, in Consistory, for favor-
 “ ing *Puritans*” [the stale, unjust, and shameless Pretence,
 “ under which the *Laudæan* Faction sought to cover their
 “ Design of smothering the Church Doctrines]: “ And all
 “ from *false Informations* from hence, which are believed

with-

“ without any Examination. ——— I think, they would
 “ have me out of my Professor’s Place. And I could wish
 “ the same, if I could have one to succeed, according to
 “ my Mind. — — — Well, howsoever, God’s Will
 “ be done; and He teach us Humility and Patience! I
 “ heard, also, of some doings with You. The Lord of
 “ Heaven direct You and Us, and teach us to submit to
 “ Him in all Things.—I have not yet sent my Answer to
 “ Mr Ch. but intend, e’er long. I have not finished yet
 “ one Point: [viz.] to shew, that the ARMINIAN Opi-
 “ nions were condemned in the Synods which condemned the
 “ PELAGIAN Heresy.—The Tractate, *De Prædestina-*
 “ *tianis*, in Defence of Your Lordship (I know not your
 “ Adversary, nor his Name), is Doctor Twiss’s. It may
 “ be, he hath sent your Lordship a Copy of it. He is a
 “ deserving Man.—We have a [new] Vice-Chancellor,
 “ who favors Novelty, both in Rites and Doctrines (b).”
 —Observe here, 1. That *Arminianism* was then begin-
 ning to gain Ground in Cambridge.—2. This made good
 Dr Ward sigh and weep over the corrupt Inundation, which,
 he dreaded, would overwhelm the Church of England.—
 3. Laud, Neile, and the other ecclesiastical Instruments
 of Court-Oppression, labor’d, might and main, to “ dis-
 “ grace” and “ check” all the conscientious Churchmen,
 who stood to the “ Articles” and “ Homly’s.” Among the
 rest, this Dr Ward, and Archbishop Usher himself, had
 been brow-beaten and insulted by the unblushing Priests
 who held the Rudder.—4. Matters, however, tho’ gloomy
 and unpromising, were not yet so bad, but an *Arminian*
 Clergyman, “ backed” by People in Power, was, for BEING
 an *Arminian*, refused his Degree “ by the major Part of the
 “ Suffrages” of the Cambridge Doctors in Divinity, so
 low down as A. D. 1634, which was the Tenth Year of
 Charles’s Reign, and the second of Laud’s Primacy.—
 5. How differently did the Court-Current flow, about
 sixteen Years before, when the identical Dr Ward, who
 wrote

(b) Usher’s Letters, Let. clxxix. p. 470, 471.

wrote the above Letter, was sent by King James, in Triumph, to the Synod of Dort!

Let the same Reverend and Learned Hand inform us, how the Church of Rome exulted, on the Eclipse of Calvinism in England. "Our Commencement is now over: where Dean *Baden*, now Dr *Baden*, did well perform his Part; who answer'd the Act, *Vesperis Comitiarum*. And so did the Batchelor of Divinity, *Die Comitiarum*; being one of the Fellows of our College. The [late] Vice-Chancellor, Dr *Love*, did well perform his Part: especially, in encountering with one *Franciscus de S. Clara* (but his true Name is *Davenport*), who, in a Book set forth at *Douay*, would reconcile our *Articles of Religion* with the Definitions of the Council of TRENT (i)." The encreasing Rampancy of Arminianism in this Kingdom, which encouraged the Pope himself to make *Laud* two separate Offers of a Cardinal's Hat; emboldened the Romish Minorite, *Davenport*, to lend an helping Hand to the Common Cause, by striving to strike up a Match between the 39 *Articles* and the Decisions of *Trent*. Nor did the Minorite, in this shameful Effort at Impossibility, act at all more absurdly, than did those degenerate and impudent Protestants, who first pretended to find *Arminianism* in the said 39 *Articles* of the Church of England. Was *Arminianism* really the Doctrine of these *Articles*, *Francis de St Clara* might have spared half his Trouble: for there would then be, so far as *Arminianism* is concerned, no Shadow of Difference between the *English* *Articles* and the *Trentish* Determinations.

I shall conclude this brief Enquiry into the Calvinism of our Universitys, with a Sketch of the happy Effects, which Archbishop *Usher's* Preaching had, at *Oxford*, on the Youths of that renowned Seminary, antecedently to the Civil Wars.

" The

(i) *Ibid.* Let. clxxxi, p. 473.

“ The Persuasion of his [i. e. of *Usher's*] incomparable
 “ Learning, the Observation of his awful Gravity, the
 “ Evidence of his eminent and exemplary Piety; all im-
 “ proved to the Height, by his indefatigable Industry; drew
 “ Students to flock to him, as Doves to the Windows. It
 “ joys us to recollect, how Multitudes of Scholars, es-
 “ pecially the Heads of our Tribes, thronged to hear the
 “ Sound of his Silver Bell, and how much they were
 “ taken with the Voice of this wise Charmer.—Surely,
 “ if ever, 'twas THEN, that the Gospel ran and was glo-
 “ rified in *Oxford*.——Here, you might have seen a
 “ sturdy *Saul* changed into a submissive *Paul*: a Persecutor
 “ transformed into a Preacher. There, a tender-hearted
 “ *Josiah*, lamenting after the Lord, and, with *Ephraim*,
 “ smiting on his Thigh, saying, *What have I done!* Others,
 “ with the penitent Jews, so stabbed at the Heart, as to
 “ cry out, *Men, Brethren, Fathers, what shall we do (k)?*”
 —Could Archbishop *Usher* have risen from the Dead, and
 preached in *Oxford*, as heretofore; delivering the Antient
 Truths, and with the same spiritual Success; I fear there
 has been a subsequent Period, when his converted Students
 would have been expelled, and the Preacher himself rung
 out of the Town.—This reminds me of the

III. d. remaining Particular; namely, just to touch upon
 the State of Religion amongst us, since the primary Intro-
 duction of Arminianism by Archbishop *Laud*.

The final Catastrophes of *Charles's* Reign are well known;
 of which Catastrophes his own Tyranny, Perverseness, and
 Insincerity, together with the violent Conduct of his Mi-
 nisters, must undoubtedly be considered as the main Source.
 With regard to Ecclesiastical Matters, the triumphant
 Sectarists did but finish what *Laud* had began. That Pre-
 late labor'd to destroy the *internal Doctrines* of the Church:
 and

(k) See the *Preface* to the *Quarto Edition* of Archbishop *Usher's*
 Sermons. Edit. 1660.

and the republican Zealots followed the Blow, by demolishing the *whole Fabric*.

In the unsettled Times, which intervened between the Execution of *Charles I.* and the Restoration of his Family to the Crown; the Church lay in Ruins. A violent Extreme, very frequently, engenders its Opposite. As *Laud* had directed much of his Zeal and Force towards his favorite Point, of re-baptizing the Church into the grossest Absurditys of splendid Superstition; his Enemies were no sooner Masters of the Field, than they bent Things too much the other Way, and opened a Channel to the wildest Extravagancys of Fanaticism. The elegant Simplicity, with which the National Worship had been solemnized, during the Reigns of *Elizabeth* and *James I.* gave Place, in many Instances, to naked and slovenly Modes of Celebration, that rendered the public Performance of Divine Offices, rather Matter of Contempt and Disgust, than Steps to decent and reasonable Devotion.

It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that, during the Period now treated of (*viz.* the *Ufurpation*), many eminent Divines flourished, whose Piety and Learning, Abilities and Candor, would have adorned any Denomination, and have done Honor to any Party, whatever. Mr *Stephen Charnock*, for Example, in whom all those illustrious Qualitys were united, and to a very uncommon Degree; may rank with the best and most respectable Men, to whom this Island ever gave Birth. Yet is it equally true, that no small Number of the then authorized Teachers were immerged in the thickest Dregs of Ignorance, Bigotry, and Fanaticism. For, the Plan (now adopted by Mr *Jahn Wesley*, and which has ever been in Fashion among the *Turks*) was then too generally persued in *England*: *viz.* that of prostituting the Ministerial Function, to the lowest and most illiterate Mechanics. Persons of almost any Class, but especially common Soldiers, who pretended to be pregnant with "a Message from the Lord," had free Access to the Pulpit. If the Preacher was hardly "Letter-learned" enough

enough, to read his Text; that very Circumstance was, in the Opinion of many, but a stronger Demonstration of his being supernaturally "gifted". 'Tis easy to conceive, what an inverted and distorted Figure the Protestant Doctrines must have made, when viewed thro' the Medium of such Ministrations. *Corruptia optimi est pessima*. 'Twas this unhappy Circumstance, which opened the chief Door to those Floods of licentious Ridicule and Burlesque, pour'd on the most venerable and important Truths, in the subsequent Days of Charles II.—Among the Lay Preachers, who most signalized themselves during the Usurpation, was John Goodwin, the Arminian Leveller and Fifth-Monarchy Man: with whom must be joined his Co-adjutant in the Work of the Ministry (for they both occupy'd one Pulpit), the renowned Mr Thomas Venner, no less eminent for the Insurrections which he rais'd, for the Murders he committed, and for his horrible dying Behavior at the Gallows, than for his Skillfulness in hooping Barrels (which was his proper Trade), and for the Ardor wherewith he propagated Arminianism.

Monarchy and the Church of England reviv'd together, in (1) 1663. By the Church of England, I here mean the Frame and the Forms of the Church: or, in other Words, her Hierarchy, Discipline, Worship, and Revenues. Does the Reader ask, why I express myself with such Precision and Limitation? I would rather answer this

Question,

(1) The following Portrait of Charles II. tho' sketched by a foreign Hand, conveys a striking Likeness of that profane and libidinous Tyrant. "*Fuit is Libidinis Sermus; Sacra susque depre-
 habens; Protestantis speciem præ se ferens, ut securus regnaret;
 sed in extremis, ut quidem serunt, pontificio Ritu Rem Divinam
 fecit.* i. e. He was a Drudge to Lust; a contemptuous Disre-
 garder of every Thing serious and sacred; a Protestant in Pre-
 tence, to secure himself on the Throne; but, in his last Moments,
 he so far throw off the Masque, as to receive the Eucharist, &c.
 after the Manner prescribed by the Popish Riteal!"—*Job. Alph. Turattin; Hist. Eccles. p. 403.*

Question, in the Words of Another, than in Words of my own.—“ Upon the Restoration, the Church, tho’ she still retained her Old Subscriptions and Articles of Faith, was found to have *totally changed* her speculative Principles (m).” That is, tho’ the Liturgy, Articles, and Homily, were not weeded of their Calvinism; yet, very many of the new Clergy were tinged with Arminianism. To preserve Appearances the *Old Doctrines* were permitted to keep their Place in the printed Standards; but a great Number of the *new Subscribers* had, in Reality, ranged themselves under a different Banner.—Thus, no sooner had the Goodness of Divine Providence retrieved the Church from the Hands of her declared Enemies, than she suffer’d by the Doctrinal Desertion of her ostensible Friends. Not that the Desertion then, any more than now, was Universal. But those, who embraced that odd Species of *Dissenting Conformity*, known by the Name of *Arminianism*, appear to have constituted the Majority (n): and have done so, from that Day to this.

IV, Let us now proceed to the Ventilation of such *Objections*, raised against the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England, as I have either omitted to confute, or have but lightly touched upon, in my former Publications.

1. We are gravely told, by one Arminian after another, that the Principles of our Established Church are, “ not Calvinian, but *Melanchonian*.” If this was true, what would the *Arminians* get by it? just nothing at all. For, as I have (o) elsewhere proved, *Melanchon* carry’d the Doctrine

(m) *Hooker’s Hist.* 5. 573.

(n) ’Tis remarkable, that Application was made to Charles the Second, to revive Queen *Elizabeth’s* Order for placing *Fox’s* History of the Martyrs in the common Halls of the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Colleges, &c. To which Request, the crafty King seem’d to smile Assent. But he took Care to leave the Thing undone.—See *Wood’s Athen.* I. 187.

(o) See my Translation of *Zanchius* on Predestin. p. 121—124.

696 OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

Doctrine of Predestination to as high a Pitch, as *Luther* and *Calvin* themselves. Nor did he ever retract a single Syllable of what he wrote on that Subject.

But *Melancthon*, how orthodox soever, does not appear (and I have study'd these Matters with as much Attention, I believe, as any Arminian among us) to have had the least hand, or the least Influence, directly or indirectly, on any Part of the *English* Reformation. He was, for ought I have ever been able to find, no more concerned in fabricating the Church of England, than was *Zoroaster* or *Confucius*. Let the Arminians prove the contrary, and we will weigh their Proofs in the exactest Ballance of Candor and Attention.—I go still farther; and add, so remote was *Melancthon* from being an English Reformer, that I never yet heard of any Church at all, whose Reformation he was the Instrument of effecting. I know, indeed, that he is generally numbered among the foreign Reformers: but he seems to have that Honor assigned him, more by the Courtesy of some Authors, than by Virtue of Historical Fact. His framing the *Augsburg* Confession, does not prove him a Reformer: for that pacific Department was committed to his Care, by Princes whose Churches were already Reformed to his Hand. Nor did his pious Endeavors to assist *Herman*, the Archbishop of *Cologne*, in reforming that City, entitle him to the above Name: for both the Archbishop's Efforts, and his own, proved entirely unsuccessful.

As I am on the Subject of *Melancthon*, I will digress into some other Particulars concerning him.

Mr *Hume* is abundantly too severe to the Memory of that Learned Man, in numbering him among those whom he impertinently traduces, as “wretched Composers of “Metaphysical Polemics (p).” *Melancthon*, with all his supposed “Wretchedness” of Parts, had more solid Knowledge, in his little Finger; than Mr *Hume* has of *Infidelity*.

delity, from the Crown of his Head to the Sole of his Foot. Add to which, that this Censure, if admitted, would involve, not only the greatest *Christian* Divines of all Ages, but likewise more than half the *Philosophers* of Antiquity: who dealt as much in “*Metaphysics*,” and in “*Polemics*,” as any believing Priest whatever. Besides: who has dabbled more in “*polemical Metaphysics*,” than Mr *Hume* himself? and a metaphysical Polemist is a metaphysical Polemist, let his *Metaphysics* and his *Polemics* be of what Cast they will. Moreover, the Sneer could not have fallen more wide of the Mark: for no Divine, of *Melancthon*'s Eminence, then living, had a less *metaphysical* Head, or dealt more sparingly in *Polemics*, than He. — — — —
 Let the ingenious Declaimer *read*, before he declaims: and his Conclusions will be less precipitant.

Amidst all my just Veneration for the Name and Memory of *Melancthon*, I must observe, that he possessed one Quality, which threw no little Shade on the Lustre of his Virtues and of his Talents. I mean, that *timid, temporizing Spirit*, which, either through Weakness of Nerves, or Weakness of Faith, appears to have been the Evil that most easily besat him. Dr *Robertson* remarks, that, in 1550, after the artful Business of the (9) *Interim* had been successfully carry'd by the Power and Intrigues of the Emperor *Charles* (a Step which he would not have found so easy, had the honest and courageous *Luther* been living); “*Melancthon*,

(9) When Disputes ran high in *Germany*, between the Advocates for Popery, and the Patrons of the Reformation; *Charles V.* ordered a System of Theology to be drawn up, in which he required both Partys to acquiesce, 'till a General Council should meet to settle the agitated Controversys. Hence the Book itself was called, *The Interim*. It was first published, in the Diet of *Augsburg*, May 15, 1548. and, tho' composed with much study'd Ambiguity of Expression, in order to trepan the Protestants with greater Facility; yet, almost every one of the Popish Tenets was either expressly or virtually asserted in it. See *Robertson*, Vol. III.

“ *hon*, now deprived of the manly Counfels of Luther,
 “ which were wont to inspire him with Fortitude, and
 “ to preserve him steady amidst the storms and Dangers
 “ that threaten’d the Church, was seduc’d into unwar-
 “ rantable Concessions, by the *Timidity* of his Temper,
 “ his *fond Desire of Peace*, and his *excessive Complaisance*
 “ towards Persons of high Rank (r).”

On this, as well as many other Occasions, throughout his Life, Melancthon’s *Complaisance* was indeed *excessive*, to a Fault. The Name *Didymus*, which he once assumed (when he published a Tract under the Rose), suited but too well with that *Duplicity* of Conduct, which put him so often upon *trimming* and *shuffling* in the Things which pertain to God. At Bottom, his Principles were sound: and he (*s*) hated, in Reality, the Painful *Ambidexterousness*, wherewith he thought it *prudent* to balance between the Friends and the Enemies of the Reformation.

“ All Europe was convinced, that Melancthon was not fo
 “ averse, as Luther, to an *Accommodation with the ROMA-*
 “ *NISTS*: and that he would have *sacrificed* MANY Things,
 “ for the sake of Peace (t).” Of this, Melancthon gave
 Proof upon Proof: but never more enormously, than
 at the *Augsburgh* Conference, in 1530, when he ap-
 peared to be in an Humor to *sacrifice*, not only many Things,
 but every Thing, for the sake of a Co-alition with the
 Church of Rome. He agreed, “ That Men should not
 “ be said to be justified by Faith alone, but by Faith
 “ and Grace [i. e. by Faith and inherent Grace or Ho-
 “ lines]: That good Works are necessary [viz. to Jus-
 “ tification]: That Reprobates are included in the Church:
 “ That Man hath a Free-will: That the Blessed Saints
 “ intercede for us, and may be Honored: That the Body
 “ and Blood of Christ are contained in both Elements:
 “ That

(r) *Robertson’s Hist. of Charles V.* Vol. IV. p. 16. (s) See
Steyne’s Life of Cranmer, p. 408. (t) *Rolt’s Lives of the Re-*
formers, p. 103, from *Bayle*.

“ That those of the Laity are not to be condemned, who
 “ receive the Eucharist only under one Kind : That the
 “ usual Veneration should be given to the Holy Sacra-
 “ ment : That Mass should be publicly celebrated with
 “ the usual Ceremonys : That the Popish Bishops should
 “ hold their antient Jurisdictions : and That the Parish
 “ Priests should possess a Power of Excommunication,
 “ and be subject, in Spiritual Matters, to the said Roman
 “ Bishops (u).”

This was “ *sacrificing*,” with a Witness. But, it seems; the good Man would have sacrificed still more, if Luther and the other Protestants, by whose Commission he [*Melancthon*] treated with the Romish Divines, had not taken Fire at the extravagant Concessions already made, and restrained him from going on. “ *Melancthon*, who “ was very much inclined to Peace” [i. e. to patch up a Peace with the Church of Rome, by allowing her every Point she wanted], “ might have come NEARER, if he “ had been invested with ample Powers. But the rigid “ Protestants had been dissatisfy’d with his Condescensions, “ and ordered him to advance no farther (x).”—Thus acted the Man, who declared himself to be, what he most certainly was in his Heart, so convinced “ Of the Truth “ of Luther’s Doctrine,” that he “ would never forsake “ it (y)!” Nor does it appear, that he ever did inwardly forsake the Doctrine of Luther. But can I commend him for his pusillanimous Flexibility, which induced him to curry human Favor, at the Expence of Divine Truth; and for straining his own Conscience, in order to shake Hands with Rome? I commend him not.

Take another Instance of his Ductility. “ *Melancthon* “ was consulted, upon the Divorce which Henry VIII. “ was determined to have against *Catharine* of Spain : and “ he gave his Opinion, That the Law in *Lepiticus* is DIS- “ PENSABLE, and that the Marriage [viz. the King’s

Y y 2

“ Marriage

(u) *Rolt*, Ibid. p. 105. (x) *Rolt*, Ibid. (y) *Ibid*. p. 102.

“ Marriage with his Brother’s Widow] “ *might be LAW-
 “ FULL ; and that, in THESE Matters, States and Princes
 “ might make WHAT LAWS THEY PLEASED (z).*” Throw
 this artful Piece of Court-Casuftry which way you will,
 ’twill pitch upon its Legs, and stand plum upon All-
 four. It told *Henry*, in Effect, that he might either re-
 tain his Conjugal Sister, or put her away, just as Appe-
 tite should serve. For what was past, his Majesty had in-
 curred no Sin : because, in these Matters, the *Law of
 GOD* may be *dispensed* with by *Princes*. And, as to the
 future, if the King did not chuse to persist in exerting
 his Right to dispense with God’s Law, he might at any
 Time rid himself of a stale Wife, by giving her a Bill of
 Divorcement. Such was *Melancthon’s* “ *excessive Com-
 “ plaisance to Persons of high Rank !*”

The Advice, he gave to *OEcolampadius*, bore the same
 Impress of Artifice and Duplicity. The *Lutherans* and the
Zuinglians differed, concerning the Nature of the Holy
 Sacrament. The former supposed, that the real Body and
 Blood of Christ were con-substantiated *with* the Elements,
 tho’ the Elements were not trans-substantiated *into* the
 real Body and Blood : but that *Both* subsisted together, as
 Fire subsists in and with a red-hot Iron. The *Zuinglians*,
 on the other Hand, believed, that the consecrated Symbols
 were no more than a merely commemorative Representa-
 tion. A Conference was opened, upon this Matter, be-
 tween some Divines of each Party. *OEcolampadius* wrote
 to *Melancthon*, requesting him to terminate the Dispute,
 by declaring himself in Favor of the *Zuinglian* Opinion.
 Observe *Melancthon’s* Answer. “ I cannot approve the
 “ Opinion of the Sacramentarians ; but, if you would
 “ act politicly, you should speak otherwise : for, you know,
 “ there are many Learned Men among them, whose Friend-
 “ ship would be advantageous to me (a).”

Luther

z) Roit, *Ibid.* p. 107.

(a) Roit, p. 104.

Luther could never bring himself to hunt with the Hound and run with the Hare. He was formed of Materials too heroic, not to abhor Collusion, and all its narrow, skulking Arts. Hence, he often raily'd *Melancthon*, and sometimes chid him in Terms of Severity, for his religious Cowardice. These friendly Stimulations roused and quicken'd *Melancthon*, for a short While: but he soon relapsed into *Melancthon* again.

Let a Man espouse what System he will, he must unavoidably displease some Party or other. But the Man, who affects to adopt such a System, as may render him obnoxious to no Party whatever; very rarely acquires that Measure of Esteem, from Any, which he fondly expects to receive from All. *Melancthon* hoped, that his extreme Moderation would have exempted him entirely from the Feuds of Enmity and Opposition. But he was disappointed: and the Disappointment had an unfavorable Effect on his Spirits. In angling, with so much Anxiety, for universal Applause; he incurred that Suspicion, which is the usual Reward of irresolute Fluctuation. A great Part of the Protestants disliked him, for not seeming Protestant enough: and most of the Papists hated him, for not being sufficiently Popish. The Consequence was, that he led a very uneasy Life, between the Two.

“ Nature,” says Monsieur *Boyle*, “ which gave *Melancthon* a peaceable Temper, made him a Present ill suited with the Time in which he was to live. He was like a Lamb in the midst of Wolves. His Moderation served only to be his Cross. No-body liked his Mildness (b).” — “ He was never out of Danger: but might truly be said, through FEAR, to be all his Lifetime subject to Bondage. Thus he declared, in one of his Works, that he had held his Professor's place [at Wittenburg] forty Years, without being ever sure that he should not be turned out of it before the End of the Week (c).”

Honesty

(b) Hist. Dict. Vol. IV. p. 187.
Vol. VIII. p. 325.

(c) Biograph. Dict.

Honesty is the best Policy. Who would wish, by disguising his Sentiments, to tread the artificial and painful Path of the trimming *Melancthon*?

Notwithstanding his acknowledged Defect of Courage, he yet ventured to assert the strongest Predestination. A Learned (d) Papist even goes so far as to charge *Calvin* himself with borrowing some of the Arguments, by which he supports that Doctrine, from *Melancthon*. This Accusation, tho' false, shews the Agreement, which subsisted between those two Divines, upon that important Article.

Our own Bishop *Davenant*, who was a consummate Judge of these Matters, observes, that "*Melancthon* took Offence at the *Manner* of delivering the Doctrine of Predestination and Reprobation, insisted on by some: but, for the Substance of Doctrine, he acknowledged his Agreement with CALVIN. That Men must come to the Knowledge of their Election, from their Faith and holy Life; was *Melancthon's* Opinion: but that their foreseen Faith and Holiness, was the Cause, or Condition, or Motive, upon which God founded His Decree of Election, was far from his Mind (e)." We are reminded, by a later Writer than the good Bishop, that *Calvin* condescended to dedicate his Treatise, against *Pighius*, to *Melancthon*: for which Token of *Calvin's* Friendship, *Melancthon* warmly expressed his Gratitude. Mr *Calvin* confirmed his own [Flock] at home, and strongly opposed his Adversarys abroad: publishing his four Books about *Free-will*, which he dedicated to *Philip Melancthon*; against *Albert Pighius*, the greatest Sophister of the Age, and who had singled out *Calvin* for his Antagonist, being promised a Cardinal's Hat if he could carry the Victory. But [*Pighius*] being frustrated of his Labor, he gat That, which the Enemy of Truth only deserve, viz. that he stank amongst Learn-

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(d) Spondanus. See *Bayle*, Vol. II. p. 272.
Davenant against *Hoord*, p. 72.

(e) Bishop

“ed and good Men, himself being deceived by the Devil.
 “How much *Melancthon* esteemed those Books of Mr
 “*Calvin*, himself testifys in his Epistles which are in
 “Print (f).”

Melancthon, as well as *Calvin*, was a (g) Sub-lapsarian. In those Times, *Arminianism* was a Term utterly unknown in the Christian Church. *Melancthon* dyed, A. D. 1560. i. e. the same Year, in which *Arminius* was born. The Enemyes of Grace were then termed *Pelagians* and *Semi-pelagians*.

Melancthon had an elegant Genius, cultivated by intense Application. His Piety was elevated, his Learning profound, and his Usefulness very considerable. Could he have got the better of that unhappy Diffidence, which was perpetually betraying him into Inconsistencys, and hampering him with Perplexityes; he might have been classed with the greatest of Mankind. Among his other Friends, *Zanchius*, with much Tenderneſs and Delicacy, warned him of the Danger to which his capital Deficiency exposed him. “Non dubitant pii,” said that great Man, in one of his Letters to *Melancthon*, “de tuâ eximiâ Eruditione, et singulari Pietate; tantùm hoc precamur omnes, donet Te, Virum alioqui fortem, majori etiam Spiritûs Fortitudinæ Deus. Vide, quàm familiaritèr ego, omnium
 “minimus,

(f) *Clark's Marrow of Hist.* p. 293.

(g) “Reformatores nostri, ut Verbum etiam de iis addamus, D. *Augustini* de Gratia & Prædestinatione Sententiam penè omnes sequebantur; quam & crudiùs nonnunquam tradebant; ut ex *Lutheri*, de Servo Arbitrio, multisque *Zuinglii* & *Calvini*, Locis, constare potest. Quin & fuerunt, qui ad rigidissimæ Supralapsariam Placita (quibus Electio & Reprobatio, in Decretis Divinis, supra Hominis Lapsum statuuntur) procedere haud dubitarent; ut *Beza* & *Zanchius*: ad mitiora deflexit *Melancthon*.”——*J. A. Turretini Hist. Eccles.* p. 328.—Let me just hint, that this Learned Man is mistaken, in placing *Zanchius* on the List of Supralapsarians.

“ minimus, Tui tamen inter omnes observantissimus, te-
 “ cum loquor, eximie & doctissime Philippe (b). i. e. *All*
 “ *good Men unite in acknowledging Your uncommon Learn-*
 “ *ing and Piety. But it is no less true, that we likewise*
 “ *unite, in beseeching God to endue You with a larger Portion*
 “ *of Courage and Boldness. See, how free the least confi-*
 “ *derable, but not the least respectful, of Your Friends, ventures*
 “ *to make with you !*”

Envy is, perhaps, not often honor'd with Residence in so
 so valuable a Mind as that of *Melancthon*. At the very
 Time, however, when his Intimacy with *Luther* was at
 its Height, he seems to have viewed the Ascendency, which
 that Reformer had acquired among Protestants, with Jeal-
 ously and Pain. I wish the following Incident could be
 reasonably ascribed to a less ungenerous Principle. “ *Me-*
 “ *lancthon* often exhorted *Bucer*, not to yield so much to
 “ *Luther (i).*” He seems to have re-iterated this secret
 Exhortation, not only by Word of Mouth, but also by
 Letter : and *Bucer*, weary'd and disgusted with *Melancthon's*
 Teizings, seems to have at last communicated the Matter
 to *Luther* himself. So at least I conjecture, from the
 Aspect of what follows : “ He [i. e. *Melancthon*] himself
 “ writes, that *Luther* was so enraged against him, about a
 “ Letter, received from *Bucer* ; that he [*Melancthon*]
 “ thought of nothing but withdrawing himself forever
 “ from *Luther's* Presence. He lived under such conti-
 “ nual Constraint from *Luther*, &c. and was so oppressed
 “ with Labor and Vexation ; that, being quite spent, he
 “ wrote to his Friend *Camerarius* : *I am in Bondage, as*
 “ *if I were in the Cave of the Cyclop (for I cannot disguise*
 “ *my Sentiments to You), and I have often Thoughts of making*
 “ *my Escape (k).*” At one Time, he entertained the ro-
 mantic Design of retiring into the Holy Land, and of
 spending the Remainder of his Days in the identical Ca-
 verns

(b) *Zanchii*, Opera, Tom. VIII. p. 148. (i) *Bayle*, Vol IV.
 p. 190. (k) *Bayle*, *Ibid.* 191.

verns formerly occupy'd by St *Jerom* (l). But, the Storm abating, that whimsical Scheme subsided with it.

Is it not very extraordinary, that a Person, of *Melancthon's* tender Spirits and Goodness of Heart, should justify and applaud the Magistrates of *Geneva*, for punishing *Servetus's* religious Mistakes with Death? "They acted **" RIGHT,"** says *Melancthon*, "in bringing that Blasphemer to the Stake, after having first granted him the Privilege of a fair Tryal (m)." Alas, what is Man!

No less inconsistent were *Melancthon's* Nibblings at the Doctrine of Fate, in the Sense wherein that Doctrine was held by some Stoics. The *Astrological* Fate, or a Destiny resulting from the Positions and Influence of the Planets, is a very absurd, and a very prophane Tenet. *Melancthon* would have done rightly, in entering his Caveat against it, had his Caveat been sincere. But, even here, he acted with his usual Diffimulation. In his Heart, he leaned very strongly toward that exceptionable Species of illegitimate Fatality. "I will observe," says *Bayle*, "that he [*Melancthon*] was credulous, as to Prodigys, Astrology, and Dreams (n)." Mr *Rolt* adds, "From *Melancthon's* Epistles it may be observed, that he was a Believer in judicial Astrology, a Caster of Nativitys, and an Interpreter of Dreams. Strange Weakness, in so great a Man! (o)"—So far, therefore, was he from really denying Predestination and Fate; that he held those Doctrines, even to Excess: i. e. in the most irrational, gloomy, and superstitious Point of View, in which it is possible for the human Mind to entertain them.

The Reformers were, however, sensible of *Melancthon's* well-meaning Piety, tho' the strange Mixture and Variation

(l) Ibid. p. 188.

(m) "*Melancthon Magistratus Genevenses rectè fecisse affirmat, quòd Hominem blasphemum, Re Ordine judicatà, interfecerint.*"—TURRETTINI (Fran.) *Institutionis Theologiæ* Vol. III. p. 374. Edit. Lugd. 1696.

(n) Vol. IV. p. 187.

(o) Lives of the Ref. p. 118.

gation of his spiritual Completion made them often at a Loss how to deal with him:

— — — — *Each finding, as a Friend,
Something to blame, and something to commend.*

Luther had a very great Regard for him, but perceived it needful, both to refrain him, and to spur him on, as Occasion required. Calvin held him in considerable Estimation, and treated him with the most benevolent Tenderness. He was also honor'd with the Correspondence of Archbishop Cranmer; who conceived a favorable Idea of his Learning and Humility. But they, who insinuate, that he [*Melancthon*] was concerned with that Prelate in Reforming the Church of England, seem to have advanced a Conjecture totally unwarranted by a single Grain of Proof. I can find no more than two Occasions, on which he was invited into England (but they were only Invitations, for he never came): namely, in (*p*) the Reign of *Henry VIII.* whom he had pleased to the Life, by his gentle Casuistry concerning that Monarch's Divorce; and again, a little before the Death of *Edward VI.* who intended to have given him a quiet Retreat in England from his Troubles in Germany, by fixing him at *Cambridge*, after the Death of *Bucer* (*q*). But when the first Invitation was given him, *Henry* had no Design to reform (nor did he, to his dying Day, reform) the Doctrinal System of the Church. And, when the second Invitation was signified to *Melancthon*, the Church had been Reformed ALREADY, by the Care of King *Edward*, the Duke of *Somerset*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Bucer*, *Martyr*, *Calvin*, and Others. Certain it is, that *Zanchius* was actually invited hither, in due Season, "TO ASSIST in carrying on the REFORMATION (*r*):" and that the Reformers of our Church were disappointed of his Help, by his preferring

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(*p*) *Strype's Eccles. Memor.* Vol I. p. 231, 232. (*q*) *Ibid.*
Vol. II. p. 401, 402. (*r*) See *Hickman*, u. s. p. 151.

2. Settlement at *Strasburg*; the Divinity-Chair of that City being offer'd him, while he was on his Journey towards this Kingdom (s).

2. 'Tis objected, against the Calvinism of our Established Church, That "In several Parts of the Liturgy, &c. She herself seems to speak the Language of Arminius."—Impossible! for the Church (as we have already observed) having been Reformed and Established, long enough before Arminius existed; She can never be supposed to have borrowed either her Sentiments, or her Language, from a Man who was then unborn.

A Number of Passages have been amassed, by some despairing Arminians, in order to prove, from the Liturgy and Homily's themselves, that the Church of England is but a Sort of Shoot from the Arminian Stock. The Passages, however, are no more to the Purpose, than if they were alledged to prove that Queen *Elizabeth* was *Adam's* Wife and the Mother of all Mankind. Notwithstanding this, I have given each of them a distinct Consideration, in a Pamphlet, which has long lain by me; and which shall be committed to the Press, whenever the Indulgence of the Public shall call for its Appearance. In the mean while, I shall weigh two Passages, which are tirdged with great Triumph, and not without some Color of seeming Plausibility, by Mr *John Wesley*, and Co.

The *first* of these two Citations is selected from the Liturgy: where, in the Communion Service, the officiating Minister, at the Delivery of the Holy Elements, says, to every Receiver, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee:" and, "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee."—Does not this look something like *absolutely universal Redemption*? Not, when soberly considered: unless it could be proved, that every Individual of the whole Human Race, from Adam to the last of Mankind, have been, are, and will be, Communicants

(s) See my *Life of ZANCHIUS*, p. 21.

municants in the Church of England.—“ Oh, but it proves
 “ that *All*, who do so communicate, are, in her Judge-
 “ ment, *redeemed* by Christ.” Granted. And *why* does
 She suppose them *redeemed*? Even because she invites none
 to the Lord’s Table, but *Those*, who do “ *truly and earn-*
 “ *estly* REPENT *them of their Sins, and are in LOVE and*
 “ CHARITY with their Neighbors, and intend to lead a NEW
 “ LIFE, following the Commandments of God, and walking
 “ from henceforth in His holy Ways (†).” As, therefore, the
 Church takes for granted, that *All*, who present them-
 selves at that solemn Ordinance, are partakers of *these*
Graces; she very consistently infers, that they are likewise
All *redeemed* by the Blood of Christ: for who can question
 the *Redemption* of Penitents and Saints? “ Oh, but there’s
 “ Reason to believe, that *All* Communicants are *not* Pe-
 “ nitents and Saints.” Whether they are, or are not,
 must be left to the Decision of God. ’Tis enough to the
 present Point, that the Church describes the *Redeemed* of
 the Lord under the Characters of *penitent* and *holy*: and,
 thereby (in exact Harmony with Scripture), virtually
excludes, from a visible Interest in Christ’s Redemption,
 those who do *not* repent and obey. For each *converted* and
sanctified Receiver, the Church affirms that the “ *Body* of
 “ Christ was given,” and “ the *Blood* of Christ was shed.”
 What is this but saying, by necessary Consequence, that
 we have no Right to extend the Death of Christ to such
 Persons, as are *not* converted and sanctified? So that the
 very Words themselves, of the Administration, are a Proof,
 not of an *unlimited*, but of an exceedingly *restrictive*, Re-
 demption.

The *second* Quotation is taken from one of the Homilys.
 “ In the Homily of Almsdoing,” say *Wesley* and *Sellon*,
 “ there is this Apocryphal Text, that *Alms* makes an Atonement
 “ *for Sins*.”—I know not what adequate Atonement these two
 Arminians can make to the Church, for the
 the

(†) Exhortation, before the Celebration of the Blessed Sacrament.

the Slander and Falsehood of that Insinuation, which they mean to convey, under the Cover of this Remark. Let us consult the Homily itself: and its Import will be found, not only quite innocent of Arminianism, but positively Orthodox, and most highly Calvinistic.

“ Ye shall understand, dearly Beloved, that neither
 “ those Places of the Scripture, before alledged; neither
 “ the Doctrine of the blessed Martyr *Cyprian*; neither any
 “ other Godly and Learned Man; when they, in extoll-
 “ ing the Dignity, Profit, Fruit, and Effect of virtuous
 “ and liberal *Alms*, do say that it *washeth away Sins*, and
 “ bringeth us to *the Favor of God*, do mean that our
 “ Work and Charitable Deeds are the original Cause of
 “ our Acceptation before God, or that, for the Dignity
 “ or Worthiness thereof, our Sins may be washed away,
 “ and we purged and cleansed of all the Spots of our Ini-
 “ quity: for *that were indeed to deface Christ, and to de-*
 “ *fraud Him of His Glory.* But they mean THIS, and
 “ THIS is the Understanding of those and such-like
 “ sayings: *that God, of his MERCY and SPECIAL FAVOR*
 “ *towards THEM whom He hath APPOINTED to EVERLAST-*
 “ *ING SALVATION, hath so offered his Grace especially,*
 “ *and they have so received it fruitfully, that although, by*
 “ *Reason of their sinful Living, they SEEMED before to*
 “ *have been the Children of Wrath and Perdition; yet,*
 “ *now, the SPIRIT of God MIGHTILY WORKING in them*
 “ *unto Obedience to God’s Will and Commandments,*
 “ *they DECLARE, by their outward DEEDS and Life, in*
 “ *the shewing of Mercy and CHARITY (which cannot*
 “ *come, but of the SPIRIT of God and His ESPECIAL*
 “ *GRACE), that they ARE the undoubted Children of God,*
 “ *APPOINTED to everlasting Life. And so, as, by their Wick-*
 “ *edness and ungodly living” [viz. before they were con-*
 “ *verted], they shewed themselves, according to the Judge-*
 “ *ment of Men which follow the outward Appearance,*
 “ *to be Reprobates and Cast-aways; so now, by their*
 “ *OBEDIENCE unto God’s holy Will, and by their Mer-*
cifulness

“ *cifulness and tender Pity* (wherein they shew themselves
 “ to be like unto God, who is the Fountain and Spring of
 “ Mercy), they DECLARE, *openly and manifestly to the sight*
 “ of Men, that they ARE the Sons of God, and ELECT of
 “ Him unto Salvation. For as the good Fruit is not the
 “ Cause that the Tree is good, but the Tree must first
 “ be good before it can bring forth good Fruit; so the
 “ GOOD DEEDS of Man are NOT the cause that MAKETH
 “ Man good: but he is first MADE good, by the SPIRIT
 “ and GRACE of God, that EFFECTUALLY worketh in
 “ him; and AFTERWARD he bringeth forth good Fruits.
 “ And then, as the good Fruit doth argue the Goodness
 “ of the Tree; so doth the good and merciful Deed of
 “ the Man argue and certainly prove the Goodness of him
 “ that doth it: according to Christ’s saying, *Ye shall KNOW*
 “ *them by their FRUITS* (u).”

If the Church had not thus explained her own Meaning, Messieurs Wesley and Sellon might have had some seeming Foundation for insinuating that the Homily asserts the propitiatory Merit of Almsgiving. But as She, so largely and so expressly, defines the Sense in which She admits the Justifying Power of that good Work; the above Pair of Arminian Defamers are absolutely inexcusable for their gross and wilfull Violation of Justice and Truth, in laying, to the Charge of the Church, *Things which she knoweth not* (x).

3. 'Tis

(u) *Homily on Almshouses*, Part II. p. 160, 161.—Edit. 1640.

(x) From the pitiable Ignorance, which distinguishes the Complexion of the following Remark; I am disposed to believe, that the Remark itself is of Mr Sellon’s own Fabrication, unaided by the Co-adjutorship of his domineering Help-mate, Mr John Wesley. —The Remark is this: that The Church of England affirms *Universal Redemption*, in saying, that “ Christ offered himself *once* “ *for all* upon the Altar of the Cross.” Now, I hereby inform Mr Sellon (as Mr Wesley ought to have done before the Bolt was shot), that the Church of England took that Phrase [viz. “ *once* “ *for*

3. 'Tis objected, that the *Calvinistic* Doctrines are *Puritanic*; and were tenaciously held by many, who opposed the *Established Hierarchy*.

I answer: That the Term, *Puritan*, belonged, in its primary Application, to *Those Persons*, and to *Those Persons alone*, who dissented from the *Government*, the *Discipline*, and the *Ceremonys*, of the Church of *England*. This will never be controverted, by Any, who are at all acquainted with the History of *Elizabeth's* Reign, in whose Time that Word (*Puritan*) was first coined. Nor was it ever applied to Church-men themselves, 'till about two Years before the Death of King *James* the First: when a temporizing *Italian* Papist [viz. *Antony de Dominis*, once Archbishop of *Spalato*] craftily endeavor'd to transfer the Name, from Protestant Dissenters, to such Members of the *Established Church* as were Enemys to regal Tyranny, and to the new Doctrines of *Arminius* (y).—In the succeeding Reign of *Charles*, *Laud* kept up the Ball which *De Dominis* had raised: and, by Degrees, every conscientious Son of the Church, who was *Protestant* enough, to maintain her Doctrines; and *English-man* enough to support the Civil Constitution of the Kingdom; was, at Court, treated as a *Puritan*.

Wilson

“for all”] from the Epistle to the *Hebrews*: where the original Word is, *ἑνακαὶ*, which signifies, *once only*, or *irrepeatably*; and means, that *Christ* so offered Himself in Sacrifice, as *never* to be offer'd up again: he poured out his Soul unto Death, for the first, and for the last Time.

Would Politeness give Leave, I might farther explain the Import of the Term *ἑνακαὶ*, or *once-for-all*, by addressing Mr *Sellon* thus: ‘Be it known, *once for all*, that you are a most wretched and contemptible *IGNORAMUS*.’—But rather let me advise Mr *WESLEY*, *once for all*, not to expose his own Cause again, by entrusting the Management of it to such a very illiterate Advocate.

(y) See *Fuller's* Church Hist. Book X. p. 99, 100.

Wilson develops the whole Matter, with great Fidelity, under the Year 1622. “ This Animosity of the King’s [viz. of King James I.] against the [real] Puritans, was thought to be fomented by the *Papists*, whose Agent Bishop *Laud* was suspected to be; tho’, in Religion, he had a motley Form by himself, and would never (as a Priest plainly told me in *Flanders*) bring his Neck under the Obedience of the *Roman Yoke*, tho’ he might fickle for the Grandeur of the Clergy. And now he began to be *Buckingham’s* Confessor (as he expresseth in his own Notes), and wore the Court-Livery: tho’ the King had a sufficient Character of him, and was pleased, with Affelevation, to protest his [viz. *Laud’s*] *incentive Spirit should be KEPT UNDER, that the Flame should not break out by any Preferment from him.* But that was now forgotten in some Measure: and he crept so into Favor, that he was thought to be the Bellows that blew these Fires. For the *Papists* used all the Artifices they could, to make a Breach between the King and his People; that they might enter at the same, for their own Ends. Which to accomplish, they slyly closed with the chief Ministers of State, to put the King upon all his Projects and Monopolys displeasing to the People, that they might the more alienate their Affections from him: Sowing their Seeds of Division also betwixt *Puritan* and *Protestant*; so that (like the second Commandment) they quite excluded the *Protestant* [under the False Idea of *Puritanism*]: for all those were *Puritans*, with this *High-grown ARMINIAN-POPISH Party*, that held in Judgement the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches, or in Practice lived according to the Doctrine publicly taught in the Church of England (z).”

To such an Height did the Court-Madness arise, that All were supposed to be tinged with Puritanism, who did

(z) *Wilson*, apud *Kennet’s* Compl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 753.

did not flatter *James* even to Blasphemy. “ It was too
 “ apparent, that some of the Clergy, to make their Way
 “ the smother to their wished End, began so to adore
 “ the King, that *he could not be named, but MORE Reve-*
 “ *rence was done to it, than to the Name of GOD:* and the
 “ Judges, in their itinerant Circuits, the more to enslave
 “ the People to Obedience, being to speak of the King,
 “ would give him such *Sacred and Oraculous Titles*, as if
 “ their Advancement to higher Places must necessarily be
 “ laid upon the Foundation of the People’s Debase-
 “ ment (a).”

Hear what the wise and upright Archbishop *Usher* told
 King *Charles* the First, to his Face, from the Pulpit, in
 1627. “ I see, that Those, who *will not yield to that*
 “ *NEW DOCTRINE which hath disturbed the Low Countrys*”
 [i. e. who will not embrace *Arminianism*], “ there is an
 “ odious Name cast upon them, and they are counted
 “ *Puritans*: which is a Thing tending to Dissention. We
 “ know who are esteemed by CHRIST: and were it not
 “ a vile Thing, to Term HIM a *Puritan*?—And King
 “ *James* maintained the same” [viz. the same *Calvinistic*
 Doctrines which the Church of England has adopted]:
 “ and shall Those be counted so” [i. e. be counted *Pu-*
ritans], “ who confess those Points which *He* maintained?
 “ Do not think I speak any Thing, as being hired on
 “ any Side. But I foresee, that the forecasting of that
 “ Name, upon Those who maintain the Doctrine pub-
 “ lished by the Pen of our [late] Sovereign, will prove a
 “ Means for the disturbing of our Peace. — — — — I
 “ will not deny, but confess, that, in those FIVE POINTS
 “ which disturb the Low Countrys, I am in the Mind
 “ of my Sovereign. I am not ashamed to confess it:
 “ nor never will be. — — — And I do here profess be-
 “ fore God, that, if I were an *Arminian*, and did hold
 “ those Five Points which have caused those Troubles in

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(a) *Wilson*, Ibid.

“ the Low Countrys, and is like to cause them here
 “ among Us; the Case standing as it doth, that the great-
 “ est Number of the Prophets blow their Horns another
 “ Way; I hold I were bound in Conscience to hold my
 “ Peace, and keep my Knowledge to myself, rather than;
 “ by my unseasonable Uttering of it, to disturb the Peace
 “ of the Church.— — — — This is the last Time
 “ I shall be called to this Place: Therefore, I will leave
 “ this Advice; which if it be neglected, peradventure it
 “ will be too late easily to stop things (b).” — Observe
 here, 1. That, in this Prelate’s Judgement, King James
 lived and dyed a Doctrinal Calvinist.—2. That *Calvinism*
 was a Thing as essentially different from *Puritanism*, as
 Light from Darkness.—3. That if the Belief of the *Cal-*
vinian Doctrines be *puritanic*, it would follow, that
 Christ Himself was a Puritan.—4. The good Archbishop
 was not ashamed to avow those Doctrines, in the Pre-
 sence of King Charles and of his Arminian Court.—5.
 As he is said to have foretold the Massacre of the Irish
 Protestants, so, in the above Discourse, he as plainly pre-
 dicted the Civil Wars which, many Years after, actually
 ensued.—6. We have his Grace’s explicit Testimony, that,
 even in the Reign of Charles the First, “ the greatest Num-
 “ ber” of the Established Clergy “blew their Horns,” i. e.
 preached and published, not in the Arminian Strain, but
 quite “another Way,” tho’ in direct Opposition to the Wind
 and Tide of Court Encouragement.—7. He was sensible that,
 for his Honesty and faithful Dealing, this was “the LAST
 “ TIME” he should ever be asked to preach before the
 King: he therefore resolved to make, and make he did,
 the most of that last Opportunity, by giving his Majesty
 some

(b) Archbishop Usher’s Sermon on 1 Cor. xiv. 33. Preached
 before the King, at Greenwich, June 27, 1627. Annexed to
 the Folio Edition of His *Body of Divinity*. Lond. 1678.—p. 183,
 184.

some very wholesome, tho' not very palatable, "*Advice.*" Which Advice had the King uniformly followed, he had, probably, saved the Church from Ruin, the three Kingdoms from Destruction, and his own Head from the Axe.—
 8. The Archbishop's Integrity is the more to be admired, as the King's Declaration, for imposing Silence on Preachers touching the Points in Dispute, had been published so lately as the Year before the above Sermon was delivered. The heroic Prelate thought it right, *to obey GOD, rather than Man.*

After all, what if the *Puritans* themselves, truly and properly so called, should be found to have been *Dissenters*, NOT from the *Doctrines*, but merely and solely from the *Rites and Regimen*, of the Church of England? That this was actually and literally the Case, i. e. that the Puritans (in the Reigns of *Elizabeth* and the first *James*) cordially approved the *Furniture*, tho' they disrelished the *Fabric*, of our excellent Ecclesiastical House; appears from the most conclusive and incontrovertible Evidence.

On this Subject, Archbishop *Hutton* thus expressed himself, in 1604. "The Puritans, whose fantastical Zeal I mislike, tho' they differ in Ceremonys and Accidents, yet they agree with Us in Substance of Religion (c)."

"People of the same Country," says Mr *Nicolas Tindal*, "of the same Religion, and of the same Judgement and *Doctrine*, parted Communion on Account of a few *Habits and Ceremonys* (d)." According to this Historian, the very *Brownists* themselves, tho' they bear the Character of having been the most rigid and intractable of all the then Separatists; were One with the Church, in Matters of Doctrine: "The Brownists did not differ from the Church, in any Doctrinal Points (e)." With the superficial Mr *Tindal* agrees the profound and laborious
 Mr

(c) See *Strype's Life of Whiggift*, Append. No. 50. p. 247.

(d) Contin. of *Rapin's Hist.* Vol. III. p. 278.—Edit. quæ pr.

(e) *Tindal*, Ibid. 222

Mr *Chambers*: "The Occasion of their [i. e. of the Brownists'] Separation, was, not any Fault they found with the *Faith*, but only with the *Discipline* and Form of Government, of the other Churches in England (f)."

Even *Peter Heylyn* found himself constrained to draw a Line between Calvinists and Puritans. And thus he draws it. "I must needs say, the Name of *Doctrinal Puritanism* is not very ancient. — Nor am I of Opinion, that *Puritan* and *Calvinian* are Terms convertible. For tho' all *Puritans* are *Calvinians*, both in Doctrine and Practice; yet, all *Calvinians* are not to be counted as *Puritans* also: whose Practices [i. e. the Practices of the Puritans] many of them [i. e. many of the Calvinists] abhor, and whose Inconformitys they detest (g)."

A Writer, whose Portmanteau *Heylyn* was not worthy to carry, shall clinch the present Nail of Evidence. I mean, the very respectable Bishop *Saunderson*: who affirms, that to charge Calvinists with Puritanism, is a "most unjust and uncharitable Course;" whereby, his Lordship thought, the Arminians had "prevailed more, than by all the rest [of their Artifices], in seeking to draw the Persons, of those that dissent from them, into Dislike with the State, as if they were Puritans, or Disciplinaryans, or, or least, that Way affected. Whereas," adds this judicious Prelate, "1. The Questions in Debate are such, as *no way* touch upon *Puritanism*, either off or on. — 2. Many of the [Calvinists] have as *freely* and *clearly*, declared their Judgements, by Preaching and Writing against all Puritanism and Puritanical Principles, as the stoutest *Arminian* in England hath done. — — — Could that Blessed Archbishop *Whitgift*, or the modest and Learned *Hooker*, have ever thought, so much as by Dream, that Men, concurring with them in Opinion, should, for some of these very Opinions,

(f) *Chambers's Dict. on the Word Brownists.*

(g) *Life of Laud*, p. 119.

“ nions, be called *Puritans* (b) ?” — I hope, we shall hear no more of the *puritanic* Tendency of *Calvinism*.

4. Another false and shameful Objection against these Doctrines, is, That they are “ Unfavorable to *Loyalty*.” But no Insinuation can be more abominably unjust. We assert, with Scripture, that *The Powers which be, are ORDAINED of God*: consequently, we cannot be disloyal, without flying in the Face of that very *Predestination* and *Providence*, for which we so zealously contend. A Spur, this, to Civil Obedience, which Arminianism must forever want.

From innumerable Proofs, I select one very pertinent and remarkable Instance. Let us contrast the Loyalty of the *Calvinistic* Archbishop USHER, with that of the *Arminian* Ranter and Fifth-Monarchy Man JOHN GOODWIN.

“ The Execution of King *Charles I.* struck Archbishop
 “ *Usher* with great Horror. The Countess of Peter-
 “ borough’s House, where the Primate [*Usher*] then lived,
 “ being just over against Charing-Cross, several of her
 “ Gentlemen and Servants went up to the Leads of the
 “ House, from whence they could plainly see what was
 “ acting before Whitehall. As soon as his Majesty came
 “ upon the Scaffold, some of the Household told the Pri-
 “ mate of it: and asked him, *Whether he would see the*
 “ *King once more, before he was put to Death?* He was, at
 “ first, unwilling; but, at last, went up: where, as the
 “ Ceremonial advanced, the Primate grew more and more
 “ affected; and, when the Executioners in Vizards be-
 “ gan to put up the King’s Hair, the Archbishop grew
 “ PALE, and would have FAINTED, if he had not been
 “ immediately carried off (i).”

Very differently was that tragical Incident relished, by *Goodwin* the Free-will Man. I have proved, in a foregoing Part of this Work (k), that he considered all “ *King-*

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“ *ship,*

(b) *Bishop Saunderson’s Pax Ecclesię*; p. 63, 64.

(i) *Biogr. Diss.* Vol. XI. p. 338.

(k) *Introduction*, p. xliiii.

“*Ship, as the great Antichrist:*” and, in perfect Consistency with this mad and detestable Principle, he “Not only justified putting the King to Death, but magnified it, as the GLORIOUSEST Action Men were capable of.” What half killed the Most Reverend Calvinist of *Armagh*, made the Heart of the Irreverend Free-will Man of *Coleman-street* to leap for Joy. Loyal *Usher* began to swoon, at the Sight of Majesty on a Scaffold: but the Arminian Rebel *John Goodwin* VINDICATED, and in *Folio* too, the Stroke of that nefarious Axe which deprived Majesty of Life.

A single Question and Answer shall, for the present, wind up the Topic of Loyalty.—Whom did Providence honor with being the auspicious Instrument of entailing the British Crown on the House of the amiable and illustrious Monarch who now adorns the Throne? His CALVINISTIC Majesty King WILLIAM III.

5. “Oh, but Calvin himself pronounces the Decree of *Reprobation*, an horrible Decree.”—I know not which exceeds: Mr *Sellon's* Ignorance, or Mr *Wesley's* Disingenuity. CALVIN no where styles “*Reprobation*,” an “*horrible Decree*.” These two Arminians, therefore, are, in plain English, a Pair of HORRIBLE Lyars.

'Tis in treating of God's Determination to permit the Fall of ADAM, that Calvin says, *Decretum quidem horribile fateor; inficiari tamen Nemo poterit, quin præsciverit Deus, quem Exitum esset habiturus Homo, antequam ipsum conderet* (1). i. e. “I acknowledge this Decree to be an AWFUL one: 'tis, however, undeniable, that, before the Creation of Man, GOD knew what the Event of it would be.”

I would willingly imagine, that Mr *Wesley* is not so wretched a Latinist, as to believe, that he and his Subaltern acted fairly, in rendering the Word *horribilis*, as it stands in the above Connection, by the English Adjective *horrible*. Tho' there is a sameness of Sound, there is no necessary

(1) *Calv. Instit. Lib. III. Cap. xxiii. Sect. VII.*

necessary sameness of Signification, in the two Epithets. We have annexed a Secondary Idea, to the English Words "Horror" and "horrible;" which the Latin, "*Horror*" and "*horribilis*," do not always import. I shall give two or three Instances: taking Care, for the sake of poor Mr *Sellon*, to add *English* Explanations of the Latin Passages I bring.

When *Cicero* says, HORRIBILE est, *Causam Capitis dicere*; HORRIBILIS, *præter Locus dicere* (m) ? is not This the Meaning? "Tis an AWFUL Undertaking, to plead a Cause in which Life and Death are concerned; MORE AWFUL still, to be the First Opener of such a Cause."—When *Virgil* (n) mentions the HORRIBILES Iras of Juno; what are we to understand, but The TREMENDOUS Resentment of the Goddess?—The same Poet's (o) HORRENTIQUE atrum *Nemus imminet Umbræ*, must be render'd by, "The impending Grove is dark with SOLEMN Shade."—Similar (as *Servius* observed) is that of *Lucan*: *Arboribus suis HORROR inest* (p) : i. e. "There is something VENERABLE in a Grove of Trees."—Nor did the Noble and profoundly Learned *Daniel Heinsius* use an improper Term, when (speaking of *Julius Scaliger*) he said, *Cujus Nomen sine HORRORE et Religione commemorare non possum* (q) : i. e. "The very mention of his Name strikes a Sort of religious AWE upon my Mind."

Calvin, therefore, might well Term God's adorable and inscrutable Purpose respecting the Fall of Man, *Decretum Horribile*: i. e. not an horrible, but an AWFULL, a TREMENDOUS, and a VENERABLE Decree. A Decree, the Divine Motives to which can never be investigated by Human

(m) *Orat. pro Quint.*

(n) *Hoc quondam monstro horribiles exercuit iras*

Inachizæ Juno pestem meditata juvenæ.

Geor. Lib. III.

(o) *Æneid. I. 169.*

(p) *Pharsal. III.*

(q) *Heinsii Orat. I.*

in Obitum Jos. S. al. p. 3. — Edit. Lugd. 1612.

Human Reason, in its present benighted State; and concerning which, we can only say, in the Language of Scripture, *How unsearchable are His Judgements, and His Ways past finding out!*

TO CONCLUDE.

FROM what has been observed, relative to the great Protestant Doctrines, now distinguished by the Name of *Calvinistic*; we may too easily perceive, *How deeply, and how generally, we are revolted and gone from the Religion of JESUS CHRIST, or (which is the self-same Thing) from the Spirit and Principles of the Religion ESTABLISHED in this Land.* What an ingenious Writer remarks, is melancholy, because true: “The Church of England are *Predestinarians*, “ by their ARTICLES; and preach *Free-will* (r).” The greater the Pity, and the greater the Shame.

For this dreadful Declension from the Scripture and from the Church, we are, partly, indebted, to that Door of endless Prevarication, opened, to the Clergy, by Bishop Burnet, in what he entitles, his *Exposition of the 39 Articles*: a Performance, for which (notwithstanding its Merit in some Respects) the Church of England is, upon the Sum total, under no very great Obligation to his Lordship's Art and Labor. 'Tis true, that Work is not so commonly nor so assiduously studied, of late Years, as it was half a Century ago. Many of our Divines have tender Eyes: and, for Fear of endangering those valuable Organs, by the Perusal of a formidable Volume; chuse to take

(r) Letters on the *English Nation*, by *Battista Angeloni*; Vol. II. Letter 34. p. 60.—Edit. 1755. This Performance is, by some, ascribed to Dr *Sheehans*.

take Matters upon Trust, and borrow the needful Evasions, *vivâ Voce*, from one another. Even the lax Theology of *Tillotson* is almost grown Obsolete.

Where shall we stop? We have already forsok *the good OLD Paths*, trod by Moses and the Prophets, and by Christ and the Apostles: Paths, in which our own *Reformers* also trod, our *Martyrs*, our *Bishops*, our *Clergy*, our *Universities*, and the whole Body of this PROTESTANT, i. e. of this ONCE CALVINISTIC Nation. Our LITURGY, our ARTICLES, and our HOMILYS, 'tis true, still keep Possession of our Church-Walls: but we *pray*, we *subscribe*, we *assent*, one Way; we *believe*, we *preach*, we *write*, another. In the DESK, we are verbal *Calvinists*: but no sooner do we ascend a few Steps ABOVE the Desk, than we forget the grave Character in which we appeared below, and tag the Performance with a few Minutes *Entertainment* compiled from the Fragments bequeathed to us by *Pelagius* and *Arminius*; not to say by *Arius*, *Socinus*, and by Others still worse than They. Observe, I speak not of *All*, indiscriminately. We have many great and good Men, some of whom *are*, and some of whom are *not*, Calvinists. But, that the Glory is, in a very considerable Degree, *departed* from our Established Sion; is a Truth which *cannot* be contravened, a Fact which must be lamented, and an alarming Symptom which *ought* to be publicly noticed.

In the Opinion of the late Dr *Young*, "Almost every
" Cottage can shew us One that has *corrupted*, and every
" Palace One that has *renounced* the FAITH (1)." Are
Matters much mended, since that pious and respectable
Arminian launched the above Complaint? I fear not. Is
there a single Heresy, that ever annoyed the Christian
World, which has not its present Partizans among Those
who profess Conformity to the Church of England? At
what Point our Revoltings will end, God alone can tell.
But this I affirm, without Hesitation, and on the most
meridian

(1) Centaur not fabul.

meridian Conviction: that *Arminianism* is the poisonous Wood, to which the Waters of our National Sanctuary are primarily indebted for all their Embitterment. In particular, *Arianism*, *Socinianism*, practical *Antinomianism*, and *Infidelity* itself, have ALL made their Way through that Breach, at which *Arminianism* entered before them. Nor will the (†) Protestant Religion gain Ground, or finally maintain the Ground it has got; neither is it possible for the Interests of Morality itself to flourish; 'till the *ARMINIAN Bond-woman* and her Sons are cast out: i. e. 'till the Nominal Members of our Church become real Believers of its Doctrines; and throw the exotic and corrupt System of *Van Harmin*, with all its Branches and Appertinencies, to the Moles and to the Batts.

Let not my Honor'd Brethren of the Clergy deem me their Enemy, because I presume to remind them of the Truth. God is Witness, that *I wish You Prosperity, Ye that are of the House of the Lord*. Permit the obscurest of Your Number to submit, without Offence, the foregoing Particulars

(†) In the Reign of *Elizabeth*, a Pamphlet appeared, entitled, *The Book of the Generation of Antichrist*: written, indeed, by a very acrimonious Puritan; yet, as far as Matters of mere *Doctrines* were concerned, perfectly harmonizing with the *Creed* of the Church of England. Among other Particulars, the Author, with equal Humor and Truth, traced out the following GENEALOGY of *Free-will*, *Merit*, *unholy Living*, and *Popery*. "The DEVIL begot DARKNESS, *Eph. vi*—Darkness begot IGNORANCE, *Acts xvii*.—Ignorance begot ERROR and his Brethren, *1 Tim. iv*.—Error begot FREE-WILL and SELF-LOVE, *Isai. x*.—Free-will begot MERITS, *Isai. lviii*.—Merits begot FORGETFULNESS OF GRACE, *Rom. x*.—Forgetfulness of God's Grace begot TRANSGRESSION, *Rom. ii*.—Transgression begot MISTRUST, *Gen. v*.—Mistrust begot SATISFACTION" [i. e. the Opinion that human Works and Penances would satisfy God's Justice for Sin], *Matth. xvii*.—Satisfaction begot the Sacrifice of the MASS, *Dan. xii*." How justly the Links of this Chain are connected!

Particulars to your attentive Consideration. May none of Your venerable Order be justly ranked, in time to come, among those *Half-Conformists*, who fall in with the *Ceremonys*, but fall out with the *Doctrines*, of the Church. Halt not between God and Baal. Give no Occasion to our *Adversarys* to *speak reproachfully* of us. Let it not, any longer, be thrown in our Teeth; That "No sett of Men differ more widely from each Other, than the present Clergy; tho' they all (*u*) subscribe to One, and the same Form

(*u*) The late Learned and Candid Dr *Doddridge*, has a Passage; concerning the sacred Nature and Obligation of Ecclesiastical *Subscriptions*, which deserves to be ponder'd with the utmost Serioufness. He introduces it, under the Article of *Perjury*.

"Care should be taken, that we do not impair the Reverence due to an *Oath*, by using or imposing Oaths on trifling Occasions, or administering them in a careless Manner. The Reverence of an Oath requires, that we take peculiar Care to avoid *ambiguous* Expressions in it, and all *Equivocation* and *mental Reservation*. Something of this Kind may be said of SUBSCRIPTION to *Articles of Religion*: these being looked upon as *solemn* Actions, and nearly approaching to an *Oath*. Great Care ought to be taken, that we *subscribe* nothing that we do not firmly *believe*."

The Doctor then proceeds to particularize the most plausible of those fashionable Evasions, under the thin Shelter of which, some Subscribers (like a certain Bird, who, when she hides her Head, fondly thinks herself quite concealed) are supposed to lurk. The said Evasions are as follow. "If the *Signification* of the Words be *dubious*, and we believe either Sense, and that Sense in which we do believe them is as *natural* as the Other; we may, consistently with Integrity, subscribe them. Or, if the Sense, in which we believe them, be *less natural*, and we *explain* that Sense, and that *Explanation* be *admitted* by the Person requiring Subscription in his own Right; there can be no just Foundation for a *Scruple*." But, in both these Cases, 'tis easy to discern, that Subscription would evaporate into a pompous Nothing.

The

“Form of Doctrine.” Subscription is, in Virtue, and in Fact, a solemn Bond of Engagement to God, and of Security to Men, that the Subscriber fairly and honestly, without Reserve, Evasion, or Disguise, absolutely and nakedly *believes* the Things to which he *sets his Hand*.—

Quæry: What firm Hold could a temporal Monarch have, on the Allegiance of his sworn Subjects; should the same horrid Prævarications find their Way into the Minds of *political Swearers*, which, it is to be feared, have obtained among some *theological* Subscribers? A Remark of the late Dr *Daniel Waterland*'s is at once so important, and so pertinent; that, tho' I have formerly quoted it in another Publication, I cannot restrain myself from introducing it here.

“If either *State-Oaths*, on the one Hand, or *Church-Subscriptions*, on the other, once come to be *made light of*; and *SUBTLITYS* be invented, to *defend*, or *palliate*, such *grasps* *INSINCERITY*; we may bid farewell to *Principles*, and *RELIGION* will be little else but *DISGUISED ATHE-*

“ISM

The Doctor goes on. “Some have added, that, if we have Reason to believe, tho' it is not expressly declared, that He, who imposes the Subscription, does *not intend* that we should hereby declare our *Assent* to those Articles, but only that we should *pay a COMPLIMENT* to his Authority, and engage ourselves *not openly* to *CONTRADICT* them; we may, in this Case, *subscribe* what is most directly *contrary* to our *Belief*: Or, that, if we declare our *Belief* in any Book, as (for Instance) the Bible, it is to be supposed that we subscribe *other Articles only so far* as they are consistent with *That*; because we cannot imagine, that the Law would require us to profess our *Belief* of contrary *Propositions* at the same Time.”

And now, what says the good Doctor, by Way of Answer to the three Quibbles above started? He overthrows 'em all, with one Stroke of his Pen, in the following memorable Terms: “*BUT SUBSCRIPTION UPON THESE PRINCIPLES SEEMS A VERY DANGEROUS ATTACK UPON SINCERITY AND PUBLIC VIRTUE; ESPECIALLY, IN THOSE DESIGNED FOR PUBLIC OFFICES.*” Dr *Doddridge's Course of Lectures*, p. 142.—Quarto. 1763.

“ISM (x).” This Flame of *gross Insincerity*, has already in Part, caught hold of the *Church*. And who can tell, how much *farther* it may spread?

The Men, who lately petitioned the Legislature to overthrow the Religious Constitution of their Country, and whose Party is not yet extinct; resemble, too much, a certain set of Innovators, who, in the last Century, began with pecking at the *Church*, and ended with demolishing the *State*. What Security can such Persons give the Government, that the same Leaven of Iniquity is not working even Now? “O, they say that they are VERY “LOYAL.” True: and, when they *subscribed* to the Liturgy and Articles, what was it but *saying* (in a Manner still more solemn, than if they had only declared it by Word of Mouth), that they were VERY ORTHODOX, and very good Friends to the Church of England? Is it any Breach of Candor, to surmise, that They, who are capable of dissembling with *God*, may also be capable of dissembling with *Men*? If they did these things in a green Tree, what will they not do in a dry? Can *civil* Obligations be considered as binding those slippery Consciences, on which the infinitely superior Sanction of the most *religious* and *sacred* Stipulations have no Force nor Tye? Should Providence have so dreadfull a Judgement in Store, for this now highly favor’d Land, as permissively to crown the Design of these Schemers with Effect; ACTUM EST may be the Epitaph, inscribed on the Tomb of our national Christianity. We may convert our Churches, some into Warehouses, and others into Dancing-Rooms; make one grand Bonfire of our Articles, Homilys, and Liturgy; and tear up our Bibles into waste Paper.

“Oh, but the Petitioners have a great Respect for the “Bible.” Who says so? “Why, *They* themselves.” This is just nothing to the Purpose. They have demonstrated their Insincerity, in *other* Matters: and therefore have

(x) *First Defence of Quærns*, against Dr Clarke. Preface, p. 4.

have no Right to draw a Bill of Credit on our Belief; as
to this.

The Author of the *Confessional* (Pity it is, that the Master of such fine Talents should employ them in so bad a Cause), sees, with Joy, the daring Measures pursued by that shameless Faction which openly seeks to compass the Ruin of the Church. Let the BISHOPS look about them. No less is aimed at, than the Demolition of the Hierarchy itself. The Writer, last mentioned, has thought proper to give more than one Intimation, that, together with the *Doctrines* and *Formularys* of the Establishment, a Blow is meditating against our *highest Order* of Ecclesiastics. My Proofs are these. “ In all exclusive Establishments, where
“ *temporal Emoluments* are annexed to the Profession of a
“ certain System of Doctrines, and the Usage of a certain
“ Routine of Forms, and appropriated to an Order of Men
“ so and so qualified; that Order of Men will naturally think
“ themselves interested, that Things should continue as
“ they are. A *Reformation* might endanger their *Emolu-*
“ *ments*. For tho’ it should only *begin* with such Things
“ as are *most notoriously* amiss, the Alteration of which
“ would no way affect their temporal Interests; yet, by
“ opening a Door to *farther Enquiry*, which would be the
“ NATURAL EFFECT of it, their *Dignitys* and *Revenues*
“ might possibly be *brought into Question*, and be thought to
“ need some *Regulations*, which it can hardly be supposed
“ they would approve. So that they who ask, *Who knows*
“ *WHERE a Reformation may END?* by Way of giving a
“ Reason why it should not be begun; are certainly *not*
“ *unwise* in their Generation (y).” This is what may be
termed, a very broad Hint, at the very least. But what honest Intelligencer will give Information by Halves? Behold, therefore, a farther opening of the Budget, in the Passage that follows. “ The Infection of the Times has,
“ in

(y) *Confessional*, 3d Edit.—Pref. to 1st Edit. p. xiv.

“ in some Degree, laid hold even of these venerable Per-
 “ sonages” [i. e. the *Bishops*], “ and produced Appearances
 “ of Secularity, which, whenever a *Reformation* shall be
 “ happily brought about, we may be SURE will not be suf-
 “ fer’d to disparage their sacred Characters (a).” Thus
 the secret is out. The *Calvinism* and the *Episcopacy* of the
 Church, give equal Umbrage to the Positioning Clergy:
 who are, therefore laboring to roll away both these Stones of
 Offence; and, by one happy Manceuvre, to rid us of OR-
 THODOXY and PRELACY together.

See, Right Reverend Fathers, to what Point *Arianism*,
Socinianism and *Arminianism*, are driving. It appears, that
 a Number of the very Men, who have solemnly SWORN ca-
 nonical Obedience to Your Lordships; are actually laboring
 to annihilate the Mitre, and to spring a Mine under every
 Cathedral in England. A striking Instance, that They,
 who could subscribe to Articles which they disbelieve, can
 also digest the Guilt and the Shame of a violated Oath.
 Too evident it is, that the Strand Petitioners (stranded may
 their Attempt be!) tho’ declared Enemies to the (a) *Ortho-*
doxy, are strongly agitated by the *levelling* Principle, of the
 antient Puritans. Should Your Lordships (which God
 forbid) ever condescend to acquiesce in any of the *Alter-*
ations, demanded by these fiery Claimants; their Reckless-
 ness and Insatiability would still cry out for more. Were
 they to gain but a single Point, it would encourage them to
 say, with their Predecessors of old, NE UNQUAM ESSE
 RELINQUENDAM (b). You Yourselfs would be, at
 best, the *Ultimò devorandi*.

Your

(a) *Confessional*, p. 374. (a) It has already been proved,
 that the Puritans agreed with the Church of England, in all Ar-
 ticles of Faith.

(b) “ He [Secretary *Walsingham*] of-
 “ fered, in the Queen’s Name, that the three Ceremonys, at which
 “ they [the Puritans] seemed most to hoggle; that is to say,
 “ *Kneeling* at the Communion, *The Surplice*, and the *Cross* in
 “ Baptism;

Your Lordships lament the visible Encroachments of *Popery*.—ARMINIANISM is at once it's Root, it's Sun-shine, and its Vital Sap.

Your Lordships see, with Concern, the extending Progress of *Infidelity*.—ARMINIANISM has opened the Hatches to this pernicious Inundation: by going about to evaporate the *Complete Redemption*, and the *Finished Salvation*, absolutely wrought by Christ, into (what all the Art of Man can never really make it) a *Vox, et præterea nihil*. As if the Gospel of Grace was only a frigid Declaration of the Terms and Conditions on which we are to save Ourselves; and as if Christ Himself was little or nothing more than a moral Philosopher. Happily for the intrinsic Dignity of Christianity, the Religion of Jesus is not that poor, unmeaning Thing, which the modern Misrepresentation induces too many to believe. But can it be Matter of reasonable Wonder, that They, who are imposed upon by such Misrepresentation, should turn their Backs on a seeming Phantom which has nothing to recommend it; and dismiss it, with a Sneer, to the Shades of Contempt?

I wish, that the Workings even of *Atheism* itself may not administer, to Your Lordships, just Ground of Indignation and Alarm.—For *this* also, ARMINIANISM has paved the Way: by despoiling the Divine Being, among other Attributes, of His *unlimited Supremacy*, of His

“Baptism; should be expunged out of the Book of Common Prayer, if that would content them. But thereunto it was replied, in the Words of Moses, *Ne Ungulam esse relinquendam*: that They would not leave so much as an Hoof behind. Meaning thereby, that they would have a total Abolition of the Book, without retaining any Part or Office in it in their next new-Nothing. Which peremptory Answer did much alienate his [the Secretary's] Affection from them: as afterwards he affirmed to *Knewstubs*; and *Knewstubs* to Doctor *John Burgess* of *Colehill*, from whose Pen I have it.”

Hyt. Hist. Presb. p. 264, 265.

His infinite Knowledge, of His infallible Wisdom, of His invincible Power, of His absolute Independency, and of His eternal Immutability. Not to observe, that the exempting of some Things and Events from the PROVIDENCE of God, by referring them to *Free-will*, to *Contingency*, and to *Chance*; is another of those back Lanes, which lead, in a direct Line, from *Arminianism*, to *Atheism*. Neither is it at all surprising, that Any, who represent *Men* as *Gods* (by supposing Man to possess the *divine* Attribute of *independent Self-Determination*), should, when their Hand is in, represent GOD Himself with the Imperfections of a *Man*: by putting *Limitations* on His *Sovereignty*; by supposing His *Knowledge* to be shackled with *Circumscription*, and darkened with *Uncertainty*; by connecting their Ideas of His *Wisdom* and *Power* with the Possibility of *Disconcertment* and *Disappointment*, *Embarrassment* and *Defeat*; by transferring His *Independency* (c) to themselves, in Order to support their favorite Doctrine, which affirms, that the *Divine Will* and *Conduct* are *dependent* on the *Will* and *Conduct* of *Men*; by blotting out His *Immutability* (d),
that

(c) I myself know several Arminians, who have declared, to me, in Conversation, that, so far as concerns the *ipsa Determinatio*, or the very Act of the Will's determinating Itself to one Thing in Preference to another, the said human Will is (*horrendum dictu!*) INDEPENDENT of God Himself. I pray God to give them experimental Demonstration, that they are *not* so independent as they imagine; by bringing them to a better Mind.

(d) A worthy and ingenious Pen presented the Public, some Years ago, with the following Lines; in which, this Topic is very properly handled.

“ Shall *Wesley* sow his hurtfull Tares,
 “ And scatter round a thousand Snares?
 “ Telling how God from *Wrath* may turn,
 “ And LOVE the Souls He thought to BURN;
 “ And how, again, His Mind may move
 “ To hate, where he has wou'd to Love;

that they may clear the Way for conditional, uncertain, variable, vanquishable, and amissible Grace; and, by narrowing His *Providence*, to keep the Idol of Free-will upon its Legs, and to save human Reason from the Humiliation of acknowledging her Inability to account for many of the Divine Disposals: so that according to this Scheme, we may write, under the Majority of Incidents that come to pass, this Motto, *Hic DEUS nihil fecit.*—Who sees not the *atheistical* Tendency of all this? Let *Arminianism* try to exculpate herself from the heavy, but unexaggerated, Indictment. Which if she cannot effect, 'twill be doing her no Injustice, to term her, *ATHEISM in Masquerade.*

Your Lordships cannot be insensible of the *Contempt* and *Insignificancy*, into which, many of Your *Clergy* are fallen.—*ARMINIANISM* is one grand Source of *This* likewise. Even those of the Laity, whom Fashion, or Prejudice, or Inclination, hath arminianized; too well know, what Judgement to form of such spiritual Guides as *subscribe* to the Whiteness of Snow, tho' they *believe* it to be black as Jet. Let the Clergy learn to despise the sinful Pleasures, Maxims, Pursuits, and Doctrines, of this World; and the World will, from that Moment, cease to despise the Clergy.

Your Lordships observe, with Pain, the glaring and almost universal *Decay of Moral Virtue.*—This has been a growing Calamity, ever since the Restoration of the *Stuart* Line in the Person of *Charles II.* With that Prince, *ARMINIANISM* returned as a Flood; and *LICENTIOUS-*

NESS

-
- “ How all Mankind He fain would save,
 - “ But longs for what he cannot have.
 - “ Industrious thus to found abroad
 - “ A disappointed changing God!
 - “ Blush, *Wesley*, blush at thy Disgrace;
 - “ Haste thee to *Rome*, thy proper Place, &c.

See a Poem, entitled, *PERSISTENCE*: by the late Mr *Thomas Gurney*,

NESS of Manners was co-extensive with it. We have had, since that (otherwise, happy) Period, more than an Hundred Years Experience of the unsanctified Effects, which naturally result from the ideal System of Free-will and Universal Redemption. What has that System done for us? It has unbraced every Nerve of Virtue, and relaxed every Rein of *religious* and of *social* Duty. In proportion to the Operation of its Influence, it has gone far toward subverting all *moral* Obedience; and seems to endanger the entire Series even of *political* and of *ecclesiastical* Subordination.

Tantum [EA] Religio potuit suadere malorum!

Look round the Land, and Your Lordships cannot fail of perceiving, that our fiercest *Free-Willers* are, for the most Part, the *Freest Livvers*; and that the practical Belief of Universal Grace is, in too many Instances, the Turn-pike Road to Universal Sin.

Your Lordships mark, with becoming Disgust, the continued Existence of *Methodism*. — ARMINIANISM is the Pandoræan Box, from which *this* Evil also hath issued. And tho' Methodism appears, at present, rather to resemble a standing Pool, than an increasing Stream; we know not how soon it may become a running Water, and enlarge itself into an overflowing Flood; if the corrupt Tenets, vented with such raging Zeal in Mr *Wesley's* Meeting-houses, should, unhappily, be echoed from the Pulpits of the Established Church. For, certain it is, that Those of the Clergy, who fly the fastest and the farthest from Doctrinal CALVINISM; are plunging, more deeply than they imagine, into the grossest Dregs of METHODISM.

F I N I S.

A
W O R D
CONCERNING THE
BATHING-TUB BAPTISM.

MR *John Wesley* having thought it convenient, in his *Remarks on Mr HILL*, to pretend absolute Ignorance of the above-mention'd Operation, which he, some Years ago, performed upon Mrs L. S. (see the 2d Edit. of my *Letter* to him, p. 30); and the Party herself, from whose own Lips I had the Account, having given me Leave to publish her Name on the Occasion (a Liberty which I would not have taken, without her previous Consent;)—
BE IT KNOWN, That the Person, who was the Subject of 'that blest Bathing-bout,' is Mrs LYDIA SHEPPARD, now living in the Borough of *Southwark*.

Since Mr *Wesley's* virtual Denial of the Fact, she has been again consulted: and I now, by her Authority, subjoin the following Circumstances, several of which I tenderly omitted, when I first gave the Anecdote to the Public.

Antecedently to the Ceremony, Mr *Wesley* told her, that, *To satisfy weak Minds, he had occasionally Baptized some Persons, by Immersion, at Bristol, and elsewhere; and would do the same for Her, to make her easy.* The
Time

Time and Place were, accordingly, appointed. An House in *Lang Lane*, Southwark, was to have been the Scene of Action: and the Water, and other requisite Conveniences, were, There, actually got in Readiness. But, the Matter having taken Air, and the Curiosity of various People being excited; Mr *John* did not chuse to accomplish the Business, in the Presence of so many Spectators, as were, Then and There, expected to assemble. Thus, the Administration was adjourned, and another Place fixed upon: at which Place, Mr *John Wesley* did, with his own Hands, Baptize the said Mrs *Lydia Sheppard*, by plunging Her under Water. And a fine plunging it had like to have proved.

Does the Reader ask, *In what FONT this Baptism was administered?* The Font was a common *Bathing-tub*.— Is it further enquired, *In what CHAPEL did the Font stand at the Time?* The Chapel was, truly, a Chapel in *Cryptis*: to-wit, a common *Cellar*.—Am I asked, *Of what CATHEDRAL was this subterraneous Chapel a Part?* The Cathedral, or Mother-Church, was neither better nor worse than a *Chorsemonger's House*, in *Spitalfields*, London. —Who were the WITNESSES to this under-ground Baptism? A select Party, it seems, carefully draughted from, what Mr *Wesley* calls, his *Classes* and *Bands*.

And, now, what will that Gentleman alléde, in Ex-tenuation of his affected Ignorance of this whole Matter? Surely, even *He* will not persist in pretending to forget so remarkable a Transaction: especially, when such an explicit Series of striking Circumstances arises to refresh his Memory!—Possibly, he may, on this Occasion, re-pete his former Climax of “A *Cynic*, a *Beast*, a *Toplady*.” But, I assure him, I will not retaliate the Compliment, by crying out, An *Hottentot*, a *Wolf*, a *Wesley*.—No. The Weapons of my Warfare are of a milder Temperature. I would much rather *endure* Scurrility, than offer it.

But I still adhere to my primitive Demand, with which I sat out, several Years ago, when the present Contro-
 versy

verſy with the Arminians began to wax warm: namely, *Let Mr Wesley plead HIS OWN Cause, and fight HIS OWN Battles.* I am as ready, as ever, to meet him, with the Sling of Reason and the Stone of God's Word in my Hand. But let him not fight by Proxy. Let his *Coblers* keep to their Stalls. Let his *Tinkers* mend their brazen Vessels. Let his *Barbers* confine themselves to their Blocks and Basons. Let his *Bakers* stand to their Kneading-Troughs. Let his *Blacksmiths* blow more suitable Coals, than those of Controversy. Every Man in his own Order.

Should, however, any of Mr *Wesley's* Life-Guardmen, whether gown'd or apron'd, *Swiss* or *English*, step forth to their tottering Master's Relief;

“ *In squalid Legions, swarming from the Press,*
“ *Like Egypt's Insects from the Mud of Nile;*”

I shall, probably, not so much as give them the Reading-Or, if any of them happens to fall under my Perusal, and I deem it proper to repress the Vanity of the Vain; Mr *WESLEY*, himself, will still be my Mark: and I shall, if Providence permit, continue to imitate the Conduct of that Philosopher, who thrashed the Master, for the ill Behavior of the Scholars. Tho', after all, if Mr *RICHARD HILL's* two masterly Pamphlets (One, entitled, *A Review of the Doctrines taught by Mr John Wesley, with a Farraga annexed; the Other, Logica Westiensis, or The Farraga double-distilled*) make no advantageous Impression on 'the *John Goodwin* of the present Age; he may, from henceforward, be, fairly and finally, consigned to the Hospital of Incurables.



I N D E X.

A.

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