



# Bodleian Libraries

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.

For more information see:

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks>



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.

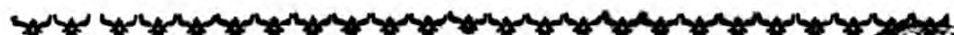


THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
Modern Enthusiasm,  
FROM THE  
REFORMATION  
TO THE  
PRESENT TIMES.



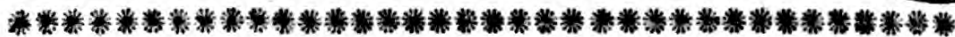
*Beware what Spirit rages in your Breast ;  
For Ten inspir'd Ten Thousand are possess'd.*  
LD. ROSCOMMON.

*For Virtue's self may too much Zeal be had ;  
The worst of Mad-men is a Saint turn'd mad.*  
POPE.



The Second Edition,

With very Large ADDITIONS and AMENDMENTS.



L O N D O N :

Printed for the AUTHOR ; and Sold by W. OWEN, near Temple-Bar ;  
and W. CLARKE, at Shakespear's-Head, in Threadneedle-Street,  
behind the Royal-Exchange. 1757. [Price 2s. 6d.]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

5300 S. DICKINSON DRIVE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637

TEL: 773-936-3700

FAX: 773-936-3701

WWW: WWW.PHYSICS.UCHICAGO.EDU

ADMISSIONS: ADMISSIONS@PHYSICS.UCHICAGO.EDU

GRADUATE: GRAD@PHYSICS.UCHICAGO.EDU

POSTAL: PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

5300 S. DICKINSON DRIVE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637



# SUBSCRIBERS.

## A.

**R**EV. Dr. Atwell, Prebendary of Gloucester.  
Rev. Dr. Adams, formerly of Pemb. Col. Oxon.  
Miss Archer, of Salford, Warwickshire.  
Mrs. Anfel, of Burford.  
Mr. Henry Akerman, of Bourton on the Water,  
Gloucestershire, Mercer.

## B.

His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, (deceased) *Eight Books*.  
Right Hon. and Rev. the Earl of Banbury.  
Right Hon. Lord Viscount Bateman, Lord Lieutenant  
of the County of Hereford, *Six Books*.  
Right Hon. Lady Bateman, *Two Books*.  
Sir William Burnaby, of Broughton, Oxfordshire,  
Knt. Commander of his Majesty's Ship the Jersey.  
Rev. Dr. Brown, Master of University Coll. Oxon.  
Rev. Dr. Burton, Archdeacon of St. David's, and Pre-  
bendary of Gloucester.  
Rev. Dr. Burton, Fellow of Eton Coll.  
Rev. Mr. Baynam Barns, A. M. Rector of Dixton.  
Rev. Mr. Martin Barry, B. A. Vicar of Llanrhythawl.  
Mr. John Bright, of Park Gras Duw.  
Mrs. Bartholomew, of Burford.  
Rev. Mr. Francis Beal, of Pentre-cwn.  
Mr. John Bevan, Surgeon and Apothecary, at Neath.  
John Bowen, of Gurrey, Esq; *Two Books*.  
Rev. Mr. William Bradshaw, B. D. Rector of Stones-  
field, Oxfordshire.  
Rev. Mr. Henry Burgh. M. A. of Monmouth.  
William Burgh, Esq; of Pinkney, Wiltshire.  
Mr. Ashburnam Burgh, Gent.  
Rev. Mr. Brown, M. A. Vicar of Nether-Swell, Glo-  
cestershire.

## SUBSCRIBERS.

Mr. Brandish, Surgeon and Apothecary, at Alcester.  
Rev. Mr. Morgan Bullock, B. A. Vicar of Monmouth.  
Rev. Mr. Bach, A. M. Curate of Ripple, Worcester-  
shire.  
Rev. Mr. Baker, A. B. Minister of Little-Compton.  
Mr. Blifs, of Stow, Gloucestershire, Maltster.

### C.

His Grace the Duke of Chandos.  
Right Hon. the Marquess of Caernarvon.  
Lady Codrington, of Dodington, Gloucestershire.  
Thomas Chester, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the County  
of Gloucester.  
Rev. Dr. Chamberlayne, Dean of Bristol.  
Mrs. Chamberlayne.  
Edmund Chamberlayne, Esq; of Mangersbury, Glo-  
cestershire.  
Rev. Mr. Chamberlayne, M. A. Fellow of Trinity  
College, Oxon.  
John Chambre, of Llanfoyst, Esq;  
Henry Casamajor, Esq; of Tockington, Gloucestershire.  
Henry Carter, Esq;  
Rev. Mr. Collins, A. M. Fellow of Pemb. Coll. Oxon.  
Rev. Mr. Crew, M. A. Vicar of Salford, Warwickshire.  
Thomas Estcourt Creswell, Esq; of Pinkney, Member  
of Parliament for Wotton-Basset, Wilts.  
Mr. Collins, of the Swan-Inn, Thornbury.  
Mr. Castell, Mercer, in Burford.  
Mr. Chapman, Surgeon and Apothecary, in Burford.  
Mr. Clare, of the George Inn, Burford.  
Rev. Mr. Crow, Schoolmaster, of Rofs.  
Mr. Crowther, of Thornbury.  
Mr. Clarson, of Alcester, Dyer.  
Mr. John Cope, of Raglan.  
Mr. John Corrie, of Hereford.  
Rev. Mr. Cony, A. B. Vicar of Swinebrook, Oxfordsh.

### D.

Right Rev. Anthony, Lord Bishop of St. David's.  
Rev. Dr. Dickens, Greek Professor, Oxon.

Rev.

## S U B S C R I B E R S.

Rev. Mr. William Davies, L. L. B. Rector of Lampetr-ystrad-yw.

Richard Davies, of Tal-llyn, Esq; Barrister at Law.

Rev. Mr. Pryce Davies, M. A. Vicar of Talgarth.

John-Marsh Dickenson, Esq;

James-Lenox Dutton, Esq; of Shirebourn, Gloucestershire.

Mrs. Dutton.

~~Rev.~~ Mr. Doughty, M. A. Fellow of Wadham College, Oxon.

Robert-Archer Dyer, Esq; of Aberglasne, Carmarthenshire, *Two Books.*

Rev. Mr. John Day, M. A. Rector of Llanfyrryn.

Rev. Mr. Davies, M. A. Rector of Stanton upon Wye, and Minister of All-Saints in Hereford.

Miss Davies.

Rev. Mr. Edward Davies, M. A. Prebendary of Landaff.

Rev. Mr. John Davies, B. A. Rector of Grismont.

Rev. Mr. James Davies, B. A. Rector of Llanfof.

Rev. Mr. Lewelyn Davies, B. A. of Longner, Shropsh.

Rev. Mr. David Davies, Vicar of Kenarth.

Mr. James Davies, N. P. Landaff.

Mr. Edmund Davies, of Pont-y-Pool, Gent.

Rev. Mr. Dovey, A. M. Rector of St. Martin in Birmingham.

Mr. Durham, Proprietor of the Paper-works at Postlip-Hall, Gloucestershire.

Mr. D. Davies, of Maesmoy, Gent.

Rev. Mr. Morgan Davies, of Llantilio-Crescenny.

Mr. John Dalton, Supervisor of the Excise.

Mrs. Daykin,

### E.

W. Edwards, Esq; Member of Parliament for Haverfordwest, *Eight Books.*

Rev. Mr. John Edwards, B. D. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxon.

Walter Escourt, Esq; of Shipton-Moyne, Gloucestersh.

Henry Edmonds, Esq; of Cwmcarnfan.

Rev. Mr. Edwards, B. A. Rector of Cusop.

Mr.

## SUBSCRIBERS.

Mr. William Edwards, of Pont-y-Pool, Gent.  
Rev. Mr. Euface, M. A. Vicar of Abergavenny.  
Rev. Mr. Edwards, Curate of Blaeneu-Gwent.  
Rev. Mr. Ellings, M. A. Vicar of Abbot's-Moreton,  
Warwickshire.  
Thomas Evans, Esq; of Llangattock-Feibionavel.  
Rev. Mr. Lewis Evans, M. A. Vicar of Caio.  
Rev. Mr. Eyre, A. M. of Oxon.  
Rev. Mr. Eccles, A. M. Rector of Upper-Swell, Glo-  
cestershire.  
Rev. Mr. Owen Evans, M. A. Vicar of Llangattock.  
Rev. Mr. Benjamin Evans, M. A. Rector of Kilrhedyn.  
Rev. Mr. Walter Evans, Rector of Llanhileth.  
Rev. Mr. Ch. Evans, B. A. Vicar of Dingestow,  
Monmouthshire.  
Mr. Samuel Evans, Attorney at Law.  
Rev. Mr. Thomas Evans, Rector of Heyop.  
Mr. Richard Evans, of Abergavenny, Gent.  
Mr. Caleb Evans, of Usk.  
Mr. David Evans, of Raglan.  
Mrs. Edwards.

### F.

Mrs. Fettiplace, of Swinebrook, Oxfordshire.  
— Fettiplace, jun. Esq;  
Hon. Mrs. Fettiplace.  
Miss Fettiplace.  
Rev. Dr. Friend, Canon of Christ-Church.  
Rev. Mr. Fyefield, M. A. Vicar of Sherston-Magna.  
Rev. Mr. Floyer, M. A. Rector of Kinwarton, War-  
wickshire.  
Rev. Mr. Fancourt, A. M. Chaplain of All-Souls  
Coll. Oxon, and Vicar of Longborough, Gloucesterh.  
Rev. Mr. Fowell, A. M. Fellow of Exeter Coll. and  
Proctor of the University of Oxon.  
Mr. Furley, of Shipton under Whichwood, Oxford-  
shire, Gent.

### G.

Rev. Dr. Gally, Prebendary of Gloucester.  
David J. Gwynn, Esq; of Taliaris, *Four Books*.  
William Gwynn, Esq; of Cynhordy.  
Abel Griffiths, Esq; of Llwyn-y-brain. Walter



## SUBSCRIBERS.

Walter Gough, Esq; of Perry-Hall, Staffordshire.  
Rev. Mr. Goodenough, A. M. Vicar of Little-Barington, Gloucestershire, and Prebendary of Brecon.  
Rev. Mr. Rice Griffiths, A. M. Rector of Kemes.  
Rev. Mr. Griffiths, A. M. Fellow of Pemb. Coll, Oxon.  
Rev. Mr. Sam. Griffiths, M. A. Vicar of Llanavan-vawr.  
Rev. Mr. Griffiths, of Burford, M. A.  
Mrs. Ann Gwynn, of Mynach-dy.  
Rev. Mr. Gelsthorpe, M. A. Vicar of Dorington, Warwickshire.  
Rev. Dr. Green, Rector of Bell-Broughton, Worcester-sh.  
Rev. Mr. Thomas Griffiths, Curate of Llangynllo.  
Rev. Mr. Gooden, A. M. Vicar of Shipton under Whichwood, Oxfordshire.  
Mr. William Griffiths, of Ffrwd-grech.  
Rev. Mr. Gale, M. A. Vicar of Newnton, Wilts.  
Mr. Thomas Gabb, of Abergavenny, Gent.

### H.

Right Hon. and Right Rev. Lord James Beauclerk,  
Lord Bishop of Hereford.  
Capel Hanbury, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the County of Monmouth.  
Hon. Miss How.  
James How, Esq;  
George Hanbury, of Llanfoyst, Esq;  
Rev. Dr. Hunt, formerly of Pemb. Coll. Oxon.  
Rev. Mr. Harris, Rector of Henry-mote, Pembroke-sh.  
Miss Harris, of *ditto*.  
Rev. Mr. Richard Harris, Vicar of Llantrisanct, *Six B.*  
Rev. Mr. Will. Harris, M. A. Prebendary of Landaff.  
John Harris, of Castle-Piggin, Esq; *Two Books.*  
Philip Hardwick, Esq; of Tytherington, Gloucestershire.  
Rev. Mr. Francis Hawlins, Rector of Wine-stow.  
William Hedges, Esq; of Aldrington, Wilts.  
Rev. Mr. Hippi-sley, M. A. Rector of Stow on the Wold.  
Mrs. Hale, of Sherston-Magna, Wilts.  
Rev. Mr. Howels, Vicar of Llandyfriog.  
Mrs. Hill, of Thornbury, Gloucestershire.  
Mrs. Hobby, of *ditto*.

Rev.

## S U B S C R I B E R S.

Rev. Mr. Harris, A. M. Rector of Easton-Grey, Wilts.  
— Honeywood, of Broughton, Oxfordshire, Esq;  
Mr. H. Harris.  
Rev. Mr. Hopkins, A. M. Chaplain of Christ-Church,  
Oxon.  
Robert Hughes, of Lanarth, Monmouthshire, Gent.  
Mr. Charles Hopkins, of Bryngwyn.  
Mr. James Hopkins, of Llandenny, Gent.  
Mr. Walter Holmes, of Lanarth.

### J.

Richard Jones, Esq; Portreeve of Usk.  
Mr. William Jones, of Trebinfion, Gent.  
Mr. Samuel Jones, of Lanarth, Gent.  
Mr. John Jefferys, of Tregaer.  
Rev. Mr. Jackson, M. A. Rector of Arrow, Warwicksh.  
Thomas James, of Brecon, Esq;  
Richard James, of Aberystwyth, Merchant.  
Mrs. Jordan, of Burford.  
William Jenkins, of Abergavenny, Esq;  
Mr. Jervas, of Broadwell, Gloucestershire, Attor. at Law.  
Edward Jeffreys, of Brecon, Esq;  
Mrs. Jeffreys, of *ditto*.  
Mr. Nathaniel Jenkins, of Pistyll, Gent.  
John Johnes, of Dol-y-cothy, Esq;  
Henry Jones, of Tyglyn, Esq;  
Richard Jones, of Castle-Piggin, Esq;  
Mr. Anthony Jones, *Two Books*.  
Mrs. Jane Jones.  
Rev. Mr. Arthur Jones, Rector of Llandeilo-Portholeu.  
Richard Jones, of Dingestow, Esq;  
Rev. Mr. Jones, Curate of Llanwenarth.  
Mr. William Jones, of Llanvair, Attorney at Law.  
Mr. Morgan Jones, Gent. *Two Books*.  
Mr. John Jones, of Bwlch-y-chwyrn.  
Rev. Mr. Ingles, A. M. Vicar of Bledington, Gloucestershire.

### K.

Clement Kane, of Monmouth, Gent.  
Rev. Dr. Kemble, Rector of Bourton-on the Hill,  
Gloucestershire. — Knots-

## S U B S C R I B E R S.

— Knotsford, of Studley, Esq; Warwickshire.  
 Rev. Mr. Knight, A. M. Fellow of Pemb. Coll. Oxon.

### L.

Right Hon. the Lord-Mayor of London,  
 John Lloyd, of Rhosferig, Esq;  
 John Lewis, of Llantilio, Esq;  
 Mr. William Lewis, of Clytha, Gent.  
 John Lenthal, of Burford, Esq;  
 Mrs. Lenthal, of *ditto*.  
 William Leigh, of Addlestrop, Gloucestershire, Esq;  
*Two Books*.  
 Rev. Mr. Lee, M. A. Vicar of Lym, Cheshire.  
 Mr. Lardner, Surgeon and Apothecary, at Stow on  
 the Wold.  
 John Lewelyn, of Ynys-y-Gerwn, Esq;  
 Richard Lucas, of Llangatock, Esq;  
 Philip Lyttleton, of Studley, Esq; Warwickshire.  
 Lewis Lewis, of Gwinfai, Esq; *Two Books*.  
 Rev. Mr. Thomas Lewis, B. A. of Acton-Burnel, in  
 Shropshire.  
 Rev. Mr. Francis Lewis, M. A. Rector of Llangatock.  
 Rev. Mr. John Lewis, Rector of Llanvapple.  
 Mr. John Lewis, Supervisor of the Excise.  
 Mr. David Lewis, of Usk.  
 Mr. Thomas Lewis, of Ynys-wen, Gent.  
 Mr. George Lewis, Gent.  
 Edward-Price Lloyd, of Llansevin, Esq; Barrister  
 at Law.  
 Rev. Mr. Lockton, A. B. Fellow of Pemb. Coll. Oxon.  
 Mr. Lucas, of Sudely-Castle, Gloucestershire, Gent.  
 William Lilly, of Worcester, Gent.  
 Mrs. Lloyd, of the Lodge.  
 John Lloyd, Esq; deceased, late Knight of the Shire  
 for the County of Cardigan.  
 Herbert Lloyd, of Peterwell, Esq;  
 Mrs. Lloyd, of *ditto*.  
 John B. Lloyd, of Brecon, Esq;  
 Rev. Mr. Charles Lloyd, M. A. Vicar of Llandyvalle.  
 Mrs. Lloyd, of the Lodge, Breconshire.

## SUBSCRIBERS.

Rev. Francis Lloyd, of Trebaried, Esq;  
Rev. Mr. — Lloyd, M. A. Rector of Traed-yr-aur,  
Cardiganshire.  
Lewis Lloyd, of Gernos, Esq; Cardiganshire.  
Rev. Mr. Thomas Lloyd, Curate of Abergavenny.  
Mr. R. Lucy, Book-seller, in Brecon; *by whom (among  
several others) this Book is to be sold.*

### M.

William Morgan, of Tredegaer, Esq; Knight of the  
Shire for the County of Monmouth.  
Thomas Morgan, Sen. of Ruperra, Esq; Knight of  
the Shire for the County of Brecon.  
Thomas Morgan, Jun. Esq; Member of Parliament  
for the Town of Brecon.  
Rev. Mr. Morgan, A. M. Chancellor of the Church  
of St. David's.  
Rev. Mr. William Morgan, M. A. Vicar of Pool, in  
Montgomeryshire, *Two Books.*  
Mrs. Morgan, of Brecon, Jun.  
Rev. Mr. Meeke, A. M. Sen. Fellow of Pemb. Coll.  
Oxon.  
William Moore, of Bourton on the Water, Esq;  
*Four Books.*  
Rev. Mr. Mather, A. M. Publick Orator, Oxon.  
Manfel Mansel, of Sketty-Hill, Esq; *Two Books.*  
William Morgan, of Bryngwyn, Esq;  
James Morgan, of Llanelly, Esq;  
Mr. David Morgan, of Raglan, Gent.  
Rev. Mr. William Miles, B. A. Vicar of Cowbridge.  
John Meredith, of Brecon, Gent.  
Rev. Mr. Samuel Morris, of Llangattock-Llyngoed.  
James-Tudor Morgan, of Monmouth, Esq;  
Mr. Thomas Morgan, Apothecary, in Monmouth.  
Mr. Fulford Morgan, Attorney at Law.  
Mr. William Morgan, of Clytha, Gent.

### N.

Rev. Dr. Newcome, Dean of Gloucester.  
Rev. Dr. Niblett, Warden of All Souls Coll. Oxon.  
Rev.

## SUBSCRIBERS.

Rev. Dr. Nichols, Canon of Christ-Church, Oxon.  
Rev. Dr. Needon, Fellow of St. John's Coll. Oxon.  
Rev. Mr. Norris, A. M. Rector of Luckington, in  
Wilts.

### O.

Right Hon. the Earl of Oxford, *Five Books.*  
Right Hon. the Lord Bishop of Oxford.  
Rev. Henry Owen, M. D. Vicar of Tarling, Essex.  
Mr. William Ously, of Brecon, Gent. *Two Books.*

### P.

The Rev. Thomas Pardoe, D. D. Principal of Jesus  
College, Oxon, and Chancellor of the Diocese of  
St. David's.  
Rev. Dr. Phillips, Rector of Llangoedmor, Car-  
marthenshire.  
James Parry, of Llandyvaelog, Esq; Breconshire.  
Rev. Mr. Gregory Parry, M. A. Rector of Vaenor,  
and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Chandos.  
Rev. Mr. John Parry, M. A. Rector of St. Nicholas,  
Hereford.  
Mr. Robert Partridge, of Pant-y-Goytre, Gent.  
Herbert-Perrot Packington, of Perdfwell, near Wor-  
cester, Esq;  
Rev. Mr. Parsons, M. A. Vicar of Lower-Guiting,  
Glocestershire.  
Mrs. Mercy Parran, of Wick-Rifington, Glocester-  
shire.  
Mr. Patrick, of Burford, Clothier.  
Mr. Patten, of Burford, Mercer.  
Charles Perry, of Rofs, M. D.  
Rev. Mr. Pearkes, M. A. Vicar of Coughton, War-  
wickshire.  
Rev. Mr. Penn, M. A. Rector of Cromhall, Glocester-  
shire.  
John Phillips, of Brecon, Esq;  
R. Phillips, of Carmarthen, M. D.  
Charles Phillips, of Llandebie, Esq; *Three Books.*  
Mr. Phillips, of Grifmont, Gent.

## S U B S C R I B E R S.

Charles Powell, of Castle-Madock, Esq;  
 Miss Catherine Powell, of *ditto*.  
 Miss Margaret Powell, of *ditto*.  
 Rev. Mr. William Powell, B. A. Rector of Llanddewi-  
 Skirryt.  
 Rev. Mr. Morgan Powell, B. A. of Cruc-Howel,  
 Breconshire.  
 Rev. Mr. John Powell, Curate of Llangattock-  
 Feibion-avel.  
 Rev. Mr. Rice Powell, B. A. School-master, of Brecon.  
 Mr. John Powell, of Tregaer, Gent.  
 John Prior, of Burford, Esq;  
 Rowland Pitt, of Gloucester, Esq;  
 Charles Powell, of Raglan, Gent.  
 James Price, of Killgwyn, Gent.  
 Mr. William Powell, of Newcastle.  
 Roge Price, of Maes-yr-Onn, Gent.  
 Mr. William Penry, of Tregaer.  
 Mr. Walter Pritchard, of Monmouth, Gent.  
 Rev. Mr. Gervase Powell, L. L. B. Rector of Llanvi-  
 gan, Breconshire.  
 Thomas Price, of Penlle'r-Gaer, Esq; *Four Books*.  
 Griffith Price, Esq; of *ditto*, Barrister at Law, *Four B.*  
 Rev. Mr. Rice Price, L. L. B. Fellow of New College,  
 Oxon.  
 Rev. Mr. Awbrey Price, M. A. Fellow of Winchester  
 College.  
 Rev. Mr. Charles Price, M. A. Rector of Llanvillo.  
 Thomas Price, of Talgarth, Esq; High-Sheriff of  
 Brecon, 1755.  
 John Price, of Pidgeon's-Ford, Esq;  
 Rev. Mr. Delabar Pritchard, Sub-chanter of St. David's.  
 Rev. Mr. John Price, M. A. Vicar of the Temple,  
 Bristol.

### R.

George Rice, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the County  
 of Carmarthen.  
 Rev. Dr. Ratcliffe, Master of Pemb. Coll. Oxon.  
 Rev. Mr. — Rice, Vicar of Windrush, Gloucestersh.  
 Miss Raymund, of Moreton, near Thornbury.

Rev.

## S U B S C R I B E R S.

Rev. Mr. Ray, M. A. Prebendary of Bath and Wells.  
Mr. John Ramsden, of Tregaer, Gent.  
Mr. Richards, of Lansanfread, Gent.  
Mr. Reasons, of Sherston-Magna, Baker.  
Richard Roberts, Esq; Barrister at Law, Recorder  
of Brecon.  
Mr. Roberts, Attorney at Law, near Rofs.  
Mr. John Roberts, of Dingestow, Gent.  
Rev. Mr. Rogers, M. A. Vicar of Carmarthen.  
Rev. Mr. Rowland Rogers, B. A. Rector of Bryn-  
gwyn, Radnorshire.  
Mr. Rogers, of Burford, Attorney at Law.  
Rev. Mr. David Richards, Curate of Llanegwad,  
Carmarthenshire.  
Rev. Mr. Hugh Rice, Rector of Llandawc and Pendine.  
Rev. Mr. Henry Rogers, B. A. Rector of Llanhamlach.  
Rev. Mr. William Reece, of Llantilio-Crescenny.  
Rev. Mr. Peter Roach, Pembrokehire.  
Mr. John Roberts, of Llwyn-y-gaer.

## S.

Right Hon. the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, *Two B.*  
Rev. Dr. Sanford, Rector of Hathrop, Gloucestershire.  
Rev. Mr. Stephens, A. M. Prebendary of the Cathed-  
ral Church of Hereford.  
Powel Snell, of Lower-Guiting, Esq; L. L. D.  
Henry Scudamore, of Monmouth, Esq;  
John Scot, of Longborough, Gloucestershire, Esq;  
Rev. Mr. Somerscale, A. B. Curate of Addlestrop,  
Gloucestershire.  
Mr. Thomas Sevell, of Monmouth.  
Rev. Mr. Evan Seys, of Boverton, M. A. Rector of  
Yftrad-gynglas, *Six Books.*  
William Scourfield, of Brecon, Esq; *Eight Books.*  
Rev. Mr. Samwell, School-master of Leighsington.  
Mr. Salmon, of Thornbury, Mercer.  
Rev. Mr. Shute, M. A. Vicar of Olveston, Gloucestersh.  
Rev. Mr. Slade, M. A. Rector of Westwell, Oxfordsh.  
Rev. Mr. Shellard, M. A. Vicar of Tytherington, Glo-  
cestershire.

Mr.

## SUBSCRIBERS.

Mr. Stephens, of Kencot, Oxfordsh. Attorn. at Law.  
Mr. Sylvester, of Burford, Tanner.

### T.

Right Hon. Lord Talbot.  
Hon. and Rev. Mr. Talbot.  
Rev. Mr. Totty, A. M. Archdeacon of Worcester.  
Rev. Mr. Tindal, M. A. Vicar of Charvel, Gloucestersh.  
Rev. Mr. Thomas, M. A. Rector of St. Helen's,  
Worcester.  
Rev. Mr. Thompson, M. A. Rector of Mayfey-  
Hampton, Gloucestershire.  
Mrs. Trimnel, of Sherston.  
Capt. Henry Trent.  
Rev. Mr. Theophilus Thomas, Rector of Bryngwyn,  
Monmouthshire.  
Alban Thomas, of Newcastle, in Emlyn, M. D.  
Rev. Mr. Robert Thomas, B. A.  
Rev. Mr. Edward Thomas, Vicar of Cwm-du.  
Rev. Mr. Walter Thomas, Vicar of Llanfadwrn.  
Rev. Mr. Joshua Thomas, Vicar of Llanbister.  
Rev. Mr. John Thomas, B. A. of Jesus College, Oxon.  
Rev. Mr. Samuel Thomas, Curate of Llanwrtyd.  
Rev. Mr. Elias Thomas, Rector of Llanvihangel-  
Torr-fynydd.  
Rev. Mr. Thomas, Rector of Llanelen, Monmouthsh.  
Rev. Mr. Evan Thomas, of Ufk.  
Mrs. Ann Thomas.  
Rev. Mr. Thomas, A. M. Rector of Notgrove, Glo-  
cestershire.  
Rev. Mr. Taylor, A. M. of Pemb. Coll.  
Mr. Truby, of Little-Rifington, Gloucestershire.  
Rev. Mr. Townshend, A. M. of Bromsgrove, Wor-  
cestershire.  
Mr. Josias Thomas, of Llanvihangel-Gofion.

### V.

Thomas Vernon, Esq; Member of Parliament for the  
City of Worcester.  
Miss Elizabeth Vaughan, of Elcair-Vaughan.

Charles



## SUBSCRIBERS.

Charles Vaughan, Esq; of Brecon, *Two Books.*  
R. Vaughan, Esq; of Golden-Grove, *Six Books.*  
Rev. Mr. Vernon, M. A. Rector of Bourton on the  
Water, Gloucestershire.  
Thomas Vernon, Esq; A. M.  
Rev. Mr. Vernon, A. M. Rector of Lower-Areley,  
Worcestershire.

### U.

Rev. Mr. Underwood, M. A. Rector of Kencot, Ox-  
fordshire.  
Mr. Upton, of Burford.  
Rev. Mr. Upton.

### W.

Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Worcester.  
Rev. Dr. Waugh, Dean of Worcester, and Chancellor  
of Caerlisle.  
Rev. Dr. Webber, Dean of Hereford, and Rector of  
Exeter Coll. Oxon.  
His Excellency Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Knight  
of the Bath, his Majesty's Ambassador at the Court  
of *Russia.*  
Hon. John Williams, Esq; Chief Justice of the Great  
Sessions for the Counties of Brecon, Radnor, and  
Glamorgan.  
William Wanly, Esq; of Eysford, Gloucestershire.  
Hon. Colonel Whitmore, Member of Parliament for  
Bridgnorth.  
Sir Edward Williams, of Llangoid-Castle, Bart.  
Lady Williams.  
Rev. Mr. Thomas Williams, M. A. Vicar of Brecon,  
and Canon of St. David's.  
Rev. Mr. David Williams, M. A. Vicar of Old Radnor.  
Rev. Mr. John Williams, M. A. Vicar of Glasbury.  
Rev. Mr. Thomas Williams, M. A. Vicar of Llaneg-  
wad, Carmarthenshire.  
Thomas Williams, Esq; M. B. of Neath.  
Rev. Mr. Edward Williams, B. A. Vicar of Llan-  
spythyd.  
Mr. Wynnet, of Worcester Coll. Oxon.  
Rev. Mr. Watkins, Curate of Peter-Church.

William

## S U B S C R I B E R S.

- William Williams, of Aberanell, Breconshire, Esq;  
Rev. Mr. John Williams, M. A. Rector of Cregrina.  
Mr. George Williams, Bailiff of Brecon, and Surgeon  
and Apothecary there.  
William Windsmore, of Pant-y-Goytre, Esq;  
William Wynter, of Brecon, Esq;  
William Watkins, of Hendre, Esq;  
Rev. Mr. Christopher Watkins, L. L. B. Rector  
of ——.   
Rev. Mr. Watkins, of Gelly.  
Mr. Thomas Williams, of Talgarth.  
William-Adams Williams, of Llangibby-Castle, Esq;  
Rev. Mr. Ely Williams, Rector of Llanfantfread.  
Rev. Mr. Whitfield, M. A. Vicar of Bradwell, Oxford-  
shire, and Rector of Castle-Eaton, Wilts.  
Rev. Mr. Wight, M. A. Vicar of Tetbury, Gloucestersh.  
Rev. Mr. Wightwick, M. A. Rector of Ashley, Wilts,  
and Master of the Free School at Tetbury.  
Rev. Mr. Wicks, M. A. Vicar of ——, Somersetshire.  
Rev. Mr. Wicks, M. A. Minor-Canon of Gloucester.  
Mr. Whitehouse, of Alcester, Attorney at Law.  
Rev. Mr. Woodroffe, M. A. Curate of Tytherington,  
Gloucestershire.  
Mrs. Wilkins, of the Priory, Brecon.  
Rev. Mr. Wilkins, Rector of Shrawley, Worcester-  
shire.  
Henry White, of Blakefsley, Northamptonshire, Esq;  
Rev. Mr. Wolley, A. M. Prebendary of Gloucester.  
Rev. Mr. William Willim, A. M. Treasurer of the  
Cathedral-Church of Hereford.  
Penry Williams, of Penpont, Esq;  
Rev. Mr. John Williams, A. M. Canon of St. David's.  
Richard Williams, of Aber-bran, Breconshire, Esq;  
Mr. Evan Walter, of Monmouth, Attorney at Law.  
Mr. Thomas Williams, of Llanelen, Gent.  
Mr. William Williams, of Monmouth, Book-seller.  
Mr. Joseph Williams, of Llandenny.  
Mr. Thomas Williams, Officer of the Excise, at Raglan.



# P R E F A C E.

IT has been a general Observation, that *Entbusiasm* very often ends in *Atheism*: Fiery Zealots, such as imagine themselves the peculiar Favourites of Heaven, when they begin to cool, grow remiss in Duties, and by Degrees abandon all Thoughts of Religion, and plunge in all Manner of Vice and Immorality, as did JOHN LACY, Esq; who was so great a Stickler for the *French* Prophets. There are too many Modern Instances of this lamentable Case. Though *Methodism* is now almost quite extinct, yet several of its dire Consequences still remain, as that Sin is *no Sin* in the Elect; that Faith can never be finally lost; and that *once* a Saint, *for ever* a Saint, as OLIVER said of himself: And consequently the most Zealous of the Party now in a great measure wallow in Lust and Sensuality, and never stick at any thing, be it ever so heinous.

This is a melancholy Reflection, that from such seeming Heavenly-mindedness they should so far degenerate, and sink into utter Sensuality; more particularly the *Unitas Fratrum*, or *Moravians*\*, who in Principle and Practice are a Scandal to Christianity! That inward *Experiences*, (as their Predecessors of the last Century made their Boast) *Dispensations*, *Manifestations*, *Discoveries*, *Improvements*, *Pledges*, *Privileges*, and *Prerogatives*; *Out-goings*, *In-goings*, and *Returns*; with abundance of such canting Words and Phrases †;---that all this glorious *Apparatus*, alas, should end in fulfilling the Lusts of the Flesh!—If any one had presumed to tell them, a few Years ago, that this, in all Probability

\* V. The *Moravians* compared and detected. Lond. 1755.

† Dr. J. Echar'd's Works, Part II. p. 92. Ed. ii. Lond. 1705.

bility, had been the Result of their indiscreet and overheated Zeal, it would be counted rank Blasphemy! So that this very Thing does verify what I mentioned in the *Preface* to the First Edition, that it is but lost Labour to dispute and argue the Case with *Enthusiasts*.  
 ‘ They go continually round this Circle, as Mr. LOCKE  
 ‘ very justly observes; *It is a Revelation because they*  
 ‘ *firmly believe it, and they firmly believe it because it is a*  
 ‘ *Revelation.*—If it be demanded how they know  
 ‘ such and such a Persuasion to be a Revelation from  
 ‘ God, they will answer, *By the Light it brings with it,*  
 ‘ *which shines bright in their Minds, and they cannot resist.*  
 ‘ *Let them consider, that this amounts to no more than what*  
 ‘ *is observed already, viz. That it is a Revelation because*  
 ‘ *they strongly believe it to be true: And all the Light they*  
 ‘ *speak of is but a strong, tho’ ungrounded, Persuasion of*  
 ‘ *their own Minds that it is a Truth.* St. PAUL believed  
 ‘ *he did well when he persecuted the Christians, whom he*  
 ‘ *confidently thought to be in the Wrong; and yet it was he,*  
 ‘ *and not they, that were mistaken. Good Men are Men*  
 ‘ *still, liable to Mistakes, and are sometimes warmly en-*  
 ‘ *gaged in Errors, which they take to be Divine Truths.\**

—A Pretence to extraordinary Revelation has always been the Criterion of an Enthusiastick Brain, since Miracles are now ceased: And, when one’s Imagination is heated with the fond Conceit of being a special Favourite of Heaven, and of holding a familiar Converse with the Deity, it is a very arduous Task, next to Impossibility, ’till it cools of itself, to rectify such a Bent of Mind, and dispossess such a fond and beguiling Spirit. As long as the hot Fit, or Paroxysm, continues, no Arguments whatever prevail.

I always thought (whether in the Right or no I submit to better Judgments) that a concise and brief History of *Modern Enthusiasm* would be an useful Undertaking, as conducing *indirectly* (indeed) to the Service of Religion: For, as by comparing Opposites the Contrariety appears more conspicuous than in viewing each apart, (*Opposita juxta se posita magis elucescunt* is a

trite

\* Vid. Locke on Human Understanding, Vol. II. p. 322.

trite Maxim in *Logick*) so true and undefiled Religion appears to better Advantage, more in its native Purity and Lustre, when compared with the wild Freaks and fanatick Notions of *Enthusiasts*. I could have wished that something of this Nature had been done by a Person of sufficient Ability; but, for want of such an accurate Performance, I ventured to set about it myself as well as I could, adjudging it more eligible to do something than to sit down idle, which to me is an intolerable Burthen: And there can be no juster Observation than that of *SENECA*, *Otium sine literis mors est, & hominis vivi sepultura.*

Whether the End proposed is attained or no, my Intention was to do some Good to the Interest of Religion. This was the sole Motive that induced me at first to engage in a Work of this Nature. But, notwithstanding, I have been severely reflected upon by a Set of Gentlemen that write the *Monthly Review*, a Paper that gives a Character of each Book or Pamphlet that is published in each Month of the Year. One of the Gentlemen, whose Province it was to criticise on Books and Pamphlets wrote on that and such other Subjects, is pleased to charge me with *Bitterness of Spirit*, and no Christian Temper. Now, the particular Expression, whereon this heavy Charge and Accusation against me is grounded, is the following.—Discourfing of the unchristian and wild Tenets of the *Quakers*, my Words are these: “ Having thus fixed the Origin of *Quakerism*, [in 1650] which was at a Time (the Church being pulled down) when the vilest, and most monstrous and numerous Spawn of multifarious Sects that ever the bottomless Pit belched out broke loose among us, as a just Punishment of Schism and Rebellion, I shall now give a more particular Character of the Two first Champions that were the Master-builders of this *Babel*, *GEORGE FOX* and *JAMES NAYLER*.”

On which Words (declaring only the Licentiousness of that particular Period) my Gentleman Censor makes this Remark: ‘ Doubtless the Facts that *Mr. EVANS*

‘has collected together may in some measure answer the good Ends he proposes, if that End be not frustrated by the *Spirit of Bitterness* which he very often expresses against *all* Dissenters from our Established Church and her Doctrine, lumping them to as a vile, monstrous Spawn, belched out of the bottomless Pit.’ \*

I thought I had sufficiently guarded my Meaning against any *forced Inferences* in being *particular* in the Time specified, by the Expression, *When the Church was pulled down*, viz. in the Time of the Long Parliament and OLIVER’S Usurpation: But notwithstanding, as explicit as I am, my Gentleman Critick (and, no doubt, by the Approbation of the rest of the learned Society) charges me roundly, that I *lump all* Dissenters, without Distinction, from first to last, as a Spawn of the bottomless Pit!—Now this is a direct Calumny: That is no Assertion of mine; far from it; and is by no means a Conclusion from the Premises, but a *false Inuendo* of the over-weening Censor. All that I say is this, ‘That in those Times of Anarchy and Confusion, when the Church was persecuted, Episcopacy abolished, the Liturgy laid aside as a Relict of Popery; when all that was Sacred was trampled upon; *then* indeed there was such an Inundation of the most vile and monstrous Heresies, that it seemed as if Hell had broke loose, when all Manner of Blasphemies were broached with Impunity.’

This is all that I say and mean; the rest is the strained, unnatural, and forced Interpretation of the *Reviewer*. Now the Expression that gave Offence is borrowed from a Treatise of the learned and pious Mr. LESLEY, which he *confines* to that unhappy Period that I am speaking of: Nor is he singular in his Judgment; for it is evident that such a Torrent of Impiety and impious Opinions had almost deluged a great Part of the Nation, and such vile and abominable Doctrine been industriously spread among the *Rabble*, that is scarce to be paralleled in any Age unless that of the impure *Gnosticks* in the Primitive Times. And, in order to

vin-

dicating the above-mentioned Reverend Author, and myself in adopting his Saying, from the Asperſion of a *Bitterneſs of Spirit*, I will produce abundant Teſtimonies to juſtify the Expreſſion that gave Offence, and that both of *Friends* and *Foes*.

I ſhall begin with the latter, as having more Weight, and leſs liable to Exceptions.—Mr. EDWARDS, a ſtrict Presbyterian Miniſter, and one who had a perfect Knowledge of thoſe Days, has profeſſedly wrote a Treatiſe on that very Subject, and repreſents thoſe Times as if *Satan* had broke looſe more than ordinary; where all Manner of Blaſphemies were vented with Impunity, and the Ridicule of all that was ſacred! One will meet there with abundance of impious and deteſtable Tenets, that quite ſap the Foundation of Chriſtianity, and indeed of all Religion, Natural and Revealed.\*

Mr. CASE, a rigid Covenanter, tells the Parliament, in his Thankſgiving Sermon for the Taking of *Cheſter*,  
 ‘ That there was then ſuch a numerous Increate of  
 ‘ Errors and Hereſies of all Sorts, as (*ſays he*) I bluſh  
 ‘ to repeat what ſome have affirmed, namely, that there  
 ‘ are no leſs than a Hundred and Fourſcore ſeveral  
 ‘ Hereſies propagated and ſpread in the City; and  
 ‘ many of ſuch a Nature, as that I may truly ſay, in  
 ‘ CALVIN’s Language, the Errors and Innovations un-  
 ‘ der which we groaned of late Years [*i. e.* under the  
 ‘ Bishops] were but tolerable Trifles, and Children’s  
 ‘ Play, compared with thoſe *damnable Doctrines, Doc-*  
 ‘ *trines of the Devil*†.’ — This ſure, let me add, comes  
 up to the Expreſſion that ſeemed ſo rigid to our *Cenſor*:  
*Damnable Doctrines, Doctrines of the Devil!* Then, ac-  
 cording to Mr. CASE, the Teachers of thoſe damnable  
 Doctrines were ſurely a *monſtrous Spawn, belched out*  
*from the bottomleſs Pit!*

Conformable to their Doctrine was their Life and  
 Converſation: And it could not well be otherwiſe;  
 for their Principles were a Sanctuary for the Secure, and  
 a *Superſedeas* unto Duty; a Plea for the Preſumptuous,  
 and

\* *Gangræna*, p. 26, et paſſim.

† *Vid. Friendly Deb. Part II. p. 5. Ed. 3.*

and an Acquittance from Repentance\*. Their Principles lead them to believe, ‘ That it was impossible for the Saints or Godly to fall into such a State wherein *they cannot be saved*: When there is such an absolute Decree past for their Salvation, then neither Sin, nor Hell, nor the Devil, can frustrate that Decree. Nay, they presumed to go farther, That the Power of God himself is not able to rescind it†.’ — It must indeed be acknowledged, that in a Petition to Parliament, July 19, 1644, some of the most Discerning among them, that saw into the Evils of the then prevailing Doctrine, did propound, that some severe Course may be taken against *Adultery and Incest, which do greatly abound, especially of late Years, by reason of Impunity*. And at another Time they complain, that some are grown to *that Height of Wickedness, as to Worship the DEVIL himself*. ||

Thus far have I vindicated the Assertion, that the Enormities of those Days of Anarchy (for that *Period alone* is the Subject of my Discourse) were so abominable as if the Gates of Hell flew open; a monstrous Spawn, if ever, from thence broke loose, and became the sure Guides of the Faction.

Such is the Confession even of Adversaries. I shall add a few more Testimonies from the Writings of Men of another Stamp. The noble Historian, Lord CLAREN-  
RENDON, has a severe, but just Remark at the Close of the Character he gives the Earl of *Manchester*: ‘ He died in a lucky Time, in the Beginning of the Rebellion, when neither Religion, Loyalty, Law, nor Wisdom, could have provided for any Man’s Security§.’ The next Authority shall be that of the Right Reverend Dr. WILLIAM THOMAS, Bishop of *St. David’s*, who in a set Answer to the Objection of a Separatist, as a sorrowful Spectator, gives the following Character of those Days of Iniquity: *All the Doctrinals*

\* *Diotrephes’ Dialogues*, supposed to be wrote by Dr. Patrick, Bp. of *Ely*. p. 66, 113. Ed. *Lond.* 1661.

† *Ibid.* p. 120.

|| *Vid.* Friend. Deb. Part I. p. 115. Part II. p. 133.

§ *Hist. of the Rebellion*, Vol. I. p. 55. *Oxon.* 1767.



*Principals of Christian Religion are exploded by some or other separated Members, who in this Climate, in a few Years, have vented more Heresies and Blasphemies than any Age, perhaps more than all the Ages, since the Apostles\*.*—The learned Mr. GEO. ASHWELL, B. D. in a Treatise of his, entitled *Fides Apostolica*, printed at Oxford, 1653, in his Epistle to the Reader, makes a doleful Complaint of the *Blasphemies* and *Heresies* that were vented in that Age; ‘An Age, says he, wherein the very Principles of Christianity are called in question, and Faith derided as the Portion of deluded Fools and Ideots.’—There was scarce an Article of the Creed but was attacked and oppugned in those black and dissolute Times.—Mr. GEARY, who was also an Eye-witness of the Calamities then abounding, does observe, ‘In those Times, says he, the viperous Brood of all Sects and Heresies swarmed through all Parts of the Nation: Then the Ranters began to multiply, and the Socinians who deny the Divinity of Christ†.’—That Great Statesman Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, tho’ he did not write professedly on that Subject, does yet take Notice incidentally, that *Enthusiasm and Delusion had too fatally over-spread our Country in that Age*||. And, to name no more, that eminent Divine Dr. NICHOLS has the following Remark on the Times: ‘The King being barbarously murdered, and the Church overthrown, the State of all Publick Affairs lay in the most desperate Condition; all Men’s Estates and Fortunes lay exposed to the Will of the Soldiers; and the Christian Religion was almost overwhelmed by the mad Opinions of Heretical Sectaries: For at that Time it was a signal Mark of a Saint to be the Author of some monstrous Opinion.’§ In fine, “There were innumerable and Diabolical Sects, and so prodigiously impious that it is not for a Christian to name their Opinions.”—Vid. *A Vindication of the Primitive*

\* Apol. for the Ch. of Engl. p. 181. Lond. 1679.

† Ch. Hist. of Great-Britain, p. 359.

|| Temple’s Miscellanea, p. 309.

§ Preface to the Defence of the Ch. of Engl. p. 63.

*mitive Church against Mr. BAXTER'S Church-History,*  
p. 412, Lond. 1083.

What says Mr. *Censor* now? He should either let me alone, or have exercised his Talents equally against all those Great Men above-mentioned, and a great many more, that in effect have maintained the same Thing as the Expression that gave Offence, which I have borrowed from Mr. LESLEY.

I must here observe, that the Passage objected to is in the Chapter where I treat of the Rise and Growth of *Quakerism*. Whether any of the learned Gentlemen concerned in the Undertaking are of *that Persuasion* is what I cannot determine. There seems to me something very like it, more especially that bold Assertion, *that all are equally Priests*, without Distinction, under the Gospel Dispensation\*. And in a Pamphlet, called *A View of the Three Spirits in Man*, there is a short Catechism prefixed, whereof one of the Learned Society gives the following Abstract. “ Q. Who are the true  
“ Ministers of Christ? A. They who are called thereto  
“ by his Holy Spirit, and preach the Word freely,  
“ without Hire, Fee, or Reward. Q. Who are the  
“ false Ministers? A. A Set of People called pious  
“ Cheats, Tythe-mongers, &c. Q. What are the Sa-  
“ craments? A. There is no such Word in the Scrip-  
“ tures: This new Doctrine was ushered into the  
“ Church by the aforefaid holy Deceivers, who make a  
“ Trade of the Scriptures, selling the Words of the Pro-  
“ phets, Christ, and his Apostles, for Money; of whom  
“ the Apostle bears Testimony, that, through *Covetous-*  
“ *ness, they with feigned Words shall make Merchandise of*  
“ *you*†.” N. B. This passes without the least Re-  
flection; and it is an old Saying, that *Silence gives*  
*Consent*.

To conclude this Head, with all due Submission to better Judgments, I humbly conceive, that this learned Society have not *always* executed their Plan with equal Candour and strict Impartiality: It is possible that some-  
times

\* *Vid.* Monthly Review for April, 1753, p. 284.

† *Ibid.* February 1753, p. 140.

times they may pass a wrong Verdict. They bestow very unbecoming Language on the Governors of the Church: Inasmuch as the Bishops do not exert themselves to bring some Matters in the Liturgy to their peculiar Taste, they are pleased to say, *How great a Reproach it is to the Governors of the Church not to exert themselves vigorously on such an Occasion* [viz. for a Review of the Liturgy] *is obvious to every attentive Mind: But it seems that those, to whom the Church has been most liberal, are the least concerned for her Honour. What Wonder is it that Religion should suffer, when her professed Advocates shew such Indifference to her Interests?\**—If such Freedom is taken with the Governors of the Church, I could not expect to escape uncensured: *If they have called the Master of the House Beelzebub, how much more them of his Household!* Matth. x. 25.

It is owing in a great measure to the Mal-treatment I received at the Hands of these Gentlemen, and in order further to elucidate the History of those dark Times, that in this *Second Edition* I have been at some Pains to collect Materials for a large additional Chapter, concerning the King's Murder, the Behaviour of the Regicides, and of the seditious Teachers that set them at Work; wherein is shewn, from the best Authority extant, that they acted by a *deluding Spirit of Enthusiasm*. Here you will find more astonishing Instances of the Hypocrisy and Villainy that were the distinguishing Characteristick of the Faction. 'No Picture is more hateful to God, and to Men when they see it plainly, says that good Man the learned Dr. WALL, 'than an *Army-saint* with one Hand lifted up to God, and the other in his Neighbour's Pocket.' †

Inasmuch as the ingenuous Authors of the *Review* take Notice that the Account of the *Methodists* is very short, if *that would put them in a good Humour*, I have made a considerable Addition on that Subject: I have treated more at large of NICHOLAS LEWIS, Count *Zinzendorf*; and give a *fresh* Account of the *German Enthusiast*,

c

\* Monthly Review, Decemb. 1753, p. 447.

† Critical Notes on Matth. xxiii, 14. p. 29.

thusiast, so much admired by Mr. LAW, JACOB BEHMEN; together with the surprising *Chimeras* of Mr. LAW himself; his raving Fancies of a distempered Brain.

There is a Third Chapter added, concerning *Inspiration* Pagan and Christian, and the many Pretences to the latter, more especially of the rigid *Scotch* Covenanters in the last Century; extracted out of a noted Book, that went through many Editions, entitled *The Fulfilling of the Scriptures*. I shall here subjoin a famous Instance out of another Nation, that very lately came to my Hands. It is the Life of Dr. SAMUEL WINTER, Provost of *Dublin* College in the Time of the Usurper.

‘ As he was once praying for a sick Person in another  
 ‘ Land, he had an Assurance of the Party’s Recovery,  
 ‘ by an audible Voice, and a glorious Brightness that shined  
 ‘ round about him. He lay a whole Day in an Hea-  
 ‘ venly Rapture, whether in the Body or out of the Body  
 ‘ he could not tell, in Imitation of the Apostle St.  
 ‘ PAUL; and had a Glimpse of the ineffable Glory.  
 ‘ And, in the Preface to his Life, the Author saith,  
 ‘ that he saw the Heavens open, and heard a Voice,  
 ‘ which said to him, *that neither he nor his should ever*  
 ‘ *want.* But this cannot be true, for his Son went a  
 ‘ begging\*.’ From this, and several other Instances of  
 the like Nature, a learned Divine makes the following  
 pertinent Observation, *That, unless God in Mercy rebuke*  
*that Spirit of Enthusiasm which is gone out amongst us in*  
*these Three Kingdoms, we may have as many Legends from*  
*some Sort of Protestants as we have formerly had from the*  
*Church of Rome†.* It is no uncommon Thing that the  
 Spirit of *Popery* speaks very often out of the *Mouths* of  
 Fanatick Protestants.

But after all one may object, To what Good is all this? Had it not been better to bury in Oblivion than thus to expose the Rants of Enthusiasts? Better to heal, and skin over, than thus to rip open, old Sores?

To

\* *Vid.* Dr. Hicks’s Sermon on Enthusiasm, p. 44. Ed. II. Lond. 1681.

† Dr. Hicks, *ibid.*

To which I answer, By no Means, in my humble Opinion; and that for the Reasons following.

I. This Method seems to me, naturally speaking, the best Preservative against the Growth of Enthusiasm. It is an old Observation in Ethicks, at least as old as ARISTOTLE, that Ἀπτικείμενα παράλληλα μάλιστα φείνε. *Arist. Rhet. Lib. iii. Cap. 4. Cujus usum vid. Lib. ii. Ubi affectus & mores senum ac juvenum contrarii sic conferuntur, ut ex mutua collatione valde illustrentur.* Fr. Burgerflicii Instit. Log. Lib. i. Cap. 21. The Spirit of *Enthusiasm* is a very dangerous Ingredient when it once gets the Dominion over a Man's Temper, and is become the governing Principle. Not to insist on OLIVER and his Accomplices, who gave out that they had a *special Direction* from Heaven (to speak in their Language) to *lay aside* King CHARLES, *i. e.* to murder him, (for there might be somewhat of the Subtilty of the Serpent and Policy in that too) there want not several Instances in History of Persons, *seemingly* devout and zealous for Religion, that pretended a Divine Impulse to commit the most horrid and unnatural Murder on their nearest Relations. The noble Historian, Lord CLARENDON, in relating the Murder of the Duke of *Buckingham* by FELTON, (who pretended to commit the horrid Fact by a Divine Impulse) has the following very pertinent Remark on the bloody Enthusiast who was executed for the same: ' Upon the whole, the Death of  
' this Malefactor may be of lasting Use to Mankind,  
' if he be remembered as a striking Example, that it is  
' never safe to credit any Impulse as the Work of God  
' which is contrary to the known Laws established by  
' his revealed Will.' Such fatal Delusions ought to be chronicled, that it may continue (indirectly indeed) as a Landmark to others to preserve them from making a *Shipwreck of the Faith once delivered to the Saints*. And does not a sober and rational Temper in the great Importance of a religious Life, such as the Gospel enjoins, appear more amiable, infinitely more eligible, when compared with the raving Delusions of such fiery Zealots? ' Religion, says a Person of Quality of distin-

‘guished Worth\*) which can only make the Mind  
 ‘happy, and is our surest and best Defence against the  
 ‘Passions, if considered in a wrong and melancholy  
 ‘View, has often perverted the Seat of Reason, and  
 ‘given more Inhabitants to *Bedlam* than any other  
 ‘Cause.’

The same Spirit of Enthusiastick Giddiness had possessed a great many Zealots of the last Century to take upon them to prophesy that the Day of Judgment was approaching, yea, and to determine the very Year and Day it should commence; which has caused an universal Distraction in weak Minds, who like *Children were tossed to and fro, and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine.*—The same Spirit does yet work in the *Methodists*, who, upon certain Characteristicks taken from the *Revelation*, (but more truly from their own infatuated Imaginations) pretend to foretel that the *Glorious Millenium* begins to dawn upon the World, when the Wicked shall all be destroyed, and *they* (the Saints) shall alone bear Dominion. Finally, the same Spirit does still breathe, in the same Party and other Fanaticks, that the grossest Sins, as Incest, Adultery, Murder, &c. are no Sins in them, because they are the *Elect*; but are abominable Sins in others, because they are the *Reprobates*. I do only hint at these dire Consequences of *Enthusiasm* at present, as it were, *en passant*, having discoursed on that Subject more at large elsewhere. And ought not such accursed Effects of *Enthusiasm* to be registered for a standing Testimony against such horrid Doctrine, to the eternal Shame and Scandal of such deluding and deluded *Methodistical* Teachers?

II. Since Arguments and Reasoning will nothing avail with *Enthusiasts*, whilst the Paroxysm continues, let Matter of Fact convince those that are not yet infected with the Contagion, that such a Spirit leads into a *strong Delusion that they should believe a Lye.* 2 Theff. ii. 11. Let them soberly reflect, to what a spiritual Madness has the indulging *Enthusiasm* gradually carried melancholy Tempers! Perhaps, they meant well at the  
 First

\* Earl of Orrery.

First Setting-out ; but the Enthusiastick Spirit has hurried them on by Degrees into inextricable Mazes and Labyrinths ! Here they will see, as in a Mirror, *that they take their Dreams for a Converse with Spirits, their melancholy Fancies for Inspirations, and their own bewildered Thoughts for Heavenly Revelations,* as the Reverend Dr. PITTIS has very justly observed\*. And elsewhere, discoursing of the national Frenzy a Century ago, when *Enthusiasm* rode triumphant, the same learned Divine has the following Remark on the Times : *We shall easily conclude, says he, that such a Doctrine cannot come from God, that teaches Men to do the Works of the Devil, nor the Principles that tend to Confusion among Mankind ever proceed from the God of Order ; but they are upon the First Audit to be damned to the Place from whence they took their Original, and must be concluded to come from Hell, which thus fire and consume the World.* †

‘ There is not a more melancholy Object, says that great Observer of Men and Manners, the ingenuous Mr. ADDISON, ‘ than a Man who has his Head turned ‘ with *Religious Enthusiasm*. A Person that is crazed ‘ with Pride or Malice is a Sight very mortifying to ‘ Human Nature ; but, when the Distemper arises ‘ from any indiscreet Fervors of Devotion, or too intense an Application of Mind to its mistaken Duties, ‘ it deserves our Compassion in a more particular Manner. We may however learn this Lesson from it, ‘ that Devotion itself (which one would be apt to think ‘ could not be too warm) may disorder the Mind unless ‘ its Heats are tempered with Caution and Prudence.--- ‘ Devotion, when it doth not lie under the Check of ‘ Reason, is very apt to degenerate into *Enthusiasm* ; ‘ for, when the Mind finds herself very much enflamed ‘ with her Devotions, she is too much inclined to think ‘ they are not of her own Kindling, but blown up by ‘ something Divine or Supernatural within her. If she ‘ indulges this Thought too far, and humours the ‘ growing Passion, she at last flings herself into imaginary

\* Dr. Pittis his Discourse on the Trial of the Spirits, p. 40, 1683.

† *Ibid.* p. 92.

' nary Raptures and Extacies; and, when once she  
 ' fancies herself under the Influence of a Divine Im-  
 ' pulse, it is no Wonder if she slights Human Ordinan-  
 ' ces, and refuses to comply with any established Form  
 ' of Worship, as thinking herself directed by a much  
 ' superior Guide. — Most of the Sects that fall short  
 ' of the Church of *England* have in them strong Tinc-  
 ' tures of *Enthusiasm*, as the *Roman* Catholick Religion  
 ' is one huge, over-grown Body of childish and idle  
 ' Superstitions. — The great Occasion of the little  
 ' Appearance of a religious Deportment in our Nation  
 ' is certainly this: Those Swarms of *Sectaries*, which  
 ' over-ran the Nation in the Time of the great Rebel-  
 ' lion, carried their Hypocrisy so high that they had  
 ' converted *our* whole *Language* into a *Jargon* of En-  
 ' thusiasm, insomuch that upon the *Restoration* Men  
 ' thought they could not recede too far from the Beha-  
 ' viour and Practice of those Persons who had made  
 ' Religion a Cloak to so many Villainies.'

I shall close this Section in the Words of Mr. Arch-  
 deacon WAPLE. There are some that call themselves  
 Christians, who know not *what Spirit they are of*, as (1.)  
 They who pretend to new *Inspirations*, distinct from  
 those of the Gospel, or vouch the inward Assurances  
 of their Consciences to legitimate Actions quite con-  
 trary to the plain Commands of God, as if a Man  
 should alledge the inward Perswasion of his Conscience  
 for the Lawfulness of Murder or Adultery against the  
 plain Words of the 6th and 7th Commandments.

There can be no greater Sign of *Diabolical Illusion*  
 than this, for a Man to hearken to the Suggestion of  
 what he miscals Conscience and the Spirit of God  
 within him to the plain *Revelation* of God's Will in  
 Scripture, the *Law of Nature*, and right Reason, which  
 are to be a standing Rule and Guide of Men's Actions;  
 not their own Opinions, howsoever confident they are  
 of the Truth of them.

And therefore it is highly presumptuous, nay, blas-  
 phemous it is, of those Sectaries amongst us (such as  
 NAYLER, VENNER, MUGLETON, &c.) who pretend  
 to



to immediate Inspirations, to be Witnesses and Prophets, and have thereupon framed many familiar Letters from CHRIST and the Holy Spirit; whereas God never sent Prophets but with the Power of Miracles to confirm them; and our Saviour has particularly told us, that *false Prophets* should come into the World, and that by *their Fruits we shall know them*, and that they are to be tried by the Gospel.

Such also are those who pretend to pray by the Spirit; that is, as that Phrase is taken in Scripture, and understood by the misguided of the common People, to have the Words and Matter of their Prayers immediately *dictated* unto them by the Holy Spirit. I do not deny that there is a Gift of *Praying Extempore*; but then, I say, this Gift can no more pretend to the Spirit than *Extempore Preaching* can, and is no more the Effect of the Holy Ghost than any other intellectual Habits or Accomplishments of the Mind are. It is, as they are, gained by Study and Imitation, the Effect of Nature and Art, a good Memory, and a voluble Tongue, improved by a right Method of digesting their Thoughts; a Stock of Scripture Phrases, a natural Warmth of Temper, and a convenient Boldness and Presence of Mind.

Now, to ascribe this Faculty to the Holy Spirit, in any other Manner than as it assists the other Habits, *that is*, in an ordinary Manner under the Use of Endeavours, is a gross Cheat, and the Cause of infinite Mischief and Disorders in the Church: For this Pretence is commonly the first Step to all other *Illusions*; it makes Men *fanciful* rather than *devout*, and disposes them to swallow down readily all the Errors of such gifted Teachers, let them be ever so gross and irrational. And therefore certainly they who have this Gift ought not to complain of the Church for endeavouring to restrain the Use of it, when they find it to be the Cause of so much Mischief, and that it is so far from being the immediate Gift of the Spirit, that the bold and familiar Addresses, the rude and undecent Expostulations with God Almighty, the nauseous Tautologies

and

and Repetitions, and the many Human Infirmities, too notoriously frequent in the *Extempore Prayers* of those of the greatest Skill and Eminency in that Way, sufficiently betray from what Spirit it proceeds; *to wit*, at best from *Natural Parts*, conducted and improved by the ordinary Grace of God; often from an *Enthusiastical Spirit*, and sometimes from a *Diabolical*.

(2.) They who have pretended to be endued with a *Zealotick Spirit*, acted by immediate Impulse from God, to do great and heroick Actions for the rooting out of Idolatry and overturning of Government; and thereupon have fancied themselves to be *Phinea's*, *Jephtha's*, and *Gideons*, Men raised up by an immediate Commission from God to conduct his Armies, and fight this Battles, and to murder and destroy Heretical and Idolatrous Kings and Princes: Such were CHASTEL, CLEMENT, and RAVILIAC, among the Papists; VANNER, and his 'Complices, amongst us; several stubborn *Zealots* in our Neighbour Nation, and particularly the Murderers of the *Archbishop* of *St. Andrew's*.

Now this is a wicked and dangerous Error, grounded upon a plain Mistake of the Difference betwixt the *Jewish* Government and all other Governments whatsoever: For the *Jewish* Government was plainly a *Theocracy*, in which God himself was their immediate Governor; and their Judges and Captains were Men raised up immediately by him, to put in Execution his own Laws, and to govern according to Rules of his more immediate Appointment: And therefore also he did sometimes inspire private Persons, and impowered them by his own Authority to do some extraordinary Actions; as Princes upon some necessary Occasions give extraordinary Commissions for Justice to be done upon some notorious Offenders; and *his Authority*, not *their Zeal*, legitimated the Action.

But now this Way of Government is ceased, and the written Word of God is our only Oracle; and we are not to expect any extraordinary Impulses in this Kind, but only the ordinary Operations of God's Spirit.—

Thus

Thus far the Reverend Mr. WAPLE, B. D. Archdeacon of Taunton. \*

III. My Third and last Reason for publishing these Memoirs of Enthusiastick Rants is this, that I am in a manner compelled to it by way of Reprisal: For shall Mr. CALAMY, Mr. NEAL, and others of the same Stamp, be allowed the Liberty, in their lavish *Encomiums* on *Separatists*, to asperse the Clergy of all Ranks and Order, from the Bishop to the meanest Curate, and so warmly plead the Cause of *Schism*? and shall the Members of the Established Church bear all the Obloquy and Scandal that Ill-will and Malice can suggest, sit still, and be silent? By no means; for that was to own the Charge.—Mr. CALAMY's First Edition of the Life of Mr. BAXTER was published in the Year 1702; and another more pompous Edition followed soon after, with the *Account of the ejected Ministers* in a set Volume apart, full of invidious Reflections on the *Establishment* and *Terms of Conformity*. The worthy and laborious Dr. WALKER, in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, printed Anno 1714, has retorted the Charge against him, and has discovered at large his gross Prevarications, and in some Measure exposed to publick View the Rancour and *Bitterness* of his Spirit. Mr. CALAMY indeed, to give him his Due, has an admirable Faculty in calumniating, and spreading Scandal, and traducing his Superiors. In a word, he is a *gifted* Man in Scurrility and foul Language. The blessed Apostle does foretel of such, *That in the last Days perilous Times shall come; for Men shall be Lovers of their own selves, Covetous, Boasters, Proud, Blasphemers,---without natural Affection, Truce-breakers, false Accusers, Incontinent, Fierce, Despisers of those that are good; Traitors, Heady, High-minded, Lovers of Pleasure more than Lovers of God, &c.* 2 Tim. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

As to the other Gentleman, Mr. DANIEL NEAL, he has very late published Four Volumes of *The History of the Puritans*; a Subject, one would think, that had better been left dormant: But he has revived it, and

d

has

\* His Vol. of Sermons, Lond. 1718. Vol. II. p. 72, 73.

has endeavoured all he could to conjure up that Spirit of *Fanaticism* that once contributed to overturn the Government in Church and State. In this Work “ he “ warps, and curtails, and mangles, Authorities ; “ picks out of an Author what he likes, tho’ never so “ slenderly supported ; and omits taking Notice, even “ in the same Author, of what makes against him\*.” In a word, his Volumes are full of Acrimony and malicious Invectives against the Principles and principal Men of the Establishment.

The First Volume has been answered with a great deal of Accuracy and Judgment (as is generally supposed, and I hear his Lordship does not disown it) by the Right Reverend the present most worthy and learned Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. MADOX. It bears the Title of *The Vindication of the Government, Doctrine, and Worship, of the Church of England, established in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, against the injurious Reflections of Mr. NEAL in his First Volume of the History of the Puritans.* I have not seen this very learned Treatise ; but I have been informed, by several Persons that have perused it, that therein Mr. NEAL’s Misrepresentation of Facts, his Artifice in disguising Truth, his low Shifts, and falsifying of Authorities, are detected even to a *Demonstration*.

The Second Volume has been answered by the inquisitive Antiquarian and able Critick Dr. GREY ; wherein also his numerous Mistakes in History, and wilful Prevarications, are exposed to publick View : But, notwithstanding all this, hardened against the clearest Conviction, and resolved to maintain his Cause right or wrong, he had the Effrontery, in 1732, to publish Two other Volumes on the same Subject.—It had been abundantly better for his Credit among Men of Virtue, and tending to the Peace of his Conscience, (if it is not grown callous) to have retracted his former Errors, and to beg Pardon of the World, whom he had imposed upon, than still to carry on the Cause of Schism by such *iniquitous Means*.

Now,

\* V. Dr. Grey’s Answer to the 2d Vol. p. 4.

Now, since the *Controversy* has been revived by a Set of Men that ought to be easy under that Indulgence with which the Law of the Land has favoured them, I cannot think it at all amiss to pry a little into *their* Secret History, (which a great Part of the World is a stranger to) and represent in a true Light some of their dangerous Tenets and mad Flights in *Entbusiasm*.

Besides these Two former, there is a Third Man of Note in great Credit among the Party, Mr. COTTON MATHER, Pastor of the Church of *Boston*, in *New-England*, who has wrote a large *Folio* Volume, divided into Seven Books, of the remarkable Providences that befriended the rigid Presbyterians, or *Independents*, of that Province, from its first Planting, in the Year 1620, unto the Year of our Lord 1698. Here one will find a continued Series of Miracles displayed in Favour of that turbulent Sect, and in Confirmation of the different Branches of Doctrine that are its distinguished Badge and Livery. But that alone did not suffice: It was not enough that the *Independents* were under the special Protection of Heaven, whereof numerous Instances, as they pretend, are given; but in *New-England* the Work was not complete unless they bestow the vilest and most scurrilous Language on the *National Church* established in *Old-England*! yea, the most uncharitable and horrid Expressions that inveterate Malice and Ill-will could suggest! This foul Language is plentifully dealt out, and interspersed thro' all this voluminous Work, the History of Mr. COTTON MATHER; the Episcopal Church of *England* being never mentioned, (as it is very often on purpose and designedly) but always represented as a *Tyrannical, Anti-christian, persecuting Hierarchy, laying unconscionable Impositions upon the Lord's People, remarkable for true Christianity*. This very coarse and unchristian Language is every where plentifully bestowed, with a Heart full of Rancour, (if we may judge of any Thing by *Overt-acts*) on the Episcopal Reformed Church, as if Charity was rather the *Bane* than the Perfection of Virtue.

I have made choice of these Three Writers more

particularly (not but there is Abundance wrote in the same Spirit of Bitterness by almost all the *Scribes* of the Party, but) because they are of universal Esteem among them; there being scarce a Family of any Note, or a Preacher that knows any Thing of the World, but has them in his Possession. It is certainly a just Observation, that I have read somewhere, and marked in my *Adversaria*, ' If an over-weening Conceit of their own Righteousness and Sanctity, and a genuine Spirit of Bitterness in censuring others, be a true Sign of Saintship; then, besides other Sectarists, the *Independents* and *Presbyterians* have an indubitable Claim to it. Let Mr. COTTON MATHER be a sufficient Proof of the former in his Church-History of *New-England*; and Mr. EDMUND CALAMY, a sufficient Attestation of the latter in his Life of Mr. RICHARD BAXTER.'—And as to Mr. BAXTER himself, to give him his Due, he is a Match for any of his Brethren in bestowing hard Names on the Governors of the Church. He is not satisfied to call the Bishops of the Time he lived in *Turbulent Prelates; silencing, destroying Prelates; proud, ambitious, Hereticating Prelates*; [these are his own Words] but he must likewise brand the Bishops of the Primitive Church, most of them Martyrs and Confessors, as so many *Firebrands of the World; self-conceited, merciless, furious Bishops; the Confounders of Churches* [these again are his own Words]. This is the Temper of the *Catholick*, of the *mere Christian*, as Mr. B. is pleased to stile himself. *Bitterness, and Wrath, and Clamour, and Evil-speaking*, are these the Fruits of that *Catholick* and *mere Christian* Spirit? To say no worse, *This Spirit cometh not of him that calleth us.*—For this Reason it is that in this Second Edition I have somewhat enlarged on this Man's Character, whom so many admire, and others, upon as good Grounds, make but little Account of.—Vid. *A Vindication of the Primitive Church*, p. xi. of the Preface.

The Protestant Churches abroad are in a happy State, in that they *keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*, being altogether free from the Jarrs, and Discords,

cords, and Divisions, that are the Result of so many different Sectaries tolerated in this Kingdom. There is never a Dissenter, of *any Denomination*, that dares lift up his Head in the Established Churches of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which have reformed according to the Plan and Doctrine of LUTHER; and they have very nigh as great an Aversion to a *Calvinist* as to a *Papist*. But in *England* Schisms and Divisions of all Sorts abound, to the Scandal of Christianity, where *Union* is above all recommended, and no where less practised than in this Kingdom, and in some of the Provinces of *Holland*, where *Calvinism* is the Established Religion: And it is *worthy* of Observation, that no sooner any obscene Ribaldry is vented abroad than it meets with a hearty Reception in *England*. The Life of Sister CATHERINE, a Nun of the Order of our *Lady*, printed at *Paris*, 1628, is a famous Piece, recommended by a *Cardinal*, and an *Archbishop*, besides *Sorbonnists*, and several Doctors of Divinity; and yet the whole, in the Judgment of Dr. MERIC CAUSABON, (Son of the most learned ISAAC CAUSABON, and a great Sufferer for his Loyalty in *England*\*) is but a tedious Narration of several strange Raptures and Enthusiastick Fits that possessed the Imagination of a Melancholick Recluse†. But, notwithstanding, she had her Admirers in *England*, and was looked upon to be a Person that was illuminated, as well as some of her Sex have been by the deluded *Independents* of *New-England*, particularly Mrs. HUTCHINSON, of whom I have treated towards the Beginning of the Fourth Chapter.

But that which made of late the greatest Noise in that Kingdom is a Book, impiously so named, *The Light of the World*, wrote by a bigoted Enthusiast, Mademoiselle ANTHONIETTA BOURIGNON||; first published by Mr. CHRISTIAN DE CORT, a Popish Priest; and some Time ago translated into *English*, Anno 1696. There are in it great

\* See an Account of his Sufferings in Dr. Walker, p. 8.

† Vid. his Treatise on Enthusiasm, Chap. iii. p. 119, and in the Preface.

|| See more of this gifted Lady in Chap xi.

great Flights of Religion; it could not otherwise deceive the World; as he that would cheat with bad Coin mixes a great many Pieces of good Coin among the bad: But the Poison of her Enthusiastick Rants lies concealed in her pretended Communications with God; that she asked Questions of him, and had particular Answers in Return; and that she could, even without Premeditation, explain the Scriptures so perfectly that none of the Primitive Fathers of the Church had ever so done. Tho' this devout Lady doth very often brag of her complete Knowledge of Scripture, together with the Interpretation of all Mysteries and Prophecies therein contained, yet sometimes she is pleased to express herself (as other Papists) in very disrespectful and indifferent Terms about the Dignity of Scripture, has a very low Esteem of it, and sets off the *whole* of Religion (as other *Enthusiasts* do) on waiting upon Revelations from Heaven. This gifted Lady had also a very mean Opinion of the Satisfaction made to Divine Justice by JESUS CHRIST; but that his Death and Sufferings, in her profound Judgment, were not *intended*, but only come to pass by mere *Accident*. Notwithstanding all this, and several *odd Chimeras*, the Ravings of a distempered Brain, Monsieur POIRET sticks not to declare, with an Air of Blasphemy, *Tam certus sum illam virginem inspiratam esse, quam Deum existere*, i. e. that he was as sure that that Virgin was inspired, as that God had a Being.

Now, as strange a Medley and *Farrago* of Blasphemies, Rants, Extravagances, and Enthusiastick Flights, as her whole System is composed of, yet it was propagated in *England* with great Zeal and Assiduity. And Two very noted (but sober and orthodox) Divines, Mr. LESLEY, and Mr. BAYLY, late Rector of *St. James's* in *Bristol*, were very rudely treated, and abundance of ill Language bestowed upon them, by one of her Partizans in *England*, for no other Reason but that they endeavoured to stop the Growth of such a pestilent Contagion. 'Tis from this Lady, and JACOB BEHMEN, the *German* Enthusiast, that Mr. LAW has

bor-



borrowed most, if not all, of his wild and extravagant Fancies, as is treated of at large in *Chap. X.* altho' I did not know it then for certain, at the Time of Writing.

And, very late, Mr. J. WESLEY has published an Extract of the Life of Monsieur DE RENTY, a strong Papist, and a *Frenchman* of Quality; the Tenor of whose Life and Actions is one continued Scheme of Enthusiasm; which is the Reason, it seems, of his being in such a high Degree of Favour with Mr. WESLEY, and recommended as a worthy Pattern to tread in his Steps. This, I say, is probably his Reason, and not Mr. RENTY's strong Attachment to Popery, and his great Zeal to make Converts to the same. \*

I have entirely omitted to give a particular Account of several bold Enthusiasts who wrote Comments on the Book of *Daniel* and the *Revelation*, such as Mr. BRIGHTMAN, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. ARCHER, and many other hot-headed and dangerous Expositors, (mentioned in the *Friendly Debate*, wrote by the most learned Dr. PATRICK, Bishop of *Ely*) tho' they are within the Reach of my Subject. They apply at *Random* the Prophetick Visions in both the *Old* and *New* Testaments to serve their own particular Interest; and every body knows what that was, to blow up the furious Zeal of the Rabble to devour and destroy the Royalists, and to propagate the Gospel, like MAHOMET, with Fire and Sword. Yea, which is amazing, such was their Penetration, that they found the several *Committees* of the *Rebel-Parliament*, in abolishing Episcopacy and the Liturgy, prefigured in some Type or other in the *Revelation!* And, that nothing might escape their Notice, BURTON, PRIN, and BASTWICK, (of whom I shall elsewhere treat at large) are some of the Witnesses prophesied of by St. JOHN to be the Champions of the *good old Cause!*—It would be endless to rake into all their ill-grounded and wild chimerical Fancies; and yet all pretend a Divine Inspiration! which, however *inconsistent* and extravagant, did all center in this, to harass without Mercy the Friends of Monarchy and the

esta-

\* *Vid.* Comparison of Methodists and Papists, Part ii. p. 173, &c.

established Episcopal Church, whom they were pleased to call the *Anti-christian* and *Popish Party*, the *Children of Belial*, and the *Followers of the Dragon*: But their own dear selves they esteemed (as prophecied of in the *Revelation*) the *Witnesses of JESUS CHRIST*, the *Godly Party*, the *Saints* that are to *rule the Nations*, and the *Followers of the Lamb*. These Instances indeed, as I mentioned, are the proper Subjects of *Enthusiasm*; but then I was afraid that such a Detail of *Fanatick Blunders* would nauseate and be tedious.—Vid. *Bp. PATRICK his Friendly Debate*, Part. II. p. 67, 71. Lond. 1669.

I have taken no Notice of the famous Dr. JOHN DU, alias DEE, who pretended such a Familiarity and Conversation with Spirits, and who was so confident of a Divine Call, that he made a purpose Journey to *Vienna* to admonish the Emperor RODOLPH to desist from some Actions that were displeasing to God. He was admitted in due Form to an Audience, wherein he acquaints his Imperial Majesty, that he had a Special Command by the Ministry of Angels to declare this extraordinary Message; and met at first with a very kind Reception, as being a Person of Learning, and whose Fame had spread all over the politest Part of *Europe*: Yet at last, after some Weeks' Attendance, the Emperor sent one of his Court to acquaint him, "That he had no Need of his extraordinary Advice in that Affair, but would rather consult his Confessor than to give Credit to his pretended Angelical Mission." Mr. CAMDEN gives a good Character of him as an able Mathematician; but abroad he was generally looked upon as a kind of a Madman, and a *Conjuror*, as may be seen at large in a *Folio* Treatise with this Title, *A true Relation of Dr. JOHN DEE* (a famous Mathematician in the Reigns of Queen ELIZABETH and King JAMES) *his Actions with Spirits*, p. 230, &c. published by Dr. MERIC CAUSABON, Lond. 1659. *penes me*.

Had I a Mind to be voluminous, I might dwell largely on the particular Whims and Enthusiasms of a great many particular Persons that made a Flash, but soon

extinct, such as are mentioned incidentally by some or other of our *English* Historians; such as that of Mr. ASGILL his fond Conceit that there is a Possibility of Man being made *immortal* by using the Means by him prescribed, as was that of ADAM in his State of Innocence before the Fall: And, persisting in it, for this and some other Enthusiastick Rants he was expelled the House of Commons in *Ireland*.

Every Body knows that it is impossible to hit the Taste of and please all Readers upon such a critical Subject as this. I had sufficient Experience of it already on the First Impression. But, if I have the Satisfaction of reclaiming but a *few* that are gone astray, or of pleasing but a *few* that are the Friends of sober Religion, equally guarded against the Two dangerous Extremes of *Superstition* on the one Hand, and *Entbusiasm* on the other, I have what I aimed at; it is enough.

*May-day,*  
1756.

THEOPHILUS EVANS,

*Vicar of St. David's, in Brecon.*







# CONTENTS.

[N. B. Besides the *Preface* to this Second Edition, being almost entirely a-new, some Amendments and Additions to most Chapters of the First Edition, (particularly that concerning the *Quakers*) the Chapters marked thus † are entire *Additions*.]

## CHAPTER I.

*Of Natural Entbusiasm, Oratorial and Poetical.* Page I.

## CHAP. II.

*Of Religious Entbusiasm. Of the Family of Love. Of DAVID GEORGE, a Dutchman, the Father of that impious Sect, propagated in England by his Disciple, HENRY NICHOLAS, Of the Puritan Faction. The History of PETER BURCHET, and of that noted Entbusiast WILLIAM HACKET. Of Two noted Pamphlets wrote by the Puritans, Admonition to Parliament, and Martin-Mar-Prelate. The whimsical Names given by the Puritans to their Children at Baptism.* p. 5.

## CHAP III.

*Of the Two famous National Leagues; the French Holy League, as 'tis commonly called; and the Scotch Solemn League and Covenant. The Entbusiastick Rants and wild Notions in Religion during the Time of the Great Rebellion, when the Scotch League, &c. was imposed on the Nation. Some Reflections on Mr. CALAMAY'S Historical Account of ejected Ministers after the Restoration.* p. 18.

## † CHAP. IV.

*A more particular Account of the Entbusiasm that prevailed in the Time of the Great Rebellion, at large.* p. 29.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the National Phrenzy that possessed both Old and New England for a Season, in prosecuting and executing so many Men and Women for the supposed Crime of Witchcraft; Mr. BAXTER greatly encouraging such Prosecutions.* p. 66.

# C O N T E N T S.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of the Quakers. Their Rise. Of GEORGE FOX, and JAMES NAYLER. The Ignorance and Blasphemies of both. Some of the first Quakers possessed. Their going naked in Publick Assemblies. Set up by the Jesuits.* p. 73.

## CHAP. VII.

*Of the Cameronians in Scotland. Their Rebellion against the Government. Their large Field-Meetings. The Murder of the Marquess of Montrose, and the Archbishop of St. Andrew's. The Fifth-Monarchy-Men in England.* p. 87.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Of the French Prophets, and their deluded Followers in England; more particularly of Sir RICHARD BULKLEY, and JOHN Sirnamed LACY. Of Dr. EMES, and his Resurrection.* p. 97.

## CHAP. IX.

*Of Methodism. The Interpretation of the Word. Of the Moravians. The first Appearance of Methodism in England. Their Pretences to Inspiration. Their Divisions. Mad Freaks in America. The evil Consequences of Methodism.* p. 108.

## † CHAP. X.

*Of Count ZINZENDORF. Of JACOB BEHMEN. The strange Infatuation of Mr. LAW. Maintains that ADAM might have propagated his Species, and been a Father of a numerous Offspring of himself, without the Use of a Woman, had he continued in his State of Innocency. A further Account of the Methodists.* p. 121.

## † CHAP. XI.

*Of real and pretended Inspiration. Instances of both. The Sibylline Oracles. The Dæmon of SOCRATES. Of the Heathen Oracles. Of Mademoiselle ANTHONIETTA BOURIGNON. Several Instances of pretended Inspiration, and the Power of working Miracles among the Scotch Covenanters.* p. 138.

## † CHAP. XII.

*Of the Rise, Progress, and Enthusiasm, of the Anabaptists.* p. 159.





T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
Modern Enthusiasm.

---

C H A P. I.  
Of NATURAL ENTHUSIASM.



It is a common Observation, That nothing remarkable and above the ordinary Pitch of vulgar Conceptions has been wrote, either in Oratory or Poetry, but when the Author was actuated by some Enthusiastick Heat, and some *Ardor* and *Impetus* of the Mind, that hath some Affinity to Madness. “ I believe (says Dr. M. CAUSABON) that never any Great Work, that was the Fruit of the Brain, and that begot Admiracion, was atchieved, but was also the Fruit of some Natural Enthusiasm.” ARISTIDES, an excellent Orator, but a very Bigot to Heathenism, compares it to the Heat by which Soldiers, at the first joining of Battle, are usually carried and inflamed beyond all Sense of Death and Danger.

Several Antient Orators did apprehend themselves, and were so apprehended by divers others, to be, in some Sort, inspired or agitated by some higher Power than bare Nature could pretend to. ARISTOTLE, a Man of a vast extensive Knowledge, and an universal Philosopher, does yet maintain, That no Person can excel and shine in any Composition but he must feel the Influence of an Enthusiastical Fire to warm and elevate his Soul above low and ordinary Thoughts. And DIONYSIUS

LONGINUS, a great Master of the Grand and Sublime, (as witness that Tract of his now extant upon that Subject) speaks much to the same Purpose. And LONGINUS, tho' a Heathen by Profession, yet was not very superstitious, as may appear by this, That he durst challenge HOMER, tho' a Poet, (upon whom especially the Pagan Theology was grounded) of Atheism and the grossest Absurdity, for making the Gods to fight with Men and amongst themselves, and not only to fight, but to be wounded also.

An Heat, a Fire, that does warm the Mind, and makes the Imagination glow, (which the Latins call *Ardor* and *Impetus*) must then enliven and invigorate an Oration that would bear the Test of able and sound Criticks: That gives Life and Soul into it, insomuch that some have thought that no other Art was necessary to make a compleat Orator. Hence saith CICERO of himself, *Nulla me ingenii, sed magna vis animi inflammat ut me ipse non teneam.* CICERO, 'tis true, had a vast Conceit of his own Performances; which yet the ablest Criticks, both Modern and Antient, and among the rest PLINY, do allow he had Reason to do: And QUINTILIAN doth pass this Judgment in particular, "That he may well think of his own Proficiency who begins to relish CICERO above all Authors." He must mean Latin Authors, for generally the Preference is given to DEMOSTHENES in Greek.

As to DEMOSTHENES his Character I need say no more than this, That DIONYSIUS, of *Halicarnassus*, (a Man of great Ability himself in Point of Eloquence, and of great Judgment to judge of the Ability of others, rather severe than favourable in most of his Censures) doth very solemnly deliver and protest of himself, "That, when he did set himself to read DEMOSTHENES his Orations, he was so taken therewith as to be almost beside himself, being so transported with the Energy of his Divine Eloquence; whereby, says he, we may guess how those of his Time, that heard him and were interested in the Subject of those Orations, were affected, when the bare Reading hath such an Operation on us so little concerned in them and so long after."

And it is worthy of Observation, that the sage and grave SENECA, so abounding with sententious Precepts of Morality, doth peremptorily maintain, That this Sort of Enthusiasm is a necessary Ingredient to make a transcendent Wit. *Non potest grande aliquid, says he, & supra cæteros loqui, nisi mota mens.*

There were in antient Times (long before the Incarnation of JESUS CHRIST) a Sect distinguished by the Name of *Sophists*, which Title was more honourable than that either of *Orators* or  
Phi-



*Philosophers*, and in fact raised it to that Height of Estimation, that even the *Grandees* and some Princes were ambitious of that Title, and thought it no Disparagement to their Rank and Dignity to be accounted their Friends and Supporters, and publickly to resort to their Schools and Oratories.

The first Man that made any Figure in the World of this Sect was one *PRODICUS*. This Man, rambling from Town to Town, and from Village to Village, did, in set Harangues somewhat dogmatically and rhetorically composed, admonish the People to abstain from Pleasures which enervate the Mind, and embrace Virtue after the Example of *HERCULES*, which was very often urged in those Days, to excite the People to Labour and Industry. His Discourse, tho' it was always and every where chiefly on the same Subject, and with but little Variety of Expression, yet was he crowded every where with a vast Concourse of People, and was held in very great Esteem and Respect.

This being observed by one *GORGIAS*, a subtle Man, and one of excellent natural Parts, he applied himself with great Diligence to the Study of Rhetorick and Eloquence, and by continual Exercise and Practice he very much improved his natural Talents and Abilities.—Encouraged by several successful Harangues, which were received by the general Applause of the Multitude, he adventured at last to make his publick Appearance in the most august Assembly that was then in any Part of the World, viz. at the *Olympick Games*, solemnised every Fifth Year in some Part of *Greece*.

There *GORGIAS* displayed his Talents to such Advantage, that he got immortal Honour. He was received by the Acclamations of the People as if he had been the God of Eloquence himself, and not an eloquent Man, and not long after had a Statue erected to his Memory in the Temple of *APOLLO*.

Henceforward such publick Declaimers were called *Sophists*, or wise Men; for the Word comes from the Original  $\Sigma\phi\iota\alpha$ , i. e. Wisdom, whence they assumed that big Appellation of *Sophists*, in respect to which a *Philosopher* is a very modest Character, which signifies a *Lover of Wisdom*.—They pretended to speak by a Divine Impulse, as being inspired, tho' it was no more than an unwearied Diligence and Application to attain to such a Faculty as to be able, upon any sudden Occasion, to speak somewhat pertinently without any Premeditation.—Their History at Large may be seen, wrote by *CRESOLLIUS*, a Jesuit, in a Book, entitled, *Theatrum veterum Rbetorum*, printed at *Paris* 1620.

If no other Use would be made of this short Account of the *Sophists*, so famous of old in *Greece*, yet of this I am certain, it may serve as a Key to let us into the Meaning of several Passages in the Writings of St. PAUL, where his arguing that the Providence of God would not lay the Foundation of the Gospel, as not in the Force of Arms, so neither of Eloquence and artificial Speech, such as that of the *Sophists*, or the wise Men of this World; as 1 Cor. i. 17. I was sent to evangelise, *not with Wisdom of Words, or Speech*, i. e. not with that Rhetorical Eloquence practised by the *Sophists*; and Ch. ii. 4. *not with enticing Words of Man's Wisdom*; and again, *not in the Words which Man's Wisdom teacheth*; which all along have a direct Tendency and Allusion to the *Sophists*, those admired Disputants of *Greece*, and probably the Darlings of the learned *Corinthians*. Vide 1 Cor. i. 20.

This shall suffice for a Sketch of *Oratorical Enthusiasm*. — As to *Poetical Enthusiasm*, it was with them more *intense*, and, as they would have it, mere Inspiration. — *Sedibus æthereis Spiritus ille venit*, says OVID, who, notwithstanding, had no sublime Fancy and Vivacity of Invention. — “No Poet can do any Thing great in his own Way without the Imagination or Supposition of a Divine Presence, which may rise him to some Degree of Enthusiasm,” says a Great Man, certainly orthodox in *this*, however *free* and *loose* his *Thoughts* might have been on other Subjects\*. But this is not my intended Subject. It is an Enthusiasm of the worse Sort, viz. Religious Enthusiasm, which shall be treated of in the following Chapters.

\* Characterist. Vol. I. p. 53.



## C H A P. II.

*Of Religious Enthusiasm. Of the Family of Love. The Rise of the Puritan Faction. Of PETER BURCHET. The horrid Blasphemies of W. HACKET. The whimsical Names the Puritans gave their Children at their Baptism.*

**E**NTHUSIASM is a Greek Word, and may be defined, in the Acceptation that we now take it, to be “ a full, but erroneous, Belief and Persuasion that whatever one does act, or speak, or think, is from Divine Inspiration.” And herein lies the Difference between an *Enthusiast* and an *Impostor*; the one in the Heat of Imagination does really think that he is actuated by a Divine Power and supernatural Impulse, tho’ this may chance to be the Consequence of adust Choler, or a distemper’d Brain, or a blind, but eager Zeal violently attached to some extravagant Opinion or other, which a bewildered Fancy caresses; but the *Impostor* acts against the Dictates of his own Conscience, pretends to Raptures and Visions knowing they are counterfeit and false, and his sole Purpose is to *deceive*, knowing himself to be a *Deceiver*.

Of detestable Sects and Heresies on the Pretence of Divine Inspiration, or other less prevalent Motives, whereby Christianity hath been divided, defamed, and corrupted, Ecclesiastical Histories are full, those especially that have been written professedly on that Subject, as by EPIPHANIUS and AUGUSTINE, where one will find strange Opinions pertinaciously held and vented by Men of too forward and rash Zeal that loses itself in the Mazes of Error and Delusion. And that which is most to be lamented is, that some Men, otherwise of great Worth and Ability, thro’ mere Ignorance of natural Causes, have been seduced by supposed Raptures and extatick Motions, and made Shipwreck of the true Faith. It has been an old Remark, That TERTULLIAN had never been an *Heretick*, had he been a *better Naturalist*: And yet TERTULLIAN, such a Man for Life and Learning otherwise as can hardly be paralleled by any of his Contemporaries, warped to the Sect of the *Montanists*, in whom the Church had as great Loss, and lamented it as much, (saith VINCENTIUS LYRINENSIS) as almost it ever had in any one Man. But I am confined to *Modern Enthusiasm*, such as appeared in *England* since the *Reformation*.

The first, in order of Time, that made any great Noise in the World, is the *Family of Love*, an impious and profane Sect of *Dutch* Extraction, who made their first Appearance in *England* a few Years after the Reformation. The Author of this abominable Sect was one DAVID GEORGE, of *Delph*, in *Holland*, a Man of low Parentage, yet of good natural Parts, a comely Person to look on, and of a graceful Presence. \* He was affable and courteous in his Behaviour, discreet in most Things, yet cunning and reserved. This Man was perhaps one of the greatest Enthusiasts that ever was known in the World for the monstrous Opinions that he held and endeavoured to propagate. He first began, as usual, with extraordinary Raptures, and, in a *Jargon* peculiar to himself and Followers, did profess an *Union* with God, [from which the *Quakers* did borrow their Blasphemy of an *Equality* with God, and that the Godhead dwells bodily in their Teachers]. At last he gave out that he was the *Messias*, † and did most blasphemously apply several Texts of Scripture as prophesied of him; that he had Power to forgive Sins; that Angels and Devils are only Virtues and Vices; and lastly, as the most engaging Doctrine, that Matrimony is free, and that no Man is confined to one Woman, but that Procreation of Children shall be in common to all those that are born again by the Spirit of DAVID GEORGE.—Hence they assumed the distinguishing Title of the *Family of Love*.

He told his Disciples, at first, that he was immortal; but, when he found the Symptoms of Death approaching, in order to keep up the Spirits of his deluded Followers, he assured them that he would rise again within Three Years; which was, indeed, in some ill-favoured Manner fulfilled, for he died at *Basil* in 1556, and was dug up again by Order of the Magistrates in the Year 1559.

This Man's chief Disciple was one HENRY NICHOLAS, of *Leyden*, whose Province was somewhat to new-model, and set a fair Gloss upon, the impious Doctrine of his Master, whereby it was the more easily swallowed, as coarse as it was.—As to what I mentioned from Dr. H. MORE of the Community of Women, I find some of our *Methodists* jump in the same *Mahometan* Judgment, as witness the vigorous Teacher late of *Salisbury*, as related in a Letter bearing Date from thence, October 30, 1747, printed in the *Gen. Ev. Post*, and is as follows.

To

\* Dr. H. More his *Enthusiasm Triumphatus*, p. 32.

† The same did J. Naylor, the Proto-Quaker, and was pilloried for his Blasphemy at *Bristol*.

To the PRINTER, &c.

“SIR,

“As you readily give a Place in your Paper to whatever regards the Welfare of Society, I beg you will insert the following Account, which, as it is undoubtedly true, highly deserves the Attention of the Publick.”

*There has been, for some Years past, a considerable Number of Methodists in this City, who were at first collected, and have since continued, under the Guidance of Mr. ———, as their Minister. This Man, by means of an uncommon Appearance of Sanctity and Devotion, joined with indefatigable Labour in Field and House-preaching, drew Multitudes of the meaner Sort of People, both of Dissenters and the Established Church, to attend him. And tho' the grossest Absurdities have been continually advanced by him, both in his Preachings and Writings, yet he had so bewitched his Followers, that they paid the most implicit Regard thereto, insomuch that his Words had greater Weight with many among them than the most express Declarations of Christ or his Apostles.*

— Many sober and judicious Persons have often expressed their Fears, that the nocturnal Meetings held at his House were Scenes of Debauchery and Impurity, for now and then a Bastard Child was brought into the World by some of his Female Devotees. But still the Priest himself was unsuspected by the World, 'till now the Hypocrite is detected, and his Vices made publick, to the Scandal and Astonishment of the whole City: For one of the principal Leaders of his Female Disciples, a Girl of about 18 Years of Age, has declared herself with Child by the said Preacher.—Being re-proved by some among them for so foul a Deed, he boldly declared, He thought it no Harm, but, on the contrary, that, if a Man's Constitution required it, he might lawfully have to do with more than one Woman, provided it be not with the Wife of another. And to confirm them in the Faith thereof, he had the Impudence, last Wednesday Evening, (when he took a formal Leave of his deluded and corrupted Flock) to justify the Practice from the Case of Elkanah, as related 1. Sam. i. on which he largely expounded.—N. B. This pretended Saint had a Wife and several Children. This licentious Practice he has vindicated in Print.

But to return from this Digression, if it may be called so. I cannot be positive that the monstrous Tenets at first broached by DAVID GEORGE gained any great Number of Profelytes in England, however fond of Novelties the Nation is noted for: But certain it is they met with a kind Reception, as they were  
some

somewhat refined by his fly Disciple HENRY NICHOLAS, 'till a Stop was made to their Progress by the seasonable Interposition of the vigilant Ministers that then sat at the Helm.—And yet this HENRY NICHOLAS, notwithstanding he somewhat polished his Master's Doctrine, allegorised the whole History of Christ and his Miracles, maintained a most horrid Blasphemy, (which yet his silly and credulous Audience digested very well) “ that he was consubstantiated with the Deity, that all that “ oppose his Service of the Love are devilish-minded, and that “ all Teachers out of his Communion are a Nest of evil Spi- “ rits\*.” And all this was supported by the Pride and Fury of his own inflamed Spirits, and an Enthusiastical Conceit as if God had enlightened him more than all the World besides.

I shall take my Leave of the *Family of Love* with these two Remarks worth our Notice, viz. That the Success their loose and blasphemous Tenets met with was owing, (1) That they constantly made Use of Scripture-language both in Writing and Exhorting, which has ever been the crafty Method of false Teachers to captivate the gaping and ignorant Multitude, who, hearing the very Words of Scripture so often inculcated, immediately give Assent to whatever is spoken, tho' it be ever so much perverted. The second Method was a pretended Humility and Self-denial, that they of themselves were *empty nothing* Creatures, but that their Sufficiency was from God, who has vouchsafed unto them the Spirit of Knowledge, made known unto them by Visions and immediate Revelation, and consequently, however despised of Men, were the Favourites of Heaven.—Thus an Enthusiast among rude People, if he is not quite cracked, but of a bold and active Spirit, may do wonderful Things, such as no sober Man could ever achieve, or dare to attempt.—P. S. This H. NICHOLAS was a Member of the *Dutch* Congregation in the *Augustin-Fryars* under the Ministry of JOHN ALASCO, and then it was he had an Opportunity of spreading his Blasphemies in *England*.

But the greatest Disturbance, and indeed of the most dangerous Consequence to the Church and State, was the *Puritanical Faction* and the *Papists*. For no sooner was the Reformed *Episcopal Church of England* legally established in the Reign of that excellent and glorious Princess ELIZABETH TUDOR, but it was attacked, with an Intention to overthrow it, both by *Papists* and *Puritans*. Besides Conspiracies and Plots to destroy the Government, let the formidable *Spanish Armada* be a Record of the first, and *Martin Mar-Prelate* † and HACKET

be

\* Dr. H. Moore his Grand Mystery, &c. B. vi. Ch. xii. p. 248.

† Wrote by Penry, Throgmorton, Udal, and Fenner.

be a standing Monument of the restless Spirit of the other Party. These pretended *Cathari*, or *Puritans*, owe their Original to some hot-headed Zealots, who, after the Death of bloody Queen MARY, returned from *Geneva*, where JOHN CALVIN had set up a new Plat-form of Church-government, which was a Model altogether unknown before his Time in any Part of the Christian World ever since the Beginning of Christianity. And the *Lutherans* to this very Day have almost an equal Aversion to them as to the *Papists*, and will scarce allow them the Name of *Protestants*, which they appropriate to themselves, and to the Episcopal Church of *England*.—Yet these Men, who took Shelter in *Geneva* during the *Marian* Persecution, more especially the *Scotch*, grew exceedingly enamoured of that popular Government by *Lay-elders* and a *Parity* of Ministers, as also of the rigid Doctrine of absolute and unconditional Decrees of Election and Reprobation.

Their Behaviour was rude and boisterous: For, the very next Year after the Queen's Accession, KNOX, that turbulent and fiery Zealot, had the Impudence to write to Sir WILLIAM CECIL, afterwards Secretary and Treasurer, to justify his treasonable and seditious Pamphlet against the *Regimen of Women*. Therein he says, *That, if Q. ELIZABETH would confess that the extraordinary Dispensations of God's great Mercy did make that lawful in her which both Nature and God's Laws did deny in all Women besides, none in England should be more ready to maintain her lawful Authority than himself.* But, on the other hand, he pronounceth this Sentence on her Contumacy, *That, if she built her Title upon Custom, Laws and Ordinances of Men, such foolish Presumption would grievously offend God's supream Majesty, and that her Ingratitude in that Kind should not long want Punishment.* This enthusiastick and daring Epistle bears Date, *April 24, 1559.* Much to the same Purpose, a little while after, he wrote to the Queen herself.—Such was the restless Spirit and Effrontery of those crack-brained Bigots!

Queen ELIZABETH was a Princess of incomparable Parts and Resolution, and had wise and able Ministers, steady to advance the Publick Good before their own Private Interest, unless perhaps one would except the Earl of *Leicester*, who, as Mr. CAMDEN says, *was a cunning Time-server, and a Respector of his own Advantages.*—By her own excellent Judgment, and that of her Council, she defeated all the Plots of her Adversaries, notwithstanding the several Combinations of Princes from abroad, and the continual Attempt of fomenting Mischief and Divisions at home.—Neither was her Care less in preserving the Unity and Peace of the Church, which, during the Remiss-

ness of Archbishop GRINDAL, engaged her Attention more particular; but, after his Death, she reposed that most weighty Trust entirely on his most worthy and pious Successor Archbishop WHITGIFT, whose Recommendation filled all the vacant Sees and Dignities, more especially after LEICESTER's Death.

Surely Heaven favoured the *Reformation* in giving us a Princess of such consummate Wisdom, when the Reformed Church, as yet in its Infant-state, was so furiously assaulted and undermined: For, after KNOX shewed the Example, Abundance of the lesser Fry let out their envenomed Arrows to wound the new-established Episcopal Church; for, being encouraged by this bold Incendiary, the Zealots laboured hard to set up the Discipline according to the Plan and Model of *Geneva*, spirited up indeed by the kindly Assistance of *Jesuits* in *Disguise*, whose Interest it was to *break the Unity* of the Established Church and foment Divisions, as is sufficiently proved beyond Contradiction by Sir J. WARE \* in his notable Book, entitled, *Foxes and Firebrands*.

The first noted Instance of their frantick and enthusiastick Zeal, and that suffered for the Cause, is one PETER BURCHET, in the 14th Year of the Queen's Reign. " This Man persuaded himself that it was lawful to kill such as opposed the Truth of the Gospel. So far had the Error of his Opinion transported him, that he drew his Dagger upon HAWKINS, that famous Sea-captain, in the open Street, and wounded him, supposing him to be HATTON, who was then in great Favour with the Queen, and of her Privy-Council, whom he had heard to be an Enemy to the Innovators, or Puritans. The Queen was so extraordinarily incensed with this Fact, that she commanded the Man to be presently executed by Martial or Camp Law, until she was informed by discreet Persons that Martial Law was not to be used but in Camps or in turbulent Times, but that at Home and in Time of Peace the Proceedings must be by Form of Judiciary Process. Being therefore indicted, he affirmed that what he had done was consonant to the Holy Scriptures, and therefore lawful. Whereupon, being to be condemned of Heresy, he promised to renounce his Opinions, but yet he shifted it off, and would not. Then being thrown into the Tower of *London*, he slew one of his Keepers with a Billet which he snatched up out of the Chimney, knocking him on the Head; for which he was condemned of Murder, had his Right-hand cut off and nailed to the Gallows, and then was hanged, discovering a silent Reluctancy†." This is the first Puritan Mar-

\* He is commonly reputed to be the Author.—† *Camd. Life of Q. Eliz.* p. 199.



Martyr, tho' his Successors in the same enthusiaffick Zeal have not registered his Sufferings, as Mr. CALAMY has done, with those of the ejected Ministers.

The next Man of any Eminence, (but neither Martyr nor Confessor) that was an Advocate for the Cause, was Mr. CARTWRIGHT, a rough, blunt Man, and yet one of considerable Learning. The Occasion of his first Discontent was this: At a publick Disputation in the University before the Queen, her Majesty exceedingly approved of Mr. PRESTON, not only for Strength of Argument, but also for his *graceful Delivery* and handsome Deportment and Behaviour. But CARTWRIGHT, for his Bluntness, rude Behaviour, and want of Elocution, was not minded; whereupon he grew very much dissatisfied, and, being a proud, conceited Man, for not having that Respect paid him in the Established Church which he expected, impugned it with all his Force, and resolved to be the Champion of the *Puritan Cause*, where he was sure to be *caressed*. \*

It was he that was their chief Agent in publishing a seditious Libel, entitled, *An Admonition to Parliament*, being indeed the very Summary of their Opinions concerning Church-affairs, and of their shameless Slanders against the Governors thereof, the Bishops. To which Archbishop WHITGIFT wrote a learned and solid Answer: Therein, as Sir GEORGE PAUL words it, "he lay'd open the Weakness of their Cause, and the Strength of their Malice †." And it is further to be observed, that these seditious Stirs and Hurli-burlies were at the highest Ferment at a very *critical Time*, when all Parties should be united for the common Safety, viz. in the Year 1588, when the *Spanish Armada*, that was blessed by the *Pope*, and termed *invincible*, was hovering upon our Coasts, and threatening to invade, and quite extirpate the *Protestant Religion in England*.

In a word, these *Puritans* were Men of a fierce and un-governable Zeal, violently attached to the rigid *Geneva Doctrine*, more especially to that of absolute, unconditional, and irrelative Predestination and Reprobation, whereby Man is made a mere *Machine*, only passive, and consequently unaccountable for any *Action*, as not being a *Free-Agent*. They were also very turbulent, and would bear no Contradiction; "of the same Stamp with those of the *last Century* that had so great a Share in bringing on those Religious *Confusions* which brought a Reproach upon Christianity in general, and which by Degrees worked the Body of the People into a National Madness and *Frenzy* in Matters of Religion."

C 2

Next

\* Life of Abp. *Whitgift*, by Sir G. Paul, p. 9.

† *Ibid.* p. 19, 20.

Next to the Proto-Martyr, PETER BURCHET above-mentioned, WILLIAM HACKET, with his two Prophets, COPPINGER and ARTHINGTON, appeared in the Cause of *Puritanism* in the Queen's Reign, who perhaps were Instances of the rankest enthusiastick Delusion that ever scandalised Christianity in any Century since the Apostolick Age. This HACKET has been taken Notice of by many eminent Historians. R. COSIN, L.L.D. Dean of the *Arches*, and Official Principal to Archbishop WHITGIFT, has written his Life at Large. An Abstract of it is copied by Mr. CAMDEN, in his Life of Queen ELIZABETH, as also by the learned Dr. HEYLIN in his *History of the Presbyterians*, Book ix. p. 307, &c. I have the Three before me at the Writing hereof. Dr. COSIN is abundantly too tedious to transcribe; and as for the other Two I shall give the Preference to Mr. CAMDEN, who, being a Layman, may on that Score be more credited by *some* of the present Age.

“ HACKET was a Man of the vulgar Sort, born at *Oundle*,  
 “ in the County of *Northampton*, unlearned, insolent, cruel,  
 “ and so eager upon Revenge, that he bit off his honest School-  
 “ master's Nose as he embraced him in Token of renewing  
 “ their Love, and like a Dog (as they report) ate it down be-  
 “ fore the poor deformed Man's Face, while he intreated him  
 “ to restore it to him, that it might be sowed on again, whilst  
 “ the Hurt was yet fresh and green.

“ So averse was he from all Piety, that the heavenly Doctrine  
 “ which he heard in Sermons he repeated amongst his drunken  
 “ Companions at their Cups, to be derided and abused. After-  
 “ wards, when he had riotously wasted his Estate, which he  
 “ had with his Wife, a Widow, he suddenly took upon him  
 “ the pretended Disguise of one of admirable Sanctity, spent  
 “ all his Time in hearing of Sermons, and being acquainted  
 “ with the Scriptures, and, by pretending I know not what  
 “ *Revelations* to be made him from Heaven, and an *extraordi-*  
 “ *nary Call*, he insinuated himself into certain Divines, which  
 “ with a burning Zeal laboured to bring the *Presbyterian* Dis-  
 “ cipline of the Church of *Geneva* into *England*, among whom  
 “ was one WIGGINGTON, a silly, brain-sick Minister, and a  
 “ Despiser and Enemy of Magistrates. By this WIGGINGTON's  
 “ Means he became familiarly acquainted with EDMUND COP-  
 “ PINGER, a Gentleman of a good Family, who had persua-  
 “ ded first himself, and then ARTHINGTON, a great Admirer  
 “ of that Discipline, that he was also extraordinarily called by  
 “ God for the Good of the Church, and that a Way was *re-*  
 “ *vealed* to him from Heaven to draw the Queen and the Coun-  
 “ cil to a better Mind, meaning, to admit of the Discipline of  
 Ge-

“ *Geneva*, he himself having been taught, by some Ministers,  
 “ that God daily raiseth up extraordinary Labourers in his  
 “ Church. And this (triumphing as it were in Spirit) he joy-  
 “ fully imparted to HACKET, who, by his counterfeit Holi-  
 “ ness, his incessant and fervent Praying *extempore*, his *Fast-*  
 “ *ing* upon the *Lord's-Day*, his frequent Boasting that he had  
 “ been buffeted by *Satan*, and by pretending *Revelations* and  
 “ often *Conferences* with God, which, with most vehement and  
 “ direful Imprecations, by the Salvation and Damnation of his  
 “ Soul, he swore to be true and real, found both Credit with  
 “ those two, that they believed and affirmed him to be the best  
 “ Beloved of God, and greater than MOSES and St. JOHN.  
 “ And he himself openly avowed that he was the Prophet of  
 “ God's *Vengeance* wheresoever *Mercy* is rejected, prophesying  
 “ that, from thenceforth, there should be no more Popes, and  
 “ that *England* should this Year be most lamentably afflicted  
 “ with Famine, Pestilence, and War, except the *Discipline of*  
 “ *the Lord* (for so he called it) and Reformation were admitted  
 “ in the Realm.

“ To bring in this, therefore, they conspired (as was proved  
 “ by their own Letters) to accuse the Archbishop of *Canterbury*,  
 “ and the Lord Chancellor, of Treason, who were Men that  
 “ opposed Innovations; to kill them, and some others, if they  
 “ should give Sentence in the *Star-Chamber* against those Mi-  
 “ nisters who were Innovators; to stir up the Multitude to Re-  
 “ bellion by printed Rhythmes, wherein, amongst other Things,  
 “ they maintained, that it was lawful for a *true* Christian, tho'  
 “ a Country Peasant, to inform Kings how to sway the Scep-  
 “ ter, and to depose the Queen herself, unless she would ad-  
 “ vance the Reformation. That HACKET bare an impla-  
 “ cable Hatred against the Queen appeareth by this, that he  
 “ had often given out that she had forfeited her Right to the  
 “ Crown, and had in a Rage defaced her *Arms* and Picture  
 “ drawn upon a Board, striking his Dagger thro' the Breast of  
 “ it. And no Marvel, for he had persuaded himself that he  
 “ was ordained by God to be King of all *Europe*, and could  
 “ not brook a Consort. And he made COPPINGER and AR-  
 “ THINGTON believe that they were inspired, not only with a  
 “ *Prophetical*, but even with an *Angelical*, Spirit; who now,  
 “ being full of the Spirit as they thought, performed all Obe-  
 “ dience to him as their King ordained by God, and endea-  
 “ voured to raise Sedition. To which Purpose, in the Month  
 “ of *July*, they came to a Nobleman, offered him the highest  
 “ Command under the Queen, and presented him with a De-  
 “ scription of HACKET's Life, together with ARTHINGTON's  
 “ Por-

“ Prophecy : But he, being busy about something else, re-  
 “ jected the Men.

“ Not long after, they told WIGGINGTON that CHRIST  
 “ had appeared to them the Night before, not in that Body  
 “ wherewith he dwelleth in the Heavens, but with that princi-  
 “ pal Spirit wherewith he inhabiteth in HACKET more fully  
 “ than in any other ; and that HACKET was that very Angel  
 “ which was to come before the Last Day with his Fan and  
 “ Sheep-Hook, to separate the Goats from the Sheep ; and  
 “ that he should tread down *Satan* under his Feet, and totally  
 “ subvert the Kingdom of *Antichrist*. From WIGGINGTON  
 “ they betook themselves to HACKET, near to whom, as he  
 “ lay in Bed, they cast themselves prostrate upon the Ground,  
 “ and poured forth most fervent Prayers. HACKET arising  
 “ joined with them, praying earnestly with many Words, that  
 “ the Spirit would direct them to God’s Glory, and then went  
 “ to Bed again.

“ ARTHINGTON presently advised COPPINGER to anoint  
 “ the King with the Holy Ghost in the Name of the Lord JE-  
 “ SUS CHRIST. COPPINGER, with all Lowliness kissing the  
 “ Floor thrice, and bending the Knee with all Reverence,  
 “ came to HACKET, who put him back, saying, You need  
 “ not anoint me, for the Holy Ghost hath anointed me already.  
 “ Do ye my Commandments. Go and tell through the City  
 “ that JESUS CHRIST is come with his Fan in his Hand to  
 “ judge the World. If any ask where he is, shew him this  
 “ Place ; and, if they will not believe, let them come and kill  
 “ me if they can. As it is most certain that God is in Heaven,  
 “ so it is no less true that CHRIST is now come to Judg-  
 “ ment.

“ Scarce had he spoken the Word, but presently they rushed  
 “ forth, crying thro’ the Streets that CHRIST was come, and  
 “ what other Things he had commanded them, often redoubling  
 “ with a loud Voice, *Repent ! Repent !* until they were come to  
 “ the principal Street of the City, *Cheapside*, where, by reason  
 “ of the Throng of People, they climbed up into a Cart, and,  
 “ partly by Help of their Memories, partly out of a written  
 “ Paper, proclaimed aloud, *That HACKET, in a glorified Bo-  
 “ dy, participated with CHRIST by his principal Spirit, and was  
 “ now come with his Fan to propagate the Gospel throughout Eu-  
 “ rope, and to establish a Discipline and Commonwealth in  
 “ England ; (and withal they shewed the Place where he lodged)  
 “ that they were Two Prophets, the one of Mercy, the other of  
 “ Judgment, given to him as Co-adjutors and Assistants in so great  
 “ a Work. And these Things they affirmed upon the Salvation of  
 “ their*

“ *their Souls to be certainly true.* They added further, *That*  
 “ *HACKET was the highest and supream Monarch, and that all*  
 “ *the Kings of Europe did hold their Kingdoms of him as his*  
 “ *Vassals; that he alone therefore was to be obeyed, and the Queen*  
 “ *to be deposed.* Lastly they cursed the Archbishop (WHITGIFT)  
 “ and the Chancellor (HATTON) to the Pit of Hell, as Op-  
 “ posers of the sincere Religion. When they could not, for  
 “ the great Throng of People, proceed forward to the other  
 “ Parts of the City, to proclaim these Things, and were ad-  
 “ vised by their Friends to withdraw themselves, they returned  
 “ to HACKET’s Lodging.

“ Shortly after being apprehended, they behaved themselves  
 “ so contemptuously and insolently towards the Queen’s Coun-  
 “ cil and the Magistrates, that they would not uncover their  
 “ Heads to them, and answered saucily and peremptorily that  
 “ they were above all Magistrates. HACKET, being afterward  
 “ indicted of Treason, confessed himself guilty, and by his  
 “ blasphemous Answers struck the Auditors into Horror and Af-  
 “ tonishment; which, perhaps, was done craftily, to make the  
 “ Judges of Opinion that he was mad; whereas, notwith-  
 “ standing, by his other Gestures and a Kind of composed  
 “ Gravity, he shewed no Sign of a Mad-man. Being con-  
 “ demned, he was laid upon a Hurdle, and drawn to the chief  
 “ Place of the City, (on the 28th of July, Anno 1591) in-  
 “ cessantly roaring out with a dreadful Noise, *Jehova Messias!*  
 “ *Jehova Messias! Behold the Heavens open! Behold the Son of*  
 “ *the Most High descending to deliver me!*

“ At the Gallows, being admonished to acknowledge his Sin  
 “ against God and the Queen, the execrable Wretch, inveigh-  
 “ ing most bitterly and contumeliously against the Queen,  
 “ cried out, with a STENTOR’S Voice, *O heavenly God, Al-*  
 “ *mighty Jehova, Alpha and Omega, Lord of Lords, King of*  
 “ *Kings, God everlasting! thou knowest that I am the true Je-*  
 “ *hova whom thou hast sent: Shew some Miracle out of the Clouds,*  
 “ *to convert these Infidels, and rescue me from mine Enemies. But,*  
 “ *if not, (I tremble to repeat it) I will set the Heavens on Fire,*  
 “ *and with these Hands pluck thee from thy Throne.* And other  
 “ Speeches he used, more horrible than these \*. Turning to  
 “ the Hangman, as he was putting the Rope about his Neck,  
 “ *Thou Bastard, (said he) wilt thou hang HACKET, thy King?*  
 “ Having the Rope about his Neck, he list up his Eyes to Hea-  
 “ ven,

\* Dr. Cefin, who lived in that Time, gives the same Account, but makes no particular Mention of the other more execrable Blasphemie; only says they are not to be rehearsed.

“ ven, and, grinning, said, *Dost thou repay me this instead of  
“ a Kingdom? I come to revenge it.*

“ These Things as he was belching forth with a blasphemous  
“ Mouth, he was throttled with the Halter, the Multitude cry-  
“ ing out to have the impious Villain presently cut down;  
“ which, according to the Sentence passed upon him, was done,  
“ his Bowels taken out, and his Body quartered. *Thus doth the  
“ Enemy of Mankind bewitch those whom he findeth to pretend  
“ Sanctity, and refuse to be wise to Sobriety.* COPPINGER shortly  
“ after starved himself in Prison by voluntary Fasting. AR-  
“ THINGTON, being reserved to Repentance, repented seri-  
“ ously, and set forth a Book thereof.”—Thus far Mr.  
CAMDEN.

Dr. HEYLIN is a little more particular as to the Prelude that ushered in this Tragedy. He tells us, that the Brethren, at different Times and Places, appointed many solemn Days set apart for Prayer and Fasting, that God would prosper the Cause they were engaged in: And we know that their Successors in Principle and Practice did the same by enquiring of the Lord before the fatal Stroke was given to the *Royal Martyr.*

COPPINGER fancied, that he was admitted to a familiar Conference with God, and had particular Directions how to proceed. In a Letter of his to one T. LANCASTER, a Schoolmaster, he thus begins—*If this Letter be not indited by the Holy Ghost, the Lord confound us two (viz. himself and ARTHINGTON) with Vengeance from Heaven and carry us with all Violence into the bottomless Pit.* Then adds, *We command in the Name of the Lord all Creatures upon the Earth, and they must obey;* and concludes in calling himself

*The Messenger of Mercy to the whole World,  
if they accept me,*

EDM. COPPINGER.

ARTHINGTON, writing to the same Person, says, *I avouch whatsoever my Brother hath written to be most true, or else the Lord confound me,* \* and subscribes himself,

*The Prophet of God's Judgment to the whole  
World, where Mercy is rejected.*

HEN. ARTHINGTON.

I might exceedingly enlarge upon this Subject of their Visions and enthusiastick Rants, but shall forbear, and have this only to add, as Dr. COSIN observes, that HACKET was esteemed by the Brethren a Man of singular Spirit to pray *extempore*, and that they admired his Prayers, as being full of Zeal and Warmth of Devotion, as *divine, sweet, and heavenly.* And in this Confidence

\* Conspiracy for pretended Reform. p. 73. 74.

dence, being full of the Gift of Prayer and strong Faith withal, he boasted, *That, if all the Divines of England should pray for Rain, if he said the Word, yet it should not rain.* \*

There are Two virulent Pamphlets more especially that made a great Noise, wrote by the *Puritans* of that Age, *An Admonition to Parliament*, and *Martin-Mar-Prelate*. The first was a bitter Libel, or Invective, not so much against State-Affairs, as against the *Liturgy* and Government of the Church by *Bishops*. It tells the Parliament, “ That it shall be easier for *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* in the Day of Judgment than for them; “ and that there is no other Thing to be expected than some “ speedy Vengeance upon the whole Land, unless the *Geneva* “ Doctrine and Discipline was brought in.” To this, as I mentioned before, the good Archbishop, as became one of his Sacred Function and excellent Parts, wrote a grave and solid Answer. But nothing will satisfy Men that are violently bent on Innovation and Mischief.

The other, *Martin-Mar-Prelate*, is the most ill-natured, abusive, and cursed Libel that ever was penned by Malice itself, or ever exercised the Patience of a Christian State. The Archbishop is there called the *Beelzebub of Canterbury*, a *monstrous Antichristian Pope*, a *most bloody Opposer of God's Saints*, a *most vile and cursed Tyrant*; altho' he, good Man, by the Interest he had at Court, did often stop the Prosecutions against them for disturbing the State, and, by his constant Intercession, brought upon him the Displeasure of the Lord Chancellor HATTON, his particular Friend. The rest of the Bishops are called *Incaruate Devils*, *Bishops of the Devil*, *Enemies of God*; and that the worst *Puritan* in *England* is an honest Man than the best *Lord Bishop* in *Christendom*. And as to the inferior Clergy, they are termed *Popish Priests*, *Hogs*, *Wolves*, *greedy Dogs to fill their Paunches*, a *curse*, *murdering Generation*.—Lo, here is a Specimen of *Puritan Candour*.

But the *Papists* made their Advantage of this to increase their Party; for, from such Authority, they reported these Calumnies and Slanders for undoubted Truth, and argued, that it was downright Damnation to join Communion with such an Heretical Church that was the *Synagogue of Satan*, and a *Den of Devils*. And *Martin-Mar-Prelate* is affirmed by Sir EDWINE SANDYS to pass in those Times for unquestionable Credit in the Court of *Rome*. †

And as they were thus liberal to bestow such odious Names and Appellations on the Clergy of the Established Church, so

D

were

\* Conspiracy for pretended Reform. p. 39.

† *Heyl. Hist. Presbyt. L. viii. p. 286.*

were they no less whimsical and fantastick in giving Names to their Children at the Font, which many of them, when they came to Age, were ashamed to own, such as, *Accepted, Ashes, Consolation, Dust, Deliverance, Discipline, Earth, Free-gift, Fight the good Fight of Faith, From above, Joy again, Kill-Sin, More Fruit, More Tryal, Praise God, Reformation, Tribunal, The Lord is near, Thankful*; with many others of like Nature, whereby they made themselves ridiculous.

---

### CHAPTER III.

*Of the Two Famous National Leagues, the French Holy League, as 'tis called, and the Scotch Solemn League and Covenant.*

THE dire and calamitous Effects of these two *National Leagues*, as being acted by a fiery and ungovernable Zeal for peculiar Tenets of Religion, each Party contending for equal Infallibility, may well challenge a Place under the Category of Religious *Enthusiasm*. The one was devised to secure the *Popish Religion*, and to extirpate Heresy as they called the Protestant Religion: The other to settle *Presbytery*, and not only not to tolerate, but to excommunicate, all that would not conform to their Doctrine and Discipline.

The Holy League in *France* began on this Occasion about the Year 1589. When the Duke of *Anjou*, King HENRY III. of *France* his Brother, was dead without Children, and the King also had no Issue, nor any Likelihood of having any, so that the Kingdom did of Right descend to the King of *Navarre*, and after him to the Prince of *Conde*, both of them Professors of the Reformed Religion; Matters being thus circumstanced, the *Grandeess* of *France* (the Bishop of *Rome* and the Court of *Spain* being privy to it) confederated together, which they called the *Holy Union and League*, not only to hinder the King of *Navarre* to succeed to the Crown of *France*, but to root up and quite to extirpate the Reformed Religion, which, in their Enthusiastick Zeal, they thought to be a Service done unto God.

The Massacre of *Paris* was, indeed, before this, *viz.* in the Year 1572, where so many Thousands of *Protestants* were butchered in cold Blood with unheard-of Cruelties by the most execrable Rage of the *Papists*, the King himself, CHARLES the Ninth, confessing himself the Author of this bloody Massacre at the Instigation of the *Jesuits*, who in a short Time, after that  
he



he had endured horrible and most exquisite Pains, dy'd of excessive Bleeding. \* — A just Judgment for shedding so much innocent Blood!

Good God! That Men, that call themselves the only orthodox Christians, the Holy Catholick Church, should so far divest themselves of Humanity, and, in a frantick Zeal, judge Cruelty, and the Execution of sanguinary Laws and Edicts, made in their Rage and Fury, to be advancing the Cause of Christianity, and doing a Work acceptable to God.

Yet this is the direct Consequence and Tendency of that ridiculous Doctrine, that the *Pope of Rome* is infallible, and universal Head of the Church, out of whose Pale there is no Salvation. In the *Seminary of Rheims* (which was erected by the Duke of *Guise*, Uncle to *MARY*, Queen of *Scots*, the Mother of King *JAMES* the First of *England*) were several Students, Natives of *England*; and, indeed, it was intended for them as well as for the *Scots*; and amongst others at that Time were *GILBERT GIFFARD*, *JOHN BALLARD*, and — *HODGESON*, Priests. These, with a certain Astonishment, admiring and reverencing the *Omnipotency* of the Bishop of *Rome* †, did believe that the Bull of *Pius Quintus* against Queen *ELIZABETH* was dictated by the Holy Ghost. — Strange Enthusiasm! — Being of this Belief, they, with their Accomplices, did enter into a Conspiracy to assassinate the Queen, thinking it to be a meritorious Act to kill such Princes as are excommunicated by the Pope; yea, that they are Martyrs who lose their Lives in engaging in such a Cause. Having tampered with a great many Gentlemen, (and some of eminent Note) and perverted their Judgment, not only with the *Lawfulness*, but even the *Merit* of murdering the Queen, in order to establish the Catholick Religion, as they were ready to execute their cursed Plot, they were happily discovered, and suffered as Traitors in the 29th Year of that Queen's Reign.

As to the other famous *League and Covenant*, I take the Original to be in the Year 1592, which was then chiefly against the Superstition and Growth of *Popery*. For, when the *Jesuits* tampered every where with the Noblemen and others for the Advancement of the Popish Religion, the *Scotch* Ministers, to oppose their Design, preferred a Bill in Parliament, “ That  
 “ whosoever would not profess the Religion established in *Scot-*  
 “ *land* (*i. e.* rigid Presbytery, and all the Calvinistical Doc-  
 “ trine) should forthwith be excommunicate: And, if they  
 “ would not then profess it within a Year, all their Lands and

D 2

“ Goods

\* *Camd. Life of Q. Eliz.* p. 190.

† This is Mr. *Camden's* own Expression.

“ Goods should be confiscate during their Lives.” And, amongst others, one GEORGE KERR, a Doctor of the Law, was excommunicated; who, to avoid the severe Penalty, thought proper to abscond and remove beyond Sea, yet was he so narrowly watched by the Ministers, that they apprehended him, and brought him to Justice, as they called it; and, it seems, he was the first that felt the Lash of *Scottish* Persecution.\*

But this *Covenant* was much enlarged in the Year 1638, a little before the breaking out of the *Grand Rebellion*. To the clearing of this Matter, we are to understand that, in the Year 1618, an Assembly of the *Scottish* Divines met at *Perth*, where they had passed the following Five Articles, 1. For introducing Private Baptism. 2. Communicating of the Sick. 3. Kneeling at the Communion. 4. Receiving Episcopal Confirmation. 5. The observing Antient Festivals.

These are commonly called the *Five* Articles of *Perth*, which tho’ at this Time admitted and approved of, yet, when these very Articles were incorporated into the *Common-Prayer-Book*, set forth by lawful Authority, and intended for their Use, they were beheld as *Innovations* in the Worship of God, and therefore not to be admitted in so pure and reformed a Church as that of *Scotland*. And, in consequence hereof, when the *Covenant* was imposed upon the Nation in the Year 1638, the Government of the Church by *Bishops*, the *Five* Articles of *Perth*, the *Liturgy*, and the Book of *Canons*, were abjured and rejected.

In the Year 1643, when the Rebellion grew strong and prevailed, this *Covenant of Iniquity* was brought into *England*; first taken and subscribed by the *Scots*, then by most of the *English* Members and Lords, as also by all the principal *Officers* of the Rebel Army, all the *Divines* of the *Assembly* then sitting at *Westminster*, and, to be brief, by all the Subjects which were within their Power, or were made subject to it by Force.—Now, by virtue of this *Covenant*, the Party was to bind himself, 1st, “ That he would endeavour in his Place and Calling to bring the “ Churches of God in all the *Three Kingdoms* to the nearest Con- “ junction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, “ and Form of Church-Government, as the *Directory* prescribes “ for Worship and Catechising. 2dly, That he would en- “ deavour, without respect of Persons, to extirpate Popery “ and Prelacy, that is to say, Church-Government by Archbi- “ shops, Bishops, &c. And 3dly, That he would endeavour “ the Discovery of such as have been, or shall be, Malignants “ and evil Instruments,” that is to say, all such as were loyal to the King, or orthodox in Religion.

I

\* *Camd. Life of Q. Eliz.* p. 461.

I shall here subjoin the Sentiments of good King CHARLES concerning this Covenant, as published by his Majesty's *Proclamation*, bearing Date on October the 9th, 1643. *Whereas* (saith he) *there is a printed Paper, entitled, A solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms, pretended to be ordered by the Commons in Parliament on the 21st of September last; which Covenant, tho' it seems to make some specious Expressions of Piety and Religion, is in Truth nothing else but a traiterous and seditious Combination against us, and against the established Religion and Laws of the Kingdom: ---We do therefore strictly charge and command all our loving Subjects, of what Degree and Quality soever, upon their Allegiance, that they presume not to take the said seditious and traiterous Covenant.*

The barbarous Treatment, that the loyal Party suffered thro' all the Parts of the Kingdom after the taking of this *impious Covenant*, cannot be paralleled but by that *other of France*. But more especially the *Clergy* suffered the utmost Rage of Fanatick Zeal and Cruelty. They were plundered, sequestered, imprisoned, by Misery and Hardship brought to an untimely Death, or ejected out of their Benefices thro' all Parts of the Realm, a Detail of which would fill a Volume, as may be seen at Large in Dr. WALKER'S Account of the Sufferings of the Clergy.---  
*Lond. 1714.*

The Rabble Multitude, instigated by their *enthusiastick Teachers*, committed all Manner of Rapine, and Sacrilege, and Profanation; yea, which is horrid to utter, they *defiled* the very *Churches* with their Excrements, and gloried in their beastly Nastiness. They tear the *Common-prayer-book* to Pieces, strewing the Pavement with the Leaves, and sometimes using them to viler Purposes. And, at a Time in the Cathedral of *Chichester*, when they met with the Portraiture or Picture of that blessed King, our first Reformer, King Edward VI. they picked out his Eyes, saying in Scorn, *That all this Mischief came from him in establishing the Book of Common-prayer*. They seize on the consecrate Plate and Vestments, and break into Shivers the Communion-table; and, once when they were desired to leave a *Chalice* for the Use of the Sacrament, a prophane *Scot* made Answer, *They might serve their Turn with a Wooden Dish*.

In the Cathedral of *Canterbury* they exercised their Madness on the *Arras-hangings*, which adorned the *Quire*, representing the whole History of our *Saviour*; and, meeting with some of his *Portraits* among the rest, some of them swore they would *stab* him, and others, they would *rip* up his Bowels, which they did accordingly, so far forth at the least as these *Figures* in the  
*Ar-*

*Arras-bangings* could be capable of: And finding a Statue of CHRIST placed in the Frontispiece of the South-gate, they discharged 40 Muskets at it, exceedingly triumphing when they hit it on the Head and Face. \*

At *Yaxley*, in *Huntingdonshire*, some of Captain BEAUMONT's Soldiers coming thither, they break open the Church-Doors, piss in the Font, and then baptise an Horse or Mare, using the solemn Words of Baptism, and signing with the Sign of the Cross. And at *Litchfield* they demolished all the Monuments, pulling down the curious Carved-work, battering in Pieces the costly Windows, and destroying the Evidences and Records belonging to that Church; which being done, they stabled their Horses in the Body of it, kept Courts of Guard in the Cross-ises, broke up the Pavement, polluted the Quire with their Excrements, every Day hunted a Cat with Hounds throughout the Church, and, to add to their Wickedness, brought a Calf into it wrapped in Linen, carried it to the Font, sprinkled it with Water, and gave it a Name, in Scorn and Derision of that Holy Sacrament of *Baptism*.—D. WALKER's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part I. p. 26. Lond. 1714.

It were endless to particularise the Madness, the *Enthusiasm*, and the *frantick Zeal*, of those distracted and licentious Times. And, lest it should be objected that those and such like Fanatick Proceedings were only the Actions of the lawless Soldiers and their imperious Commanders, heated by their Success in Rebellion, the Reply in short is, That it was the direct Tendency and moral Result of that impious *League*, and had the joint Suffrage of their seditious and *enthusiastick* Teachers; for, when CHARLES II. after the Murder of his Father, was invited from beyond Sea by the *Scots* to accept of that Crown, their Ministers were very assiduous to instruct him in the *Presbyterian Religion*, and they scrupled not to brand the *Hierarchy* and *Worship* of the Church of *England* with the Name of *Doctrine of Devils*, as says RAPIN DE THOYRAS himself, without the least Remark or Censure, either by him or his Interpreter, on such a horrid Expression. †

Their Religion (such as it was) consisted in extatick *Fits* and *Extasies*, or what they call supernatural *Raptures*, and long *extempore* Prayers, which they pretended to be inspired, and an immediate Gift of the Holy Spirit. And yet it was a common Remark, and a very true one, “ That it was as fatal to meet “ a *Bear* robbed of her Whelps as a *Colonel* upon his *Knees* and “ his *praying* Legions about him.” And, among other gifted Men

\* Dr. *Heyl*. Hist. of the Presb. B. xiii. p. 443.

† *Rap.* Vol. II. p. 581.

Men that Way, “ Major JOHN WAYER, a *Scotchman*, one of  
 “ the greatest Monsters of Men that ever lived, and actually in  
 “ League with the *Devil*, was yet, by the Confession of all  
 “ that heard him, the most excellent at this *extempore Way* of  
 “ *praying by the Spirit* of any Man in his Time; none was able  
 “ to come near him, or to compare with him. But surely he,  
 “ who shall venture to ascribe the Prayers of such a Wretch,  
 “ made up of Adulteries, Incest, Witchcraft, and other Vil-  
 “ lainies not to be named, to the Spirit of God, may as well  
 “ strike in with the *Pharisees*, and ascribe the Miracles of  
 “ CHRIST to the DEVIL.” \*

Another distinguishing Characteristick of the Religion that was fashionable in those Days of Confusion was a *singular Affectation* in Behaviour. To be *starch* and *formal*, morose and sullen, and to look askew with an Eye of Contempt and Scorn on all others of a *different Notion*, was then a Symptom of *Saintship*, tho’ such a sour and self-conceited Frame of Mind is certainly the Reverse of Christianity. They also placed great Merit in hunting after *long-winded Sermons* of two or three Hours’ Length, which they judged more *Soul-refreshing* still (to use their own Cant-word) if the Holder-forth did vociferate stoutly. “ ’Tis  
 “ not always Reason that strikes upon gross Apprehensions and  
 “ stirs them up to Action, but the Warmth and Passion of the  
 “ Speaker: It is the *Voice* and outward Force that often make  
 “ the *Impression*. Nor do the Things spoken operate so strongly  
 “ as the *Manner* of speaking them, because *this* is more obvious  
 “ to the Senses than the Things themselves. And hence People  
 “ very often judge of a Man’s Arguments by the *Tone* of his  
 “ Voice.” There were no less than *Six* such Sermons preached before King CHARLES II. upon a *Fast-day* in *Scotland* without any Intermision, which sufficiently exercised his Patience. †

We readily grant that the Emissaries of *Rome* had a mighty Hand to carry on the Transactions of those distracted Times: And, indeed, they made a Handle of those tumultuary Proceedings to further on their accursed End, *viz.* to propagate new *enthusiastick* Sects and blasphemous Notions, unheard-of in the Christian World before, in order to under-mine and ruin the *Episcopal Reformed Church of England*, the *Pillar* and Support of the *Reformation*. And this at last they brought to pass by their Artifice of *disguising* and *assuming* the *Shape* of the several *Sectarists*, by wrigling into their secret Councils, and taking Advantage of the *National Phrenssey*, to make the Rebels an Instrument in their Hand to abolish *Episcopacy* and the *Liturg*,

\* Dr. South’s Sermons, Vol. II. p. 130. Ed. Lond. 1697.

† Burnet, Tom. I. p. 53.

*turgy*, to murder the good and pious Archbishop, and, to compleat their Villainy, at last to imbrue their Sacrilegious Hands in the Blood of the *Lord's Anointed*.—"The *Romish Priest* and Confessor is known, says Dr. DU MOULIN, who (when he saw the fatal Stroke given to our Holy King and Martyr) flourished with his Sword, and said, *Now the greatest Enemy that we have in the World is gone off.*" \*

AND Mr. HENRY FOWLES, an Author of unquestionable Veracity, has the following Relation to confirm this. When the late King was murdered, Mr. HENRY SPOTSWOOD, riding casually that Way just as his Head was cut off, espied the *Queen's Confessor* there on Horse-back in the Habit of a Trooper, drawing forth his Sword, and flourishing it over his Head in Triumph, as others did. At which Mr. SPOTSWOOD being much amazed, and being familiarly acquainted with the Confessor, rode up to him, and said, *O Father! I little thought to have found you here, or any of your Profession, at such a sad Spectacle.* To which he answered, that there were at least forty, or more, *Priests* and *Jesuits* there present on Horseback.—The famous Mr. PRYNNE vouches the Truth of this Story. †

This is indisputable Matter of *Fact*, which the *Sects* of all Denominations ought seriously to reflect upon, how they were made *Tools* in the Hands of *Romish Priests*, to carry on their Interest, that they are all the *Spawn* of the *Jesuits*, however diversified in Tenets and Principles.

The King's Murder, and the Overthrow of the Church, was a Work of Darkness long-concerted, and several *Cabals* were held about it in the Conclave at *Rome*, tho' not kept so secret but some Hints of it did perspire, and Intelligence thereof was sent to *England*, and yet to no Purpose:—For, in the Year 1640, "Sir WILLIAM BOSWELL, being then *Agent* for his Majesty at the *Hague*, having Intelligence of a Plot then advising by the *Jesuits* of the Church of *Rome* to take off his Majesty, in case he would not tolerate their Religion, wrote this Discovery unto WILLIAM LAUD, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who immediately shewed the same to his Majesty. The *Papists*, upon this account, and also remembering the Overthrow he gave to FISHER, the *Jesuit*, thought they could not accomplish their evil Design, unless they took away this *Pillar* of the Church also; and then, under a *dissembling Disguise*, they cast Aspersions on this Holy Prelate, knowing nothing could make him more odious to the *Commonalty* than to say he was a *Papist*, or endeavoured to bring  
in

\* Foxes and Firebrands, p. 85. Ed. Dublin 1682.

† Prynne's brief Vindication, p. 45.

“ in *Popery*, thus continuing in the Gall of Bitterness 'till he “ was cut off.” This very remarkable Account I have transcribed from ROBERT WARE, Esq; in that curious Collection of his added to that of his Father \*, and is an evident Demonstration that the *Presbyterians, Independents, &c.* were (as I mentioned before) the *Tools* of the *Papists* to murder the *King* and *Archbishop*: And therefore I cannot but admire at the consummate Impudence and Effrontery of Mr. CALAMY, who Twice in One Page of his Venom terms the Episcopal Church of *England* the *Laudensian Faction*. †

We are now come within Sight of the Days of OLIVER, who was such an hardened Reprobate as first to *kill*, and then to take *Possession*. Besides what we have in the *printed Books* of the Tribe, I very well remember to have heard some of our present Sectarists, with a petulant Assurance, maintain, “ that “ the Power of Religion was never so conspicuous in *England* “ as in the Days of OLIVER.” But it is more reasonable to suppose that it was of a Piece with his own, a Mixture of Hypocrisy, Cant, and Enthusiasm; and as he lived an Enthusiast, so he dy'd such: And his Chaplain, GOODWIN, who, but a few Minutes before his Death, had assured the People that he had prevailed in Prayer to have his Life prolonged, and had an immediate Revelation to confirm it, had now the Impudence to say to God, *Thou hast deceived us, and we are deceived*. — Bishop BURNET writes of him, “ That the Enthusiast and Dissembler mixed so equally in a great Part of his Deportment, “ that it was not easy to tell which was the prevailing Character. One standing Principle he had, (says the Bishop) *viz.* “ that Moral Laws were only binding on ordinary Occasions, “ but that upon extraordinary ones they might be superseded; “ so that, when his own Designs did not lead him out of the “ Way, he was a great Lover of Justice and Virtue, but, upon “ the Interposition of any Thing of this Nature, he fell into “ all the Practices of the vilest Falshood and Cruelty.” — And Mr. EDWARDS, a rigid Presbyterian Minister, who lived in those Times of Anarchy, does very much lament the Decay of Religion. He tells us, that the Nation was over-run with Errors, Heresies, and Immoralities, far more monstrous than in the Days of Prelacy. And how could it be otherwise? For he tells us that the Articles of Faith then broached were, || “ That “ Believers have nothing to do to take care or to look to themselves to keep from Sin; God must look to them if he “ will;

E

\* Foxes and Fir. p. 83. See this Letter at Large in Archbishop *Usher's* Life towards the latter End, by Dr. Parr.

† Life of Mr. *Baxter*, p. 318.

|| Catalogue of the many Errors of the Sectaries, p. 26.

“ will:—That God loves his Children as well Sinning as  
 “ Praying; he accounts never the better for their good Works,  
 “ nor ever the worse for their ill Works:—That God’s Chil-  
 “ dren are not at all to be humbled or grieved for Sin after  
 “ *Conversion*; and what PETER did in this kind after his foul  
 “ Fact of denying his Master issued from the *Weakness* of his  
 “ Faith:—That God’s Children are not to ask Pardon and  
 “ Forgiveness of their Sins; they need not, they ought not;  
 “ and ’tis no less than Blasphemy for a Child of God to ask  
 “ Pardon of Sins; ’tis Infidelity to ask Pardon of Sins, and  
 “ DAVID’s asking Forgiveness of Sin was his *Weakness*.”

Lo! this was the *favourite Doctrine* of that Age, which has a natural Tendency to a general Corruption of Manners, and is, indeed, but the Result of that Maxim which then almost every where prevailed among the Dissenters, *That God sees no Sin in his elect covenanted People.*

Mr. EDWARDS gives us such a tragical Account of Vice and Immorality, of such monstrous Opinions and Blasphemies, the Ridicule of all that was sacred, more especially the Mysteries of Religion, and the Holy ever-blessed Trinity, as is shocking to a Christian Ear. He represents the Enormity of those Days to be such as if the *Gates of Hell* flew open, and *Satan*, with all his infernal Crew, had broke loose; yea, the said Writer does aver, *Certainly*, (says he) *if MAHOMET were now alive among us, he would be a gallant Fellow in these Times, and be in great Request for his Revelations and New-light. Yea, we are fallen to that Madness and Folly, that I am persuaded, if the Devil came visibly among many, and should preach ever such false Doctrines, as that there were no Devils, no Hell, no Sin at all, but these were only Men’s Imaginations, he would be cried up, followed, admired.* \* By this Account we may judge, that the Power of Religion (to borrow a Metaphor from the *Chymists*) was a *Caput mortuum*; but that *Enthusiasm* rode triumphant.

I shall here subjoin what Mr. BAXTER mentions occasionally upon this Subject. “ The Army, says he, (*i. e.* the Rebel Army) fell into a disputing Vein, and made *too much of their Religion* to talk of this or that Opinion. Sometimes they would vehemently contend for *State-Democracy*, and at other Times for *Church-Democracy*; sometimes, against Forms of Prayer; sometimes, against Infant-Baptism; sometimes, against Set-times of Prayer, and against the tying ourselves to any Duty before the *Spirit* moves us; and, sometimes, about Free-Grace and Free-Will, and all the Points of *Antinomianism* and *Arminianism*.” † “ And

\* Catalogue of the many Errors of the Sectaries, p. 145, 146.

† Calamy’s Life of Baxter, p. 90.



And now, since I mentioned this morose and voluminous Author, R. BAXTER, I cannot omit a pert Observation of his, and is as followeth. He tells us, that, when *Satan* at any Time did more than ordinarily shake his Belief of the Scripture and the Life to come, his Zeal in every Religious Duty abated with it, and he grew more indifferent in Religion than before. Then, during this Satanick Temptation, *he was more inclined to Conformity in these Points which he thought to be sinful, and was ready to think, Why should he be singular, and offend the Bishops, and make himself contemptible in the World?* But, when Faith revived, he got the Mastery of those Diabolical Illusions. \*

I shall conclude this Chapter with a Remark on Mr. CALAMY's specious Account of the ejected Ministers after the Commencement of the Act of Uniformity at the Restoration. Mr. ANTHONY A WOOD, who wrote the *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, he treats in a scurrilous and virulent Manner, and says in one Place, *That his Reflections are as black as the Vapours of the infernal Cell where they were forged.* But, as to the *Ejected*, of what Denominations soever, or Qualifications either, he liberally every where bestows upon each of them the Character of a *pious, learned, and painful* Servant of CHRIST, one of fervent Zeal for the promoting of Religion, one of eminent Piety, of an healing Spirit, an able Preacher, one of an exemplary Conversation, &c. And then, after a fulsome Character to each, much to the same Purpose, he makes a terrible Outcry that such a worthy, pains-taking Minister should be ejected, and sometimes denounces a Judgment.—But he does not take the least Notice that most of his *Worthies* were *Intruders* into Benefices at the same Time when the *lawful Incumbents* were deprived, plundered, imprisoned, and starving for want of Necessaries.—But, in those Days, *to rebel was to help the Lord against the Mighty, and to plunder was to do the Work of the Lord faithfully.* They had just the same Right to the Churches which they usurped, as OLIVER had to the Supream Government of the Three Kingdoms. And surely there is no Man, that has a Right and Property, but will endeavour to recover *his own*, and dislodge a Thief and a House-breaker, notwithstanding his wrong Possession for some Time by the Hands of Violence.

And there is this vast Difference betwixt the *Intruders* that were obliged to quit their unjust and iniquitous Hold at the *Restoration* and the Legal Incumbents that were violently thrust out of their Free-hold by the Parliamentary Forces and the *Tryers* who acted in Subordination to them: The *Intruders* (very often ignorant Mechanicks, and *Enthusiasts*) were obliged *only*

\* Calamy's Life of Baxter, Ch. xvi. p. 673.

to cede and give Place to the true and rightful Proprietors; they were not obliged to *refund* so much as a *Groat*, notwithstanding their usurping another Man's Benefice for 10, 12, 15, or 18 Years, more or less, whilst the true Incumbents were perpetually harrassed and persecuted with more than Barbarian Cruelty, imprisoned in loathsome Dungeons, and there fed with mouldy Bread and Water, as was the Case in fact of a great many of the Episcopal Divines, for no other Crime than Piety towards God, and Loyalty to the King, his Vicegerent.

PHILIP NYE and HUGH PETERS were as it were the Metropolitans, or rather the *Father Inquisitors*, of those dismal Times, who governed without Controul the Committee of *Tryers*. They had no Statute-law, no Canons, but their own Will and Pleasure: They had an arbitrary Power, rejected whom they pleased, without giving themselves the Trouble, or the injured Party the Satisfaction, of the least Reason for what they did; and there was no Relief, no *Quare Impedit*, against these Despotick Governors; and their Proceedings were so arbitrary, that this Committee of *Tryers* were very justly named the *English Inquisition*. Vid. *A Vindication of the Primitive Church against Mr. R. BAXTER*, p. 412.

N. B. Instances of this Kind are so very numerous, that I should even tire the Reader, and myself too, in transcribing them. He that is so disposed may see enough, and more than enough, in Dr. WALKER's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, more particularly *Part I.* p. 170, &c.



## C H A P. IV.

*A more particular Account of the Enthusiasm that prevailed in the Time of the Great Rebellion. More authentick Testimonies that the Fanaticks of that Age were underhand assisted by Papists in Disguise. An Abstract of some Passages in the Publick Sermons of HUGH PETERS and other Incendiaries, exciting to Rebellion, and to murder the King. The Consequences of these Harangues. Several Instances of the highest Strain of Enthusiastick Delusions in the Behaviour and Dying Speeches of the Regicides. Of the Martyrdom of K. CHARLES the First. The Form of the Warrant for his Execution. A Sketch of his Character. The Confusion in Church and State that succeeded his Murder. Several of the then most celebrated Teachers encourage the prevailing Powers to put him to Death, and afterwards justify the Fact. A more particular Account of Mr. BAXTER, and Mr. CALAMY that wrote his Life. Of Archbishop LAUD and Archbishop WILLIAMS, with a Sketch of the Character of both. Of BURTON, PRYN, and BASTWICK, with their Characters. More Particulars of the Solemn League and Covenant. The severe Cruelties inflicted on the loyal Episcopal Clergy compared with the Popish Inquisition. The present State and Usage of the Reformed Churches abroad, Lutherans and Calvinists, as to a Publick Liturgy and Church-musick. Of Sacrilege committed in OLIVER's Usurpation, and the dire Consequences that attend it to this very Day.*

**T**HE close Connexion between our present high Pretences to Religion (although the Ferment begins now considerably to subside) and the Canting Phrases and Enthusiastick Ravings that brought such a general Scandal upon the whole Kingdom a Century ago,---this close Connexion and Analogy, I say, has induced me to dwell more particular on the Phrenzies, or, as they termed it, the *Out-pouring* of the Spirit that spread such a dire Influence on the Principles and Morals of the *Enthusiasts* of the last Age.

The excellent Author of the *Friendly Debate*, Dr. PATRICK, Bishop of *Ely*, has a very good Remark on the prevailing Humour

mour of the Faction that was then uppermost. ‘ It was Zeal  
 ‘ for God and his Cause if they aggravated the Faults of other  
 ‘ Men; but it was a Malignity and Bitterness of Spirit, a Ha-  
 ‘ tred of God and the Power of Godliness, if one had the  
 ‘ Boldness to tell a true and plain Story of *their* Miscarriages\*.’  
 Such was their Blindness and Partiality, that one may easily ob-  
 serve, that no Man ever opposed them but they said he *railed*  
 and *calumniated*; but their Censure of others must be interpreted  
*gentle Reproofs* and *friendly Admonitions*.

Most of their Religion consisted in *Cant* and a heated Imagi-  
 nation, which they attributed to a Divine *Afflatus*: And did we  
 not see of late a *Revival* of all this, when a Claim to Inspira-  
 tion was so far assumed, that some of the *leading Men* and *Prin-*  
*cipals* could not contain, but made a publick Boast of their  
 Sufficiency to work *Miracles*; yea, and the *lowest Class*, the  
 very *Mechanicks*, boast of their Ability to interpret Scripture  
 by immediate Inspiration, and that their Holding-forth is in the  
*Demonstration* of the Spirit? You shall hear Abundance of the  
 same canting Expressions concerning *Free Grace*, *glorious Light*,  
 and holding forth *naked Christ*, &c. Of which I shall here  
 subjoin a notable Instance among the *Independents* in *America*.

The *Independents* in *New-England* pretend to more refined  
 Christianity, to a stricter Church-discipline, and to greater Pu-  
 rity, without the least Mixture of Alloy, than their Brethren  
 in *Old-England*. He that has nothing else to do may peruse  
 COTTON MATHER his large Folio *Ecclesiastical History* of  
*New-England*, from its first Planting in the Year 1620 ’till  
 1698, when the Author wrote. In this Narrative one shall  
 find (besides wonderful Providences both of *Judgment* and *Mer-*  
*cies*) Abundance of Stories that tally with every Class of Popish  
 Saints and Persecutors that are recorded in their *Legends*. But,  
 notwithstanding Mr. MATHER was Minister of *Boston*, yet  
 that populous Town and most of the Colony became Converts  
 of a sudden to a daring Woman, named Mrs. HUTCHINSON,  
 whom since they debase with the odious Title of the *American*  
*Jezebel*. She was looked upon as a *Prophetess* (such were her  
 Spiritual Gifts) raised up of God for some great Work, as the  
*Calling* of the *Jews*, and other great and extraordinary Feats.  
 — This they impute *since* to her *Craft* and *Cunning*; but I have  
 Reason to think (says the excellent Bishop of *Ely*) the truer  
 Cause was the *Ignorance* of those *knowing* People, who were ea-  
 sily cheated by her new Phrases and soft Doctrines concerning  
*Free Grace*, *Glorious Light*, and holding forth *naked CHRIST*,  
 especially with such pretended Mysteries as these, *that Christ is*  
*the*

\* Friendly Debate, Part 2. p. 35. Ed. 5. Lond.

*the new Creature, that we may have all Graces, and yet want CHRIST; that there can be no true Closing with CHRIST in a Promise that hath a Qualification or Condition expressed; that conditional Promises are legal, and therefore no true Comfort can be had from them; that to act by Virtue of or Obedience to a Command is legal; that to evidence Justification by Sanctification or Graces favours of Rome; that the Witness of the Spirit is merely immediate without any Respect to the Word, or Concurrence with it; that the Seal of the Spirit is limited to this immediate Witness, and doth never witness to any Work of Grace, or any Conclusions of our's; and finally, that the immediate Revelation of my good Estate, without any Respect to the Scriptures, is as clear to me as the Voice of God from Heaven to St. PAUL.\**

The Allurement of those luscious Doctrines and big Phrases, so bewitched those People, (because in Truth they were conceited and ignorant, and stood upon the Basis of an heated Imagination) that they caught the Infection almost to a Man, who yet would have stopped their Ears like the deaf Adder to the Charms of *sober Reason*. And JEZEBEL continued in great Reputation for a long Time; but at length, as is frequent in such tumultuary Proceedings, some of the wiser Sort began to suspect that her Aim was to be Foundress of a new-modelled Religion, patched up of old Heresies, the wild Notion of *Enthusiasts*, and the Blasphemies of the *Ranters*. Her Credit then began to sink; and she, that was the Idol of the Party but of late, was now the Contempt and Scorn of the Vulgar: But some of the Old Leaven sticks still in *Manifestations* and *Experiences*.

I believe it is natural from hence to conclude, that our late *pretended Reformers*, who traversed Kingdoms to make Profelytes to their new-modelled Dispensation, borrowed a great deal from this Plan of Madam HUTCHINSON'S: Some of the Materials, indeed, seem to be borrowed from the *Montanists*, as is evident from several Oddities and Notions in Principle and Practice peculiar to that Sect; some from the *Old Puritans* and *Donatists*; several from the *Modern Puritans*, more especially the rigid *Scotch Covenanters*; several from the *Pietists*, a Sect sprung up in *Switzerland*, which for a Time spread very much in the Protestant Cantons; which Two last *Denominations* shall be treated of more at large in another Place. Several Tenents seem evidently to be fetched from the *Moravians*, who now are detected to be a very vile Sect, and infamous for their Lust and Licentiousness †. And finally a great many of their odd Notions

\* Friendly Deb. P. 2. p. 112, from Mr. *Wells*.

† V. Comparison of the Moravians, &c. Lond. 1755.

tions owe their Original to the Caprice of the *American Jezebel*. So that *Methodism* is a Medley-Composition, consisting of several noxious Ingredients, all concentrating in *Enthusiasm*.

I have mentioned elsewhere, and gave a Specimen of, several crude Notions that were the Delight and favourite Expressions of Enthusiasts and Fanaticks in the last Century, and no doubt carested by a great many in the present. The following Instance is so remarkable, that I cannot well omit it. Thus one of them introduces the Soul complaining, *That the Dugs of Divine Love are full, but I cannot suck.* Answer, *Be of good Comfort, CHRIST will not only open his Bosom, but thy Mouth. — But I cannot fetch out the Milk that lies in his Breast; I am but weak.* Answer, *CHRIST is sweet, and with his Finger he will force out the Milk of Mercy into thy Mouth, if thou can't but open thy Mouth\*.*

No Body needs wonder at this and such other Stuff, who considers that the Civil and Religious Actions of the Leading Men, that bore the greatest Sway in those Times, were in a great Measure guided by a strong Bent of an Enthusiastick Cast of Mind. And *Enthusiasm* armed with Power (as says a Great Man) is *like a Sword in the Hands of a Madman*. To this and their Success in Rebellion are owing, the King's Murder, and all the Distractions of those licentious Times, assisted indeed by *Papists*, who always look with an envious Eye on the Established Church of *England*, as the Bulwark of the Reformation.

Dr. NORTHLEIGH, a learned Physician, writes, *That, talking sometimes in France, among some of their Learned and Judicious, of Cardinal RICHLIEU, I found several ingenuously to confess, what many with us are difficult to believe, that as he was the Author of some of their Troubles in France, so he had been as instrumental in sowing the Seeds of Discord between the King and Parliament in England.* And elsewhere he does affirm, *That the Frenchmen boasted that the Cardinal had helped the English Rebels to behead the King †.*

Besides this single Testimony there are Two remarkable Letters extant, (as has been intimated in the last Chapter) from Sir WILLIAM BOSWELL, Embassador at the *Hague*, to Archbishop LAUD; the other from Bishop BRAMHALL to Archbishop USHER; shewing what Hand the *Papists* had in the Rebellion, and how notably they acted the Puritans. The first, printed from Sir ROBERT COTTON, is as follows || :

‘ MOST

\* V. Fr. Debate, Part 2. 119, from *John Durant* his Sips of Sweetness.

† A Voyage through Europe, Part 2. p. 85, 123.

|| Vid. Mr. Neal's 2d Vol. of *The History of the Puritans, examined.* By Z. Grey, L. L. D. London, 1736. pag. 92, &c.

‘ MOST REVEREND,

‘ As I am here employed by our Sovereign Lord the King,  
 ‘ your Grace can testify I have left no Stone unturned for his  
 ‘ Majesty’s Advancement; neither can I omit (whenever I  
 ‘ meet with Treacheries, or Conspiracies against the Church  
 ‘ and State of *England*) the sending your Grace an Account  
 ‘ in general. I fear Matters will not answer your Expectations,  
 ‘ if your Grace do but seriously weigh them with Deliberation:  
 ‘ For, be you assured, the *Romish* Clergy have gulled the misled  
 ‘ Party of our *English* Nation, and that under a *Puritanical*  
 ‘ Dress; for which the several *Fraternities* of that Church have  
 ‘ lately received *Indulgences* from the See of *Rome*, who be  
 ‘ Natives of his Majesty’s Realm and Dominions, and instruct  
 ‘ them in all manner of Principles and Tenets contrary to the  
 ‘ *Episcopacy* of the Church of *England*.

‘ There be in the Town of *Hague*, to my certain Know-  
 ‘ ledge, Two dangerous Impostors, of whom I gave Notice  
 ‘ to the Prince of *Orange*, who have *Indulgences* granted them,  
 ‘ and known to be of the Church of *Rome*, although they seem  
 ‘ *Puritans*, and do converse with several of our *English* Factors;  
 ‘ the one, JAMES MURRAY, a *Scotchman*; the other, JOHN  
 ‘ NAPPER, a *Yorkshire* Blade. The main Drift of these In-  
 ‘ tentions is to pull down the *English Episcopacy*, as being the  
 ‘ Support of the Imperial Crown of our Nation: For which  
 ‘ Purpose above *Sixty Romish Priests* are gone, within these  
 ‘ two Years, out of the Monasteries of the *French King’s*  
 ‘ Dominions, to preach up the *Scotch Covenant*, and Mr. KNOX’s  
 ‘ Descriptions and Rules within that *Kirk*, and to spread  
 ‘ the same about the Northern Coast of *England*. Let  
 ‘ therefore his Majesty have an Inkling of these Crotchets,  
 ‘ that he may be persuaded that whenever Matters of the  
 ‘ Church come before him to refer them to your Grace, and  
 ‘ the Episcopal Party of the Realm; for there be great Prepa-  
 ‘ rations making ready against the Liturgy and the Cere-  
 ‘ monies of the Church of *England*, and all evil Contrivances here  
 ‘ and in *France* to make your Grace and *Episcopacy* odious to  
 ‘ all Reformed Protestants abroad. It has wrought so much  
 ‘ on divers of the foreign Ministers of the *Protestants*, that  
 ‘ they esteem our Clergy little better than *Papists*.

‘ I rest your Grace’s most humble Servant,

‘ W. B.’

*Hague, June 12,*  
 1640.

A Let-

A Letter from the Right Reverend JOHN BRAMHALL, Bishop of Derry, (afterwards Primate of Ireland) to the Most Reverend JAMES USHER, Arch-bishop of Armagh.

‘ MOST REVEREND,

‘ I thank God I do take my Pilgrimage patiently; yet I cannot but condole the Change of the Church and State of *England*, and in my Pilgrimage more than ever, because I dare not witness nor declare to that straying Flock of our Brethren in *England* who have misled them: But, that your Lordship may be more sensible of the Church’s Calamities, and of the Danger she is in of being ruined if God be not merciful unto her, I have sent you Part of my Discoveries, and it from credible Hands; at this present Time having so sure a Messenger.

‘ It plainly appears, that in the Year 1646, by Order from *Rome*, above an Hundred *Romish Priests* were sent into *England*, consisting of *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, who have been educated in *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Spain*. In each of these *Romish* Nurseries these Scholars were taught several Handicraft Trades and Callings, as their Ingenuity was most bending, besides their Orders or Functions of that Church.

‘ They have many yet at *Paris* a fitting up to be sent over, who twice in the Week oppose one the other; one pretending *Presbytery*, the other *Independency*, some *Anabaptism*, and others contrary Tenets, dangerous and prejudicial to the Church of *England*, and to all the Reformed Churches abroad.

‘ When the *Romish* Orders do thus argue *pro* and *con*, there is appointed one of the Learned of those Convents to take Notes, and to judge; and as he finds their Fancies, whether for *Presbytery*, *Independency*, *Anabaptism*, *Atheism*, or for any new Tenets, so accordingly they be to act, and to exercise their Wits.

‘ Upon the Permission when they be sent abroad, they enter their Names in the *Convent-Registry*, and also their Licences; if a *Franciscan*, if a *Dominican* or *Jesuit*, or any other Order, having several Names there entered in their Licence; in case of a Discovery in one Place, then to fly into another, and there to change their Names or Habit.— For an Assurance of their Constancy to their several Orders, they are to give *Monthly Intelligence* to their *Fraternities* wherever they be dispersed: So that the *English* abroad know News better than ye at home.

‘ When they return into *England* they are taught their Lesson, to say (if any enquire from whence they came) that they



‘ they were *poor Christians* that fled from beyond Sea for their Religion’s Sake, and are now returned with glad News to enjoy the Liberty of Conscience.

‘ The Hundred that went over in 1646 were most of them *Soldiers* in the Parliament’s *Army*, and were daily to correspond with those *Romanists* in the late King’s Army, and pretended to fight for his Sacred Majesty; for at that Time there were *some Roman Catholicks*, who did not know the Design, contriving against the Church and State of *England*.

‘ But the Year following, 1647, many of those *Romish Orders*, who came over the Year before, were in Consultation together, knowing each other; and those of the King’s Party asking some why they took with the Parliament’s Side, and asking others whether they were bewitched to turn *Puritans*, not knowing the Design. But at last Secret *Bulls* and *Licences* being produced by those of the *Parliament Side*, it was declared between them, That there was no better Design to confound the *Church of England* than by pretended Liberty of Conscience. It was argued then, that *England* would be a *Second Holland*, a Commonwealth; and, if so, what would become of the King? It was answered, Would to God it were come to that Point! It was answered again, “Your- selves have preached so much against *Rome* and his Holiness, that *Rome* and her *Romanists* will be little better for the Change.” But it was replied, You shall have *Mafs* sufficient for 100,000 in a short Space.—Then some of the most Merciful of the *Romanists* said, *This cannot be, unless the King die*.

‘ Upon which Argument, the *Romish Orders*, thus licensed and in the Parliament Army, wrote to their *several Convents*, but especially to the *Sorbonists*, Whether it may be scrupled to make away our late Godly King? It was returned from the *Sorbonists*, That it was lawful for *Roman Catholicks* to work Changes in Governments for the Mother Church’s Advantage, and chiefly in *Heretical Kingdoms*; and so it was lawful to make away the King.

‘ Thus much, to my Knowledge, have I seen and heard since my leaving your Lordship, which I thought very requisite to inform your Grace; for myself would hardly have credited these Things, had not mine Eyes seen sure Evidence of the same. Let these Things sleep within your gracious Lordship’s Breast, and not awake but upon sure Grounds; for this Age can trust no Man, there being so great Fallacy amongst Men. So the Lord preserve your Lordship in

‘ Health, for the Nation’s Good, and the Benefit of your  
 ‘ Friends! which shall be the Prayer of,

July 20,  
 1654.

Your humble Servant,

J. DERENSIS.

I have inserted these two remarkable Letters at Length, as being wrote by two eminent Persons, a great *Statesman*, and a very worthy *Prelate*, and both of unexceptionable Authority. Herein, as in a Glafs, some of our Modern Criticks may view the Obliquity of their Principles, while they so unmercifully traduce that Reign as favouring too much of *Popery* in the Church, and *Tyranny* in the State. Hence it is evident, that the *Conclave* was the Nursery of this unnatural Rebellion, where Matters were cooked up so nice as to hit the Taste of the *Fanatick* Party in *England*, even to a Man. So that, as the principal Fomentors of this accursed War had an *Enthusiastick* Cast of Mind, they were easily wrought upon by the Subtilty of the *Jesuits* and other *Romish* Priests in Disguise. ‘ One  
 ‘ Thing (says Bishop BURNET) in the Method of carrying on  
 ‘ this great Wickedness is clearly borrowed from the *Papists*,  
 ‘ viz. the Actors pretending to *Enthusiasm* and *inward Direc-*  
 ‘ *tions* for what they did, tho’ it was clear contrary both to  
 ‘ the Laws of God and Man. That the Person of our Prince  
 ‘ is sacred and exempt from Punishment is a constant Maxim  
 ‘ of our Government, which makes his ill Ministers and Coun-  
 ‘ sellors accountable for every Thing that is done amiss; that  
 ‘ the House of Commons cannot set up, by their single Autho-  
 ‘ rity, a Court to judge of the Life of the meanest Subject;  
 ‘ that a Force put on either House, tho’ but a small Part were  
 ‘ violently excluded, makes it to be no more a House of Parlia-  
 ‘ ment, and that much more, when the far greater Part were  
 ‘ secluded, they were certainly no House of Commons; that  
 ‘ one House, without the Concurrence of the other, and the  
 ‘ Royal Assent joined to both, could not do any Thing le-  
 ‘ gally; and, finally, that the Officers of the Army had no  
 ‘ Right to assume the Government into their Hands; were all  
 ‘ Things so manifest according to the Constitution of this King-  
 ‘ dom, that they, who acted so contrary to them, knew they  
 ‘ could never justify themselves by either Law or Precedent.  
 ‘ It was necessary then to fly to somewhat that should seem to  
 ‘ be above all the Limitations and Restraints of Law; and that  
 ‘ was to pretend *secret Directions from God*. A *Doctrine* (saith  
 ‘ the Bishop) that *overthrows* the main and fundamental Prin-  
 ‘ ciple of the Reformation, which is, That in all Things which  
 ‘ relate to God, the Scriptures only are to be our Rule. And,  
 ‘ indeed,

indeed it is hard to determine whether the referring all Controversies of Religion to one *infallible Judge*, or the giving up of Men to the *Heats* of their own Fancies, be the most dangerous Principle.\*

As this was delivered in a *Sermon*, it was not meet that the Bishop should descend to Particulars in order to illustrate his Assertion. The History of those dismal Times do abundantly Supply that Defect. There was a publick Order made to keep a *Fast*, that the few Members then left, and the Military Men, might enquire what was the Will of Heaven concerning the King. The Order is as followeth. Die Jovis, 7 Sept. 1648, *Resolved that there be a Day of Publick Humiliation for this House to seek God in these Times of Difficulty, and that To-morrow be the Day, and kept here in this House. Resolved that Mr. PETERS, Mr. MARSHAL, and Mr. CARIL, be desired to perform the Duty on the Day of Humiliation with the House To-morrow.* The same Order was again enjoined on Dec. the 20th following for a *Day of Humiliation* on the same Affair and Purpose.

At both of these *Mock Humiliations* HUGH PETERS held forth: What Part his Associates did perform I cannot tell. Upon the first Meeting he chose for his Text Ps. cxlix, 8. *To bind their King with Chains, and their Nobles with Fetters of Iron. This Honour have all his Saints.* From which Words, perverted and applied at random, (as it was then a too licentious Custom) the Droll discharged such a Torrent of abusive Language against the King that his raving Imagination could suggest. After he had disgorged a great deal of Venom, *But soft there*, saith he, *I must not talk so here; I am in the King's Chapel. There is a very remarkable Passage in AMOS: AMOS went to preach, and AMAZIAH would not let him; but AMOS would preach. The poor Wretch would not bear me, but yet I will preach.* † — At the Second Convention he took his Text from *Isa. vii. 14. They shall call his Name IMMANUEL.* He made very short Work with the Text or Context, but immediately quitted it, and fell to his usual Rants, by telling Stories of the King to render him odious. 'You noble Gentlemen of the House of Commons, saith he, 'you are the *Sanhedrin* and the Great Council of the Nation; therefore you must be sure to do us Justice, and from you we do expect it. Do not prefer the Great *Barrabas, Murderer, Tyrant, Traytor*, [meaning the King] before these poor Hearts, [pointing to the *Soldiers*] who are our *Saviour's*.' And, as if he had now applied the Words of his Text to some Purpose, he added in the Conclusion, 'IMMANUEL

\* Sermon. on January 30, 1680—1, pag. 14.

† Tryal of the Regicides, p. 186, 187.

‘ MANUEL is written on the Bridle of their Horses; but, as  
 ‘ to the King’s Party, I have known Eighty Thousand of them,  
 ‘ and not one of them that had any Grace in him.’ \*

One needs not doubt, after such abominable Stuff from the Pulpit, but that he sufficiently humoured his Masters that the Work they were going about was acceptable to the Lord. Though OLIVER himself could not refrain from laughing at his wild Pranks and Discourses from the Pulpit, yet he caressed him as being a very fit Tool to carry on his more secret Contrivances; and consequently, pretending to be influenced by his Heavenly Discourses, *he* likewise, with the *rest* of that infamous Gang (being *now* not above 25, or 26 at most) of the House of Commons, had Recourse to God in Prayer, to know his Will how to act in this great and weighty Affair. And every one pretends he has had a gracious Return, that it was the Will of God the King should be destroyed.

Bishop BURNET takes Notice, as was hinted above, that as they had not the least Umbrage, or any Manner of Pretence from the known Laws of the Realm, to commit this Act of Barbarity; so they had Recourse to the Supreme Court of Heaven, and impiously pretend to receive a *Special Direction* from above to justify the execrable Fact. All the *Regicides* that suffered persisted in that Notion to the last. Major-General HARRISON (who was an *Anabaptist*) vindicates the Fact, and says, ‘ As to the Blood of the King, I have not in the least any  
 ‘ Guilt laying upon me; for I have many a Time *sought the Lord*  
 ‘ with Tears, to know if I have done amiss in it, but was rather confirmed that the Thing was more of God than of  
 ‘ Men†.’ Mr. JOHN CAREW (a Gentleman of an Antient Family in *Cornwal*, but a mere Enthusiast) alledges on his Tryal, That what he did in sentencing the King, and signing the Warrant for his Execution, *was in the Fear of the Lord, and in Obedience to his Holy and Righteous Laws.* He boldly asserted, that he had not the least Regret or Disturbance on his Spirit about that for which he was to die, for what he did was from the *Lord*, and if it were to be done again, he would do it||. THOMAS SCOT (born of obscure Parents, yet at length a Leading Man in the House) declared at his Tryal, *I take God to witness*, saith he, *I have by Prayers and Tears often sought the Lord, that, if there were any Iniquity in the Proceeding, he would show it me§.* This Man was a violent Enemy to Episcopacy and Monarchy; and, after he had contributed as large a Share as  
 any

\* Tryal of the Regicides, pag. 182, 186.

† Ibid. Part II. p. 2. and Part I. p. 56.

|| Ibid. Part I. pag. 91, 92. Part II. pag. 13.

§ Ibid. Part I. p. 105.

any in the Kingdom (according to his Ability) to the Ruin of both, he procured the Palace of *Lambeth* for his Mansion-house. This is the Man that so far gloried in his Villainy that he publicly declared *that he should never repent of it*, and desired that when he died it might be inscribed upon his Tomb-stone, *Here lieth THOMAS SCOTT, who adjudged the late King to Death.* Col. AXTEL, as he was going to Execution, called for a Bible and hugged it, saying, *This Book hath the whole Cause in it for which we suffer.* Horrid Blasphemy! as if the Sacred Scriptures had encouraged Rebellion and Parricide! On the very same Day he thus expressed himself, *If I had a Thousand Lives, I could lay them all down for the Cause---against the Surplice and Common-prayer-Book; and I tell you that the Surplice and Common-prayer-Book shall not stand long in England, for it is not of God\*.*—He might have ended his Life with more edifying Sentiments: But we see (among other Instances, in *this*) how strong and operative is the Spirit of *Enthusiasm* even at the last Gasp of Life, when it is habitually rooted! Rather than to confess himself *guilty*, and to humble himself for his horrid Impiety against God and Man, he chuses to prophecy of the Downfall of Episcopacy and the Liturgy; which single Instance is enough to prove him a false Prophet.—When a Gentleman was endeavouring to awaken the Conscience of Col. ADRIAN SCROOPE, and make him sensible of his Crime, he made a violent Thrust at him, and, to shew how self-righteous he was, he haughtily replied, AVOID, SATAN! †

I shall cite no more of their Rants. Let this suffice as a Comment to illustrate that Part of Bishop BURNET's Sermon, That, since their whole Proceedings were directly against the Laws of the Land, they had Recourse to *somewhat that should seem to be above all the Limitations and Restraints of Law; and that was, to pretend secret Directions from God.*

Thus the bloody *Enthusiasts* brought the good and pious King, by their pretended Inspiration, to the fatal Block. The House of Lords, to their Honour be it spoken, (though a great many of them at the first unhappy Dissention contributed rather to widen the Breach than to close it, yet) abhorred this abominable Fact: And no more than 25 or 26 of the Lower House concurred in it; and those of an abandoned Character, fierce *Enthusiasts*, hardened in Rebellion and Mischief.—How condescending and gracious the good King was towards his Rebel Commons is sufficiently apparent in his Majesty's Concession to all their Demands, how unreasonable soever, in the late Treaty

\* Tryal of the Regicides, Part II. p. 89, 90.

† *Ibid.* pag. 73.

at the Isle of *Wight*, viz. in September, 1648. How moving and pathetick are the Words of the King when he found all his Concessions ineffectual! ‘Let the World judge,’ says he, ‘whether my Endeavours have not been attended with Reality in this late Treaty, and whether I was not as ready to grant as they to ask: And yet all this is not Satisfaction to them that pursue their own ambitious Ends more than the Welfare of a miserable Land. Were not the dying Hearts of my poor distressed People much revived with the Hopes of a Happiness from this Treaty? and how suddenly are they frustrated of their Expectations! Have I not formerly been condemned for yielding too little to my Houses of Parliament? and must I now be condemned by yielding too much? Have I not formerly been imprisoned for making War? and shall I now be condemned for making Peace? Have I not formerly enjoyed the Society of my dear Wife and Children in Peace and Quietness? and shall I now neither enjoy them nor Peace? Have I not been condemned for evil Counsellors? and shall I now be condemned for having no Council but God? These are unutterable Miseries, that the more I endeavour for Peace, the less my Endeavours are respected: And how shall I hereafter know what to grant, when you yourselves know not what to ask? I refer it to your Consciences whether I have not satisfied your Desires in every Particular since this Treaty: If you find I have not, then let me bear the Burthen of the Fault; but, if I have given you ample Satisfaction, (as I am sure I have) then you are bound to vindicate me from the Fury of those whose Thoughts are filled with Blood: Though they pretend Zeal, yet they are but Wolves in Sheep’s Cloathing.’ \*

These are moving Words; but nothing could move the Attention, much less the Pity, of hard-hearted Villains, who made Religion a Cloak for their Impiety. Their Direction from above, in their Cant, does over-rule all carnal Reasoning.— There is no Proceeding *just* against any Man, the meanest Peasant, much less against a Sovereign Prince, but what is warranted by the Laws of God as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, or the Municipal Laws of the Land or Kingdom where he lives. But the bloody Enthusiasts (a great many of them indeed being *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*) over-ruled this by a pretended Commission from Heaven, and signed a Warrant for his Execution in the Form following.

—“Whereas CHARLES STUART, King of *England*, is,  
“and standeth convicted, attainted, and condemned, of High-  
“Trea-

\* A brief Chronicle of the Civil Wars, by H. J. Lond. 1663.

“ Treason, and Sentence upon *Saturday* last was pronounced  
 “ against him to be put to Death by severing his Head from  
 “ his Body, of which *Sentence* Execution yet remaineth to be  
 “ done :--- THESE are therefore to will and require you to see  
 “ the said *Sentence* executed in the open Street before *Whitehall*  
 “ upon the Morrow, being the 30th Day of this Instant Month  
 “ *January*, between the Hours of Ten in the Morning and  
 “ Five in the Afternoon of the same Day, with full Effect;  
 “ and for so doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant.” —

When the King was brought upon the Scaffold, he spoke as followeth, directing his Speech chiefly to Col. THOMLINSON.  
 “ I shall be very little heard of any Body else, I shall therefore speak a Word to you here. Indeed, I could have held my Peace very well, if I did not think that holding my Peace would make some Men think that I did submit to the Guilt as well as to the Punishment. But I think it is my Duty to God first, and then to my Country, to clear myself both as an honest Man, a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with my *Innocency*; and in Truth I think it not very needful for me to insist long on this, for all the World knows that I did never *begin a War* with the *Two Houses of Parliament*: And I call God to witness, unto whom I must shortly make an Account, that I never did intend to inroach upon their *Privileges*. They began upon me, it is the *Militia* they began upon: They confess the *Militia* was mine, but they thought to have it from me. And, to be short, if any Body will look to the Dates of the Commissions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declaration, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I.” This Beginning of the *Royal Martyr's* Dying-speech I thought proper to transcribe, because that several evil-minded Men, more especially among the Sectaries, (the Venom of their Ancestors being still hereditary in the Blood) have the Face to maintain, That the King suffered Death by the known Laws of the Land, for that the King was the Aggressor in the War, and that the Parliament took up Arms purely in their own Defence.

It was a Circumstance that much aggravated the Case of Col. HARRISON, (one of the Regicides that was executed) that, when the King was brought from the Isle of *Wight*, he should say, *It will be good for us to blacken him what we can, pray let us blacken him.* And truly this is a *Black Charge* upon his Memory still by base Men upon the same Principles.—Even the Earl of *Manchester*, (an active Man in the Rebellion, yet) in the

Debate about bringing his Majesty to a Tryal, thus expressed himself in publick, *The Parliament of England, by the fundamental Laws, consists of Three Estates, King, Lords, and Commons, whereof the King is the first and chiefest. He calls and dissolves Parliaments; and without him there can be no Parliament; and therefore 'tis absurd to say the King can be a Traytor against the Parliament.*—The Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND spoke next, *That the greatest Part, at least Twenty to One, of the People of England were not yet satisfied whether the King levied War first against the Houses, or the Houses against him; and, if the King did levy War first against the Houses, there is no Law to make it Treason in him; and for them to declare it Treason by an Ordinance, when the Matter of Fact is not yet proved, nor any Law extant to judge it by, is very unreasonable.* At the same Time the Earls of *Pembroke and Denbigh* said, “ They would be torn in Pieces “ before they would assent with the Commons.”—Being thus rejected by the Lords, the pitiful Remainder of the Lower House, being but 25 or 26 in Number, came to the following Resolutions on *January 4, 1648.*—1. That the People are, under God, the Original of all just Power;—2. That the Commons of *England* in Parliament assembled, chosen by and representing the People, have the Supreme Power of the Nation;—3. That whatsoever is enacted or declared for Law, by the House of Commons assembled in Parliament, hath the Force of a Law.—This passed without one Negative Voice; which shews that CROMWELL had them all at his Will.

To conclude this Head. ‘ There is no Doubt that this good  
 ‘ King had some Infirmities and Imperfections, and might  
 ‘ thereby be misled into some Mistakes in Government, which  
 ‘ the Nation, in Parliament represented, might have reformed  
 ‘ by moderate and peaceful Councils. But the Reformation  
 ‘ lost its Name and Nature too, when so many Acts passed by  
 ‘ him in Parliament, that did restrain the Prerogative of the  
 ‘ Crown from doing the Mischief it had been taxed with, *had*  
 ‘ *not the Effect* they ought to have met with of restraining the  
 ‘ People too from further Demands; and when the inordinate  
 ‘ Ambition, Anger, and Revenge, of some of the Great Lea-  
 ‘ ders could not be limited within any Bounds ’till they had in-  
 ‘ volved the Nation in Blood, destroyed many Thousands of  
 ‘ their own Countrymen and Fellow-citizens, and brought at  
 ‘ last their own Sovereign to lose his Head upon a Scaffold, un-  
 ‘ der a pretended Form of an High Court of Justice, unpre-  
 ‘ cedented from the Beginning of the World, and, to finish the  
 ‘ Work, had overthrown all the Laws of their own Country\*.

There

\* Preface to Lord Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, P. IV.



There is a Set of Men that make it in a manner a Part of their Religion to asperse the Memory of the *Royal Martyr*, and generally shew their Contempt by a Grimace or a Horse-laugh at his being named a *good* and *just* and *gracious* Prince. — The ingenious J. HOWEL, Esq; (Brother to the Bishop of *Bristol* of that Name) had infinitely better Reason (as living in that unhappy Time) to be acquainted with his true Character than any Person now-a-days can ever pretend to. And he writeth thus of the most exceptionable Part of his Conduct. “ The Ground-  
 “ work that the King sent out Privy-Seals for Loan-moneys,  
 “ Ship-money, &c. was to assist his Uncle the King of *Den-*  
 “ *mark*, who was so outrageously pursued by Count TILLY,  
 “ and to recover the *Palatinate* for his Brother-in-Law. The  
 “ *Parliament* set him upon this Work, but would grant him no  
 “ Supplies; which obliged his Majesty to have Recourse to  
 “ those Means to *succour* the *Protestants* that were so harrassed  
 “ by the *Papists*.” --- Vid. HOWEL’s Familiar Letters, Sect. IV. Let. 27.

But to return to the main Subject. Now, the two principal Objects, that the *Enthusiasts* of that Age did level their Fury against, were *Monarchy* or Kingly Government in the State, and the *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy* in the Church. ‘ This Spirit of  
 ‘ Enthusiasm (says a late very ingenuous and learned Author)  
 ‘ imports no less Danger and Disturbance to the *State* than to  
 ‘ the *Church*. It is too plain, indeed, that there is something  
 ‘ in it directly inconsistent with the Rules of *Government*, and  
 ‘ the Peace and Security of *Civil Society*; for how little will  
 ‘ humane Laws be regarded by Men who think themselves  
 ‘ moved by *God* to overturn and oppose them! or what *tem-*  
 ‘ *poral* Power shall controul the supposed Authority of a *Divine*  
 ‘ Commission! The Ardour and Resolution with which such  
 ‘ Men will go on against all Opposition is beyond what any  
 ‘ Worldly Motives, or even the warmest Concern for Civil In-  
 ‘ terest, could ever inspire. The sad Effects of their Outrage  
 ‘ and Fury have been too well *known* and *felt* by the World;  
 ‘ let them be but persuaded that the *Sword of the Lord* is put  
 ‘ into their Hands, and all the Terror, and all the Havock,  
 ‘ ascribed to it by the Antient Prophets, will be again fulfilled.  
 ‘ The *Alarm* will be sounded in the Words of *Scripture*, which  
 ‘ shall give a Sanction and Solemnity to Cruelty and Murder.  
 ‘ Those emphatick Words of the Prophets shall be for ever  
 ‘ in their Hearts and their Mouths: *The Sword, the Sword is*  
 ‘ *drawn for the Slaughter,---it is furbished, and given into the*  
 ‘ *Hands of the Slayer. It shall be upon the People and the Princes*  
 ‘ *of Israel, for this is the Day of the Lord God of Hosts, a Day*  
 ‘ *of*

‘ of Vengeance that he may avenge himself of his Adversaries;  
 ‘ and the Sword shall devour, it shall be satiate and drunk with  
 ‘ Blood.—O thou Sword of the Lord! how long will it be ’ere  
 ‘ thou be quiet?—How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given  
 ‘ it a Charge, and hath appointed it, to consume and to destroy!  
 ‘ ---Cursed be he that doth the Work of the Lord deceitfully! and  
 ‘ cursed be he that keepeth back his Sword from Blood! [Ezek.  
 ‘ xxi. 18. Jer. xlvii. 6. xlviii. 10.] These and several other  
 ‘ Passages of Scripture, applied at random, shall be their Warrant  
 ‘ for all the Violence they commit. A false and confident Per-  
 ‘ suasion that they are the Ministers of Divine Vengeance will  
 ‘ animate them to the Slaughter, and justify *Revenge* upon their  
 ‘ Opposers, who are always presumed to be the Enemies of  
 ‘ God.”\*

As there is no manner of Doubt that Dr. DESAGULIERS  
 had those seditious Teachers direct in his Eye that sounded the  
 Trumpet to this unnatural Rebellion, it will not be at all im-  
 proper to add a few Instances by Way of Illustration, as I did  
 before on Bishop BURNET’s Sermon on the same Subject.—  
 Not to insist on that Pulpit-buffoon, HUGH PETERS, (that  
 was mentioned above) the most eminent of their Teachers were  
 continually animating the Populace to stand stedfast to the good  
 old Cause, instructing them daily in the Principles of Rebellion  
 and Enthusiasm, *to be valiant and fight the Lord’s Battles*, 1 Sam.  
 xviii. 17. And when their Success in Arms had prevailed over  
 the King, and they had him in their Custody, (for sometimes  
*the Wicked triumph, and the Workers of Iniquity boast themselves*,  
 Pl. xciv. 3, 4.) then their constant Cry was to bring the Traitor  
 to speedy Justice and Execution.—THO. BROOKS in his  
 Fast Sermon before the Commons, Dec. 26, 1648, makes the  
 following Address:—“Right Honourable, consider this, those  
 ‘ Persons who have neglected the Execution of Justice upon  
 ‘ their most implacable Enemies when God has given them into  
 ‘ their Hands, these God has left to perish basely and miserably.  
 ‘ See it in AHAB: God gives BENHADAD into AHAB’s  
 ‘ Hands, *because thou hast let a Man go that I had appointed to  
 ‘ Destruction, therefore thy Life shall be for his Life*, 1 Kings,  
 ‘ xx. 42. So concerning SAUL’s sparing AGAG, he would  
 ‘ shift off the Command, and therefore God shifted him out  
 ‘ of the Kingdom, when he neglected to do Justice to an im-  
 ‘ placable Enemy whom God had given into his Hands.”—  
 [N. B. This Mr. BROOKS was a Member of the Assembly of  
 Divines.

Mr.

♦ Dr. Desaguliers’s Sermon, Jan. 30. p. 22.

Mr. HERLE, a Member also of the Assembly, in his Fast-Sermon before the Commons, Nov. 15, 1644, makes the following Harangue. ‘ Physicians, by way of Revulsion, stop  
‘ Bleeding by letting of Blood.—Do ye then Justice to the  
‘ Greatest. SAUL’s Sons are not to be spared; no, nor AGAG,  
‘ nor BENHADAD, though themselves Kings. ZIMRI and  
‘ COZBI, though Princes of the People, must be pursued into  
‘ their Tents. This is the Way to consecrate yourselves to  
‘ God.’—Dr. STANTON, who was likewise a Member of the Assembly, in his Fast-sermon before the Lords, Octob. 30, 1644, has this remarkable Admonition. ‘ Execute Judgment  
‘ impartially. To hang a poor Soldier for running from his  
‘ Colours may have a Piece of Justice in it; but it was SAUL’s  
‘ sparing of AGAG that rent his Kingdom from him. \*’

Dr. SOUTH informs us, that he had it from the Mouth of DANIEL AXTELL (one of the Regicides that was executed) that he, with many more, went into that execrable War with such a controuling Horror upon their Spirits, from those Publick Sermons, (especially those of BROOKS and CALAMY) that they verily believed that they should be accursed of God for ever if they had not acted their Part in that dismal Tragedy, and heartily done the Devil’s Work, being so effectually called and commanded to it in God’s Name†.—It would be tedious to transcribe more of this Stuff: The learned and accurate Dr. GREY has given a Specimen of about 30 Fast-sermons before the Lords and Commons, whose main Scope was to stir up to Rebellion, to asperse the King, and to bring him at last to the fatal Block.

But one may say they were really persuaded they were doing the Work of the Lord.—That may be; but then it is a Demonstration that they were rank Enthusiasts. *This false Persuasion*, says Dr. DESAGULIERS, *of being actuated by God has added Obstinacy to Error, and given a Sanction to all Wickedness that Men could commit. They have pleaded the Spirit of God in Opposition to the Gospel, and transgressed all his Commands whilst they thought themselves doing him Service.* And elsewhere in the same Discourse he says, with a great deal of Judgment, *We have had too many Instances of Men who have extinguished the Light of Reason to pursue a supposed Illumination from Heaven, and have pleaded a Divine Impulse for Actions contrary to the Principles of Nature and all the established Maxims of Morality.* ||

There

\* Vid. Dr. Grey’s Examination of Mr. Neal’s 2d Vol. of the History of the Puritans, pag. 389, 394.

† Dr. South’s Sermons, Vol. I. p. 513.

|| Sermon, Jan. 30. p. 5, 20.

There was some Prospect of Peace 'till these furious *Divines* of the *Assembly* rendered it impracticable. The Words of his Majesty are very moving on this melancholy Subject. “ I declare to the World, says the King, and God knows whether  
 “ or no this may be my last, that I have earnestly laboured for  
 “ Peace, and that my Thoughts were sincere and absolute,  
 “ without any sinister Ends, and that there was nothing left  
 “ undone by me that my Conscience would permit me to do.  
 “ I here protest before Heaven, that my own Afflictions (though  
 “ they need no Addition) afflict me not so much as my People’s Sufferings. God comfort both them and me, and proportion our Patience to our Sufferings !\* ”

But, if one should pin his Faith on what Mr. BAXTER affirmeth, he will tell you with his usual Veracity, *It is not true that they [the Presbyterian Ministers] stirred up People to War; there was hardly one such Man in a County, though they disliked the late Innovations, and were glad the Parliament was attempting a Reformation: They might inveigh too freely in their Sermons against the Vices of the Clergy, and the Severities of the late Times; but in all the Fast-sermons that I have read for some Years after the Beginning of the War I have met with no Reflections upon the Person of the King, but a Religious Observation of that Political Maxim, The King can do no Wrong†.*—But, as Dr. GREY does very justly remark, Mr. BAXTER’s Authority can’t sure be admitted against Fact. Some of their *Bloody Expressions* in their Fast-sermons have been cited but a few Lines above, and abundant more by the *Doctor* in his Examination of the Cavils of Mr. NEAL.—Notwithstanding all his pretended Sanctity, it is evident, even by this, that Mr. BAXTER could stretch a Point as well as most Men when it served his Turn; for surely he is not to be credited upon his own *Ipse dixit* against Matter of Fact.—Yea, the famous Mr. MILTON, Author of *Paradise lost and regained*, does evidently convict Mr. BAXTER of a *wilful and deliberate Falshood*, to give it no worse Expression; for says Mr. MILTON, ‘ They [viz. the Presbyterians] were  
 ‘ most zealous to take Arms against the King to divest and dis-  
 ‘ anoint him of his Dignity, nay to curse him in all their *Ser-  
 ‘ mons* and Pamphlets over the Kingdom, whereof there re-  
 ‘ main numerous Instances still to be produced.’ ||

But if, after all, his Admirers will have it that he is still consistent with himself, and a Man of Integrity, will they admit his own Testimony in the Case? In a Book of his, called *The Holy*

\* A brief Chronicle of the Civil Wars, by H. J. p. 347, 348. Lond. 1663.

† Dr. Grey’s Examination of Neal, p. 389.

|| Milton’s Life before his Prose-works, p. 24.

*Holy Commonwealth*, published 1659, he thus delivers himself fully to the Purpose: ‘ If I had taken up Arms in that War against the Parliament, I had been a Traytor, and guilty of resisting the higher Powers.’ And again (p. 486) he assumes higher Airs still: ‘ I cannot see I was mistaken in the main Cause; nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the same if it was to be done in the same State of Things.’ With abundance of Passages to the same Purpose\*; which is an evident Proof that he was (to give him his Due) a compleat Rebel every Inch of him.

This noisy Man pretended to write a Church-history; of Bishops and their Councils, collected chiefly out of *English* Translations; for the Original was a little too knotty for his Skill, witness his *Methodus Theologiæ*, Fol. published 1674, wrote in barbarous Latin.—*Now this History of Bishops*, as says a very learned Writer, is nothing else but an Account of all the Faults that Bishops have committed in the several Ages of the Church, without any Mention of their good Actions, of the Piety and Severity of their Lives, of their Zeal for the Faith, of their Charity towards the Poor, of their Contempt of the World, of their Labour and Diligence in their Office. These were Things he thought, perhaps, not to belong to a Church-historian to relate: These were improper, unedifying Examples; at least wise they were not very agreeable to the Design of our Author, which was, to disgrace Diocesan Episcopacy. This Weeding of Church-history for the Faults of Bishops [and to conceal their Virtues] is not to write or abridge History, but to draw up an Indictment; and, because many Things are falsely charged, it is no better than a Libel. †

The same excellent Author (*anonymous*) proceeds thus: ‘ Most Men seem to be sensible of, and bewail, the Thriving of Prophaneness by the Countenance that it receives from our Differences: Yet, for all this, how few abate any thing of their Fierceness! How few will be so moderate as to sacrifice even the most disingenuous Arts of *Contention*, *Calumny*, and *Railing*, to the Safety and Honour of our Common Faith!

‘ I wish Mr. BAXTER had this Consideration before him when he set upon the Writing of his *Church-history of Bishops, and their Councils abridged*. He has indeed sufficiently abridged all the good Services that Bishops and Councils have done to the Church; but their Miscarriages he has enlarged upon to purpose, and sometimes, by a foul Juggle, conveyed the best of their Actions into the Catalogue of their Crimes; and their greatest Services for Religion prove a considerable

“ Part

\* Vid. Dr. Grey's Examination of Neal. 387.

† A Vindication of the Primitive Church against Mr. Baxter, Preface, p. 2.

Part of their Indictment.—I must confess I never saw any thing that, in my Judgment, reflected with more Dishonour upon Religion than this strange Account that he has given of the Progress of it, and the frightful Representation that he made of the Church in all Ages.

Heathens have been civil and modest in their Character of us, compared with this. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, tho' he be something sharp upon DAMASUS, Bishop of Rome, yet speaks honourably of the Generality of Christian Bishops: ZOZIMUS does not mention CHRYSOSTOM with any Disrespect, though he had a fair Occasion: Nay, the scurril Wit of that Buffoon LUCIAN, nor the Malice of JULIAN the Apostate, have left nothing half so scandalous, in all their Libels against Christians, as this Church-historian, BAXTER, has raked up; for here is nothing to be seen, in his Book, but the Avarice, Ambition, Ignorance, Mistakes, and furious Contentions, of the Bishops, and the Governors of the Church: And, they being so bad, the People that were guided by their Order and Example could not be much better. And what can be the Effect of such an History, but that Men should believe there never was any Sort of People so desperately wicked, and so great Disturbers of the World? The Enemy of our Religion will have Reason to rejoice that his Work is in great measure done to his Hands; for this will serve him as a Common-place-book for railing against Christianity; and the Christian Reader will be in Danger either of losing all his Patience, or a great deal of that Reverence he had for his Religion and those primitive Worthies that professed and defended it. \*

This is the Man of Candour and Sanctity of Manners, the Man of Truth and Sincerity, the Man of tender Conscience, as represented by the Men of his own Party, and their Profelytes and modern Allies, the *Methodists*.—He received Deacon's Orders from the Hands of a Bishop; and, the War soon after breaking out, he deserted the persecuted Episcopal Cause, and, like a provident Man, sided with the prevailing Party, where there was a near Prospect of Wealth, Advancement, and Authority. He was for some Time a Chaplain to a Regiment in the Rebel Army, and without any Scruple of Conscience usurped another Man's Benefice, viz. that of *Kidderminster*, the legal Incumbent still alive, and who lived to be restored to his own after the King's Return: Upon which Turn of Affairs, the invidious Mr. CALAMY must have a Fling at the poor Clergyman that was so long harrassed, and now restored. *He never*  
dis-

\* A Vindication of the Primitive Church against Mr. Baxter, Pref. p. 2, 3.

discovered, says he, any *Uneasiness* 'till the Times changed, and then he was as *assuming* as he was before *submissive*\*. See the Nature of the Man: There is no Manner of Circumstance or Incident whatever, in the Life and Action of a Loyalist and a Churchman, but he must carp at it, and make some invidious Reflection or other; nor any Manner of Crime or Indiscretion in the Life and Action of a Dissenter and Rebel, but he will endeavour to justify it. — *N. B.* This Man's Grand-father was a strict Conformist, and, to speak in the Phrase of this his Grand-son, was looked upon as one of the *Laudensian Faction*. †

I will not say that Mr. BAXTER was a blustering, insolent Man, a Man of fierce and bloody Principles; yet I can never believe that he was a Man of a very tender Nature and Compassion, ever since I read the following Story of him, printed in his own Life-time, when he had an Opportunity to contradict it if he could. — *Mr. BAXTER may be pleased to call to mind what was done to one Major JENNING, the last War, in that Fight that was between Lynsel and Longford, in the County of Salop, where the King's Party having unfortunately the worst of the Day, the poor Major was stripped almost naked, and left for dead in the Field: But Mr. BAXTER and one Lieutenant HURDMAN, taking their Walk among the wounded and dead Bodies, perceived some Life left in the Major; and HURDMAN run him through the Body in cold Blood, [though not mortally, as he intended] Mr. BAXTER all the while looking on, and taking off with his own Hands the King's Picture from about his Neck, telling him, as he was swimming in his Gore, that he was a Popish Rogue, and that was his Crucifix: Which Picture was kept by Mr. BAXTER for many Years, 'till it was got from him (but not without much Difficulty) by one Mr. SUMMERFIELD, who then lived with Sir THOMAS ROUSE, and generously restored it to the poor Man, now alive at Wick, near Pershore, in Worcestershire, although at the Fight supposed to be dead, being, after the Wounds given him, dragged up and down the Field by the merciless Soldiers, Mr. BAXTER approving of the Inhumanity by feeding his Eyes with so bloody and barbarous a Spectacle.*

I THOMAS JENNING subscribe to the Truth of this Narrative above-mentioned, and have hereunto put my Hand and Seal, this 2d Day of *March*, 1681-2,

THOMAS JENNING. §

I never heard that this Man (so much admired by some, and despised by others) has retracted any of his *Rebellious Principles*,

H

or

\* Mr. Calamy's Life of *Baxter* abridged.

† Dr. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part II. p. 255.

§ Preface to the Life of Dr. Heylin, by Mr. G. Vernon, Lond. 1682.

or abated in his Course of *Schism*, though he seems to be concerned about some juvenile Peccadillo's, as robbing of Orchards, and over-charging his Stomach with Fruit, a Crime of infinite less Degree of Guilt than fomenting *Rebellion* in the State, and propagating *Schism* in the Church\*. A great many moderate and sober Men are of Opinion (and perhaps very justly) that he had done abundantly better to have followed the Judgment of his *Wife* and *some others*, whose Advice to him was, *He had done better had he wrote fewer Books, and done those few better*: But he would not hearken to them†. There is no Manner of Doubt that some of his Books have done a great deal of Mischief, particularly that Work of his about *Witchcraft*, and his recommending Mr. COTTON MATHER's Book on the same Subject, whereby some Hundreds of innocent People (innocent as to the Crime laid to their Charge) were persecuted and put to Death, as is mentioned hereafter in the Chapter concerning *Witchcraft*.

The Destruction of the King and Church was the Aim and levelling Mark of the Faction, as was hinted above; and by the kind Assistance of *Romish Priests* they had their Wish in both for a Season.—The good Archbishop of *Canterbury* fell a Sacrifice to the Fanatick Rage of the Enthusiastick Zealots some Years before his Royal Master and Patron, viz. on *January 10, 1644-5*.—In Compliance to the leading Men of the Kirk of *Scotland* the Common Prayer was abolished in *November, 1644*; and, to gratify the *Scotch Covenanters* to the full for the Supplies that they expected from that Kingdom, Archbishop LAUD's Head was struck off as a Compliment to their fierce and bloody Dispositions, the main Charge against him being urged by Serjeant WILD, “That he was so guilty  
“ an Offender, that he wondered the People did not pull him to  
“ Pieces as he came to and fro from the Tower to his Tryal.”§

The Faction of that Age, 'tis true, do charge him with *Popery* and *Arminianism*: But his incomparable Book, in the Defence of the Protestant Religion, against FISHER the Jesuit, does, to a Demonstration, refute the unjust and malicious Charge of his being any way a Favourer of Popery.—I esteem it as a Treasure, and am sure that the most eminent Writers since that Time have borrowed with a liberal Hand from this excellent Performance, though they are not altogether so ingenious as to own it. I call to mind a very sarcastical Expression of AVERROES, (quoted in this Book) a Mahometan Philosopher

\* Vid. Dr. Grey's Examination of Neal, p. 388.

† Breviate of Mrs. Baxter's Life, by R. Baxter, p. 73.

§ A Brief Chronicle of the Civil Wars, by H. J. Eccles. Chr. Oxon. pag. 112. Lond. 1663.



fopher and Phyfician, againft Tranfubftantiation, who flourifhed about the Year 1215: *Mundum peragravi*, fays he, & non vidi feftam deteriozem, aut magis fatuam, quam Christiana, quia deum quem colunt dentibus devorant\*. It were eafy to collect Testimonies of Great Men to confute this Calumny; but this fingle Work of his is an everlafting Monument of his firm Attachment to the Proteftant Caufe, and fhews the Virulency of thofe blood-thirfty Men that profecuted him even unto Death.

As to the other Charge, that he was an *Arminian*, or *Anticalvinift*, the Noble Historian fays of him, ‘ That he had, from his Entrance into the World, without any Difguife or Diffimulation, declared his own Opinion in Oppofition to the rigid Doctrines and Difcipline of CALVIN; and, as foon as it was in his Power, he did all he could to hinder the Growth and Increafe of that Faction, and to refrain thofe who were inclined to it from doing the Mifchief they defired to do.†’ — Now the Oppofers of CALVIN’S Doctrines, as his Lordfhip obferves, ‘ were branded by the Name of *Arminians* from JAMES ARMINIUS, once the Divinity-profeffor in the University of *Leyden*, though many of our Divines had never read a Word written by the faid J. ARMINIUS: Either Side, viz. the *Calvinifts*, and thofe called *Arminians*, defended and maintained the different Opinions as the Doctrines of the Church of *England*; as the Two great Orders in the Church of *Rome*, the *Dominicans* and *Francifcans*, did at the fame Time, and many Hundred Years before, with more Vehemence and Uncharitatlenefs, maintain the fame different Opinions one againft the other; and yet either Party, *Dominicans* and *Francifcans*, profefling to adhere to the Doctrines of the Catholick Church.’ — Now the Archbifhop, as the Earl of *Clarendon* fays, ‘ had, all his Life, eminently oppofed CALVIN’S Doctrines in thofe Controverfies, before the Name of ARMINIUS was taken Notice of, or his Opinions heard of; and thereupon, for want of another Name, they had called him a *Papift*, which nobody believed him to be; and he had more manifefted the contrary, in his Difputations and Writings, than moft Men had done; and, it may be,’ (as his Lordfhip does very pertinentely remark) ‘ the other Party found the more fevere and rigorous Ufage from him for their propagating that Calumny againft him.’ §

He was a Man of great Parts and exemplary Virtues, (fays

H 2

the

\* Conference between Bp. Laud and Fisher, by the Command of K. James I. p. 328. Lond. 1639. Fol.

† Lord Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. 91. Oxford, 1717.

§ Ibid. p. 93.

the Noble Historian) but allayed and discredited by some unpopular and natural Infirmities. He was somewhat rash and hasty in his Expressions, and but too often unguarded where he ought to have been cautious and circumspect. He was also subject to break into a sudden Passion, though it was momentary and not lasting; and his *Ill-wishers* often made an Advantage of it to his great Disrepute. There are many Instances of this; and the King once gently reprimanded him for it. \*

The Bishop of *Litchfield and Coventry*, Dr. HACKET, makes a heavy Complaint against him of his foul Ingratitude to, and his Mal-treatment of, Archbishop WILLIAMS, who first recommended him to King JAMES, and upon his sole Recommendation, with some Difficulty, advanced him to the Bishoprick of *St. David's*. After some Debate, and a great deal of Warmth, the King told the Lord-keeper, (for such he was at that Time) *If you must carry your Point, then take him to you; but on my Soul you will repent it*†. And about a Year after, he procured him a considerable Living in Commendam, in the same Diocese, to help his Revenue; which being unfought, and the News brought to him at *Durham-house* by Mr. WILLIAM WYNN, his Expression was, *Mr. WYNN, my Life will be too short to requite your Lord's Goodness*. Yet, notwithstanding this Declaration of Gratitude, King JAMES happened in this Case to be a true Prophet; for LAUD proved to be a bitter Enemy to his Benefactor, and that for the Course of 15 Years without any Interruption. *Of all Men*, says the above-mentioned Prelate, *Bishop LAUD was the Party whose Enmity was most tedious, and most spiteful, against his great Benefactor. He battered him with old and new Contrivances 15 Years: His very Dreams were not without them, as they are enrolled in his Memorials, drawn out with his own Hand*§. In this Case, and several other human Frailties, it must be allowed, his Conduct is altogether unjustifiable.

But that which very much raised the *Odium* of the Populace against the Archbishop was his too severe Proceedings in the *Star-chamber* against BURTON, PRYN, and BASTWICK, Three Men, though of different Professions, Divinity, Law, and Physick, yet united in an ungovernable Heat and Prejudice against the Established Church. They were indeed severely dealt with, imprisoned, pilloried, and cropped; but *no Manner* of Rigour was executed 'till all gentle Methods proved ineffectual. They were first gently reprehended; but they were incorrigible

\* Lord Clarendon's History of England, Vol. I. pag. 102.

† The Life of Archbishop Williams, by Ep. Hacket, Part. I. p. 64.

§ Ibid. Part. II. p. 65. Lond. 1693, Fol.

corrigible, being Men (as Lord CLARENDON says) of no Virtue or Merit, though the Puritans reckon them as so many eminent Confessors for the Purity of Religion.

In the Year 1628 one LEIGHTON, a Scotsman, presented a Book unto the Parliament, called *Zion's Plea*, exciting them to grant out a Commission at large empowering all Manner of People to kill all the Bishops, to smite them under the fifth Rib, and to knock them on the Head without any Remorse, as being all of them Enemies to the Purity of the Gospel\*. This was a favourite Treatise with our *Triumvirate*; and, together with their own infamous and insolent Libels, they took care to disperse *Zion's Plea* among Friends and Well-wishers to the Cause. This was the *main Reason* why these *Enthusiasts* were so roughly handled by the Government, to prevent a general Insurrection and the shedding of Sacerdotal Blood, though they afterwards brought their accursed Designs to bear.

BURTON, being disappointed of a Place at Court, and for several Misdemeanours having an Inhibition in Form sent him that he presume not to make his Appearance there any more, grew sour and discontented, turned Lecturer, and made his constant Theme to rail at the Bishops and the Constitution, being, as Lord CLARENDON speaks of him, 'endued with Malice and Boldness instead of Learning and any tolerable Parts.'—PRYN was a Barrister of *Lincoln's Inn*, but herded chiefly with factious and hot-headed Divines. Among other Things he wrote a virulent Libel, containing sundry Incitements to stir up the People to Discontent, and that there was just Cause to lay violent Hands upon the Prince. He reviles all Decency and Ornaments of the Church, calls the Church-musick a *Bleating of Beasts*: "Choristers (says he) bellow the Tenor as if they were Oxen, bark a Counter-point like a Kennel of Dogs, roar a Treble as if they were Bulls, and grunt out a Base like a Parcel of Hogs."—BASTWICK, says Lord CLARENDON, was a half-witted, crack-brained Fellow, unknown to either of the Universities, or the College of Physicians. He also wrote a sorry Libel, where, among other paltry Stuff, he thus breaks loose: 'If we look upon the Lives, Actions, and Manners, of the Priests and Prelates of this Age, and see their Pride, Impudence, Profaneness, Ungodliness, &c. one would think that Hell was broke loose, and that the Devils, in Surplices, in Hoods, in Rockets, and in *Four-square Cow-turds* upon their Heads, had come amongst us, and had *beshit* us all! Pho! how they stink! The Priests are *secundum ordinem diaboli*;

' a

\* G. Geary's History of the Church of Britain, p. 300.

‘ a Generation of Vipers; proud, ungrateful, illiterate Asses.  
 ‘ The Church is as full of Ceremonies as a Dog is full of Fleas.  
 ‘ The Divine Service is a devised Service, a plaguy deal of  
 ‘ Porridge\*.’ This is a Specimen of the cleanly Language of  
 the top and most noted Puritans and Enthusiasts of that Age.

After two Years Confinement, in the very first Year of the  
 Rebellion, they were recalled home from their several Imprison-  
 ments with great Triumph and Acclamations of the disaffected  
 Party, ‘ some Thousands bearing them Company, and strew-  
 ‘ ing Flowers and Herbs in the Way they passed, making great  
 ‘ Noise and Expressions of Joy for their Deliverance and Re-  
 ‘ turn, and loudly exclaiming against the Bishops who had so  
 ‘ cruelly persecuted such Godly Men;’ on all which tumultuous  
 Proceedings the Noble Historian so often quoted makes very  
 just and severe Reflections.

I know very well that to recriminate does not justify; but  
 one may venture to say, that, if any one, that the *then* pre-  
 vailing Faction did brand by the Name of Malignants, had  
 presumed to talk half so much against the *Directory* and *Cove-*  
*nant* as these Enthusiasts did against Monarchy and Episcopacy,  
 he would have been prosecuted as a *Blasphemer*, and suffered  
 without Mercy.

There are some, though perhaps over-nice Criticks, that  
 observe that the Covenant does consist of 666 Words, which  
 is the Number of the *Beast* in the *Revelation*: But, not to lay  
 any great Stress upon that, most certain it is ‘ that the *Malice*  
 ‘ of the *Faction*, and the *Miseries* of the *Clergy*, seem each  
 ‘ to have been *perfected* in the exquisite and finished Wicked-  
 ‘ nefs of this *Covenant*; for no less than the *Loss* of all *Liberty*  
 ‘ and *Livelihood*, and the dismal Cries of a starving and perish-  
 ‘ ing Family, were the unavoidable Attendants of *refusing* it;  
 ‘ nor was any Corner of the Kingdom exempted from the  
 ‘ Calamities: And yet on no other Conditions could this be  
 ‘ avoided than those of engaging their Souls in the most solemn  
 ‘ Manner to God, that they would tear up the very Founda-  
 ‘ tions of that Church which most of them did think in their  
 ‘ Consciences to be the best and purest Church of CHRIST  
 ‘ upon the Face of the Earth, and to which they were all  
 ‘ bound and obliged by many Oaths and Subscriptions; and  
 ‘ that they would destroy and extirpate that very *Order* from  
 ‘ which they hold *their own*, and which far the greatest Part  
 ‘ of them was fully persuaded to have been the *Institution* of  
 ‘ Christ himself, either *immediately* by his own Hands, or *medi-*  
 ‘ ately

\* Vid. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 199, 200. Dr. Grey's  
 Answer to Neal, p. 144, 148.

‘ately by those of his Holy Apostles. It was likewise, in effect, solemnly to declare, in the *Presence of God*, that they did renounce that *Allegiance to his Vicegerent* which, by his own Laws, by those of the Realm, and by many sacred and inviolable Oaths, they were indispensably bound to yield unto him; and in the same Manner to combine and involve their Souls in the foulest, blackest, and most execrable Rebellion that ever any Nation was cursed with.’ \*

Such was the Tyranny of those barbarous Times, that no Loyalist dared to keep a Private School for his Maintenance; should have no Manner of Employment either at home or abroad; which was intended to put such as refused to take the *Covenant*, and their Families, upon a Necessity of starving. Yea, it was not only enacted that they should have nothing to subsist upon, but also made penal, after the most ignominious Manner, if they went about to BEG.---The Consideration of which Barbarities made even Mr. PRYN himself to call this very severe and merciless Usage a *transcendent Barbarity and Impiety*; as the Pope and Jesuits themselves could not have invented the like; and exceeded all Foreign Persecutions against Protestant Ministers in Piedmont, Bohemia, and Silesia, by Popish Princes†. A savage Edict, in fact, was published by the Tyrant that usurped the Throne, *That the Episcopal Clergy should neither preach nor pray in Publick; nor baptise, nor marry, nor bury, nor teach School; no, nor so much as live in any Gentleman’s House who in mere Charity might be inclined to take them in from perishing.* §

It would be an easy Matter to produce the Testimonies of some of the most eminent Writers of that Age, who were Eye-witnesses of those dreadful Calamities, such as Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE, Dr. SOUTH, Mr. YOUNGER||, but more especially Lord CLARENDON. But let any unprejudiced Christian peruse the Account that Dr. WALKER has published of the *Sufferings of the Clergy*, (which is supported by the best Authority) and he will be convinced (if Matter of Fact will convince him) that the dreadful Effect of the *Covenant* is no whit inferior to that of the *Inquisition*: He will perceive that the *Scotch Covenant* and the *Spanish Inquisition* are Correlatives and Cousin-germans, though born in distant Climates; and that the Zeal and Fury of a Northern Enthusiast is altogether as keen and vindictive as that of a mere grave Don that basks in a warm Sun. This

\* Dr. Walker’s *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part I. pag. 108, a.

† Ibid. pag. 194. b.

§ Dr. Grey’s *Examination of Neal*, p. 168.

|| Sir W. Dugdale’s *Short View of the Troubles*, &c. p. 258. Dr. South’s *Sermons*, Vol. I. p. 430. Younger’s *Brief View of the Troubles*, &c. p. 77.

This was the distinguishing *Test* of those dismal Days. The refusing the Covenant was enough to convict any Man a *Malignant*, at once sufficient to *arraign* and *dispatch* him. The Men of Honour and Principles, that would not subscribe this horrid *Combination*, were plundered, persecuted, and tortured without Mercy, like so many obstinate Hereticks by the Fathers of the *Inquisition*. Yea, they would inflict new-invented Pains and Penalties, as their Rage and Enthusiasm was the more inflamed, imagining thereby they did the Work of the Lord most effectually; for sometimes they would cause the poor Loyalists to be carried by Force on Ship-board, and “ instantly  
 “ put under Hatches, where the Decks were so low that they  
 “ could not stand upright; and yet were denied *Stools to sit on*,  
 “ or so much as a *Burthen of Straw to lie on*. In this dismal Po-  
 “ sture they crowded together no less than 80 Prisoners of Qua-  
 “ lity in one small Ship; (among whom was Dr. STERN, after-  
 “ wards Archbishop of *York*) and, that they might stifle one an-  
 “ other, having no more Breath than what they sucked from one  
 “ another’s Mouth, (most maliciously, and certainly with a  
 “ murtherous Intent) they stop up all the *small Augur-holes*,  
 “ and all other Inlets, which might relieve them with fresh  
 “ Air. They were offered to be sold for Gally-slaves to the  
 “ *Turks in Algier*; but providentially there was none that would  
 “ purchase. An Act of such horrid *Barbarism*, that nor *Age*,  
 “ nor *Story*, nor *Rebellion*, can parallel!” \*

The Covenant was the main Engine whereby the Ruin both of the *Clergy* and *Laity* was brought to pass. It was enacted, by a joint Ordinance of both Houses, Feb. 2, 1643, “ That  
 “ it should be solemnly taken, in all Places throughout the  
 “ Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, by *All* above  
 “ the Age of Eighteen;” or, in case of Refusal, to be undone and ruined.—These are the Men of tender Conscience!—But, blessed be God, at the *Restoration*, this Bond of Iniquity, the Idol of the Faction, was burnt by the Hands of the *Common Hangman*, in *London* and all the principal Towns of the Kingdom, to the universal Joy of all sincere Christians, more especially the suffering and persecuted Clergy.

To palliate these Severities, some well-meaning Men will argue that these cruel Persecutions fell only on the *profane* and rigid Conformists, but that the *godly* and *moderate* Men of that Persuasion were left quite unmolested.—But this is false.—Archbishop USHER was a Man of exemplary Piety, as well as the Ornament of the Age he lived in for his profound Knowledge and Learning; and yet “ the *Presbyterians* seized upon  
 “ all

\* Dr. Walker’s Sufferings of the Clergy, Part II. p. 146, 147.

‘ all his Estate, deprived him of all his Benefices, and offered  
 ‘ many rude Insults towards his Person. It’s well known how  
 ‘ the King, in consideration of the Bishop’s great Merits, had  
 ‘ given him large Preferments in *Ireland*; but, upon the break-  
 ‘ ing out of the *Irish* Rebellion, he suffered great Losses, inso-  
 ‘ much that he was obliged to sell his Plate and Jewels for a  
 ‘ Subsistence; which occasioned the King to bestow on him  
 ‘ the Bishoprick of *Carlisle*, the Revenues of which were soon  
 ‘ after seized upon by an Order of Parliament.—It’s no  
 ‘ Wonder that the *Irish* Papists should seize upon the Estate of  
 ‘ a Protestant Bishop; but that he should meet with worse  
 ‘ Usage from the Hands of those who would be thought the  
 ‘ only *true* Protestants cannot be accounted for.—Cardinal  
 ‘ RICHLIEU shewed him many Marks of Kindness and Es-  
 ‘ teem, in Honour of his great Learning: But our Reforming  
 ‘ Parliament were equally Enemies to his Learning and *Epis-*  
 ‘ *copal* Dignity; for they made an Order for the seizing of his  
 ‘ Study of Books, and exposed them to Sale. And the *Godly*  
 ‘ *Assembly* at *Westminster* professed that Respect for him as to  
 ‘ petition for him to be turned out of their Synod; and so left  
 ‘ him to the wide World, where he lived and died upon the  
 ‘ Charity of *good Christians*.\*’

Such was the barbarous Treatment that the learned and pious  
 Archbishop USHER met at the Hands of the Zealots. Nor did  
 that Man of *Moderation*, the Most Reverend Dr. JOHN WIL-  
 LIAMS, Archbishop of *York*, fare any whit the better. He  
 narrowly escaped being assassinated in his Bed at the first break-  
 ing out of the Rebellion, for no other Provocation given but  
 the rebuking some of the Ringleaders for their Disloyalty to  
 the King; but that was *Crime* enough in those *Days of Iniquity*.  
 The Warning that was given him was very providential; and  
 he had just Time to make his Escape (without so much as  
 Change of Apparel, nor scarce any Money in his Purse) at a  
 very unseasonable Hour of the Night, but as he thought for a  
 while ’till the Times should mend. But, alas! the Faction  
 prevailing, he never had the Sight of his Palace nor of his Dio-  
 cese after, and was obliged for his better Safety to retire to his  
 native Country of *Caernarvon*, in *North-Wales*. †

The Assassins, headed by young HOTHAM, Son to Sir JOHN  
 H——, came according to Assignment, and beset the House  
 before Day-break; and, finding the Archbishop had fled for  
 his Life, HOTHAM fell into a great Rage, and with much ado  
 I spared

\* Seditious Preachers, ungodly Teachers, p. 55, 56, cited by Dr. GREY’S Examination of NEAL, p. 386.

† Bishop HACKET’S Life of Archbishop WILLIAMS, Part II. p. 186, 7.

spared the Lives of those that remained, but, contrary to the Articles of Surrender agreed upon, rifled the House, and, as Bishop HACKET observes, *nothing was saved from the Top to the Bottom from the Plunder of the Soldiers*--N. B. Sir JOHN HOTHAM, Governor of *Hull*, was the first that actually rebelled against the King; for he shut the Gates against him, and told him peremptorily that he was entrusted by the Parliament to keep the Garrison, and so would give his Majesty no Admittance. But, notwithstanding the Father and Son continued for a while in the good Graces of the Parliament, as being very active in the Cause; yet it so came to pass, they were suspected to be somewhat remiss in their Zeal, and they were both condemned to lose their Heads on *Tower-hill* the Beginning of *January* 1644. The Royal Martyr hath the following Remark on this Transaction, *Sir JOAN HOTHAM, unreprouched, unthreatened, uncursed by any Language or secret Imprecation of mine, only blasted with the Conscience of his own Wickedness, and falling from one Inconstancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldest Son's Head, as Forfeitures of their Disloyalty, to those Men from whom surely he might have expected another Reward than thus to divide their Heads from their Bodies, whose Hearts with them were divided from their King.\**

But to return to the Arch-bishop: This Attempt upon his Life by HOTHAM was but a Prelude to the subsequent Persecutions that he was continually harrassed with 'till the Day of his Death. There was an Order of the House of Commons, dated Feb. 18, 1642--3, which commanded all his Plate to be melted down for the Use of the Commonwealth †. It would be abundantly too tedious to make a Detail of all the Hardships and several Plunderings that his *Grace* underwent, (yet he bore all with a Fortitude and Magnanimity that was equal to his Great Soul) but from this brief Narrative it is even demonstrable, "That *rigid Presbyterians* treat all alike that do not run full Lengths with them with the same vindictive Spirit, without Regard either to Piety or Learning, or even Moderation itself, when they have the *Power*, however usurped, in their own Hands." Yea CALVIN and KNOX (whom they glory in as the Patterns of true Reformation) were turbulent and bloody-minded Men, whereof there are too many Instances upon Record. And I could produce a notable Act of Severity done by the Orders of CALVIN at *Geneva*, but that would look somewhat like a Digression.

I know it is objected by some, that the Archbishop did warp  
in

\* *Ἐικὼν Βασιλική*, 1648. p. 49.

† Vid. Dr. *Walker's* Sufferings of the Clergy, Part II. p. 82.



in his Loyalty to the King. Mr. CALAMY speaks in broad Terms, *that he took up Arms for the Parliament\**. That a Man of his Character should say so is no great Wonder; for he catches at any Thing (more especially in a Man of Distinction and Eminence) that would any Way favour his beloved Cause, viz. to asperse the King, and to justify the Rebellion. Whatever the Voice of Scandal whispers in private, if it is to the Obloquy of Churchmen and a Slur on their Character, CALAMY takes the Hint, and publishes it as a Matter of Fact, without ever examining into the Bottom. Thus in the Case now before us, according to the usual *Bitterness of his Spirit*, he trumps up a stale groundless Story, that the Archbishop took up Arms for the Parliament, or, in other Words, that he turned a *Rebel*.

Now, that which gave a Handle to this Scandal was this. The Archbishop kept the Castle of *Conway* in Garrison for the King, where all or most of the loyal Gentlemen of that and the neighbouring Counties had sent their Plate, Money, and Jewels, and whatever was valuable, as to a Place of the most Security from the Depredations of the Rebels. Now, in order to discharge this great Trust that was reposed in him both by his Majesty and the neighbouring Gentlemen for securing their most valuable Effects under his Protection, he declared that none should have any Command in the Garrison but *Cambro-Britons*, and such of them too that he knew to be of known Fidelity, or, as Bishop HACKET expresses the Matter in the History of his Life, *he repulsed the English from being Chief Officers over the Old Britons in their own Soil* †.

This was the Origin of the Calumny raised against him; and Bishop HACKET (in this Circumstance) does highly commend and justify his Conduct, and adds, as a Corollary to the Whole, *from his Fidelity to his Majesty he never went back an Inch* ‥. Yea, and to put the Matter beyond all Dispute, his Sacred Majesty with his own Hand wrote him a Letter of Thanks, as being fully satisfied with and approving his Conduct in the said Castle of *Aber-Conway*.—Now, it is evident that Mr. CALAMY had seen and perused Bishop HACKET's Life of the Archbishop of *York* §, yet in his *fly* Manner takes no Notice of this, and, to wound his Memory, chuses to follow the natural Bent of his own Passion and Partiality.

To conclude this Chapter (spun out indeed to a greater Length than I at first intended) by what is here briefly related,

I 2

(and

\* Life of *Baxter*, p. 50.

† Part II. p. 209.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 220.

§ Life of *Baxter*, p. 70.

(and I think sufficiently proved) the rigid *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, &c. seem to me, upon a serious Review and Recollection, to be the most unreasonable Denomination of Christians in the World; for, when they get the Supreme Power into their own Hands, right or wrong they will allow of no Toleration or Liberty of Conscience to any that are of different Principles: Witness the Rigour in *Scotland*, the Severity in *New-England* by the Independents, but more especially during *OLIVER's* Usurpation, when not a little Attorney or a petty Schoolmaster, no, nor a Constable, was permitted to act, unless he did subscribe the *Covenant*, altho', I think, the *Papists* and *Jews* were connived at. But, when they are in Subjection and silenced by Authority, (as they were with all the Reason in the World for some Time after the *Restoration*) then they make the most terrible Clamour against Persecution. When they did persecute with all the Cruelties and barbarous Treatment that the utmost Rage and Fury could suggest, then it was to do the *Work of the Lord*, to punish the *Ungodly* and the *Malignants*, as the *Papists* in their *Inquisition* do punish *Hereticks*; and it is a Query, whether the *Inquisition* or the *Covenant* was the most destructive: But, when they suffer the least Encroachment upon their imaginary Privileges, viz, of making a *Schism* in the Church of *CHRIST*, then what a Torrent of Invective and Satyr is poured out against the higher Powers that lay a Restraint upon their Liberty! This is a Truth that they must acknowledge, let them be as captious as they will.

They pretend indeed that they tread in the Steps of *LUTHER* and *CALVIN*: But, if we may credit Modern History, their Pretence is false as to this material Point wherein they so much glory; for, as to the *Lutheran Church*, (which primarily appropriates to itself the Name of *Protestant*) that, as in *England*, is governed by Archbishops and Bishops, &c. and Divine Service regularly performed by a stated Liturgy, or *Common-prayer Book*.—The Religion of *Sweden* is established entirely on the *Lutheran* Reformation; and the Church is governed by a Metropolitan, the Archbishop of *Upsall*, and Ten Bishops; and under them are Eight Superintendents, who have all the Power of Bishops, and only want the Name; and over each Ten Churches is a Provost, or *Rural Dean*, with some Authority over the inferior Clergy\*. The Kingdom of *Denmark* is also *Episcopal*, being governed in Church-affairs by a *Primate* and Six *Superintendents*, but who had rather be called *Bishops*; and, as Lord *MOLESWORTH* observes, every one of them takes it very kind to be complimented, *My Lord*. In these Two  
 . Pro-

\* An Account of Sweden, Ch. v. p. 55, 56. Lond. 1694.

Protestant Kingdoms there is not a Dissenter to be met with: They have no more Regard to the *Calvinists* than to *Papists*, and no great Charity indeed to any that differ from them in Opinion, except the Church of *England*; and to that, as the above-named Author writeth, they are very kind, often saying that there is no essential Difference between it and their's, and wishing that there were an Union of them projected and perfected\*.—Hence it is evident, that our *Presbyterians* are in their Practice the very reverse to that Plan of Church-government established by the First Protestant, the Great LUTHER: Nor are they the less opposite as to the Mode of Worship; for they have a Publick Liturgy and Church-musick. I shall here transcribe a Part of that Account that the Reverend and Pious Mr. DORRINGTON has published of the Divine Service among them.

‘ The Service was begun by a *Reader*, a grave antient Man.  
 ‘ He first read a short Prayer; then he read several Chapters of  
 ‘ the Old and New Testament, while the Congregation came  
 ‘ together. When a good Number were assembled, they began  
 ‘ to sing, with the Organ, their Psalms, and Hymns, and Spiritu-  
 ‘ al Songs. I observed many People, both Men and Women,  
 ‘ fell in with the Singing, without using their Books, which they  
 ‘ had before them, very often; and the Children, who sat  
 ‘ together, very readily found what was to sing, though I saw  
 ‘ it was taken out of several distant Places of their Books;  
 ‘ which shews that they were very well acquainted with their  
 ‘ *Liturgy*. I perceived in one Place they sung the Apostles’  
 ‘ Creed: This Singing took up the greatest Part of the Time  
 ‘ of their Assembly.

‘ They all sung with the most perfect Concord with the  
 ‘ Organ, which was very pleasant; and, which was more  
 ‘ pleasant, they did it with great Seriousness and Devotion.—  
 ‘ As soon as they were entered in their Singing, they appeared  
 ‘ as if the whole Soul was engaged, and elevated above the  
 ‘ vain World, as if they were all Thoughts and Devotion.—  
 ‘ This Singing was twice interrupted for a little Space; at  
 ‘ which Times the Minister went from his Pew by the Pulpit,  
 ‘ and stood before the Communion-table with his Face towards  
 ‘ the People, and read first the Gospel, and then the Epistle,  
 ‘ for the Day. After they had spent a good while in these  
 ‘ Devotions they ceased, and the Minister ascended the Pulpit,  
 ‘ where he prayed and preached. The Subject of his Preaching  
 ‘ was, an Explication of the Gospel for the Day.—When  
 ‘ he

\* Account of Denmark, Ch. xvi. p. 251, 253. Lond. 1694.

‘ he concluded, the People sung again for a while, and then  
‘ were dismissed with a Blessing\*.’

Mr. DORRINGTON saith further on this Subject, that in the  
Afternoon he had some Conversation with the Minister that  
preached, and, among other Discourse, ‘ That he expressed a  
‘ great Veneration and Esteem for the Church of *England*;  
‘ that he positively condemned those of our Nation who sepa-  
‘ rate so needlessly from a Church so wisely and justly re-  
‘ formed; but he spoke this with a Spirit of Compassion and  
‘ Tenderness becoming a Christian; but he heartily lamented  
‘ it, as a Thing of mighty Prejudice to the Progress and  
‘ Prosperity of the *Reformation*.’—N. B. Mr. DORRINGTON  
was brought up in the Way of *Schism*, (as he acknowledges  
himself in his Epistle Dedicatory to the Archbishop of *Canter-*  
*bury*) and declares, *That he entered the Church of God upon a*  
*deliberate Consideration, and with a full Conviction of Conscience*  
*that it was his indispensable Duty so to do.* If I am rightly in-  
formed, the University of *Oxford* conferred a *Master of Arts*  
Degree upon him, since his Conformity, for some important  
Services he has done the Church.

This is the Mode of Worship among the *Lutherans*: That  
of the *Calvinists* beyond Sea I shall give in the Words of the  
learned Physician Dr. NORTHLEIGH. ‘ Though our Dif-  
‘ fenters in *England*, says he, from an habituated Averseness  
‘ more than any reasonable Dislike, declaim against the Vanity  
‘ of our Church-musick, and make but Bagpipes of such In-  
‘ struments as the Psalmist was wont to praise God with in  
‘ his Holiness, I could not but observe, that in all this Coun-  
‘ try, [*United Netherlands*] where doubtless the *Presbyterian*  
‘ *Discipline* (if any such were intended by CALVIN) must be  
‘ allowed to obtain, there is not a Church of any Note that  
‘ has not One or Two good Lofts and *Organs* in it, and no  
‘ less than Three or Four in this of *Harlem*†.’ And the above-  
mentioned Mr. DORRINGTON assures us, ‘ That all the *Cal-*  
‘ *vinists* beyond Sea have Composed Forms for Publick Prayer,  
‘ before and after Sermon, and for the Administration of the  
‘ Sacraments, and condemn such of our Dissenters who will  
‘ have this unlawful§.’

The established Religion of *Prussia* is the Reform of  
CALVIN. As to Church-government, I am not certain whe-  
ther they have any Degree of Superiority and Superintendents  
or no. CHARLES-LEWIS Baron POLLNITZ informs us, that  
when

\* A Journey through Germany in the Year 1698, p. 348, &c.

† Northleigh's Voyage through Europe, p. 45.

§ Dorrington, p. 225.

when that Sovereign *Dutchy* was erected into a Kingdom, Anno 1700, FREDERICK-WILLIAM the Elector, in order to grace that grand and august Ceremony, had Two Bishops consecrated on that Occasion, who, in their Episcopal Robes, did, by a set Composition, perform the Coronation-solemnity, assisted by Six Presbyters, Three *Calvinists*, and Three *Lutherans*\*. — By this it is evident, beyond all Dispute, (if we may credit Matter of Fact) that the *English* Puritans, and Dissenters of all Denominations, do but impose upon the World when they alledge, in the Justification of their *Schism*, that they tread in the Footsteps of the first Reformers, LUTHER and CALVIN: The rigid Doctrine of the latter they do indeed for the most part stick close unto, (and so do some of the Episcopal Church) yet they disapprove of a Publick Form of Prayer, and Church-Musick, as sinful Terms of Communion.

Now, after all that has been said on this Subject, it may be objected, To what Purpose is all this Account of the Rebel Presbyterians and other Sectaries of the last Century? I answer, Very much and altogether to the Purpose, since Enthusiasm was then the Epidemick Distemper of the Nation, that brought such a Scandal upon it. That was the Sentiment of Bishop BURNET, as was hinted before: These are the Sentiments of many other eminent Divines; and that indeed is the best Apology they can make to palliate their Rebellion and Regicide. The Head of the Faction, OLIVER himself, was, in the Judgment of Bishop BURNET, a complete Dissembler and *Enthusiast*. — Or, if you will have his Character from Bishop HACKET, he tells us, *That he was an Imp of Satan, compounded of all Vice and Violence; That he regarded neither Parliament nor Patents, much less any Canons of the Church, no, nor the Scriptures of God, in comparison of some new Light shining in the Lantern of his own Head*†. Or, if you will have his Character in the Words of Lord CLARENDON, though his Lordship grants that he had some good Qualities, yet that *he was guilty of many Crimes against which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-Fire is prepared; and he will be looked upon by Posterity as a brave wicked Man*§. — But, in his latter Days, *Conscience*, though it was seared with a hot Iron for the most Part of his Life, began now and then to recoil and startle at the Recollection of the many horrid Villainies that he has perpetrated ever since he has commenced a Rebel; and his Agonies were restless, and, as it were, continually upon the Rack, ever since a Book was published,

\* Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 32. Lond. 1738.

† Life of Archbishop Williams, Part II. p. 223.

§ Vol. III. p. 653.

lished, that was intituled *‘ Killing no Murther, wherein it was argued that it was a most lawful, just, necessary, and honourable Act to kill the Usurper. Whoever was the Author, it scared OLIVER almost out of his Wits. This made him very suspicious and fearful, so that he began to dread every Person, or strange Face, he saw, (whom he would anxiously and intently view) for an Assassin; that Book continually running in his Mind. It was his constant Custom to shift and change his Lodging, to which he passed through 20 several Locks, and out of which he had Four or Five Ways, to avoid Pursuit\*.’*--- Thus, as when a fierce Beast of Prey is sorely wounded in his Vitals, he tosses, and flings, and bounces, ’till Nature is quite spent, and then expires, so the bloody Tyrant (who sometimes in his Fury gave no Quarter † to Man, Woman, or Child) continued ever restless in his Mind all the short Remainder of his Life afterwards, and died a raving Enthusiast.

In a word, the general Character of that Period, viz. since the Rebellion prevailed and grew rampant, to the Time of the Restoration, seems to be one continued Scene of Enthusiasm, of pretended Sanctity and open Wickedness. And it must be owned, that when at last, by the good Providence of God, the Nation was freed from that general Captivity under which it groaned for so many Years, instead of rendering a due Tribute of Praise and Thanksgiving to the Almighty for such a Deliverance, in a great measure a Dissoluteness of Manners and Profaneness did ensue, following the Example of a loose and debauched Court and Prince; tho’ it must be acknowledged that it was in some Respects the *Augustan* Age, more especially as to the Purity of the *English* Tongue, and that some of the most eminent Divines were promoted to the highest Dignities in the Church.

P. S. In the Year 1632 the learned Antiquarian, Sir HENRY SPELMAN has wrote a notable Book which he calls, *The History and Fate of Sacrilege*, which (by some Accident or other) was delayed to be published ’till the Year 1698. In this Treatise he produces historically a great many Instances thro’ the several Ages of the World (more particularly of the Christian Church) of remarkable Judgments that fell on those that dealed and trafficked in those Things that were once consecrated to the Worship and Service of God. There were a great many such  
in

\* Geary’s History of the Church of Britain, p. 360.

† Thus he did at *Tredagh*, in *Ireland*: He put every Man, Governor, Officer, and Soldier, to the Sword, and executed all Manner of Cruelty: All the Citizens, Man, Woman, and Child, were destroyed without Mercy; and Four Officers of Distinction, that lay concealed, when discovered Five Days after, were butchered in cold Blood.—*Clarendon’s History*, &c. Vol. III. p. 341.

in the Days of OLIVER, more especially distinguished by the Name of *Sequestrators*. Let the Qualification of an Incumbent of a *Living* be as *exemplary* as that of an *Apostle*, yet, if he would not subscribe the *Covenant*, he was convened before a Committee, and then inevitably ejected as a *Malignant*. Then an ignorant Fellow, very often a mean and rude Mechanick, would be intruded in his Place, the Tythe sequestered, some Portion of it allowed to the Intruder, and the rest pocketed by the *Sequestrators*, who got large Estates by this iniquitous Practice, but more especially from the great Revenues of the Bishops and the Dignitaries of the Church, which were purchased by Parasites and Favourites at a cheap and easy Rate. It is recorded by Mr. CALAMY, that Dr. BURGESS laid out all his Fortune in Bishops' Land, and laments that all was lost at the Restoration. Now, as the above-mentioned great Antiquarian does justly remark that those Estates, that were got by Sacrilege, did in a short Time dwindle away by some secret Judgment, and were entirely blasted; so it is no less visible, that those Presbyterian Dealers in Sacrilege are either extinct, or their Estates so purchased are squandered, and the Survivors reduced to Beggary. This is a common Observation in that Part of *South-Wales* that my Lot is fallen into.

Yea, it is further observed by that Great Man, Sir HENRY SPELMAN, that the unjust with-holding the Tythe from the legal Incumbent is very often attended by a Judgment from above. So it is still a general Remark to this very Day, (for the same Causes produce the same Effects) that, when some Great Families, *i. e.* Great in the Eye of the Vulgar, out of Avarice or Penury, or any pretended Cause, do stop the Payment of the legal Dues which the Minister has a Right to, a secret Judgment, as a Curse from Heaven, does blast their *Estates* and *Credit* in the World. And it is still yet a further Remark, that, as none but mere Enthusiasts and Hypocrites thus trafficked in Sacrilege in the Time of the Great Rebellion, so none but Enthusiasts and Methodists, and those of an abandoned Character, do pursue the same destructive Course, more destructive to themselves in the End than to those they injure.



## C H A P. V.

*Of the National Phrenzy that possessed both Old and New England for a Season, in prosecuting, torturing, and executing so many Men and Women, (more especially the Aged and Decrepid of the latter Sex) for the supposed Crime of Witchcraft.*

I MUST here make a somewhat retrograde Motion, and step a little backwards to the Reign of K. JAMES the First. There passed in this Kingdom *Three Acts of Parliament against Witches*, the 1st in the 33d Year of K. HENRY VIII. the 2d in the 5th of Q. ELIZABETH, and the 3d and last in the first Year of the Reign of K. JAMES I. which is the only Statute now in Force, if not repealed.

K. JAMES was a weak Prince, 'tis true, yet of good natural Parts, and had a Smattering of Learning. But he had the Misfortune to be engaged in dark and difficult Subjects in his younger Years. Before he was 20 he ventured to interpret the *Revelation*: A forward Youth! About the 25th Year of his Age he wrote his *Demonology*, or the Doctrine of Devils and Witchcraft: And his Accession to the Crown of *England* a few Years after made the People very fond to read and admire the King's Book upon so curious a Subject, which in all Probability induced the Parliament, in the very first Year of his Reign, to enact a more rigorous Statute against Witches than was before, and make it Felony. So that K. JAMES seems to be the first Mover and Director in the Change of the Statute. And the Translation of the Bible being made soon after hath received some Phrases that favour the vulgar Notions more than the old Translation, as might be instanced in several Particulars\*. K. JAMES himself in his advanced Years grew more sober and moderate about these Notions. But, when Laws and Translations are fixed, 'tis a difficult Thing to change them.

There were executed upon this Statute some Thousands of both Sexes (of old Women especially) in *England* and *Scotland* since the first enacting thereof to the Year 1682, when Three Women were hanged at *Exeter*; and these were the last in *England* that suffered on account of Witchcraft. I do not find that many were prosecuted and put to Death in the Reign of K. JAMES; but, at the breaking out of the *Great Rebellion* against his Son and Successor, and in all OLIVER's Usurpation, they  
went

\* Dr. *Hutchinson's Historical Essay* upon Witchcraft, Ch. xiv. p. 217, &c.



went to work with a Vengeance, and that both in *Old* and *New England*.

The different Notions about Witchcraft have divided the World into two Parties in this and other Nations; one Party, with abundant Reason, suspending their Belief of *all that Power* commonly ascribed unto Witches in doing such extraordinary Feats: The other Side believes all, and looks upon it as an Argument of greater Faith and closer Adherence to the Holy Scripture, and, without the least Allowance of Charity, reckons the opposite Party as so many Atheists, Sadducees, and Infidels; but it admits of no Dispute that there have been several Cheats and Impostures, and detected as such in Persons that pretended to be bewitched; and it is as doubtless also, that the greatest Champions that have blotted Paper, to prove the Reality of Witchcraft, have, in a blind and enthusiastick Zeal, but too often shed Abundance of innocent Blood, under Pretence of doing the Work of the Lord.

I shall not meddle with the Arguments on either Side, but confine myself to the *Diagnosticks*, i.e. the Symptoms, Marks, and Manner of Tryal, whereby, in the last Century, they pretended to discover Sorcery and Witchcraft; which ridiculous Practice (tho' fatal to the poor Sufferers) could have no Cloak to palliate, but a wrong Zeal, and an enthusiastick Noddle.

“ When any old Woman, &c. was suspected of Witchcraft,  
 “ she was placed in the Middle of a Room upon a Stool or  
 “ Table, cross-legged, or in some other uneasy Posture, to  
 “ which, if she submitted not, she is then bound with Cords.  
 “ There is she watched and kept without Meat or Sleep for  
 “ the Space of 24 Hours; for they say within that Time they  
 “ shall see her *Imps* come and suck. A little Hole is likewise  
 “ made in the Door for the *Imps* to come in at; and, lest they  
 “ should come in some less discernable Shape, they that watch  
 “ are taught to be ever and anon sweeping the Room, and, if  
 “ they see any Spiders or Flies, to kill them, and, if they can-  
 “ not kill them, then they may be sure they are her *Imps* \*.”  
 This cruel Treatment and barbarous Way of proceeding must needs be an exceeding great Torture. To sit upon a Board with the Legs tied a-cross must be as painful as riding upon the Wooden Horse; and thus to continue 24 Hours without either Sleep or Sustenance made the poor Creatures weary of Life, and in the Extremity of Pain to confess any Thing, tho' ever so innocent, in hopes of a present Relief.

Another Method to extort Confession was keeping one awake for several Days and Nights without any Intermission, 'till, Na-

\* Dr. Hutchinso'n's Historical Essay upon Witchcraft, p. 83.

ture being quite spent, the poor harrassed Creature speaks any Thing that his inhuman Tormentors would suggest. Thus dealt the *Barbarians* with the venerable Mr. LOWES, a very aged *Clergyman*, who had been 50 Years *Vicar* of *Brandeston*, in the County of *Suffolk*. He having incurred the Displeasure of some of the *Enthusiastick Zealots* of those Days, they fasten on him the high Crime of *Sorcery*. Being apprehended, (being then *Four-score Years* of Age, and very infirm) they first put him to the then usual Tryal of *Swimming*; and being convict by that, they kept him awake for several Days and Nights without any *Respite*, and ran him backward and forward about the Room until he was out of *Breath*; then they rested a little, (when tired themselves) and then at him again. And this they did for two or three Days and Nights successively, 'till they made the little Remainder of his Life a Burthen to him, as any one may judge by such execrable Usage. By this Barbarity they extorted a Confession from him, when he was not sensible of what he said or did, Nature being quite spent; and then in *Triumph* they led him to Execution, and he was hanged in the Year 1646.

The censorious Mr. BAXTER, as his Manner is, makes very invidious Reflections on this poor Gentleman's Sufferings; for, tho' he did in general spirit on these Prosecutions, yet, in the hard Fate of this *Episcopal Divine*, he seems more than ordinarily to glory. "Among the rest (says he) an old *reading Parson*, named LOWES, was one that was hanged, who confessed that he had Two *Imps*, that one of them was always putting him on doing *Mischief*, and he being near the Sea, as he saw a Ship under Sail, it moved him to send him to sink the Ship, and he consented, and saw the Ship sink before him\*." These are his own Words: And who after reading this but must acknowledge that his Malice had got the Mastery over his Reason? First he shews his Teeth by calling him a *Reading Parson* in distinct Characters; that is, I suppose, because of his reading the *Common Prayer*, or reading his Sermons, or a *Homily*, either of which was the Characteristick of a Malignant in those Days of Anarchy.—Then he tells the most *Romantick* Story that ever filled a Legend, that an *Imp* that he kept asked Leave to sink a Ship, which by the Parson's Consent it immediately performed. Now we may well suppose that in this Ship were a good Number of People about their lawful Occasions, and many Families at Land depending upon it for their *Livelihood*. And can any Man in his Senses believe (but R. BAXTER, and Men of the same gloomy Temper with himself) that God Almighty would suffer so many Souls to perish at the Humour of an

\* Baxter's Certainty of the World of Spirits, p. 52.

an Imp, if there is or was such a Creature *in Rerum Natura!* They pretended it was something in the Shape of a Rat, a Mole, a Toad, a Spider, a Fly, or whatever Form the Spirit did assume, which the Witches kept in private to execute their Commands. As to what he says to the old Clergyman's Confession, that is accounted for already; and, when out of the merciless Hands of his Tormentors, he maintained his Innocency to the last Moments of his Life.

Another Way of discovering Witchcraft was by searching every Part of the Body for *Teats*, and some *Special Marks*. Now the first of these may very naturally be accounted for, as being a Species of the *Verrucæ penfiles*, or Warts which in old Age grow large and pendulous; and the other, to be nothing else but either scorbutick Spots, or a Mole. And 'tis a hard Case that a Man should be judged a Wizard, and suffer an ignominious Death, for having such a Mark upon his Skin.— But then, to make sure Work of it, if none of these Marks did appear, the *dernier Resort* was that of *Swimming*. The Person to be swam had his or her Thumbs and Toes tied close by a Cord; and then a Rope being fastened about the Middle of the supposed Wizard or Witch, one End of the Rope is held by some Man on one Side of the River, and the other End by another Man on the other Side; and if the suspected Person did swim, that was a presumptive Proof of his or her being a Wizard or a Witch; but, if he or she did sink, then the Consequence *only* was drowning. And K. JAMES (amongst his other Impertinences) was so silly as to pretend to give a Reason for this, such as it is, *That, as such Persons have renounced their Baptism by Water, so the Water refuses to receive them.* Whereas any one in his right Senses may easily perceive, that this depended entirely on the Management of the Rope-pullers; for, if the Rope was held tight, then the unhappy Person would be kept afloat, and so reserved to a more cruel Fate, to be burnt or hanged; but, if the Rope was slackened, then the poor Wretch would sink and be drowned.

There were in those Days of Iniquity, *viz.* in the Years 1644, 45, &c. Enthusiastick Vagrants that strolled about the Country from one Place to another, called *Witch-finders*, the Principal of which Gang was one MATTHEW HOPKINS, of *Majningtree*, in *Essex*. Now, if any one had a Grudge against his Neighbour, it was only giving a Reward to the *Witch-finder*, and he would be searched for *Teats*, &c. and, if no one of their Symptoms did shew a sufficient Evidence, then the last Proof was *Swimming*. And it is very remarkable, that, after this infamous Zealot, MAT. HOPKINS, had practised his Art for so many

many Years, to the Destruction of so many innocent People, he at last became suspected of Witchcraft himself, and was put to the same Tryal as he put others to, of tying his Thumbs and Toes, and tossed into a Pool, where he swam too, which was taken for a sufficient Proof; and he was accordingly condemned and advanced to the Gallows, as he well deserved it. To this the ingenious Mr. BUTLER, Author of *Hudibras*, does allude,

*Hath not this present Parliament  
A Ledger to the Devil sent,  
Fully impower'd to treat about  
Finding revolted Witches out?  
And has not he within a Year  
Hang'd Three-score of them in one Shire?  
Some only for not being drown'd,  
And some for sitting above Ground  
Whole Nights and Days upon their Breeches,  
And feeling Pain, were hang'd for Witches;  
And some, for putting knavish Tricks  
Upon Green Geese and Turkey Chicks,  
Or Pigs, that suddenly deceas'd  
Of Grievs unnat'ral, as he guess'd  
Who after prov'd himself a Witch,  
And made a Rod for his own Breech.*

HUDIB. Part II. Canto III.

The Prosecution in *New-England* was carried on with a more vehement Zeal yet, being instigated thereto chiefly by the Writing of old Mr. COTTON MATHER. And it is observable, that C. M. jun. no longer since than the Year 1696, wrote a Book about Witches, and sent it over to *England* to be printed; and Mr. BAXTER recommended it by a Preface. And, the Year after, Mr. B. wrote another of his own on the same Subject; and, to retaliate the Kindness, Mr. MATHER recommended his, and dispersed it over the Province, with this Character, (to use his own Phrase) as a Book *ungainfayable*.

Upon this there were Executions upon Executions; and, if this Spirit of Infatuation, that was worked into a new Ferment by the Leaven of those Books, had raged some Time longer, the whole Province might have been near depopulated. Whole Families of the better Sort fled for their Lives as from the Plague. One of their *Ministers* was hanged, who, upon the Ladder, protested his Innocence in the most solemn Manner. No Body's Life was safe during the too fatal Influence of this Spiritual Phrenzy. It would be abundantly too tedious to enumerate Particulars;

ticulars; but after a Season this Ferment did subside, and they gradually came to a more sober and thinking Temper, and at length a Stop was put to further Prosecutions after a long and general Butchery.\*

I do not deny there may be real Witches in the common Acceptation of the Word, *i. e.* such as have a Communication with evil Spirits, and deserve to be capitally punished. But, of the many Hundreds, nay Thousands, that were executed upon the Statute in *Old and New-England* and *Scotland*, few, very few, are judged, by grave and impartial Men, that have made a sober Enquiry into these Matters, guilty of the Crime laid to their Charge, *i. e.* of a Compact or Covenant with the Devil, unless it be the afore-mentioned Major Weyer, that was executed in *Scotland* in 1670, and a Woman, of *Huntingdonshire* in *New-England*, whose Story is as followeth.

“ At *St. Ives* in *Huntingdonshire* (says the Author of the “ *Scourge*) lived a Woman, not many Years ago, whose Name “ I do not well remember, tho’ many in that Place very well “ do. She was one of those who, for Distinction, were called “ *Puritans*, a great Follower of the Presbyterian Doctrine, a “ constant Frequenter of Godly Meetings and Religious Exercises. This Woman came to be so eminent, especially in “ the *Gift of Prayer*, that she was generally admired and looked “ upon as a Saint of the first Magnitude. The Noise of her “ Fame, and the Boasts of her Party, brought many Ministers “ in the adjacent Countries to hear her pray; which she did in “ that ravishing Manner, that they never parted from her “ without an Excess of Admiration and Astonishment. After “ some Time, for what Reason I am not able to determine, this “ holy Sister went over to *New-England*, as about the same Time “ many others did for Liberty of Conscience. For a while she “ was there in the greatest Esteem and Height of Reputation: “ But the Devil owed her a Shame; and she became at last suspected and accused for a Witch, and, being brought to a “ Tryal, confessed her Guilt, and that her Contract with the “ Devil was, *That, in lieu of her Soul, which she made over to “ him, he should assist her with the Gift of Extempore Prayer.* “ After which Confession, Sentence passed upon her, and she was “ accordingly executed as a most abominable Sorceress.” †

As to the Scripture Notion of a Witch, some very learned and able Criticks do judge, that the Hebrew Word, which in our common Bibles is translated a *Witch*, might as well be rendered

a

\* Vide *C. Mather's History of New-England*, Lib. vi. p. 82. and *Dr. Hatchinson's Hist. Essay*, Chap. v. p. 95, &c.

† *Scourge*, No. xiii. anno 1717.

a *Ventriloquist*, and is so rendered by some very able Divines in other Languages. Yet I do not deny there may be *Witches* in the common Acceptation of the Word, *i. e.* such an one that has a Communication with evil Spirits, or has covenanted with the Devil.

To conclude, *Witches* are such (as some interpret the Hebrew Word) as do Mischief unto Men and Beasts by evil Arts, either by the Assistance of some familiar Spirit, or by Enchantments and Magical Spells: Or, 2dly, *Ventriloquists*, that speak out of the Belly, which to the Standers-by seemed as if the Person was possessed and supernatural, tho' generally carried on by Art and Contrivance, as Naturalists may well account for: [The *Pythones*, or *Damsel possessed with a Spirit of Divination*, (mentioned *Acts* xvi. 16) is supposed, by some very able Commentators on the Place, to be a *Ventriloquist*.] Or, 3dly, those that depended on the Influence of any Star or Planet to do Good or Evil by a particular Invocation of that Star or Planet. The Scope of the Law being that all Idolatry should be abolished, and that no Virtue should be ascribed to any Star of doing Good or Hurt to Men, (which Opinion led Men to their Worship) it necessarily followed that all *Witches* and *Wizards* should be put to Death, because they were Idolaters, tho' after a peculiar and different Way from that wherein the Vulgar worshipped Idols. — *Bishop Patrick on Exod. xxii. 18. Lev. xix. 31.*



## C H A P. VI.

*Of the Quakers. Their Rise. G. FOX and J. NAYLOR. The horrid Blasphemies of both. Some of the first Quakers possessed. Their going naked in publick Places. The Emissaries of Rome first set up this growing Sect.*

**T**HE closer any *National Church* follows the Rule of Faith contained in Holy Scripture, and the nearer Approaches it makes to the Platform of the Primitive Times in Discipline, Faith, and Practice, so much the more pure and orthodox and Apostolical it is, as a Copy in the Hands of a good Artist bears a nigh Resemblance to the Original. Now, *Quakerism* is the very Reverse of this, as a Glafs so contrived as to represent all Objects topsy-turvy. It cancels the *positive Ordinances* of JESUS CHRIST, and lays them aside as superfluous, and daringly censures the first Ages of the Church next after the Apostles to be nothing else but the Days of Darkness and Ignorance.

There is, indeed, a vast Difference, yea, a direct Opposition and Contrariety, between the Faith and Practice of the Church of Christ in all Ages and that of the upstart Sect of the *Quakers*. The Church of Christ, ever since its first Institution, set apart a peculiar Order of Men, designed for the Sacred Ministry, whether Bishops, Presbyters, or Deacons, by Prayer and solemn Imposition of Hands. The *Quakers* have no Ordination at all of any Kind: Any talkative Brother, that has a Mind to shew his Parts, may hold-forth 'till he is tired; yea, any prating Sister, that is inclined to be sonorous, may do the same; tho' sometimes at a Publick Meeting they are all silent. The Church of Christ in all Ages admitted Profelytes into Church-Membership by Water-baptism in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in Obedience to our Saviour's Command. The *Quakers* altogether reject Water-baptism, and neither baptize the Adult or Infants. The Church of Christ in every Age did partake of Bread and Wine, consecrated in a solemn Manner for that Use, in commemoration of the Passion of Christ, in Obedience to his Command, *Do this in Remembrance of me*. The *Quakers* altogether reject this Holy Institution of our Lord as too gross and carnal, yea, and call it by Names too shocking here to be repeated. The Church of Christ, more especially such Members of it as have any Feeling or lively Sense of Religion, do make *Family-Devotion* a necessary Part of Worship; and

the Publick Service does by no means supersede that in Private. This Duty the Quakers wholly lay aside, and commonly ridicule those that are conscientious in performing it. Nor, indeed, do the Quakers in their publick Meetings ever make Confession of Sin, or ask the Forgiveness of it: Such is their vain and high Conceit of their *Sinless Perfection!*

This is a Truth so notorious, insomuch that several well-meaning People, having been seduced by their Artifice to join with them in not hearing Confession of Sin and asking Forgiveness of it for some Years successively, have at length, by cool Reflection on the Case, *came to themselves* again, recover, and escape out of the Snare. And it is a known Observation, that no *Quaker* was ever known to die with a *Lord have Mercy upon him* in his Mouth. And a *Quaker* is scarce ever known either to ask a *Blessing* upon his Food before he takes it, or return *Thanks* for it after he has done; but they hastily fall to it like so many Brutes. Several other Particulars might be instanced, which here for Brevity's Sake are omitted.

Now, herein lies the Quaker's Enthusiasm, that being but a novel Sect, sprung up no longer since than the Year 1650, they impiously pretend to be wiser than all Antiquity, than all the purest Ages of Christianity, when, if ever, the Gospel Doctrine flourished in its Native Purity, without any Dross of Superstition; yet, according to those People, all was Darkness 'till the Rise of G. Fox. *The Principle of the Quakers is all Enthusiasm*, says the learned and pious Mr. LESLY; *there never was any Enthusiasm in the World that exceeded it.*—Now, which is the more eligible, the Doctrine of JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles, and the Apostolical Ages, or the Doctrine of GEORGE FOX, in direct Opposition to the same? Which is the safest Path for a Christian to tread in? If the former Doctrine be true and genuine, (as undoubtedly it is) then, by necessary Consequence, the latter must be false and spurious.

Who can refrain from Indignation (says the above most excellent Writer) to see such a conceited, senseless, most ignorant, and blasphemous Crew, destitute of common Modesty, or Shame, gravely set up themselves above all the glorious Lights of the Church, Confessors, and Martyrs, ever since the Apostles, whom they damn as Apostates, as their execrable Father, G. Fox, said in *his Great Mystery*, p. 89, "That the *Quakers* have a Spirit given them beyond all the Forefathers since "the Days of the Apostles."\* And THOMAS ELLWOOD complains of G. KEITH, that he has done the *Quakers* wrong, *viz.* that, in comparing the Books of *Friends* to the Books of them

\* Satan disrebed. p. 206. Fol. Ed. Lond. 1721.



them called the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, he has not done as a *Friend* and a *Brother*, but as an *Enemy*, in supposing *Friends'* Books to have been written by no better Guidance, or clearer Sight, than their's who lived and wrote in those *dark Times*.

Now, that the Quakers had no Being or Existence in any Part of the Christian World beyond the said *Æra* of 1650 is acknowledged by their own most noted Writers. JOSEPH WYETH, in his Answer to the *Snake*, makes this Confession, *At the first of the War, which was 1642, (as he expresses it) there was no such Thing as a Quaker spoke of or heard of\**. This JOSEPH, 'tis true, was but a Journeyman Linen-draper, yet all the Quakers' Strength was exerted in what they put forth under his Name. And it is a stated Rule among them to let no Book of their's be printed 'till it has undergone the Censure, and obtained the Approbation, of their second Day's Meeting, which consists only of their Preachers, or Holders-forth. To the same Effect writes ED. BURROUGHS in his Preface to G. FOX *his Great Mystery*, printed in 1659.

Having thus fixed the Origin of Quakerism, which was at a Time (the Church being pulled down) when the vilest and most monstrous and numerous Spawn of multifarious Sects, that ever the bottomless Pit belched out, broke loose among us, as a just Punishment of Schism and Rebellion, I shall now give a more particular Character of the two first Champions that were the Master-builders of this *Babel*; and they were GEORGE FOX and JAMES NAYLOR.

This G. FOX was a poor Mechanick, of so dull and heavy Parts, yet fierce and sulken, that he was scarce Master of Common Sense, and so destitute of Erudition, that he could scarce write, 'tho' his Name is set to Abundance of *Quaker-books*. He was at first a Herding-boy to look after Cattle, and then he got acquainted with one JOHN HINKS, another Shepherd, who, in the Beginning of the Rebellion, had imbibed the mad Principles of a Sect called *Ranters*, and made G. FOX, as they herded together, a Profelyte to his wild Opinions.

These *Ranters* allowed themselves in all manner of Excesses which their carnal Appetites prompted them to, and impiously pretended they committed all their wicked Actions for the Honour of God, whose Grace, as they maintained, was more illustrated in pardoning the Sins of the Elect, for which he would damn other Men; that the greater their Sins were, the greater was God's Glory in pardoning them; that God did not take Notice of the outward Actions of his chosen Servants, he only looked upon the Heart; finally, that to the Pure all is pure. As

blasphemous and as impious as this Doctrine is, yet it was in effect espoused and vindicated by Men of great Names, that from *Presbyterians* had warped into *Antinomianism*, such as VINCENT, CRISP, JACOMB, &c. For they held and taught, "That CHRIST in our Stead had so fulfilled the whole Law as to merit Heaven for the most profligate and wicked Sinner, continuing as such; that Moral Virtues are Signs of a carnal Mind estranged from the true Design of Christianity, and that Religion consisted chiefly in loving of CHRIST, but not in keeping his Commandments\*." They then invented a Sort of amorous Divinity, exhorting their Auditors above all Things to be in Love with CHRIST, to roll upon him, to clasp their Arms about his Neck, to run unto his Embraces, to kiss him, and a great deal more of such luscious Talk.

But to return from this Digression to G. FOX, who, as he herded together with J. HINKS, whilst a Stripling, was first infected with the loose and impure Tenets of the *Ranters*. He was afterwards put an Apprentice to a *Shoemaker*, but rose no higher than a *Journeyman*. Then it was, being weary of his Trade to get a Livelihood in an honest Way, that he improved on the Principles of the *Ranters*, by super-adding several of his own peculiar *Nostrums*, so as to be the distinguishing Characteristick of the *Set* he was setting up. Yet he wanted Wit to invent a Name for his Party, 'till the Name of *Quakers* was bestowed upon them by others from their monstrous *Quaking* and Distortions whilst under the Agency and Possession of an evil Spirit.— But more of this in the Sequel.

He pretended to Inspiration, and being prodigiously ignorant, or enthusiastick, or both, took every fanciful Thought, or roving Imagination, that came uppermost, to be the Voice of the Lord, or a Divine Revelation. Thus, p. 24 of his Journal, he saith, *When the Lord sent me forth into the World, he forbade me to put off my Hat to any, and I was required to Thee and Thou all Men and Women.*— But he did not rest here; tho' he pretended Inspiration even unto this and several other trifling little Things of the like Importance, the abandoned Wretch even assumed an Equality with God; for, in a Book printed in 1653, entitled, *A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Quakers*, there is an Account, how that G. FOX did avow himself, over and over, to be equal with God; and, being asked by Dr. MARSHAL, in the Presence of several Justices of the Peace in the County of *Lancaster*, at a Private Session in the Town of *Lancaster*, Whether or no he was equal with God, as he had before that Time been heard to affirm, his Answer was, *I am equal with God.*  
This

\* Dr. Nicholls's Introduction to his Defence of the Ch. of Eng. p. 87.

This Blasphemy has been attested upon Oath by the aforesaid Dr. MARSHAL, and Mr. ALTHAM, Schoolmaster, of *Lancaster*, before the Justices of the Session held at *Apleby* the 8th Day of *January*, 1652, and before Judge PULESTON at the Assizes held at *Lancaster* the 18th Day of *March*, 1652.\*

As a Specimen of G. FOX's Ability in Writing, I shall here subjoin a Part of his last Will and Testament, according to the Original Draught. Without prefacing in *the Name of God*, as is usual with *Christians* in this last Act of Life, or of recommending his Soul to God, he thus begin,

**I do give to THOMAS LOWER my Sedel, the ar at JOHN NELSON, and bzidal and Spozēs, my book of eight langes, and my filekal things, and my tow Diales, the one is an Eknoctha dial.**

And so he goes on in disposing of his Trinkets, yea and even his *Glyster-pipe*, † and sets the two first Letters of his Name, G. F. after each Paragraph. It bears Date the 8th Month, 1688.

Mr. LESLY, who saw the Original, says that his Hand-writing is as bad as the Spelling, both equal to his Sense and Learning. Judge then (says that worthy Writer) what *licking* there must be to print any Thing that he wrote. And yet he had the unparalleled Impudence to put his Name to a Book of 32 Languages, called his *Battle-door*, and sets his Name not only to the Title-page, but under every Page, as in the Will under the several Paragraphs. And yet he understood not one Word of any of these Languages, but the *English*, and that but very coarsely, as another ordinary Mechanick; tho' his deluded Followers were made to believe that he understood all these Languages by immediate Inspiration, such as was given to the Apostles at *Pentecost*.

COTTON MATHER remarks, "That the Quakers' Stories about their Miracles are little to be credited, particularly that of G. FOX's having the Gift of Tongues, because that proud Fool, (as he calls him) who could scarce write, hath set his Name to a Book of above 30 Languages, called the *Battle-door*, when it was afterwards found that certain *Jews* were hired to do that Work, and had Four-score Pounds for their Pains, and a Dozen Bottles of Wine over and above." ||

The

\* *Lesly's Works*, Vol. II. p. 25.

† *Ib. d.* Vol. II. p. 616, &c.

|| *Hist. of N. England*, Book vii. p. 24. Fol.

The Associate of G. FOX in this Work of Iniquity was the infamous JAMES NAYLOR; for I find them mentioned together in the Petition of several Gentlemen, Ministers, &c. of the County of *Lancaster* to the then Council of State, *Anno* 1653, praying that some speedy Course be taken for suppressing those Evils, and is as followeth, *That* GEORGE FOX and JAMES NAYLOR are Persons disaffected to Religion and the wholesome Laws of this Nation; and that, since their coming into this Country, they have broached Opinions tending to the Destruction of the Relation of Subjects to their Magistrates, Wives to their Husbands, Children to their Parents, Servants to their Masters, Congregations to their Ministers, and of a People to their God, and have drawn much People after them, many whereof, (Men, Women, and little Children) at their Meetings, are strangely wrought upon in their Bodies, and brought to fall, foam at the Mouth, roar and swell in their Bellies; and that some of them affirm themselves to be equal with God, besides many dangerous Opinions and damnable Heresies.\* May it therefore please your Honours, &c.

This Pupil of FOX even went beyond his Master, if possible, in Enthusiastick Rants and Blasphemies: For he set up to be the CHRIST, the True Messiah, and rode triumphantly, and was *Hosanna'd* into the City of *Bristol* on *October* the 24th, 1656, the Quakers leading his Horse, strewing Branches and their Cloaths in the Way, and singing, *Hosanna, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Israel!*—Dr. MORE, who lived in that Time, writes that his Horse was led in Triumph by two Women trudging in Dirt as he entered *Bristol*, and singing *Hosanna!* † As he entered the City, he stripped himself stark-naked, being escorted all along by his mad fanatick Crew with loud Acclamations of Rant and Blasphemy. For this tumultuous Proceeding being apprehended and examined by the Magistrates, these miserably deluded Quakers, being blinded no doubt by SATAN, owned, *That* he, JAMES NAYLOR, was the CHRIST; that his Name was changed from JAMES to JESUS, that he was the only begotten Son of God, the only Saviour; and that they knew no other Saviour but him. And J. NAYLOR, upon his Examination, would not disown any Thing of this, but justified and owned it in Terms equivalent.—As a Punishment for his execrable Blasphemy, he was pilloried, and had his Tongue bored thro', his sorrowful Disciples looking on with rueful Eyes and a heavy Heart.

Lo, here are the two main Pillars of Quakerism, G. FOX, and J. NAYLOR, bating the kind Assistance that the *Romish* Priests

\* *Leffly's Works*, Vol. II. p. 25.

† *Grand Mystery*, p. 112. Ed. *London*. 1660.

Priests in *Disguise* have contributed, of which more anon. These are the two *Corner Stones* upon which the *Quaker-Church* is built, if it may be called a *Church*. But hold! yes it may; there is a Scripture-proof for it in a parallel Case: For the Rabble of *Ephesus*, the mad Crew who made such an Outcry against the Apostle, are termed Ἐκκλησία, *Ecclesia*, or *Church*, *Acts* xix. 32. tho' the Word is rendered an *Assembly* in our Translation.

I have mentioned before that the Quakers have stripped Christianity of all the positive Ordinances of JESUS CHRIST, and reduced it to a mere Skeleton; and, instead thereof, they set up what they call the *Light within*. "That the *Light within* ought to be a Rule for every one to walk by, I assert," saith the above-mentioned JOSEPH WYETH\*. And, to name no more, a greater Man than he, viz. WILL. PEN, does roundly affirm, "That their *Light within* does surely guide them both in Reference to Religion and Civil Affairs †." Now, by virtue of this *Light within*, which they call CHRIST, they at first broached the most horrid Blasphemies, *that they are one Soul with God, and equal to him*. But what they now generally seem to mean by this *Light* (for they are divided in their Sentiments) is any *extatick Motion*, or sudden *Impression* upon their Spirits, which they believe to be a divine and supernatural Impulse, tho' perhaps (as it often was the *Quaker's* Case who fathered the Deliriums of their crude and wild Conceptions on the blessed Spirit of God) it may be either the Effect of Melancholy or Enthusiasm, yea, or sometimes the Suggestion of an evil Spirit.

In consequence of this *inward Light*, they have the Effrontery to affix God's Seal, *Thus saith the Lord*, to whatever their Rage, or Malice, or Folly, shall suggest; which is rank Blasphemy. When WILL. PEN had excommunicated G. KEITH, for being a little too orthodox in the Quakers' Creed, G. WHITEHEAD, a leading Man amongst them, a Month after, denounced against him the following Curse, "Thus saith the Lord, because thou hast poured forth great Contempt and Reproach upon my Servants and People, I will assuredly pour out and bring great Contempt and Confusion upon thee." This is signed GEORGE WHITEHEAD, dated the 17th of the 4th Month, 1695. And yet no Manner of Harm hath happened to G. KEITH, notwithstanding this terrible *Anathema*.

There are very strong Reasons to believe, and several Facts are recorded, that the first Quakers were actually possessed. One JOHN GILPIN, of *Kendal*, in *Westmoreland*, has published a strange and wonderful Account of his own Possession by the Devil,

\* Switch for the Sn. p. 379.

† Preface to *Fox's Journal*, p. 36.

vil, while he was a *Quaker*, in a Book which he entitled, *The Quakers shaken, &c.* printed in 1653, and attested by the then Mayor of *Kendal*, the Minister of *Kendal*, and several other Persons, whose Names are thereunto annexed. The Story is prodigious, and such astonishing Quaking and Distortion of his Limbs as could not be counterfeited, which the Devil told him was the Effects of his Inspiration by the Spirit of God.—And one JOHN TOLDEROY has printed a very punctual Narrative of his Conversion to *Quakerism*, and of the most astonishing Possession of the Devil, even to the Apparitions of evil Spirits dancing about him, and encouraging him in the Principles of *Quakerism*, chiefly to adhere strongly to his own *Light within*, which he was to make a superior Guide to Scripture; and, these unclean Spirits having the Power to make Impressions on his Imaginations, he became entirely subject to their Will, and was carried into strange Excesses even to attempt Miracles, but to no Purpose, for there the Devil left him in the Lurch\*.

Tho' at some Meetings they would be *silent* altogether, yet at others there would be such loud and hideous Yellings and unnatural Screaming as to affright Dogs, Horses, &c. at a Distance. These monstrous Quakings, Distortions, and violent Motions, continued amongst them from their first Origin in the Year 1650 'till the Restoration *Anno* 1660, but have since for the most Part ceased.

This was fine Sport to the Emiffaries of *Rome* to see their Plot succeed so well, yea beyond Expectation: For, that *Quakerism* is an accursed Weed of their planting is evident from several Circumstances. Sir J. WARE (who was exceeding curious in Affairs of this Nature) does aver, “ That he was credibly informed, that a *St. Omer's Jesuit* declared that they “ were 20 Years hammering out the *Sett* of the *Qakers* †. To raise up a new *Sett* the most likely to introduce *Popery* required a great many Politick Heads and several Consultations, where one Time such a Scheme, at another Time a different one was proposed, something mended, something altered, something added, 'till at last they brought it to the Shape it made its first Appearance in in the World. And now let any one suppose, that, if all *England* had been infected with the Leaven of *Quakerism*, (as in that Time of *Confusion* there was a Possibility) then all *England* would have fallen of Course an easy Prey to *France* or *Spain*, or any *Popish* Power that would invade it, without striking a single Stroke; for it is against the *Quakers'* Principles to fight, and they are under no Tye of an Oath of Allegiance to any Prince or Potentate. As

\* The Foot out of the Snare, Ed. 1656. p. 30, &c.

† Foxes and Firebrands, p. 7.

As to G. FOX, he was abundantly too stupid to lay such a Plan (curst as it is) without some borrowed Help from more refined Politicians; tho', as one of an *Enthusiastick Cast* of Mind, he was made a Tool of, he himself being entirely ignorant of the Grand Design of *Rome*. W. PEN, the Great Champion of the Cause, was known, by the most sagacious of the *Quakers* themselves, to be a *Papist*, tho', for private Reasons, they did not care to expose him. And ROBERT BARCLAY, who wrote the *Apology*, was brought up a *Papist* at the *Scotch Convent* at *Paris*. 'Tis to no Manner of Purpose to alledge that, in this *Apology* for the *Quakers*, he does sometimes cast Reflections on the *Church of Rome*: This was in order to make the Mask fit the more close, when he had a double End in View, viz. to gain Profelytes to Quakerism, and consequently to carry on the Interest of *Rome* under that Disguise; for the *Jesuits* have laid this down as a Maxim, *That Divisions and Separations are the most effectual Way to introduce Popery, and ruin the Protestant Religion.*

Thus did THOMAS HETH, in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, exclaim against the Church of *Rome*; "he laboured (as he said) "to refine the Protestants, and to take off all Smacks "of Ceremonies that in the least did tend to the *Romish Faith*." Yet this very Man was detected to be a *Jesuit* by a Letter that casually dropped from him in the Pulpit, directed to him by a feigned Name from the *Provincial* of the *Jesuits*. The Letter concludes thus, *There is no other Way to prevent People from turning Hereticks, and for recalling of others back again to the Mother Church, than by Diversities of Opinions\**. And it is very remarkable, that, when Pope PIUS (the Fifth of that Name) had caused to be imprisoned FAITHFUL COMMEN, a Fryar of the Order of St. *Dominick*, in that he was informed the said COMMEN had spoken very abusively of him and his Religion in *England*, the Prisoner humbly desired an Audience of the Pope, which being granted, his Holiness, at the first Sight of him, fell into a Passion and said, *Sirrah, I have heard how you have set forth me and my Predecessors among your Hereticks of England, by reviling my Person, and railing at my Church.* To whom COMMEN reply'd, *I confess my Lips have uttered that which my Heart never thought; but your Holiness little thinks I have done you a most considerable Service, notwithstanding I have spoken so much against you.* To which the Pope returned, *How, in the Name of all the Saints, hast thou done so?* Sir, said COMMEN, *I have preached against set Forms of Prayer, and I called the English Common Prayer English Mass, and have persuaded severally to pray*

M

spi-

\* Foxes and Firebrands, p. 31—45.

*spiritually and extempore; and this hath so much taken with the People, that the Church of England is become as odious to that Sort of People as Mass is to the Church of England; and this will be a Stumbling-Block to that Church whilst it is a Church. Upon which the Pope commended him, and gave him a Reward of 2000 Ducats for his good Success\*.*

To return from this Digression, if it may be called one. There is sufficient Evidence upon Record, and attested upon Oath, that *Quakerism* was first broached in the populous City of *Bristol* in the Year 1654.

*The Information of GEORGE COWLISHAW, of the City of Bristol, Ironmonger, taken the 22d Day of January, 1654, who informeth on his Oath,*

‘ **T**HAT, in the Month of *September* last, this Informant had  
 ‘ some Discourse in *Bristol* with one *COPPINGER*, an *Irish-*  
 ‘ *man*, formerly a Schoolfellow of his, that came purposely  
 ‘ thither for his Passage into *Ireland*, who told this Informant  
 ‘ that he had lived in *Rome* and *Italy* eight or nine Years, and  
 ‘ had taken upon him the Order of a Fryar of the *Franciscan*  
 ‘ Company. And he told this Informant that he had been at  
 ‘ *London* lately for some Months; and, whilst he was there, he  
 ‘ had been at all the Churches and Meetings, Publick and Pri-  
 ‘ vate, that he could hear of, and that none came so near him  
 ‘ as the *Quakers*; and, being at a Meeting of the *Quakers*, he  
 ‘ there met with two of his Acquaintance at *Rome* (the which  
 ‘ two Persons were of the same *Franciscan* Order with himself)  
 ‘ that were now become chief *Speakers* among the *Quakers*, and  
 ‘ he himself had spoke among the *Quakers* in *London* about 30  
 ‘ Times, and was well approved of amongst them. And this  
 ‘ Informant further saith, That the said Mr. *COPPINGER* asked  
 ‘ him what Kinds of Opinions in Religion there were in *Bristol*.  
 ‘ And this Informant told that there were several Opinions and  
 ‘ Judgments, and not naming any Opinions of the *Quakers*,  
 ‘ the said Mr. *COPPINGER* asked him whether there had been  
 ‘ any *Quakers* in *Bristol*; and the Informant answered him, No.  
 ‘ Whereupon the said Mr. *COPPINGER* told him, the said In-  
 ‘ formant, two or three Times, that, if he did love his Reli-  
 ‘ gion and his Soul, he should not hear them. Whereupon this  
 ‘ Informant told him, that he thought none of them would  
 ‘ come to *Bristol*; who expressly replied, that, if this Infor-  
 ‘ mant would give him Five Pounds, he would make it Five  
 ‘ Hundred Pounds, if some *Quakers* did not come to *Bristol*  
 ‘ within

\* Foxes and Firebrands, p. 27, 28.



‘ within three Weeks, or a Month, then following : And, on  
 ‘ the Morrow following, the said COPPINGER departed this  
 ‘ City for *Ireland*, his native Place ; and, about 18 Days after,  
 ‘ there came to this City two Persons that bear the Name of  
 ‘ *Quakers.*’—Most likely his two Fellow *Franciscan* Fryars  
 above-mentioned.

Thus it is evident to a Demonstration that the *Romish* Priests  
 lent an assisting Hand in forming the Sect of Quakers at their  
 first Appearance in the World. How numerous soever this up-  
 start Sect may be at present in *Bristol*, yet it is not a compleat  
 Century since their first Spawning there by two *Popish* Impo-  
 stors.—I shall conclude with what the late excellent Bishop of  
*Worcester*, Dr. STILLINGFLEET, has collected out of ORLAN-  
 DINUS in his Life of IGNATIUS LOYOLA, the Founder of the  
*Jesuits*, which Order was confirmed by the Pope’s Bull, A. D.  
 1540. *It had been his Custom, says ORLANDINUS, not to give*  
*Men any Titles of Respect, but to call them only by their common*  
*Names ; and he questioned a little with himself whether he ought*  
*to break that Custom, being once convened before a Spanish Com-*  
*mander, and resolves it in the Negative, because to do it proceeded*  
*from too great Fear of Men, therefore, being brought before him,*  
*gives him no Testimony of Respect either in his Words or Actions,*  
*and particularly he would not put off his Hat. From this and fe-*  
*veral other Resemblances the excellent Prelate makes this Infe-*  
*rence, ‘ If any one may guess the Father by the Child’s Like-*  
 ‘ nefs, IGNATIUS LOYOLA, the Founder of the *Jesuits*, was at  
 ‘ least the Grandfather of the Quakers\*.’

## A P P E N D I X.

As a further Testimony that Quakerism had its first Rise from  
 the Contrivance of Papists, I shall here add, that Sir JAMES  
 WARE (who was very inquisitive in Matters of that Nature)  
 does relate on another Subject, ‘ That, when JAMES NAY-  
 ‘ LOR made his triumphant Entry into *Bristol*, (as was above-  
 ‘ mentioned) one ANTHONY NUGENT, a *Popish* Priest, pre-  
 ‘ tended to be one of his Disciples, and went before through  
 ‘ the Streets, crying out *Hosanna!*’—Hunting of the *Rom.*  
*Fox*, p. 229.

I forgot to mention (which is very material to the Purpose)  
 that as several Quakers at their first Appearance were possessed,  
 so we may justly infer, that one Effect of that Possession was their  
 going stark-naked, (sometimes by Pairs of both Sexes) and that

\* *Idolatry of the Ch. of Rome*, Ch. iv. p. 272, 282. Ed. *London*. 1672.

in the most publick Places. SOLOMON ECCLES, one of the chief Quaker-teachers, went quite naked into the Church of *Aldermanbury* in the Time of Divine Service. He was bedaubed all over with Filth and Excrements, which he did as an Emblem of the Nakedness and Filth of the Minister in preaching out of the Bible, and said ‘ that he might as well come there with a T---d ‘ in his Hand as the Minister with his Bible.’—AND GEORGE WHITEHEAD, another of their Teachers, does vindicate S. ECCLES for his so doing, ‘ as a Sign (says G. W. H.) of the Nakedness of such Professors and Priests as he, S. ECCLES, witnessed against.’—G. WHITEHEAD’s *Light and Life of CHRIST within*, p. 38. Ed. 1668.

The Wife of EDMUND ADLINGTON, of *Kendal*, went naked thro’ the Streets the 21st of *November*, 1653; as did MARY COLLINSON, another Quaker-woman, of the said Town, who rebuked those that covered her Nakedness, telling them, ‘ that they hindered the Work of the Lord.’ [*Vid. LES. Vol. II. Fol. p. 263.*] And it was no unusual Sight to see several Couples of them, Male and Female, walk the Streets stark-naked, and enter into a Church and disturb the Congregation.—Mr. COTTON MATHER, a Native of *New-England*, does also affirm, upon his certain Knowledge, that they frequently acted the same *Satanical Pranks there* as their Friends did in *Old England*. I shall transcribe a Part of what he says in his own Words, ‘ I ‘ would intreat the World that they would not be too ready to ‘ receive all Stories told by the *Quakers* about their *New-England* ‘ *Persecution* upon two Women of their Sect, who came *stark-naked* as ever they were born into our publick Assemblies, and ‘ they were (*Baggages* that they were!) adjudged unto the ‘ Whipping-post for that Piece of Devilism.’—*Hist. of New-England*, B. vii. p. 24. Ed. 1702, *Lond. Fol.* where several Instances of Diabolical Possessions are related at large, and some very surprizing.

In Dr. TURNER’s History of Providences Dr. TEMPLAR relateth the Case of one ROBERT CHURCHMAN, who was leaving the Church of *England*, and embracing *Quakerism*; his Wife being further gone, and a *Principle* wrought in her, as they express it. But the Man was in some Suspense; and, as he was dubious what to resolve upon, a *Quaker-teacher* told him that he should see a Sign. Within a few Nights there was a violent Storm over his Room, and a Voice within him said, “ Sing Praises, sing Praises; thou shalt see the Glory of “ the New Jerusalem:” And then a glimmering Light appeared all over the Room. The Voice then commanded him to rise out of his Bed, to go *naked* to some Relations of his,

to deliver such a Message, and to threaten them with Fire and Brimstone like that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* if they did not obey.—He accordingly went *naked*, as he was commanded, performed his Message, and returned home, where he stood *naked* about Four Hours; the Spirit within him in an unusual Manner forcing him sometimes to sing, and sometimes to bark like a Dog.

This Temptation continued for a considerable Time; but at length, by Dr. *TEMPLAR*'s Advice and earnest Application, and Attendance upon him, he recovered out of the Snare of the Devil, kept close to the Publick Service of God as established in the Church of *England*, and had nothing to do with the *Quakers* ever since Dr. *TURNER*'s *Hist. of Provid. Ch.* lxxxvi. and *GLANVIL* on *Witchcraft*, Rel. vi.

Now, had this Man been perverted to *Quakerism*, these accursed Symptoms, of going *naked* and *barking* as a Dog, would have been interpreted as so many sure Tokens of Regeneration, and of a true *Seed* and *Principle* in him; but, since he was happily reclaimed, he is reputed an *Apostate*, and as one that withstood the Motion of the Spirit.—Instances there are enough; and too many indeed of the same Kind might have been produced since the first Rise of this *upstart Sect*; but these are sufficient to give a Sample of what they call the *Light within*.

To conclude, As the *Quakers* would fain obtrude upon the World the *Delirium* of a *heated Fancy* for true Inspiration, so they *themselves* are sometimes notably gulled and imposed upon, as is evident by the following remarkable, true Story. There was a Gentleman, that not long since lived in the North of *England*, (whose Name I cannot at present recollect) of a considerable Estate, and a Person of Distinction, that married a Wife, a very virtuous Woman, who had been brought up a *Quaker*. They lived very happy, the Husband not at all interfering, but allowing her full Liberty in Matters of Religion, tho' he himself was a true *Protestant*, and a Member of the Established Church. Now, after they had thus lived a good many Years in this happy Union without any Jarr or Discord, they were visited by a *Quaker-teacher*, who called himself *David in the Spirit*, who was formerly acquainted with the Lady and her Parents, as being of the same Persuasion. Upon the Footing of Old Acquaintance he met with a very kind Reception; and he for a Time behaved tolerably civil, but at last grew very troublesome, frequently making Disturbance at Family-Worship, and constantly making a Noise and Clamour when (as we commonly express it) *Grace* was said before or after Meat.

This

This was born with for some Time by the Gentleman out of Respect to his Wife; but then his Behaviour grew intolerable: But how to get rid of him he could not well contrive, for fear of disobliging his Wife, for she had still a Hankering after her *Quaker-fooleries*\*; but, lucky for the Gentleman, there was a Nephew of his, that lived in the Family, a notable Youth, and ready at Invention, who, perceiving his Uncle very uneasy, (and how could he be otherwise?) did propose to him, that, if he would be pleased to let him have the Management, he would engage that the troublesome Guest should quit the House without any the least Infringement of Good Manners, and without the least Affront or Uncivility offered either to his Wife or *David in the Spirit*.

The Proposal was granted on the said Conditions; and the young Gentleman thus contrived it by a notable Stratagem. He caused a Hole to be made thro' the Cieling, exactly opposite to or above the Bed where the *Quaker* did use to lie, (im-perceptible to him;) and, in order to disguise his Voice, he fitted to it a Sort of a *Speaking-trumpet*; and one Morning, as the *Quaker* lay in his Bed, he thus accosted him, *David in the Spirit!* The *Quaker* heard the Voice with some Concern, but spoke nothing: Then the Second Alarm sounded aloud, *David in the Spirit!* At this Second Call DAVID was in a great Emotion and Trembling, but, notwithstanding, still kept Silence: Then a Third Alarm, more vehement still, cried aloud, *David in the Spirit! David in the Spirit!* At which being terribly astonished, and being persuaded that it was a Divine Call, he made Answer (as SAMUEL did by ELI's Direction) *Speak, Lord, for thy Servant heareth.* To which the Voice replied, ' Thus saith the Lord: As thou didst bear Testimony to the Truth in the North of *England*, so I command thee to bear the same Testimony in the North of *Ireland*.' Upon which DAVID was all Obedience, straight got out of Bed, ordered his Things to be packed up, and, being authorized by this 'special Commission, instantly set out for the Place of his Destination, where he magnified the Divine Call to the great Joy and Edification of all the Brethren, to be thus confirmed in the *Faith* which was once delivered to GEORGE FOX.—Thus the worthy Gentleman got rid of his troublesome Guest without the least Diminution of Good-breeding in forbidding him his House, and in turning him out of Doors.—But how justifiable this Contrivance might be I cannot determine, unless on the Credit of an old Proverb, *That to deceive a Deceiver is no Fraud.*—And so much for the *Quakers*, their Rise, and Progress, and Enthusiasm.

CHAP.

\* *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu.*

## C H A P. VII.

*Of the Cameronians in Scotland, and the Fifth Monarchy Men in England.*

**A**Ltho' the *Cameronians* be rigid *Covenanters*, and strictly adhere to the Institutions of CALVIN, even to Superstition; yet, because of some peculiar extravagant Notions, they are not altogether owned by the established *Kirk* of Scotland. *A Fierceness of Temper, a Copiousness of long Sermons, and much longer Prayers, and a Grace before and after Meat of a full Hour's Continuance, came to be the chief Distinction of the Party\**. They were so named from one RICHARD CAMERON, a noted Field-preacher, and a valiant Champion of the *Kirk Militant*, who was slain at *Aires-Moss* Anno 1681, with his Sword in his Hand as he fell, fighting courageously for the Doctrine of Resistance and the Covenant.

This was a Time when the *Duke of York* was at Scotland, who behaved in so obliging a Manner, (as saith Bishop BURNET) that he was universally esteemed. But, notwithstanding, a strange Spirit of Infatuation (says BURNET) seized those turbulent People, viz. the Field-conventiclers, who were once called *Cargillites*, from one CARGIL, once a Minister of *Glasgow*, but affecting Popularity, he commenced an itinerant or circumferaneous Holder-forth, and instilled very dangerous Opinions into the Minds of the Populace; which afterwards proved of fatal Consequence both to himself and turbulent Followers.

Besides several Enthusiastick Flights in Matters of Religion, their settled Opinion was, that the King had forfeited his Right to the Crown by breaking the Covenant, (which was forced upon him at his first Coronation in Scotland) and therefore, in a formal Declaration, they renounced all Allegiance to him, and affixed the same to the Cross of *Dumfries*. As many as were found in Arms were either taken Prisoners, or cut off by the King's Forces. Here CAMERON fell, as was mentioned before, Sword-in-hand. HACKSTONE, one of the Assassins of Archbishop SHARP, was taken Prisoner, and suffered with amazing Obstinacy. When he was brought before the Council, he would not own the Authority; so he was summarily condemned to have his Hands cut off before he was hanged. He seemed all the while to be in an *enthusiastick Rapture*; for, when his Hands were chopped off, he asked, like one unconcerned, if

\* *Burn. Hist. of his own Times abridg. p. 15.*

if his Feet were to be cut off too.—The above-mentioned CARGIL was also taken Prisoner, with many others of that mad Sect, (as Bishop BURNET expressly calls them) who all suffered with so particular an Obstinacy that, tho' the Duke, out of his Clemency, sent them a Pardon on the Scaffold if they would only say, *God bless the King*, yet they refused the Offer with Contempt\*. One of them, a Woman, said very calmly, *she was sure God would never bless him*, and therefore she would not take *God's Name in vain*. Another said more sullen, *That she would not worship that Idol, nor acknowledge any other King, but K. JESUS*. About 15 or 16 died under this Delusion, and then the Duke ordered a Stop to be put to their Prosecution; and the rest to be sent to the House of Correction, and put to hard Labour, as the only Way to settle their distracted Brains.

They rebelled against the Government long before this, a few Years after the Restoration, and on the same Motive *set up the Covenant, and abolished Episcopacy*. Their furious Ministers went along with their Army, infusing Courage into them, and praying for Success: But, notwithstanding they were defeated by the King's Troops under General DALZIEL, and had then also an Offer of their Lives if they would renounce the Covenant, they were firm and inflexible, and chose rather to die than renounce their *Idol*.

The Reverse of all this seasonable Clemency was the constant Usage of this enthusiastick Clan to as many of the King's Party as were so unhappy as to fall into their merciless Hands.—When the brave Marquess of *Montross* fought in the Cause of Loyalty and Religion, and miscarried in his Undertaking, his poor dispersed Army was, by the Country People, and at the *Instigation of their Teachers*, (as Bishop BURNET expressly affirmeth) who called upon them *not to spare, nor do the Work of the Lord deceitfully*, cruelly knocked on the Head, and unmercifully butchered every where in cold Blood.—As to the gallant *Montross*, after he had been lurking for some Time in Woods and Caverns, he was at last betrayed by one M'LIAN, of *Affin*, brought to *Edinburgh*, carried through the Streets with all the Infamy that brutal Men could contrive, and, in a few Days, executed on a very high Gibbet, and his Head and Quarters set up in divers publick Places of the Kingdom.—‘His Behaviour under all this barbarous Usage, which he looked upon with a noble Scorn, was great and firm to the last. The Cruelty of his Enemies raised Horror in sober People; and the Triumphs that the *Preachers* made upon this Occasion rendered them odious,’ as they well deserved to be, being a Knot of bloody-minded

\* *Burn, Hist. of his own Times abridg. p. 273.*

mind'd Villains and publick Incendiaries. Thus fell this *illustrious Hero* by the Hands of Brutes and Barbarians; and that which does still aggravate the Heinousness of this execrable Murder is, not only that the *Marquess* acted by the King's Special Warrant, but that the *Scots* had two Commissioners, *viz.* the Earls of *Cassiles* and *Lothian*, at that very Time at the *Hague*, treating with the King about his Restoration. It was he that wrote the following *Stanza* with the Point of his Sword upon the Sand, in memory of his martyred Sovereign; which I do not mention for any peculiar Excellency, but, being an *extempore* Performance, it argues a lively Genius, equally devoted, as Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, *tam Marti, tam Mercurio.*

Great, Good, and Just, could I but rate  
My Grief, and thy too rigid Fate,  
I'd weep the World to such a Strain  
That it should deluge once again!  
But, since thy loud-tongu'd Blood demands Supplies  
More from BRIAREUS' Hands than ARGUS' Eyes,  
I'll sing thy Obsequies with Trumpet-sounds,  
And write thy Epitaph with Blood and Wounds!

I shall not trace the *Cameronians* in their several Insurrections against the Government, to which their *sedition Teachers* always spirited them on, when there was the least Probability of Success; for their Principle was, that *Dominion is founded on Grace*. I shall only take Notice further of that almost unparalleled Act of Barbarity in murdering Dr. SHARP, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, who was the *Second* of that Sacred Character, since the Reformation, that fell a Sacrifice to Presbyterian Rage.

This unhappy Man (unhappy, indeed, in his tragical End by the bloody Hands of Cannibals) was a Native of *Scotland*, brought up a Presbyterian, and maintained by them, as such, a considerable Time in *England*; but, after mature Deliberation, having quitted that Party, and conforming, he was, ever since, the Butt and Object of their Malice and Fury, more especially since he was advanced to the Episcopal Dignity.—As he was going into his Coach in *July* 1668, one of the enthusiastick *Banditti*, named MITCHEL, (noted for a fierce and savage Temper) came up and discharged a Pistol at him, but missing him, it shattered the Bishop of *Orkney's* Arm, that stood just by, but whether he died of the Wound I am not informed. The Assassin escaped; but the Archbishop viewed him so narrowly, that, six Years after, he knew him, and had him apprehended. His Tryal was very solemn; and LOCKART, who was his Council, made

made a long Harangue in his Defence ; but his Plea was over-ruled, “ That such Procedure upon the Matter would be exposing the Archbishop’s Person to any Man that would attempt to murder him, if Favour should be shewn to an Assassin :” And so he was condemned to be hanged.—BURNET makes a terrible Outcry against this Proceeding, and alledges, “ That probably it was ~~o. a~~ Reason, both in the just Judgment of God, and the enflamed Fury of Men, that brought SHARP, two Years after, to such a dismal End.”

However that be, ’tis most certain that the Execution of this Assassin had so irritated the Spirits of those mad Zealots of his Faction, that they banded together, and vowed to revenge his Death the first Opportunity that offered. They were bloody-minded enough left to themselves ; but much more so when their furious bigoted Teachers spirited them on as doing the Lord’s Work effectually in destroying an *Apostate* to his former Principles, and an *Arch-enemy* of *Christ* and the *Covenant*. As they had continual Spies to give them Intelligence, so at last, as he was returning from an Assembly of State without his Servants, (his Daughter being the only Person with him in the Coach) a Party of these Hell-hounds attacked him, and, because they found him unattended, they, in their mad, enthusiastick Notions, concluded assuredly that God had now delivered their greatest Enemy into their Hands : Whereupon seven of them rode up to the Coach, and one firing a Pistol at him, which burnt his Gown, but did him no Harm, they fancied, that, as he escaped MITCHEL’s Fire, he had some Charm, or Magical Spell, to secure him against Shot ; so they dismounted, dragged him out of the Coach, (his Daughter being forced in the Anguish of her Soul to be a sorrowful Looker on, sorrowful indeed ! ) and, by many repeated Stabs with their Sabres in every Part of his Body, murdered him most barbarously.

They wreck their execrable Malice yet further. After they had so mangled his Body, that it was a Horror to Human Nature to look at it, (but it was a Feast to the Eyes of these Cannibals, as a stinking Carcass is to the Vultures) they cut off his Head, cleft his Skull in two Parts, and, having with the Point of their Skeins scooped out the Brain, and as so many incarnate Devils commissioned by Hell, made use of them, instead of Cups, to quaff and carouse in their Triumph, with loud Huzzas at parting, they drank to the Damnation of *Baal’s* High-Priest, the *Caiphas* of *St. Andrew’s*.—*Cursed be their Anger, for it was fierce, and their Wrath, for it was cruel. Gen. xlix. 7.*

The vile and base Miscreants, about a Week after, held an exceeding



ceeding great Field-conventicle within 10 Miles of *Glasgow*, as it were a publick Thanksgiving for the Success they had in the Murder of the Archbishop. This was prorogued Day after Day with Riot and Tumult, 'till at length, the Government being justly incensed at such Outrages, a Body of the Guards was sent to suppress them; but they were repulsed with the Loss of about 30 of their Number. Flushed with this Success, they increased to the Number of 8000 strong, and grew formidable. Whereupon the Duke of *Monmouth* was immediately dispatched with a Special Commission to gather all the Forces both in the North of *England* and *Scotland*, to fall upon them without Loss of Time, and not to treat with them upon any Terms, as being stubborn and contumacious Rebels, that no gentle Method could reclaim. Upon this, when they found themselves much inferior to the King's Forces, a *Pannick* seized them, and they threw down their Arms and fled. The Duke carried himself towards them with all the Lenity imaginable, saying, *He could not kill Men in cold Blood, that was the Work of a Butcher, and not of a General.*

As to these seditious *Field-conventicles*, in order to have a just and adequate *Idea* of them, let one but recollect the vast Crowds that attended *WHITEFIELD* on *Kennington-Common*, and elsewhere; only with this Difference, only *one* mounted the Stage for that Time, and after having held forth for two or three Hours, and collected the Pence for charitable Uses, (that was always the Pretence) the Crowd would be dismissed with a Blessing, if the Collection would be somewhat tolerable; but, in the *Cameronian* Field-preaching, four, five, or six, (more or less, as they were provided) *mounted alternately*, as soon as one had done, a fresh Man would begin, and so continue alternately from Sun-rise to Sun-set. He, that could hold out longest, and made the loudest Vociferation, was the most extolled as the best-gifted Preacher. And this would continue for several Days successively without Intermision. — A vast many resorted thither out of Curiosity, and some for Pleasure and Diversion; for around such a large Circuit there would be several little Toy-shops, and little portable Booths, some for Cakes and Ale, some with Drams and *Geneva*; so that every one had his End.

The same Relation that the *Methodists* claim (notwithstanding all their Irregularities) to the established *Church of England*, the same do the *Cameronians* claim to the *Kirk of Scotland*. As the former do call themselves Members of the Church, but utterly despise all Canons and Constitutions and Ecclesiastical Polity; so do the latter as effectually the Acts of Synods and Classes. As the *Methodists* pretend they are the only Favourites of Heaven,

boast of special Revelations and Directions from God, &c. so the *Cameronians* likewise boast of Visions, extraordinary Revelations, and special Providences: All Nature must be subservient to the whimsical Dispensations of the one and the other. In a word, the *Cameronians* are the Enthusiasts of the *Kirk*, as the *Methodists* are of the *Church*.

Mr. KERR, of *Kerstead*, would fain obtrude upon the World, that the *Cameronians* in general were a pious and devout Sort of People, and that some of their Teachers were gifted with a Prophetic Spirit. He mentions particularly one Mr. PEDIN, who, as he lay upon his Death-bed in the Year 1686, told his Friends that in a few Days he should die. “ I shall be decently buried  
“ by you, (saith he) and if my Body shall be suffered to rest in  
“ the Grave where you shall lay it, then I have been a Decei-  
“ ver, and the Lord hath not spoken by me: But, if the Ene-  
“ my (the King’s Forces) come a little afterwards, and take it  
“ up to bury it in an ignominious Place, then I hope you will  
“ believe that God hath spoken by me; and consequently there  
“ shall not one Word fall to the Ground” of all that I have fore-  
told.—Accordingly, in a few Days, he died, and was buried in the Church of *Auchinlack*, in the Shire of *Air*, and, in a little Time afterwards, came a Party of Dragoons and took up his Body, which they carried to *Cumnock*, not far distant, and buried it under the Gallows. Whereupon the *Cameronians* erected a Monument. \*

Now, considering Time and Circumstances, viz. the *Cameronians* being routed, and the King’s Troops pursuing them, this might easily be guessed at, without the least Pretence to a *Spirit of Prophecy*. Mr. KERR was obliged, in good Manners, to write all that he could to the Advantage of the *Cameronians*, for his Brother, DANIEL KERR, was a leading Man amongst them. And it is well known, that this Gentleman’s Talents lay more in framing Political Schemes and Stock-jobbing than a true Discernment in Matters of Religion.

Among the *Papists*, indeed, (as says a Prelate of great Worth and Learning) the Light of Prophecy is one of the boasted Marks of the true Church, of which they give an hundred Instances, and challenge the *Protestants* to produce the like. Would they come among the *Methodists*, (and I may add the *Cameronians*) they might see their Challenge answered, and, perhaps, be induced to embrace them, or even to give them the Right-hand of Fellowship. †

So

\* *Kerr’s Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 89.

† *The Enthusiasm of the Methodists and Papists compared*, Vol. II. p. 43.

So much for the *Cameronians* in *Scotland*. I shall now give a brief Account of the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, that committed such a terrible Outrage soon after the Restoration in *England*. As the *Cameronians* were a distinct Body of Men, the same in Principle and Practice, long before they had that Appellation from R. CAMERON; so the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men* owe their Original to the Times of OLIVER'S Usurpation, (and, indeed, they were then actually so called and distinguished) tho' they did not exert their Fury so visible in Overt-acts of Cruelty (whatever might be their Intention) 'till after the happy Restoration of the King and Constitution in Church and State.—Whatever might be the secret Wishes of several bloody Enthusiasts and Fanaticks of different Denominations, yet certainly the Spirit of Diabolical Infatuation never possessed a Sect of People to a higher Pitch of fermented Rage than it did those of this accursed and bloody-minded Sect.—They, of all other Fanaticks that swarmed in those Days, caused the most Disturbance to OLIVER, tho' he had the Cunning to manage them well enough. “Some, says  
 “ Bp. BURNET, that were perhaps more sincere, yet were really Brain-sick, designed they knew not what, being resolved  
 “ to pull down a standing Ministry, the Law and the Property  
 “ of *England*, and all the ancient Rules of Government, (but,  
 “ by the bye, that was pulled down already) and set up in its  
 “ room an indigested, enthusiastical Scheme, which they called  
 “ the Kingdom of CHRIST, or of his Saints, many of them being really in Expectation that, one Day or other, CHRIST  
 “ would come down and sit among them; and, at least, they  
 “ thought to begin the glorious thousand Years mentioned in  
 “ the *Revelations*.” Hence they were called the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, that, as the *Four Great Monarchies* of the World continued but for a Season, this should continue to the Consummation of Time.

OLIVER, as was mentioned, had the Management to keep these unruly Spirits somewhat under Subjection; but, soon after the Restoration, they broke thro' all Restraints, and chose, for their Leader and Captain, one THOMAS VENNER, a Wine-Cooper by Trade, and a pretended inspired Teacher. It was agreed among them, that the Powers of the Earth were to be utterly destroyed, and King JESUS alone set up, whom they expected would come down from Heaven, cloathed with Majesty, to appear at the Head of them. Before they rose up in Arms, VENNER preached to them, (alluding to that of *Moses*) that One of them should chase a Hundred, and a Hundred put Ten Thousand to Flight, and assuring them, in the Name of the Lord, That no Weapons, formed against them, should prosper, nor

*a Hair of their Head be touched.\** — Their Imagination being thus heated by virtue of a supposed Commission sealed in the Court of Heaven, they are already assured of Victory; and, on *January 6, 1660*, they took Arms, and, in the Dusk of the Evening, marched to *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, where they mustered their small Party, and an innocent Person, coming by accidentally, being by them asked whom he was for, and he answering, according to the usual Mode, *For God and King CHARLES*, they shot at him directly, and killed him on the Spot.

The City being soon alarmed by such a Tumult and Insurrection, a small Party of the Trained-bands marched against them; but a Pannick seized them, and they retreated, so great was the Terror! Whereupon the bloody Enthusiasts, without any Controul, scowered the Streets before them, knocking down and killing every one they met with without Distinction of Sex or Age, infomuch that some Streets of the City were filled with Slaughter and Blood before any one could tell what was the Occasion of so much Mischief and Barbarity. They marched thus triumphantly, weltering in Blood, 'till they came to *Aldersgate*, where they halted, and proclaimed *King JESUS*, crying out, *No King but CHRIST*. From thence they proceeded to *Beech-Lane*, where a *Headborough* opposing them, they butchered him, and then precipitantly took their Rout to *Canewood*, wherefor a while they remained: But the City, having Intelligence thereof, sent out a Party of Horse and Foot, which took about 30 of them, and sent them Prisoners to the *Gate-house*.

During their Stay at *Canewood*, *VENNER*, and his two inspired Prophets, *TUFFNEL* and *CRAGS*, so worked up the Spirits of their small Party by perverting Scripture, and applying several Texts to be fulfilled in them, infomuch that they fancied themselves already seated on so many Thrones in the glorious *Millemium*. And on *January* the 9th they erect their Standard, and with displayed Colours march well-armed without Opposition to *Bishopsgate*, where they proclaimed *King JESUS*, and dispersed among the Populace (as many as dare approach near) a printed Declaration, intitled, *The Door of Hope opened*; but, in Effect, it proved a *Trap-door* of Destruction. — Upon this, some of the Trained-bands were ordered forthwith to attack them, to prevent further Mischief; but, as they approached near, their Courage fell, and they shamefully retreated to the Main-guard. They then proceeded triumphantly to the *Gate-house*, *VENNER* being armed with a Murrion on his Head and a Halbert in his Hand, and commanded the Prisoners (the Holy Brethren that were

em-

\* *Winstanley's Loyal Martyrol*, p. 159.  *Lond. 1665.*

embarked in the same Cause) to be set at Liberty, otherwise all Opposers should feel the Weight of his Indignation, to their utter Ruin. But, before he could accomplish his Designs, the Life-guard and two Companies of the Trained-bands set upon them, and a bloody Skirmish ensued. It must be owned, that the *Enthusiasts* fought like Lions, being resolved to carry on the Cause at the Expence of the last Drop of Blood. Tho' they were but a Handful of Men in comparison, yet being made to believe it was a Divine Impulse, they dreaded no Danger. At last being overpowered by Numbers, and VENNER being knocked down, (tho' not mortally wounded) the rest under the Command of TUFFNEL and CRAGS retired in very good Order towards *Cripplegate*, firing in the Rear at the Trained-bands that pursued them. Here they fortified themselves as well as they could in a Publick Inn, and would not hear of any Terms of surrendering, and refused Quarters, 'till Col. Cox surrounded the Place, and ordered a File of Musqueteers to get up Stairs and force the Door, and fall upon them; which, with great Difficulty, was at last performed. Here six of them were killed, and the rest yielded.

Their Trial succeeding soon after this desperate Engagement, VENNER was first called; and, being asked *Guilty or Not Guilty*, he would not for some Time plead, but ran out into a wild Discourse about his Conversation in *New-England*, and concerning the *Fifth Monarchy*, and the Testimony within him for above 20 Years. The Witnesses deposed, That he, together with TUFFNEL and CRAGS, *did several Times persuade the Congregation to take up Arms for King JESUS against the Powers of the Earth*: That, after long Praying, the main Drift of their Preaching was *to stir up the People to fight for the Holy Cause*; and that they had *Special Directions from the Court of Heaven to kill all that opposed them, inasmuch as they opposed the Work of the Lord*. After he was condemned, the Lord Chief-Justice FOSTER charging VENNER with the Blood of his Accomplices by his Seduction and leading of them, he answered furly, *He did not*. To which the Witnesses being produced again, he evaded their Testimony with this blasphemous Rant, *It was not he, but JESUS, that led them*. TUFFNEL and CRAGS were killed in the Scuffle.

According to the Sentence pronounced *January 19*, VENNER and HODGKIN, (another of the desperate Gang) both dangerously wounded, were drawn on Sledges from *Newgate* through *Cheapside* over-against their Meeting-house in *Swan-Alley* in *Coleman-Street*, where they were executed according to the Sentence pronounced against them. VENNER at the Gallows (as is usual

usual with Enthusiasts and mad Zealots) vindicated himself and Fact, being confident, he said, *That the Time was at hand when other Sort of Judgment would manifest itself into the World.*—As for HODGKIN, he died raving, praying and *calling down Vengeance from Heaven upon the King, the Judges, and the City of London.* Nor would he leave off, in imprecating Curses upon the whole Nation, until the Hangman, by the Sheriff's Order, turned him off the Ladder.—So that, as they lived, in the same mad *Enthusiastick* Principle they died. Their Quarters were set upon the four Gates of the City, by the *Regicides*, whose Quarrel and Revenge they undertook in this desperate Attempt.

There were *Sixteen* of them in all drawn, hanged, and quartered. And it is remarkable that, after all these seasonable Executions, the Spirit of the Party was not at all daunted. They continued to hold their Conventicles (in private) as frequent as ever, where one JOHN JAMES, a *Small-coal-man* by Trade, preached to them in the same Strain as did his Predecessors, exciting to Rebellion, and inveighing most bitterly against the King and Government. Whereupon he was tried and condemned. As he was drawing on a Sledge to *Tyburn*, some of his hot-headed Sect threw themselves into the same Sledge, and very tenderly embraced him. So highly opinionated were they of their silly, tho' bold and mad, Seducer!



## C H A P. VIII.

*Of the Three pretended French Prophets and their deluded Followers in England, more particularly Sir RICHARD BULKLEY, and JOHN LACY, Esq; Their false Prediction of the Resurrection of Dr. JAMES, in five Months' Time after his Interment. Their wretched Infatuation.*

OUR blessed Saviour has often forewarned us of Deceivers, false Prophets, and lying Wonders, so powerful to delude, that, if possible, they would deceive the very Elect.—This is a fair Warning to a giddy World, which is more readily influenced by the Pageantry of Gesture, strange Agitations, high Pretences, and big Looks of every insolent Pretender, than the weighty Truths of the Gospel.

Such was the Appearance of the Three CAMISARS, or pretended *French Prophets* in England, who found this Nation so fond of Novelties, and so susceptible of Impression, that, for some Time, they were crowded with Auditors, even some of the best Fashion, and made a considerable Trade of their *specious Legerdemain*, carried on under the Mask and Pretence of uttering *Prophecies*. These three bold Adventurers, or rather three notorious Cheats in Villainy and Hypocrisy, were ELIAS MARION, JOHN CAVALIER, and DURAND FAGE. But, when they played their Tricks so successfully to the Shame of the Nation, (as did the late *Bottle-conjurer*) they were joined by more of their Countrymen to share in the Booty. As to the first-named E. MARION, he was bold and cunning, had an excellent Memory, of good Natural Parts, but viciously inclined, and was brought up, as well as the other two, an arrant *Papist*; so that Rome will be found to have a great Share in the Intrigues of those sly Impostors. When he, with his two Companions, was contriving the impious Farce that they concerted among themselves to act in England, he pretended to be convinced of the Errors of *Popery*, and made a Shew of solemnly abjuring it, and of embracing the Protestant Religion, and so far imposed upon two *French Ministers of Lausanne*, that they signed a Certificate, or Testimonium, wherein they declare, “ That he never made  
“ the least Step contrary to the true and pure Worship of God,  
“ as it is taught and practised in the Protestant Religion.\*”

O

As

\* This is an Abstract from a printed Narrative, wrote in that very Time, as supposed, by Mr. Richard Kingston, Lond. 1708.

As to the Character of J. CAVALIER, he was (as my Author calls him) the BOANERGES of the Party, (the very same Title that W. SEWARD gives D. R.) He was brought up at the *Jesuit's* School, and continued there Seven Years; but, being a roving Youth, he broke loose, and lifted himself a Trooper in the *French King's* Service, whose Subject he was. A Letter from *Geneva* represents him as a desperate Villain to all Intents and Purposes all the Time he continued a Soldier, and is worded thus: *We have heard here how that the Wretch CAVALIER plays the same Game now which he did wherever he has passed. He has been discovered to be an Impostor, and 'tis believed the Jesuits have given him these Lessons. If he had stayed longer at Montpellier, he had been hanged. He has been the Occasion of many People's being put to Death. He got them together, and then betrayed them.* — Being cashiered and turned out of the Army for several knavish Tricks and Rogueries, he posted to *Geneva*: There he shifted his Religion, if he had any; at least he made a Shew, that, after having duly examined the several absurd Points of Doctrine in the Church of *Rome*, he could not, in Conscience, continue any longer a Member of it, but that he embraced the Reformed Religion, according to the Platform of *Geneva*. But here his Character was known, and therefore he was rejected with Scorn; but he had better Success at *Lausanne*, and had a Certificate to attest, “That he behaved himself like a true Christian.” Being thus equipped as it were, he cast his Eye upon *London*, as a proper Scene to act his Part on; and here the lewd and impious Villain succeeded in his abominable Cheats, and laughed in his Sleeve at the Credulity of the Nation.

FAGE was brought up a Mechanick, who, if he had kept to his Trade, might have been very useful to Mankind to keep them warm, for he was a Weaver. [as the late THO. CHUB might have been also very serviceable to illuminate the benighted World, had he stuck to his Trade, for he was a Tallow-chandler.] This D. FAGE was a Man of a very ordinary Capacity; and, when the Cheat was detected, it was a Surprize to many how such a dull, phlegmatick Fellow could have Admittance into a Combination so intriguing. His Prophecies, as they were called, are wretched, incoherent Stuff; so that even the Inspired, the pretended Inspired, were ashamed of them. But, however, he was a compleat Villain, as is evident, among other Things, from this horrid Declaration, *that he would kill his own Father, and do any other Thing, if the Spirit did command him.* And when this was represented to the Brethren as a most pernicious Principle, their Answer was, “That they believe they are truly inspired of God; that they are bound to obey him; that a Crime ceases to be



“ a Crime when once he commands ; and that there is some-  
 “ thing heroical in obeying his Commands when Nature has  
 “ a Reluctance to them.” — This vile Wretch was also a  
 rank *Papist*, tho’ he disguised it, and, by a false, outward Shew,  
 and a pretended Zeal for the Reformation, had a Certificate  
 signed at *Lausanne*, and also at *Nimeguen*, “ that he frequented  
 “ the Holy Assemblies :” For after his Return to *France*, and  
 there boasting of his ludicrous Pranks, an Abbot asked him,  
*Well, FAGE, whence did you take your Text when you preached to  
 these People ?* He answered that he took his Text from a Song,  
*Fill, fill, give us full.*

This is the Character in brief of the Three *French Camisars*  
 that so much imposed upon this Nation in the Year 1706, &c.  
 They held several Consultations in *Montpelier* how to act the  
 Imposture in *England*, and there began to practise in secret, *viz.*  
 to have violent Agitations and Distortions in their Limbs, to foam  
 at the Mouth, &c. which, by long Usage, they could do at Plea-  
 sure. I shall now proceed to give some Account of their Diabo-  
 lical Proceedings here, whereby they got so many Admirers and  
 Profelytes too, yea even some Persons of Distinction. On their  
 first Arrival in *London* they addressed themselves to the *French*  
 Church at the *Savoy*, pretending to be *Refugees*, and, by the  
 means of the above-mentioned surreptitious Certificates, they  
 easily got Admittance ; but their Craft and Hypocrisy soon broke  
 out, and, as soon as it reached the Ears of the Bishop of *Lon-  
 don*, who kept a watchful Eye over his Diocess, (as did also his  
 very worthy Successor, and the present most learned and every-  
 way accomplished Prelate, Dr. SHERLOCK) he wrote to the  
 Consistory at the *Savoy*, to examine into their Conduct ; which  
 was accordingly done. They were here treated with Abundance  
 of Civility, and, with all the Candour imaginable, and with  
 proper Arguments, dissuaded to continue any longer in their ex-  
 tatick Motions, and exhorted to betake themselves to some regu-  
 lar Course of Life, whereby they might subsist in an honest  
 Way. To this they promised Obedience, and said *they had Or-  
 ders from the Spirit to return to their own Country.* But the Mat-  
 ter did not continue long in this quiet State. The three Impo-  
 stors, who had been a little before out of Conceit with their  
 Trade, when it did not succeed to their Mind, found their  
 Zeal kindled afresh, when they saw how they were admired and  
 supported by the Credulity of the People of *England*. A vast  
 many went to see them out of Curiosity, of which they made  
 their Advantage ; and there were almost continually Coaches at  
 their Doors, and many sent for them to their Houses. This made  
 them forget that the Spirit had commanded them to depart in a

few Days and return home. They made a Trade of their pretended Inspiration, which brought them in both Money and Respect; and they, resolved to stay in *England*, where they were like to have so good a Market for their Ware.

Before they were under the Operation of the Spirit (as they termed it) they put themselves into several Postures and Agitations, by shaking the Head, and whirling in a violent Manner, 'till a *Vertigo* seized them, throwing the Hands, and tossing to and fro beyond the wild Pranks of any Mad-man, (which is, in express Terms, acknowledged and justified by a leading Man amongst them, tho' otherwise a Person of Learning.\*) sometimes whistling, and then singing, laughing, piping, drumming, screaming, &c. All which they pretended to be supernatural and involuntary, as a Preparative to the Operation of the Spirit; yet it has been discovered that all was done in Concert, and that they did put themselves into these violent Distortions and bodily Concussions at Pleasure, more especially the Three Grand Impostors. They practised, as was hinted before, at *Montpelier*, tho' privately, by Way of Exercise, 'till they had a better Opportunity of shewing publickly; and, by long Use, they came to do surprizing Feats: But some of their Disciples were deemed, in the Judgment of several Men of Learning and Penetration, to be really and actually possessed by an evil Spirit.

After this Concussion of the outward Man followed the inspired Word or Prophecies. This was a Rhapsody of incoherent Stuff, such as any Man of Common-sense might dictate, and that to better Advantage, without the least Pretence to Inspiration. It consisted chiefly in broken Sentences, and Abundance of Tautologies, with a Space left between one Word and another in the Pronunciation, with a peculiar Tone and Emphasis, still heightened in the Imagination of the Crowd, as supposing it supernatural. And, to keep up the Grandeur of the Farce, every Prophet and Prophetess had a Secretary to attend, to take in Writing their pretended Inspirations.

The main Drift of the Doctrine that they did inculcate was the near Approach of the *Millenium*, which, they said, would commence in a few Months, when CHRIST would personally appear at the Head of his glorious Kingdom. If you will have the Description of this Paradisical State in the Words of a Prophetess, she thus declares, *That the Saints should shortly sit upon Golden Thrones, and receive a World of Respect and Reverence at the full Opening of the new Dispensation.* But, if you chuse a Description in the Words of a Prophet, he tells you in his *re-fixed* Language, *That the triumphant State of the Church now ap-*  
*proaching*

\* Sir R. Bulkley, in his Impartial Account of the Prophets, p. 10. Lond. 1707.

proaching answers the utmost Hopes that the Jews could have of their glorious MESSIAH; that the whole Creation shall appear in its primitive Beauty, and Man regain the Perfection of ADAM in his immediate Communion with GOD; and that, in this glorious State, the Ministry should cease, for the Lord himself would be the Light thereof, and his Law writ in every Man's Heart, so that he should have no more need to enquire of his Neighbours, but that every Man should be Priest unto himself. \*

The French Church at the Savoy was very much concerned at the spreading of such Delusions, (whereof they knew that their Countrymen were the original Authors) and made a publick Act as followeth :

“ The Directors of the French Church of the Savoy, being  
 “ grieved to hear that the pretended Prophets from the *Cevennes*  
 “ continue to impose upon the Publick by their counterfeit Inspi-  
 “ rations, did appoint Deputies to make a strict Enquiry into  
 “ this Affair. The Deputies having reported that the Three  
 “ *Cevennois*, notwithstanding the Submission they protested they  
 “ would have for the Ministers of our Church, refused to ap-  
 “ pear before them, to answer to certain weighty Matters that  
 “ were to be proposed to them; having considered the Infor-  
 “ mations which have been made, the Company declares that  
 “ the Agitations of these pretended Prophets are only the Ef-  
 “ fect of a voluntary Habit, of which they are entirely Ma-  
 “ sters, tho', in their Fits, they seem to be agitated by a supe-  
 “ rior Cause. Many Persons, who have seen them in these  
 “ Symptoms, have discovered that they had them at Command,  
 “ and that they are entirely unworthy of the Wisdom of the  
 “ Holy Spirit. But the Way in which they make the Spirit  
 “ speak is still more unworthy of him, which is by perpetual  
 “ Hesitations, childish Repetitions, unintelligible Stuff, gross  
 “ Contradictions, manifest Lies, Conjectures turned into Pre-  
 “ dictions already convicted of Falshood by the Event, or some  
 “ Moral Precept which may be heard every Day much better  
 “ expressed, and have *nothing new* but the *Grimaces* with  
 “ which they are accompanied. These Persons have the Bold-  
 “ ness to ascribe all this to the Holy Spirit, making him say,  
 “ 'Tis I who speak this, who am GOD! and such like Blasphemy-  
 “ mies, which are the more dangerous in that hereby a Way is  
 “ opened to all the Errors which those, who collect these pre-  
 “ tended Inspirations, may foist into them, in which they can-  
 “ not be contradicted by those from whom they come origi-  
 “ nally, since, by a new Way of prophesying, they declare that  
 “ they do not at all remember what they said in their Agitati-  
 “ ons.

\* Sir R. Bulkley.

“ ons. The Consistory ordains this Act to be registered, both  
 “ to prevent the Reproach which those of the *Romish Communion*  
 “ might cast upon us, That, not being content with the Wri-  
 “ ters which the Holy Spirit has truly inspired, we make unto  
 “ ourselves new Prophets, and to testify to the Nation in whose  
 “ Bosom we have the Happiness to live, That we have done  
 “ what lay in our Power to prevent this great Scandal.” \*

Now tho' 'tis very evident these three *Frenchmen* were no En-  
 thusiasts, but mere *Impostors*; yet the great Number, which they  
 profelyted to their Opinion, having, by a kind of Contagion,  
 caught the Distemper in their Imagination, did conceit they  
 were Prophets indeed; among whom were some Persons of  
 Distinction; the most noted are, Sir RICHARD BULKLEY, and  
 JOHN LACY, Esq;—The former was a learned Gentleman,  
 but of a very weak Judgment, and too easily imposed upon by  
 a specious Appearance; as CERVANTES makes his *Don Quixot*  
 to be, in all other Respects, a Person of tolerable good Sense,  
 but, as to *Knight-Errantry*, he was lost to all Intents and Pur-  
 poses. Thus our Knight *likewise* could argue very well on *com-*  
*mon Topicks*, yet upon this, his darling Subject, he was quite be-  
 wildered. Besides several other small Tracts, he wrote an *Apo-*  
*logy* in behalf of the *Prophets*, where he answers several Objec-  
 tions, and concludes by several Criterions they were *true Pro-*  
*phets*, the chiefest of which is, and on which he lays the greatest  
 Stress, that they knew the Secret of a Man's Heart. *I myself,*  
*says he, am an Instance of this, for my most secret Thoughts have*  
*been revealed to me by some of the inspired Persons.*—The Knight  
 by this lets the World know that he had a strong Faith.

The Government having taken Cognizance, at last, of these  
 mad Proceedings, the three *French Rogues* were prosecuted for  
 raising Disturbance and Commotions in the Kingdom; which  
 caused such an Emotion of Spirit in the Knight, that he had  
 the Impudence to accost the Lord Chief Justice, and tell him,  
*My Lord, if you will condemn these Men, you will be no less guilty*  
*than the Jews when they crucified our Saviour.*—To what  
 Lengths of Folly will a heated Imagination hurry a Man! The  
 Sallies of an Enthusiastick Zeal of all others are the most impe-  
 tuous and ungovernable.

I shall dwell somewhat more largely on JOHN LACY, Esq;  
 who, perhaps, was the greatest Instance of Satanical Delusion  
 that can be produced in any Age, and scarce to be paralleled but  
 on the first Appearance of *Quakerism*. Being a Man of a flex-  
 ible Disposition, and somewhat of a melancholy Temper, he  
 was easily wrought upon by the above-mentioned sly Seducers,  
 the

\* Account of the Fr. Prophets by R. Kingdon, p. 9, 10. Lond. 1708.

the *Methadists* of that Age. He pretended to real Inspirations, and to utter several Prophecies in the Name of the Lord, when he himself was only passive, and wholly under the Guidance of the Spirit. I shall here subjoin his own Words: *The Bodily Impressions were gradually increasing upon me 'till the Effect was produced, viz. the opening my Mouth to speak. They began by a preternatural Course of breathing: Then my Head came to be agitated or shaken violently and forcibly, and with a very quick Motion horizontally, or from Side to Side: Then my Stomach had Twitches not much unlike an Hickup: Afterwards my Hands and Arms were violently shaken: At length a Struggle in the Windpipe, and sometimes a Sort of Catching all over my Body; and, for about a Week before my Speaking, I observed my Tongue was now and then moved involuntarily, as were also my Lips and Mouth.— And I do affirm, without the least Doubt, that my Agitations and Words in the Extacy are produced by a Supernatural Agent, and are independent of me any further than that I do not, nor dare, oppose, but to remain altogether passive.\*—*In another Pamphlet he speaks of his Agitations with some Addition, thus: “ That the Agitations  
 “ proceed from a Supernatural Cause, and of an Agent separate  
 “ and distinct from me, I cannot be ignorant, after a full  
 “ Year’s Experience.— Under this foreign Influence I felt  
 “ my Fingers forcibly contracted and moved to write  
 “ those Words in p. 90. of the first Book of my *Warnings*. †  
 “ Under this Influence my Body was removed 10 or 11 Foot,  
 “ without any concurrent Mixture of my Agency: Under this  
 “ Influence the Respiration of my Breath hath, for sundry  
 “ Days, beat various Tunes of the Drum, sometimes six Hours  
 “ in a Day, without my voluntary Operation, or thinking of  
 “ it, nay, sometimes without being able to stifle it: Under this  
 “ Influence I have been carried on my Knees several Times  
 “ round a Room, swifter than I could have gone on my Feet.” †

The bloomy 'Squire does often declare that he knew very little of *Latin*; yet, in his Trances and extatick Fits, he often delivers a long Harangue in that Language, and sometimes a Scrap or two of *Greek*. How far the Agency or Power of an evil Spirit may reach in such a Case I know not, but shall add a very remarkable Story from the learned and pious Dr. WOODWARD, very pertinent to this Subject. *I have, says he, particular Acquaintance with a Gentlewoman now in this City, [London] who had, in some Part of her Life, frequent Appearances of a Spirit to her in a glorious transparent Brightness, and with a pleasing*  
*rather*

\* Preface to his Prophetic Warnings.

† Tempus adest ut Mysteria vobis jam data, omnino, sine remanente umbra, erint devoluta.

‡ The Dealings of God with *John Lacy*, p. 10, 11.

rather than affrighting Countenance. And, that we may have no Room to impute this to the Speculations of Fancy, the Spirit guided her Hand to write many Things in Greek, Hebrew, and Dutch, and all these very correctly, tho' she knew nothing of them. His usual Discourse with her savoured of Piety; and, as she was once dressing herself at the Glass, he gave her a Caution against Pride. This continued several Months; and, when some learned Men desired to see her write under the Guidance of the Spirit, he bid her appoint them to come at an Hour he named, and they should see the Thing, tho' not the Agent; which was done accordingly. But the End was, that this Gentlewoman, who was virtuously educated, and of pious Dispositions, found herself nothing edified thereby, but manifestly puffed up, ready to condemn her Parents, and to despise Advice from any one. Upon which she betook herself more seriously to Prayer, and to the plain Paths of Christian Duty, and was in a short Time freed from the dangerous Familiarity with unknown Spirits.—We have sundry other Instances, says the Doctor, both in Sacred and common History in which the Devil puts on the Mantle of the Prophet as his most likely Way to deceive.\*

As to what the 'Squire mentions of his being lifted up in the Air, there is a parallel Instance in **IGNATIUS LOYOLA**, the Founder of the *Jesuits*, as **ORLANDINUS** in his Life does attest, as I find him quoted by the most learned Bishop **STILLINGFLEET**. One **JOHN PASCAL**, saith he, saw him raised up from the Ground in a dark Night; but, that being a suspicious Circumstance, he adds, that the Room at the same Time was filled with a great Light†. And, as to the terrible Agitations that the 'Squire speaks of as Preparations to his receiving the Spirit, the first *Quakers* had as violent Concussions and Distortions of Body to the full, as was before related in the History of their Enthusiasm; and there is no doubt that the same Spirit acted in both.

I shall not rake into his several Discourses whilst under the Operation of the Spirit, tho' I have an Heap of them now before me; yet I cannot but take Notice of one, where, in the Height of Blasphemy and Enthusiasm, he introduces the Almighty thus addressing him, “ My Child, thy Commission is sealed, and  
 “ shall be delivered thee in a few Days. When thou openest it,  
 “ the Kingdom shall be astonished, it is so large. I will give  
 “ thee Abilities to convince and silence all Opposers. Thou  
 “ shalt have, my Child, the Gift of Healing. I will open to  
 “ thee the Scriptures, according to thy Prayers. Thy infidel  
 “ Friends shall be confounded, because they have so reproached  
 “ my Spirit under Pretence of good Advice to thy Person.”

Heated

\* Remarks on the Modern Prophets by *Josiah Woodward*, D. D. p. 26. 27.

† Fanaticism of the Church of Rome, p. 273.

Heated by such extravagant Chimeras, Sir RICHARD, and JOHN, surnamed LACY, (as he wrote himself since his commencing a *Prophet*) were so far infatuated, as to conceit that they and the gifted Brethren were commissioned from Heaven, as so many Heralds, to proclaim the everlasting Gospel prophesied of *Rev. xiv. 6, 7.*—*That which fully determined me in this Point* (says Sir RICHARD, of their being divinely inspired) *was their predicting Things miraculous to be wrought within a determined Time by them, and that Time very short; and declaring to the World, that, if the Power of God does not, before the 29th of April next, attest to the Work, they will own themselves deluded\**. Now, altho', by this Concession, the Event did shew they were Enthusiasts, yet they would not be convinced of it.

Besides the Failure of this Prediction, (which they gave out as a Criterion to judge of their being true or false Prophets) there fell, in the Interim, a very remarkable Incident, which was a Demonstration to all the World (but themselves) to testify whose Instruments they were. There was one whom they call Dr. EMES, a great Stickler for the Party, who died *December 22, 1707*, and was buried in *Bunhill-fields* the 25th ditto. The evil Spirit so far deluded them as to set them on prophecy-ing that this Dr. EMES would raise from the Grave with a new Life in a glorious Body on the 25th Day of *May, 1708*. And Sir R. BULKLEY was so lost to all Reason, and intoxicated with Enthusiasm, that he published to the World that this EMES would be raised from the Dead on the said 25th of *May*; which therefore he calls a decisive Proof and a Touch-stone of the Prophets whether they were true or false, and concludes in these remarkable Words, *I am commanded, saith he, by a Message delivered to me by one of the Inspired under the Operation of the Spirit in the following Words, "Be not ashamed to declare to the* " World the Grounds on which thou believest this Voice to " be mine in raising Dr. EMES from the Dead.—Tell the " World that open Miracles and publick Attestations from Hea- " ven shall be given this City before *May* next, otherwise thou " wilt own that the Lord hath not spoken by this Voice, &c." †

There were no less than ten pretended Inspirations by so many of the Prophets not only spoke in their Publick Assemblies, but also published to befool the World into a Belief of this miraculous Resurrection. On the Day that he was buried, one J. POTTER thus addressed his Audience in the Prophetick Stile, *I will work, and nothing shall let—The restoring of the Blind, the healing of the Sick, the raising of the Dead, shall decide it after*

P

some

\* Impartial Account of the Prophets, p. 9.

† Sir R. B's. Answer to several Treatises, p. 87.

*some Months being interred. By the same Power that I have raised JESUS, will I raise that Body now asleep, and more fat and more fair than ever he had been. It shall not be known by his Friends that he hath fasted so many Months. Yes, the same Body, the same Face, tho' more lovely.*—I shall add but one more, delivered by J. C. under the Operation of the Spirit on December 29. “ My Children, in a few natural Months you shall see greater Miracles wrought than I myself wrought upon LAZARUS. When I raised LAZARUS, he had been but four Days in the Grave. I commanded that the Stone that lay upon it should be rolled away. But you and the Inhabitants of this City shall, in a few Months, see my faithful Servant, who has been buried, raised in the Presence of all Men. My Children, he shall come out of his Grave without the Earth being taken away that lies upon him. He shall come forth in the Presence of Men, and shall unty his Shrowd in which he is now wrapped. This shall not be in secret, but in publick.”

There is no manner of Doubt that *Bunhill-fields* was sufficiently crowded on the 25th of *May*, in expectation of such a miraculous Sight, as some Thousands of People now living may very well remember. But, notwithstanding all the Prophecies in his Favour, there was no Resurrection, nor any the least Symptom of it. Upon this so grating a Disappointment, all the World in Reason might expect that these miserable deluded People would be convinced and acknowledge their Error.—But so sticky and tenacious of its Hold is the Spirit of Enthusiasm, that some pretended they had Counter-orders from the Spirit, that, because of the Unbelief of that wicked and incredulous Generation, GOD had reversed his Grant. SIR RICHARD, nothing at all daunted, wrote an *Apology*, wherein he endeavours to prove, *That a true Prophet may receive a Message from Almighty God, which God, at the same Time that he delivers it, doth purpose not to bring to pass.* Now, saith he, *the Prophet is a true Prophet in this, because he delivers what he received from God.*—But, then, alas! (as Dr. WOODWARD well observes) how is GOD true, when he puts Words of *Falshood* into the Prophet's Mouth?

And JOHN, surnamed LACY, was inflexible, and so zealously attached to his *Hypothesis*, that, notwithstanding, by his own Principles and Declarations, he was self-condemned and convict of being a false Prophet, yet he would not own it. And he likewise set forth an *Apology*, in which (among other Things abundantly too tedious here to transcribe) he daringly asserts, *We have, saith he, several Reasons (notwithstanding this single Instance of our being deceived) to believe still that the supernatural Agent*



gent over-ruling us at Times is from God, and not of the Devil. To support this he does impiously wrest several Texts of Scripture; but that which he lays the greatest Stress upon is *Jer. xx. 7. O Lord, thou hast deceived me, and I am deceived.*

This unhappy Man at last, when the Heat of his Brain had scorched up his Judgment, (as it did all the while he acted the Prophet) instead of taking Shame upon himself, and humbling himself before his God for his Sins, more especially of Pride and Blasphemy, quitted all Sense of Religion, and turned out a Rake and Libertine.—So easy a Transition is the Sink from a crack-brained Zealot to that of an Atheist!

P. S. The three pretended French Prophets, after they had gained some Credit, but more Pence, by their *Legerdemain Tricks*, grew insolent, and threatened no less than Destruction to all that opposed them. They pretended to have Visions and Revelations, “That, in three Weeks’ Time, they should go wet-shoed in the Blood of their Enemies;” and, no doubt, that was the Wish of their Heart. And Mr. LACY particularly was so elated at the Thoughts of this general Massacre, that he was heard to say to one of his Intimates, “That, if these Events did not come to pass according to the Time assigned, he could not entertain a good Opinion of them,” viz. the French Prophets.—How natural a Tendency has the Spirit of down-right Enthusiasm to thirst after the Blood of all that oppose it! This, in the Enthusiastical Cant, is doing the Lord’s Work effectually, to destroy the Wicked, that the Saints alone might reign.



## C H A P. IX.

Of Methodism. *The Interpretation of the Word. Of the Moravians. They and WHITEFIELD set up Methodism in England. Their Pretences to Inspirations, &c. Their Divisions, different and opposite Tenets. Several mischievous Consequences of Methodism.*

“ **W**E may observe (says Mr. LOCKE) that, in all Ages,  
 “ Men, in whom Melancholy has mixed with Devotion,  
 “ or whose Conceit of themselves has raised them  
 “ into an Opinion of a greater Familiarity with God, and a  
 “ nearer Admittance to his Favour, than is afforded to others,  
 “ have often flattered themselves with a Persuasion of an im-  
 “ mediate Intercourse with the Deity, and frequent Commu-  
 “ nications of the Divine Spirit.—Their Minds being thus  
 “ prepared, whatever groundless Opinion comes to settle itself  
 “ strongly upon their Fancies is an Illumination from the Spirit  
 “ of God, and presently of Divine Authority; and whatever  
 “ Actions they find in themselves a strong Inclination to do,  
 “ that Impulse is concluded to be a Call, or Direction, from  
 “ Heaven, and must be obeyed: 'Tis a Commission from above,  
 “ and they cannot err in executing it.”\*

This was exactly the Case of the *Methodists* at their first setting up, as shall be shewn more at large in the Sequel; tho' a great many are of Opinion, that some *sly Folks* in Disguise contributed towards the Work.—The Word *Methodist* (says a learned and judicious Writer) is only twice used thro'out the New Testament, viz. *Eph. iv. 14.* and *vi. 11.* πρὸς τὴν μεθοδεῖαν, & πρὸς μεθοδεῖας τῆ διαβολῆς [*μεθοδεῖα*, Artes, Circumventio, Insidiæ, Steph. Lex. sub voc.] In the first of these Texts the Word *μεθοδεῖα*, or *Methodism*, is translated *lying in wait to deceive*, or watching to take an Advantage of any one; and, in the other, it is rendered by the Word *Wiles*, or *Stratagems*; and, in both Places, denotes that cunning Craftiness whereby evil Men, or evil Spirits, lie in wait to deceive.

I would lay no further Strefs, *says my Author*, on this Remark than only to intimate to these Gentlemen, and their Followers, that, in a blind and over-hasty Zeal, they have unfortunately stumbled even at the Threshold, and, instead of contenting themselves with being called by the general Name of *Christians*, have taken an Appellation, perhaps thro' a judicial Inadvertence, or Infatuation, which the Spirit of God has peculiarly appropriated

ated to the Adversary of Mankind, and to those who are leagued with him in Enmity to the Interest of Righteousness and true Holiness. \*

*Methodism* at its first Appearance (more especially as displayed by Mr. WHITEFIELD, in conjunction with the *Moravians*) is the Revival of *Antinomianism* in the Gross, and of the same Stamp with *Quakerism* in equal Pretensions to Inspirations and sudden Impulses.

“ The *Moravians* came from *Moravia*, a Country of Germany many of that Name; and thither also several of our *Methodists* have gone in Person, to acquaint themselves with the Principles and Practices of that People. — In their Teachings they are said to rest the Whole of Religion upon the single Point of Believing, and to disclaim the *Moral Law* as no Part of the Christian Dispensation. — They are also said to deery all Human Qualifications for the Ministry, and all Human Helps and Preparations towards the Conversion and Conviction of a Sinner; so that they should seem to resolve all into the immediate Teaching and Working of the Spirit†.” And Mr. J. WESLEY, who knew their Tenets as well as any Man, gives them still a worse Character, That they judged very mean of all the Ordinances of Religion, Sacraments, Prayers, Thanksgivings, reading the Bible, &c. And, in another Place, he accuseth them of substituting an uncertain *precarious inward Motion* in the Place of the plain written Word. — N. B. He was once a great Admirer of them; but at last they quarrelled, and then the Truth came out.

They endeavoured after the State of *Quietism*, so as to be calm and undisturbed to wait the Illapses of the Divine Spirit, which, they say, is the only possible Way to attain Saving Faith. According to the Description Mr. ADDISON gives of the *Pietists*, I am persuaded that our *Moravians*, in Matters of Religion at least, are the Descendents of that Enthusiastick Sect in *Switzerland* and some Parts of *Germany*. *There is a new Sect*, says he, *sprung up in Switzerland, which spreads very much in the Protestant Cantons. The Professors of it call themselves Pietists, and, as Enthusiasm carries Men generally to the like Extravagancies, they differ but little from several Sectaries of other Countries. They pretend in general to great Refinements, and to observe the following Rules: To sink themselves into an entire Repose and Tranquility of Mind; in this State of Silence to attend the several Illapses of the Holy Ghost, that may fill their Minds with Consolation*

\* The Tryal of Mr. Whitefield's Spirit, p. 2, 3. Lond. 1740.

† Conduct of the Meth. p. 6, 7.

‡ Vid. 1 ntl. of Meth. and Pap. compared, p. 144.

lation and Raptures; to favour all his secret Intimations; to give up themselves entirely to his Conduct and Directions, so as neither to speak, move, or act, but as they find his Impulse on their Souls; to make a Covenant with their Senses, so far as to shun the Smell of a Rose, or a Violet, and to turn away their Eyes from a beautiful Object; to avoid, as much as possible, what the World calls innocent Pleasures, lest their Affections should be diverted from the Love of him who is to be the only Comfort, Repose, Hope, and Delight, of their whole Beings.

This Sect prevails very much, says Mr. ADDISON, among the Protestants of Germany, as well as those of Switzerland. The Professors of it are accused of all the ill Practices which may seem to be the Consequences of their Principles; as that they ascribe the worst of Actions, which their own vicious Tempers throw them upon, to the Dictates of the Holy Spirit; that both Sexes, under Pretence of devout Conversation, visit one another at all Hours, and in all Places, without any Regard to common Decency; their making Religion a Cover for their Immoralities; and that the very best of them are possessed with Spiritual Pride, and a Contempt of all such as are not of their own Sect.\*

This seems to me to be the Source and Spring-head from which Methodism originally flowed; and, however that WHITEFIELD is generally reputed to be the Author and Father of the Sect, yet many are of Opinion that the Moravians ought to share in the Honour. I am informed that the Moravians have wrote a great deal in a peculiar Jargon and mystical Cant, more especially the famous Count ZINZENDORF, who wrote several Sermons and Hymns. A Specimen of the latter is the following Stanza, which I the rather transcribe, because it bears a very near Affinity in the Cadence and Metre to some very antient Odes of the old British Bards. †

*Chicken blessed and carested,  
Little Bee on JESUS' Breast,  
From the Hurry and the Flurry  
Of the Earth, thou'rt now at Rest.*

AS IGNATIUS LOYOLA was undoubtedly the Founder of the Jesuits in the Roman Communion; so it is generally believed that WHITEFIELD is also the Founder of the Methodists in the English Communion, notwithstanding the Moravians may justly claim a Share in the Transaction: I shall now trace him a little in the several Gradations that he has made towards it. Whether it was in Imitation of JOHN LACY, Esq; who has published a Pamphlet of GOD'S Dealings with him (as was before related in the

\* Addison's Works, Vol. II. p. 176.

† Vid. Grammat. Brit. Fab. Da. Rbesi, M. D. p. 201.

the History of the *French Prophets*) I know not, but, in fact, he wrote also, when very young, two Pamphlets, entitled, *God's Dealings with G. W. H.* The first, (in the Judgment of a very eminent Divine of the Episcopal Dignity) besides a deep Tincture of *Superstition, Enthusiasm, and Vain-glory*, is such a boyish, ludicrous, and shameless Relation of himself as quite defiles Paper, and is shocking to Decency and Modesty.\* And yet he assures the World in his Introduction, "That he was much *pressed in Spirit* to publish it—The *Holy Spirit* bringing Things to his Remembrance.—He had for three Years prayed for Strength to write it, and at last had *Power given*, and was assisted in it." What any Man in his *Senses* would be *ashamed* to own is by him ascribed to the H. Ghost!

His *Second Dealings* (as the same learned Author noteth) is such a thorough and fulsome Strain of Vain-glory and Boasting, Self-conceit, Self-applause, and Self-sufficiency, as shews Spiritual Pride in full Length, and its true Colours. The same Spirit runs thro' all his Journals; and I verily believe it hath not its *Parallel* in the World. Many have been so bloated with a Conceit of their own Perfections, as highly to be delighted with the most nauseous Flatterers: But such an *Inundation* of Commendation from a Man's own Mouth is surely *unexampled*. No Man ever so bedaubed himself with his own Spittle.

Throughout his *Journals* he ostentatiously displays the Applauses, Acclamations, yea, and the *Hosanna's* of the giddy Mob. "I carry'd high Sails, *says he*, a Thousand and Ten Thousands came to hear me; I was crowded, admired, saluted, Hands kissed, hugged." Had he not then Reason to boast that the Tide of Popularity ran very high? And Mr. J. WESLEY (notwithstanding generally he is much more upon his Guard) discovers also a vast deal of Pride and Vain-glory. "As I came to the Society-room at *Bristol*, (*says he*) just after my Brother had done his Sermon, some shouted, the rest sang Praise.—Art thou come, *says another*, *thou Beloved of the Lord* †?" If so much *Luciferan Pride* domineers in the Life and Conduct of the gifted Rabbies, how naturally do their Followers catch the Contagion, and easily puff themselves up with a fancied superior Knowledge, Gifts, and Graces! WHITEFIELD does most intolerably profane Scripture in applying several Passages to himself that are peculiar to JESUS CHRIST. "At my first setting out I grew in *Favour both with God and Man*," spoken of CHRIST.—"In preaching my Heart was full of God, and I *spoke as one having Authority*"

\* Enthu. of Meth. and Pap. compared, p. 13, 14.

† Journ. iv. p. 96.

“ Had the Pleasure of seeing my Audience increased no less than  
 “ Twenty Thousand present. *Blessed are the Eyes which see  
 “ the Things which we see.*” Words peculiar to those only who  
 saw JESUS CHRIST in the Flesh, *Luke x. 23.* And can it be any  
 Wonder to see the Spawn of this Enthusiastick Tribe, the petty  
 Exhorters that ramble from Place to Place, pervert the Scrip-  
 ture, as their Predecessors did of old, *unto their own Destruction?*  
*2. Pet. iii. 16.* Whatever crude, nonsensical, heretical, or even  
 blasphemous, Opinions they vent, it is sure to be swallowed by  
 the gaping Multitude.

I have mentioned above that WHITEFIELD, by the Help of  
 his *Moravian* Friends, (whatever was contributed from another  
 Quarter) set up *Solifidianism*, or the Gross of the *Antinomian*  
 Doctrine, and was a great Stickler of the following Five Arti-  
 cles of the Synod of *Dort*.

ART. I.—GOD, by an absolute Decree, hath elected to  
 Salvation a very small Number of Men, without any Regard to  
 their Faith and Obedience whatsoever, and secluded from Saving  
 Grace all the rest of Mankind, and appointed them, by the same  
 Decree, to eternal Damnation, without any Regard to their In-  
 fidelity or Impenitency.

ART. II.—That CHRIST JESUS hath not suffered for  
 any other but for the Elect only, having neither had any Intent,  
 nor Commandment of his Father, to make Satisfaction for the  
 Sins of the whole World.

ART. III.—That, by ADAM’S Fall, his Posterity lost  
 their Free-will, being put to an unavoidable Necessity to do,  
 or not to do, whatsoever they do, or do not, whether it be  
 good or evil; being thereunto predestinated by the eternal and  
 effectual secret Decree of God.

ART. IV.—That GOD, to save the Elect from the cor-  
 rupt Mass, doth beget Faith in them by a Power equal to that  
 whereby he created the World and raised up the Dead; inso-  
 much that such, unto whom he gives that Grace, cannot reject  
 it, and the rest, being Reprobate, cannot accept of it.

ART. V.—That such, as have once received that Grace  
 by Faith, can never fall from it finally, notwithstanding the most  
 enormous Sins they have committed. \*

These are the distinguishing Tenets that WH. did cordially  
 espouse and propagate. But when Mess. the WESLEYS embarked  
 in the Cause of Methodism, they strongly opposed these Articles,  
 and, indeed, taught the very Reverse of them. Hence it is  
 that they accuse each other of teaching damnable Doctrines,  
 Doctrines essentially erroneous. Mr. WESLEY charges Mr.  
 WH.

\* Arcan. Dogm. Anti-remonst. p. 23.—47.

WH. with horrid Blasphemy in his rigid Doctrine of absolute Reprobation; and he partly owns the Charge, and seemingly retracts: But it is observeable, “ That, in their several Answers and Defences, a Strain of *Jesuitical* Sophistry, Artifice and Craft, Evasion, Reserve, Equivocation, and Prevarication, is of constant Use\*.” Hence it is, that most of their first Admirers and Followers, seeing the Heats and Divisions among them, reciprocally damning each other, (WESLEY damning WHITEFIELD and his Doctrine, and WHITEFIELD damning WESLEY and his Doctrine) were perfectly bewildered, and deserted both Teachers, and turned *Moravians*, or Libertines, or Deists, or Papists, or Quakers.

There is yet a third Branch that hold Principles quite destructive of Christianity; for, beside the *Antinomian* Errors in the Gross, and a professed Libertinism, they revive the *Sabellian* Heresy, and maintain there is no Distinction of Persons in the ever-blessed and holy Trinity, and so are *Anti-trinitarians* and *Patripassians*. 'Tis true, both *Westleyans* and *Whitefieldians* disclaim and quite disown this impious Party; yet a great many of the petty Exhortors are infected with this damnable Heresy, and are supported by some clandestine Fund, designed to subvert Christianity, or at least the Religion professed among Protestants.

But notwithstanding their direct Opposition in Judgment and Doctrine, and damning each other, yet they accord in the same Opinion concerning Impressions and Feelings. They lay equal Claim to extraordinary Revelations, Inspirations, Special Directions, Missions, Calls, Extasies, Visions, and Communications, with God.----Of the two, it must be owned that WHITEFIELD is most luxuriant in Enthusiastical Rants. “ The LORD, says he, gave me the Text I preached on just before the Meeting, directed me to a Method as I was going up the Pulpit-stairs, and enabled me to discourse with an unaccountable Clearness, Freedom, and Power†.” And, in another Place, he acquaints his Friends, *That, one Morning, he talked with the Lord in a Garden as a Man talketh with his Friend* ||; with abundance more of such Enthusiastick Flights too fulsome either to relate or transcribe. And Mr. WESLEY, notwithstanding he is generally more upon his Guard, discovers also a vast deal of Vanity and Presumption in boasting so highly of *his* and his *Brother's* Abilities. He can also call Names to some Purpose. Some Persons of Distinction that opposed him are worse (as he expresses it) than the Scum of *Cornwall*, the Rabble of *Bilsum* and *Darleston*,

\* Compar. Vol. II. p. 164.

† Jour. vii. p. 66.

|| Lett. Vol. III. p. 44.

the wild Beasts of *Walsal*, and the Turnkeys of *Newgate*.

I shall now trace them a while beyond Sea in their Peregrinations to *America*, where the same Strain of Enthusiasm was still ascendant. *Cœlum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare natant.* Mr. CHANCY, a Presbyterian Minister of *New-England*, in a set Discourse upon that Subject, makes a terrible Complaint of the Confusion and tumultuous Proceedings carried on by the *new Missionaries* and Followers in that Part of the World. He remarks that, as soon as any was made one of their Disciples, “ he immediately seemed to be filled with a censuring Spirit ; “ Children against their Parents, and Servants against their Masters, declaring them to be Hypocrites, and Heirs of eternal “ Damnation\*.” Of this he gives an Instance (among many others) of a young Girl, who, being made a Convert to Methodism, told her Father, *She could see the Image of the Devil in his Face, and that all the Prayers he ever made in his Family were nothing but Abomination in the Ears of the Almighty.*—A pert Huffy, indeed ! But there are enough of the Sort in *Old-England*, as arch to the full.

The same Author relates of Mr. JAMES DAVENPORT, one of the fiery Zealots, (of whom Mr. WHITEFIELD makes such an honourable Mention in his *Journals*) who, having pretended to receive a Command from the Spirit to destroy every Ornament and bodily Dress that any one most delighted in, thereupon issued out an Order to enjoin all to pay Obedience to the Dictates of the Spirit. Upon which (such is the *Power of Enthusiasm!*) every Man and Woman brought into his Chamber their best Apparel and Ornament, ’till the Room could hold no more.---Then was published a *Second Proclamation*, to bring unto him such Books as he thought fit to prohibit, and, among the rest, the *Whole Duty of Man*, and Bishop BEVERIDGE’s *Thoughts on Religion* ; which was accordingly done : And a vast Heap of them was on a Sunday Evening committed to the Flames, the miserably-deluded People singing Hallelujah, and declaring with a loud Voice, *That the Smoak of the Torments of such of the Authors of all these Books, as died in the same Belief as when they wrote them, was now ascending in Hell in like Manner as they saw the Smoak of these Books rise.*—The fine Cloaths next were to be consumed ; but luckily, one of the Fraternity, who had a Hanking after some Finery that he had first parted with, dissuaded them from their Purpose†. How DAVENPORT resented this Violation of Order, my Author does not inform. Probably, he was satisfied with the Sacrifice of the *Books*.

I

\* *State of Religion in New-England*, p. 169. *Boston* 1744.

† *Ibid.* Annot. in. p. 221, 222.



I shall now add but one Thing more from the aforesaid Author, and that is the Confusion in their Religious Societies, \*  
 “ some screaming, some talking, some praying, some exhort-  
 “ ing, some jumping up and down, some singing, others laugh-  
 “ ing, shaking Hands, and kissing; and all this at the same  
 “ Time and at the same Assembly: And this Hurly-burly,  
 “ groaning, fainting, falling down, praying, laughing,, skip-  
 “ ping about, shaking Hands, and embracing, (the latter, says  
 “ my Author, was commonly practised by different Sexes) would  
 “ often continue for several Days and Nights successively.” —

And was not this an inviting Religion to Rakes and Libertines?

Their most solemn Performance would be an artful Management of the Holder-forth to scare his Audience with some shocking Expression, as, *that Hell flashes in their Faces; that Satan stands ready to snatch them away*: And then he would repeat three or four Times, with a peculiar Tone, the awful Word, *Damn'd! Damn'd! Damn'd!* This loud Repetition of the Word *Damn'd*, with such an Emphasis in the Pronunciation, would fright the Children and make them cry; this would affect the tender Mothers, and set them screaming also: And thus the whole Congregation by Sympathy would catch the Infection, and the Scream would become general, which they fancied, like the *French Prophets*, to be the Work of Conviction.

The fond Expectation of those in *Old* as well as *New-England* is, That God has raised them up to usher in the glorious *Millennium*. Thus Mr. WESLEY, speaking of the Conversation he had with some *Moravians* in *Holland*, adds, *The rest of the Day we spent with the Brethren and Sisters in hearing the wonderful Work which God is beginning to work over all the Earth*†. To the same Effect writes Mr. WHITEFIELD, “ I am confirmed  
 “ in my Opinion that God intends to work a Great Work upon  
 “ the Earth||.” And not to omit Mr. SEWARD his Testimony, § *I believe, says he, the Lord is working a Great Work upon the Earth; and who knows but we are come to the Dawnings of the Glory of that Day? Tho' the Work is very great for the Time, yet I believe 'tis but a Grain of Mustard-seed to what it will be.*

Now the evil Consequences of Methodism is very apparent in several Respects.

I. Their sudden Expectation of the *Millennium* might have been of the utmost fatal Consequence, had they been more explicit, and fixed the Time of its Commencement; but that they

Q 2

\* This Iudicrous Devotion, or Mock-worship, has been practised in *England* and *Wales*, and, for aught I know, continued to this Day.

† Jour. ii. p. 39.

|| Jour. iii. p. 107.

§ Jour. p. 64.

prudently kept in Reserve, seeing so many miscarried in their Chronology. This was the Motive, viz. *That the Saints should reign, and the Wicked be destroyed*, that set on VENER and his Accomplices to butcher so many in cold Blood in the Streets of London, as was mentioned before: This was the Wish of the French Prophets. And there is no doubt that many of the Methodists are bloody-minded enough, did they see any Probability of Success.

II. Their damning all the World besides themselves makes their giddy Followers look upon all the rest of the World as Reprobates: They look upon them with Disdain and Contempt, as fighting under the Devil's Banner, and Rebels against God. "Let any one look into the latter Part of Mr. WESLEY's *Further Appeal*, and he will find enough of *uncharitable and damnable Clauses*; dispatching all Mankind to Hell, (as far as lies in human Power) who are not *Methodists*: Not those in general, as they would pretend, who are void of a due Love to God and Man, who believe not in Christ, and keep not his Commandments, but all who submit not to their *Special Dispensation of Methodism*."\*

III. The extraordinary Boasting, Pride, and Vain-glory, that abounds in all their *Journals*, makes their Followers soon catch the Contagion, who are, indeed, naturally and easily *puffed up* with a fancied superior *Knowledge, Gifts, and Graces*, after being cajoled by their Leaders with ample *Promises, Expectations, and Assurances*†. These exalted Strains in Religion, and an Imagination of being already in a State of *Perfection*, are very apt to lead Men into Spiritual Pride, and a Contempt of their Fellow-christians, while they consider them as only going on in the low and imperfect Way. ||

IV. Their encouraging any illiterate Mechanick, that has but *Assurance* enough to ramble from Place to Place, as *Exhortors* and to expound Scripture, has very bad Consequences. In the particular Trade any of these was brought up, *Taylor, Tinker, Weaver, &c.* he might be useful, and earn his Bread in an honest Way; but, growing idle and self-conceited, the general Method is to turn Exhortor. And, what is most shocking, every one of these illiterate Vagrants pretends to expound by Inspiration, and, which is rank Blasphemy, fathers all his crude Conceptions on the Dictates of the holy Spirit.

V. Their very mean Opinion of being orthodox in Matters of Belief makes their Followers run into very extravagant Notions

\* Comparif. p. 117.

† *Ibid.* p. 24.

|| Conduct of the Meth. p. 16.

tions without the least Remorse. " 'Tis a Point we insist upon, says Mr. WESLEY, that Orthodoxy, or *Right Opinions*, is, at best, but a *very slender* Part of Religion, if any Part of it at all.\*" The plain Consequence whereof is, that teaching and believing the fundamental Errors of Popery is of *very little Moment*, if of any. Hence it is that *some*, both Teachers and Followers in fact, do turn *Sabellians*, *Anti-trinitarians*, *Solifidians*, *Quakers*, or what they please. Let them be as *heterodox* as a bewildered Fancy can make them, provided they are *Methodists*, they are safe enough, Mr. WESLEY does *absolve* them.

VI. Sudden and instantaneous Calls lead Men to neglect the Means of Salvation, gradual Improvements, and growing in Grace.—“ Very many Persons changed in a Moment, says Mr. WESLEY, *always suddenly*, as far as I have known.” —And says of himself, *My being born of God was an instantaneous Act, enabling me, from that Moment, to be more than Conqueror over those Corruptions which before I was a Slave to†.* And yet, in another Place, he says of himself, “ By the most infallible of Proofs, *inward Peelings*, I am convinced of Pride.” One may easily take his Word for this latter Concession: But how then to make it consistent with the former Declaration is beyond an ordinary Capacity to judge.—But 'tis a trite Observation, that great Boasters (to use the softest Expression) have not always the best Memories.

VII. The presumptuous Doctrine of the *Assurance* of Pardon, present and future, and the *Certainty* of Salvation, (whereof the two Champions do make such a Rant in their *Journals* †) does naturally fill the Head with Spiritual Pride, and induces a false and fatal Security, to the Neglect of future Endeavours.—No Marvel, then, if the Presumption riseth still higher into a Fancy of *Perfection*, an *unsinning* State and *unspotted*, while other wretched Mortals lie groveling in the Mire of Vice, or at best in an *imperfect* Way. §

VIII. *Impulses*, *Impressions*, *fancied Inspirations* and *Revelations*, being made the Rule of *Duty*, will make Men as confident in *wrong* Practice as in *right*, and, presumed upon as certainly coming from *Heaven*, will of course lead them into dangerous Errors of Judgment and Behaviour.—“ The sworn Enemy of our Salvation (says a learned and pious Gentleman) is very watchful and very subtle: He knows the Power of Enthusiasm, and how apt we are to take the Raptures of a  
“ warmed

\* Vid. Comparif. p. 171. Vol. II.

† Journ. iii. p. 16.

‡ *Wesl. Journ.* ii. p. 30. *Wb.* v. p. 17.

§ Comparif. Vol. I. p. 45.

“ warmed Imagination for the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit.” \*

IX. That Summit of *Arrogance*, a Claim of *unfinning Perfection*, and absolute Freedom from Corruption, which is the Privilege of our *Redeemer alone*, one may safely affirm the Methodists are at a great Distance from: Whence those *warm Heads*, which in Imagination have attained it, or are just laying hold of it, will arrive only to the most *Enthusiastick Phrensies*; and those of a less sanguine Spirit will be tempted to give over the Pursuit, become *desperate*, or turn Libertines. †—They own there is Corruption in the *Old Man*, but not in the *New Man*. By this subtle Distinction we may infer, that any Person may indeed sin, and be obnoxious to *Divine Wrath*, when he considers only the *Old Man* in him; but, by pleading that his *New Man* is *innocent and guiltless*, he is in no Danger. ‖

X. Their seduced Followers being persuaded that their Teachers speak from God, and are immediately sent upon *his Work*, will find little Inclination to dispute any of their *Doctrines*, or boggle at their *Examples*, how *immoral* or *unscriptural* soever. § However Scripture is wrested or perverted in their Expositions or Explanations, all is received, without any further Examination, as the Oracles of unerring Wisdom.

XI. The gross *Antinomian Doctrine*, maintained by most of the *Methodists*, (by all the *Moravian Party*) gives too much Encouragement to all Manner of Immoralities and Vice.—They generally hold, (as they did in the last Century) *That Sin in a Child of God should never trouble him, inasmuch as God imputes no Sin to his Elect, tho’ the same Action in the same Circumstances is a Sin in a Reprobate.*—In a word, they hold, “ That, if one of them by the Spirit knows himself to be in a State of Grace, tho’ he commits *Murther*, or *Adultery*, God does not look upon it as any Sin in him.”

XII. Their depreciating *good Works*, and teaching Justification by *Faith alone*, without any Regard to *good Works*, does naturally lead People to a Disregard of *Moral Duties*, and a low Esteem of them, or, rather, to think them no Part at all of the Christian Religion.—“ Who dares assert, says WHITEFIELD with his usual Rant, that we are not justified *merely by an Act of Faith—without any regard to Works* past, present, or to come!”\*\* And yet (as says the Right Reverend and very learned Author from whom I took the Liberty to borrow most

\* Extracts of Letters by Sir J. Tborald. p. 36.

† Comparif. p. 147.

‖ *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 46.

§ *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 147.

\*\* Journ. iii. p. 2.

most of these Observations) I apprehend it requires no great Courage to assert it after such Authority as that of St JAMES, Ch. ii. 14, 24. *What doth it profit, my Brethren, tho' a Man say he hath Faith, and have not Works? Can Faith save him? Ye see then how that by Works a Man is justified, and not by Faith only.*

These are some of the bad Consequences of Methodistical Enthusiasm; to which I may add the natural Tendency of their Behaviour, in Voice and Gesture and horrid Expressions, to make People mad, which very frequently has indeed been the Case with a great many of their Followers.—The Manner of the *Itinerants'* holding-forth is generally very *boisterous* and *shocking*, and adapted, to the best of their Skill, to alarm the Imagination, and to raise a Ferment in the Passions, often attended with screaming and trembling of the Body. The Preacher now grows more tempestuous and dreadful in his Manner of Address, stamps and shrieks, and endeavours all he can to increase the rising Consternation, which is sometimes spread over a great Part of the Assembly in a few Minutes from its first Appearance. And, to compleat the Work, the Preacher has his Recourse still to more frightful Representations; that *he sees Hell-flames flashing in their Faces*; and that they are *now! now! now! dropping into Hell! into the Bottom of Hell! the Bottom of Hell!* This boisterous Method seldom or never fails to set them screaming; and very often they grow distracted.

I had almost forgot to mention the great Disservice intended to the Protestant Religion in that abominable rash Censure of WHITEFIELD upon Archbishop TILLOTSON'S Works, and the *Whole Duty of Man*; thereby discouraging People, as far as it lay in his Power, from perusing these excellent Books.—Part of the second Article of Impeachment exhibited against Dr. SACHEVEREL was, that he asserted, “That Archbishop GRINDAL was a false Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate “to the Toleration of the *Genevian* Discipline\*.” And yet a greater Man than GRINDAL, one of conspicuous Sanctity, of an Apostolical Spirit, one of eminent Parts and Learning, and one of the greatest Divines of the Age he lived in, is represented, by this self-conceited, opinionative Novice, as one that knew no more of Christianity than MAHOMET the *Turk*, as ignorant of the Fundamentals of Christianity as a *Turk*, as much without God and Christ as a *Turk*, and that his Writings as well deserve the Flames as those mentioned *Aets* xix. But surely the *Flame* of his Zeal is an *Ignis fatuus*; and had there been but this single Instance of it, and his Conduct had been regular in other  
Matters,

\* His Tryal, p. 13.

Matters, yet this very Declaration, and that vindicated a second Time, would sufficiently convince the World that the Spirit of Infatuation had quite bewildered the Man. And, since this great and good Man is thus basely murdered in his Character by this daring Enthusiast, the Leader of the Party, it is no great Wonder that SEWARD, (who was entirely governed by him) to humour his Master, doth likewise spit out his Venom, and call him a *Traitor*, an *Impostor*, a *grand Deceiver*, whose Books have so long bewitched the World\*. Poor weak Man, he was made to believe so!

I shall conclude in the Words of the judicious and learned Author so often quoted above. “ I persuade myself it will appear, “ that this *new Dispensation* is a *Composition* of *Enthusiasm*, *Superstition*, and *Imposture*. When the Blood and Spirits run high, “ inflaming the Brain and Imagination, it is most properly *Enthusiasm*; which is *Religion run mad*:—When low and dejected, causing groundless Terrors, or placing the *Great Duty* “ of Man in little Observances, ’tis *Superstition*; which is *Religion scared out of its Senses*:—When any fraudulent Dealings are made use of, and any wrong Projects carried on under the Mask of Piety, ’tis *Imposture*, and may be termed, “ *Religion turned Hypocrite.*” †

\* His Journal, p. 46, 62, 63, 71, 77.

† *Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared*, Vol. I. p. ult.



## C H A P. X.

Of Count ZINZENDORF. Of JACOB BEHMEN. Of Mr. LAW: His strange Conceit of the Creation of the World; He maintains that ADAM might have propagated his Species without any Conjunction with a Female, if he had persisted in his State of Innocency. A further Account of the Methodists. Madness common among them. Screaming. Sudden Convictions. Casting out Devils. Miraculous Cures. Their Account of Regeneration.

WHETHER Methodism be originally the Produce of England and improved in *Moravia*, or the Produce of Germany and improved in *Great-Britain*, is what I cannot determine; but it is certain that the *Hernbuters* of *Woravia* lent an assisting Hand, and contributed largely towards its Formation and Growth. The Principal of this Enthusiastick Tribe is the famous Count ZINZENDORF, of whom I have very little to say, but that he is the Founder of the *Unitas Fratrum*, as the Members of that Association are pleased to distinguish themselves by. When he was but Ten Years old, he had even then some early aspiring Thoughts of being the Head of a Sect. Whenever the *Hernbuters* (for so they are called) are settled in any Kingdom of *Europe*, or elsewhere, they consider themselves as living under a *Theocracy* administered by NICHOLAS LEWIS the Count, who delivers his Mandates in these, or such-like sublime Terms, *Jesus will have it so; or, The Lamb commands it at your Hands.*

The Count (to preclude all Disputations concerning the Moral Nature and Tendency of his Injunctions, and to render his Authority absolute and unlimited) has established, as fundamental Maxims, That Reasonings and Philosophy are to be rejected, and that the Scripture itself does not contain a Rule of Faith and Practice.—Thus having set aside the written Word of God, and placing the whole of Religion upon *New Revelations*, their Religion is bound by no Law, and restrained by no Tye.\*

By this Sketch of their Doctrine and loose Principles it is evident, the *Light within*, or any Man's roving Fancy, is the sole Director, as of their fleeting and unconstant Tenets, so

R

like.

\* Vid. *Genl. Magaz.* May, 1753. p. 256. from *Henry R. milz*, which I have not seen.

likewise of their Worship and Adoration. Hence it comes to pass that the Brethren of the Enthusiastick Tribe in *England* do so differ in Opinion and Judgment, as I have mentioned in the foregoing Chapter.---It is in fact the Revival of the Enormities and Licentiousness of the last Age, now above a Century ago, when it was free for any silly Mechanick and illiterate Pretender to vent his Nonsense not only with Impunity, but with Applause and Reverence.---That we may discern at first View a direct Parallel between the Practice and Innovations of *that Age* and the *present*, I shall cite a few Passages from a Prelate of great Worth and Learning, who lived in those very Times, Dr. HACKET, Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. “ Ignorant  
 “ Laicks, says his Lordship, preach privately and publickly to  
 “ the Corruption and Dishonour of the Gospel: Nay, *all*  
 “ would be Teachers in the Gatherings of the Sectaries; scarce  
 “ a *Mute* in the Alphabet of these new Christians, but *all*  
 “ *Vowels*. Every one puts his Hands to CHRIST’S Plough  
 “ that neither know Seed, Soil, nor Season.---It is a lame  
 “ Excuse to say, in the Behalf of some of these Upstarts, that  
 “ they are *gifted Men*. Who reports this, but such as are  
 “ blind as themselves? They have bold Foreheads, strong  
 “ Lungs, and talk loud. An empty Cask will make a great  
 “ Sound if you knock upon it. They have sounded it sweetly,  
 “ when their Disciples are *Anabaptists, Familists, Brownists,*  
 “ *Antinomians, Socinians, Adamites*, any thing but *Orthodox*  
 “ *Christians*. A World of unstable People flock after these  
 “ *Coachmen-preachers, Barber-teachers*, and such-like able-  
 “ headed Companions.\*” This so visible a Resemblance would almost persuade one to think that the Bishop was drawing the Picture of the present Age, and not that of his own; so like are the *Colourings, the Drapery, and Attitude*, in both!

It being needless to alledge more Testimonies on this Subject, I shall now proceed to animadvert a little on some few *Paradoxes* of the grave and Reverend Mr. LAW; and that more especially, that, as a great deal of the *pious Works* of this Gentleman favour very much of the Enthusiastick Spirit, so it is most certain, that some high Flights of Piety (intermixed indeed with Bombast and Tinsel) have worked a wrong Bias on weak and crazy Intellectuals.

As to this extraordinary illuminated Writer, (you shall hear more of that anon) I believe he is an Episcopal Divine and a Protestant, and not at all a *Papist*, or, in genteeler Terms, not at all a *Roman Catholick*; yet some Expressions, I may venture to say, seem to have an unlucky Tendency to what is most  
 absurd

\* The Life of Arch-bishop *William*, Part II. p. 165, 166.



absurd in the pretended-infallible Church; as when he says, *How innocent is the Error of Transubstantiation when compared with the detestable Doctrine of absolute Election and Reprobation!* \*—Neither do I suppose that Mr. LAW is a professed Quaker, though he takes a Delight to talk sometimes in their Language, and particularly admires that mystick Expression of JACOB BEHMEN, ‘If the Divine Power in the inward Ground of the Soul was manifest, then is the whole Tri-une God present in the Life of the Soul. There is the Place where the Father begetteth his Son, and where the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and Son.†’ This is a fundamental Article of their System, which the Adepts in their Divinity may possibly understand as well as several other *Data’s* equally mysterious.

This *Rosi-crucian* Philosopher, JACOB BEHMEN, was a *High-German*, who held Principles in Religion very much a-kin to those of the *Family of Love*, as equally absurd, and as equally unintelligible. As he was naturally of a gloomy and melancholick Temper, so he maintained several odd Whimsies, both in Philosophick Matters, and in Divinity; for he would fain be a Dauber in both. He had a high Pretence to the Knowledge of the *Language of Nature*, and to interpret the very Essence and Nature of all Things, animate and inanimate, by the particular Name that each Individual was called in *High-Dutch*, his native Language; for he was ignorant of any other, notwithstanding his Name, as well as that of GEORGE FOX, is prefixed to several Pamphlets in *Latin*; but that was beyond his Skill. What he himself wrote is an affected *Jargon* and Bombast, scarce apprehended by any that are used to sober and intelligible Sense, though his Admirers pretend they are much edified by it. This terraqueous Globe we live upon he calls the *Mixed Out-World*; the Kingdom of Darkness, the *Dark-Fire-World*; and the Kingdom of Glory he names the *Holy-Light-World*: And yet he declares that these lie in one another, that *Heaven* is in *Hell*, and *Hell* in *Heaven*.||—This grand Enthusiast likewise (as is common to the Tribe) pretends to have a Communication with the Deity, and tells a very silly Story of an old Man, who, upon Pretence of buying a Pair of Shoes of him, read him his Destiny; and, upon receiving some good Instructions from him, concludes that he was an holy Angel sent from God to be his Guardian and Director of his Life. He does not say that the old Man vanished, but carried

R 2

the

\* Spirit of Prayer, Part II. p. 92.

† *Ibid.* Part. I. p. 100.

|| Vid. Dr. H. Moore's Divine Dialogues, Vol. II. p. 338, 353.

the Shoes along with him; and how he could infer that he was an Angel is beyond the Apprehension of any, but of a real Enthusiast, whose Fancy is susceptible of any Impression.— It is more natural for a Stranger to conclude, from this idle Story, that JACOB BEHMEN, as well as GEORGE FOX, was of the gentle Trade of CRISPIN, or, in other Words, a *Shoemaker* or a *Cobler*.

Having thus given an Hint of the Character of the Person whom Mr. LAW is pleas'd to call the Blessed JACOB BEHMEN, I shall now return to animadvert on some unheard-of Peculiarities in the Writings of his great *Admirer*. He seems to make Hell, the Place of Torment as commonly understood, to be nothing else but a *Chimera*; for, whatever he meaneth, thus he writes: "All Sin, Death, Damnation, and Hell, is nothing else but the Kingdom of SELF.\*" And, in another Place, *Hell is Nature destitute of the Light*.—He makes the New-birth, or Regeneration, to be a Privilege of Heathens, remaining as such, as well as of Christians; for he says, 'When the Desire of the Soul is turned to God, though in Souls that never heard either of the Law or Gospel,—then the New-birth in CHRIST is wrought in those that never heard of his Name.†'—He makes the Creation of the World abundantly more fantastick than even Dr. BURNET in his *Theory*; for thus he writes, 'That the Place of this World is the very Place, or Region, which belonged to LUCIFER and his Angels; and that every thing that we see in this World, all its Elements, the Stars and Firmament, &c. are nothing else but the invisible Things of the Fallen World made visible in a new and lower State of Existence: Or, as he expresses it elsewhere, 'This World was raised out of the Materials of the Fallen Angels' Kingdom.'‡

ADAM, he says, was created an Human Angel in Paradise. He had this Angelick Nature united to a Life and Body taken from the Stars and Elements. Then he adds, in a mystical Jargon, *That, as Paradise overcame and concealed all the Wrath of the Stars and Elements, and kept that Evil which is called the Curse from being known and felt, so ADAM's Angelick Heavenly Nature (which was the Paradise of God within him) kept him quite ignorant of that Earthly Nature that was under it §*: The Meaning of which very probably the Disciples of the illuminated JACOB BEHMEN and the *Rosicrucians* do comprehend.

But now, to proceed to the most wild and Enthusiastick Notion

\* Spirit of Prayer, Part I. p. 79. Ed. 3.

† *Ibid.* Part II. p. 96, 97.

‡ *Ibid.* Part II. p. 32, 50.

§ *Ibid.* Part II. p. 62.

tion that ever possessed any Mortal before, (far beyond the Reach of any of the Heathen Poets, or even the *Cabalists* among the *Jews*) he peremptorily maintains, that ADAM, in case he had persisted in his *State of Innocence*, might have been a *Parent* of a numerous Offspring without the Use or *Conjunction* of any *Female*; for, when he mentions the Text, *It is not good that the Man should be alone*, Gen. ii. 18. he thus comments upon it, "This shews that ADAM had altered his first State, had brought some *Beginning* of Evil into it, and had made that not to be good which God said to be good when he created him; and therefore, as a *lesser Evil*, and to prevent a *greater*, God divided the first perfect Human Nature into Two Parts, into a *Male* and *Female* Creature.—It was at first the total Humanity in One Creature, who should in that State of Perfection have brought forth his own Likeness out of HIMSELF, as he was brought forth by God."\* And this not a sudden Thought, but the Discovery of a Secret after a long and serious Consideration, which he often inculcates with Variety of Circumstances, all tending to prove (if you take his Word for it) that, if ADAM had continued in his primitive State of Innocency, he might have been the Parent of a numerous Offspring *out of himself*, without the Use or Enjoyment of Woman. And, to make his Meaning as clear as Words can express, he delivers himself thus: *Had ADAM stood in his first State of Perfection as a Birth of Divine Love, this Love would have been itself the fruitful Parent of an Holy Offspring: No EVE would have been taken out of him, nor any Male or Female ever known in Human Nature†.* But says he, *After he warped once, and let in an adulterate Love into his Heart, the Divine Power had no Strength left in it of bringing forth a Divine Birth from himself. This State of Inability is that which is called in Scripture his falling into a deep Sleep.*—What a fantastick and distracted Commentary is this upon the Creation and Fall of ADAM! What could bewitch the Man to hit upon such a roving Fancy? Since he was in the Humour of granting such a generative Power to ADAM alone, it would have been kind in him to let us know in what Manner this *numerous Offspring* should be produced, whether by *spitting* them out of his *Mouth*, or *blowing* them out of his *Nostrils*: But in this Affair our cautious Author has left every one to his Liberty to guess and *think freely* as he judges most proper. Here is now a Match for *Lucina sine Concubitu*, only with this vast Difference, That the Author of that ludicrous Piece does it in a Kind of Ban-

\* Spirit of Prayer, Part II. p. 74.

† *Ibid.* Part II. p. 78.

Banter and Satire; but the *Enthusiast* goes to work in a serious Mood, and labours hard to discover a Secret which has remained latent since the Creation, and would have continued so to the World's End had it not been for this Gentleman's wonderful Sagacity and prolifick Brain; the Discovery of which, he thinks, is of great, very great Service and Importance to the Cause of Religion.

He has several other very odd Notions, peculiar to himself, on the Subject of the Fall of ADAM; as when he says, "God did not create the *Tree of Good and Evil*, but the *Curse* of the Earth, since ADAM lost the Rectitude of his Will;" which, with some Variety of Expressions, he dwells upon very often, as another favourite Notion. He speaks with great Contempt, and arrogantly, of God's Prohibition of the forbidden Fruit to ADAM, as a Trial of his Obedience; for thus he writes, "That, if you consider the Fall of Man as a *single Act* of Disobedience to a positive *arbitrary* Command of God, this is to make all the Consequences of the Fall unexplicable; for, had the first Sin been only a single Act of Disobedience, it had been more worthy of Pardon than any other Sin, merely because it was the first, and by a Creature that had no Experience." \*

I shall not trace him any further in his wild Enthusiastick Rants, but only remark, that what any Body else (that had Intervals of Sobriety) would have been really ashamed to have owned he prides himself and glories in; for thus he introduces one of his *Dramatis Personæ*, or one of the Speakers of his Dialogues, and give his Verdict in the Behalf of his New-fangles, *It is one of the best Doctrines I ever heard in my Life; it gives so good a Sense, so sound a Meaning, to every Mystery of the Gospel.* And again he brings one of his Speakers to declare himself thus, *Truly, Sir, there seems to be so much Light and Scripture for all this Account that you have given of these Matters, as must force one to consent to it.* || How the Man does glory in his Dreams and Illusions! And yet this is the Man that has wrote a Treatise on *Christian Perfection*, as if to be elated with Pride and Self-conceit was a Characteristick and Badge of it.

I shall observe but one Thing more, and that *likewise* as *Chimerical* as any of his crude and sinister Notions; and then take Leave of our visionary Enthusiast. This is a very material Point; 'tis no less than the Means and Way to attain to a Spiritual Life, or a perfect *Regenerate* State. And, according to him, the

Re-

\* Spirit of Prayer, Part II. p. 91.

† *Ibid.* Part II. Dial. II. p. 73.

|| *Ibid.* p. 79.

*Recipe* is this, viz. “ To retire from the World and all Conversation only for *One Month*; then, in that Solitude, one is neither to read or write, or to debate any Thing with one’s Self, and to *stand* all this Month as continually as can be; but, whether *standing still*, or walking, to be always inwardly longing, and earnestly praying this *one Prayer* to God: “ *That of his Goodness he would make known unto you, and take from your Heart, every Kind, and Form, and Degree, of Pride, whether it be from evil Spirits, or your own corrupt Nature; that he would awaken in you the deepest Depths, and Truth of all that Humility which can make you capable of his Light and Holy Spirit\**.” This our Author calls the *Infallible Touch-stone* to try whether you are a Child of God or no.—This, by the Description he gives of it, looks somewhat like a Charm, or Magick Spell; such Virtue being attributed to the precise Time, the Posture, and the Form of Words here prescribed: Or at best it has a visible Conformity to an ordinary Practice in Popish Countries, where a plenary Indulgence is very often upon Occasions granted on going a Pilgrimage to MADONA of *Montserrat*, or Lady of *Loretto*, &c. and there saying so many *Ave-marias*. But whether from Ethnick Superstition, or Popish Christianity, (such as it is) or from his own prolifick Fancy, our Author has taken it, is a Matter beyond my Skill to determine.

Having thus glanced at the peculiar *Dogmas* of this Triumvirate, viz. NICHOLAS LEWIS COUNT ZINZENDORF, JACOB BEHMEN the German Enthusiast, and his fond Admirer Mr. LAW, I shall now proceed to give some additional Account of their Disciples the *Methodists*†; for these contributed to the Composition as well as Mr. WHITEFIELD and Mr. WESLEY.—That many of them ran distracted by their frightful Gestures, Vociferation, and horrid Expressions, &c. is a Matter of Fact that admits of no Dispute. They will tell you, “ That their Madness is a Conviction of Sin||.” But they are not competent Judges in their own Case, more especially when they are supposed to be touched with the same Distemper. Thus much however they must and do own, that they have been looked upon as *mad* (on account of their wild and frantick Actions) by Friends and Relations, by indifferent Persons, by regular Physicians, the most proper Judges by the World in general, and have been sent to *Bedlam*, and adjudged there to be Persons distracted. Nor do I see how the *judicious* and *intelligent* Part of

\* Spirit of Prayer, Part. II. p. 162, 163.

† All this is professedly borrowed from the *Comparisen*, &c. and the Journalists.

|| *West. Journ.* III. p. 83.

of the World can form any other Notion, while the genuine Signs of Madnefs are upon the Methodifts; and the moft absurd, irregular, and frantick Behaviour and Imaginations are obtruded as the Marks and Proof of true Piety.—One would not indeed believe the Report raifed by the *Devil* that Mr. WHITEFIELD was mad, becaufe he is the Father of Lies: Yet we may believe *himself*, when he fays, *He might very well be taken to be really mad, and that his Relations counted his Life Madnefs\**. Is it not a ftrange Sort of Conviction that *deprives* People of their Sences, inftead of bringing them into their Sences? An Inhabitant of *Tanfield*, (a Town in *Richmondshire*) who had received a Senfe of *the Love of God* a few Days before, (as is alledged) came riding thro' the Town, hallooing and shouting, *God had told him he fhould be a King, and fhould tread his Enemies under his Feet†*.

An itinerant Preacher in his Sermon affured the Hearers, *That the World would be at an End on fuch a Day*. Thereupon an Old Man gave fuch Credit to that Prophecy, as to neglect his Fences, turned his Cattle into his growing Corn, and made no Preparation for any Tillage for the enfuing Year, as being wholly taken up in fitting himfelf for the Day of Judgment; the Expectation of which giving the *Man* and his *Wife* no fmall Anxiety, one Morning an Apprentice who lived in the Family informed the Man, that he had had a Vifion in the Night, which told him that, if he would fubmit to it, his Sins fhould be expiated by *Scourging*, and that he himfelf was deputed by the Vifion to inflict that Punifhment upon him. The Old Man complied; and the Apprentice gave him Forty Stripes fave one on the bare Buttocks with a Bundle of Willow-rods. And a Second Vifion directed the Apprentice to inflict another Kind of Penance on the Old Lady, by Fire and Water, which the *likewise* readily fubmitted to. Notwithftanding all thefe Delufions, and the Old Man had out-lived the Day of Judgment at leaft Three Years, (but the Old Woman was dead) the Old Man and Apprentice continued as rigid *Methodifts* as before‡. Thus it appears what Force the Methodiftical Impoftures of falfe Prophets have in turning the Brain, and of how little Avail is *manifest Failure of Prediction* (or any other Argument) to recover an Enthufiaft to his Sences; as a very remarkable Inftance was given in the Account of the *French Prophets*, particularly in Sir R. BULKLEY, and JOHN figned LACY.

There is no attending the Progreff of Methodifm without  
regaing

\* I. Dealings. p. 42.

† Comparifon, Part 3. p. 16.

‡ Comparif. Part. 3. p. 19, 20.

raking into the shocking and horrible Things belonging to the History of this strange Sect, which is indeed but the *Revival* of several Enthusiastick Notions, and mad Pranks, among the several Sectaries of the last Century; such as their Crying out, Screaming, Roaring, Groanings, Trembling, Yelling, Convulsions, Swooning, Blasphemies, Curses, despairing Agonies, and Variety of Tortures in Body and Mind.

Of all these Mr. WESLEY and Mr. WHITEFIELD give particular Instances scattered throughout their Journals. ‘A Woman suddenly cried out (says Mr. WESLEY) as in the Agonies of Death, continued so for some Time with all the Signs of the sharpest Anguish\*. One felt, as it were, the Piercing of a Sword, and could not avoid crying even in the Street---One cried out aloud with the utmost Vehemence, even as in the Agonies of Death---Two others constrained to roar, seized with great Pain---Another as out of the Belly of Hell---A young Man, suddenly seized with a violent Trembling all over, sunk down to the Ground.---They dropped down on every Side as Thunder-struck.’—  
With a great deal more of the same Stamp.

And Mr. WHITEFIELD follows in the same Strain. ‘As I was preaching, (says he) Four Persons sunk down almost in the same Moment: One lay without Sense or Motion; a Second trembled exceedingly; a Third had strong Convulsions all over his Body; another, struck through as it were with a Sword, fell trembling to the Ground in Crying and Pain for Twelve or Fourteen Hours.---Many roared, utterly refusing to be comforted.---Some strangely torn by the Devil. ---A young Woman on the Bed, two or three Persons holding her: Anguish, Horror, and Despair, above all Description, in her pale Face! A Thousand Distortions shewed how the *Dogs of Hell* were gnawing her Heart: Her Shrieks not to be endured: She screamed out, *I am damn’d, damn’d, and lost for ever!*---Another Woman lay on the Ground, furiously gnawing her Teeth, roaring aloud; not easy for three or four Persons to hold her; sometimes screaming, then breaking out into a horrid Laughter, mixed with Blasphemy and Curses.’

This Account is transcribed *Verbatim*, in the very Words of the Two Journalists: And it is really amazing to what End they produce such a particular List, and a great many more than I have transcribed! They pretend, indeed, that these boisterous Proceedings, Convulsions, Screaming, &c. are the Signs of Conversion, and the Pangs of the New-birth; as the *French*

S

Pro-

*Prophets* did interpret the like violent Symptoms to be the Prelude of Inspiration, and, I suppose, with equal Success and Probability, as the Event did demonstrate.— Besides many other orthodox and eminent Divines that I could name, the judicious and learned Mr. LESLY has a Remark very pertinent to this our Subject: *It is observed*, says he, *that neither the Apostles, or any other recorded in the Holy Scriptures, were converted to Christianity by such Violence and monstrous Sort of Convulsions in their Bodies. These are the Transports of Furies: But the Spirit of the Gospel is all Meekness, Sobriety, and Gravity\**. N. B. Here are Three different Sects, lately sprung up, viz. the *Quakers*, the *French Prophets*, and the *Methodists*, unanimous in their Verdict, that violent *Agitations, Screaming, &c.* are the Effect of the Divine Spirit in working *Conversion, &c.* But I am really persuaded, that the Single Testimony of such a good Judge of the Matter as is Mr. LESLY will abundantly over-balance the Enthusiastick Conceit of all *Three*.

Mr. WHITEFIELD indeed, at first, had some Objections against these unnatural Contortions and Screaming, yet at last, being convinced by Mr. WESLEY's Arguments, is afterwards full of the same dreadful Cries, Convulsions, and other Bodily Tortures, attending his Sermons. And Mr. WESLEY (notwithstanding his being for some Time somewhat upon the Reserve) does very often make his Boast, that by the Intercession of his Prayers those Disorders were removed, Devils dispossessed; and many of his Cures are said by him to be *instantaneous*, relieved in Body and Mind in a Moment: And he does arrogantly assume to himself the Name of a Prophet; for thus he writes, "That, a Woman who was a Sinner having lent him a convenient Place for Preaching, he thus declares unto her, *Thou hast received a Prophet in the Name of a Prophet, and art found of him that sent him*†. Yea, he gives several Instances of wonderful and extraordinary Signs done by him: 'As I was expounding, says he, the 12th of the *Acts*, a *Young Man*, with some others, rushed in, cursing and swearing vehemently, and so disturbed all near him, insomuch that they turned him out of Doors. I observed it, and called to let him in, that our Lord might bid his Chains fall off. As soon as the Sermon was over he declared he was now resolved to have the *Lord for his God*.||'— In another Place he gives the following Instance of his exorcising the Devil out of

one

\* Defence of the *Snake in the Grass*, Part I. p. 38.

† Journal III. p. 112.

|| Journal IV. p. 58.



one possessed: 'A certain Man of a regular Life,' (whom he does name by the two first initial Letters of his Name) 'constantly attending the Publick Prayers and Sacraments, zealous for the Church, laboured above measure to convince his Acquaintance that the *Methodists*' falling into strange Fits at the Societies was a Delusion of the Devil. We were going home, when one informed us that the *said Man* was fallen *raving mad*. It seems he had been at a *Sermon* on Salvation by *Faith alone*; on which he fell from his Chair, and began to scream terribly, &c. I came in, and found him on the Floor; the Room full of People, whom his Wife would have kept out, but he cried with a loud Voice; *No, let them all come in, let all the World see the just Judgment of God*. Then, fixing his Eyes upon me, (says our Author) he cried, *Ab! this is he who I said was a Deceiver of the People; but God has overtaken me*. — We betook ourselves to Prayer, his Pangs ceased, and both Body and Soul were set at Liberty.\*

— This is a notable Story, by which we may observe of what dangerous Consequence it is to offend the *Methodists*, and that no Regularity of Life, or Attendance on the most Sacred Ordinances, will satisfy them, if one should rashly judge that *Methodism* is a *Delusion*.

It were abundantly too tedious to copy all the Instances our Author is pleased to acquaint the World with of his dispossessing the Devil, and healing all Manner of Disorders by his prevailing Prayers. Yea, he makes the Devil to be so sharp-sighted as to espy him at a Distance: *I was sent for to Kingswood, says he, to one that was in great Agonies. A violent Rain began just as I set out, so that I was thoroughly wet in a few Minutes. The Woman, then Three Miles off, cried out, Yonder WESLEY comes galloping as fast as he can. In the mean time the Devil tormented her beyond Expression, such as Words cannot describe; but after Prayer, and exorcising the evil Spirit, both Body and Soul were healed*†. By this it is apparent that Mr. WESLEY does, or very late did, assume a Power of Healing, and to cast out Devils, as much as any Primitive Apostle.

It is a controverted Point among the *Methodists*, Whether Bodily Concussions and Screaming are the Effect of the *Blessed Spirit*, or the Buffetings of *Satan*. Mr. WHITEFIELD seems to maintain, that it is the Operation of *Satan*; and Mr. WESLEY contends, that it is the wholesome Effect of the Spirit of Grace: But the Two Antagonists (if they are really such) yet contrive the Matter very well; for it is necessary *sometimes* that

\* Journ. III. p. 44.

† Journ. III. p. 94.

the Blessed Spirit should be the Cause of these violent Agitations, that those who are weak might not be offended; and it is equally necessary *sometimes* also that the evil Spirit should be the Cause, to shew what an *Enemy* he is to *Methodism*, in thus disparaging God's Work, and designing to affright People from it; and especially it must be the *Devil's Work*, that Mr. WESLEY might have the Honour of *ejecting* him, and gain a Reverence for his miraculous Cures. \*

But the boisterous Manner of Delivery so much affected by the Methodist-preachers, as the Sons of BOANERGES, may with great Justice and Propriety be adjudged the principal Cause of all these Disorders, viz. their Roaring, Yelling, bodily Concussions and Agonies. Let no one be startled; I say again, they are the Cause, the instrumental Cause, of all these Perturbations and amazing Symptoms: And indeed they make it a Matter of high Boasting and Exultation! And it is observed, that when *one* falls into *Fits*, or *screams*, it affects the rest by Sympathy; or quickly *one* after *another*, as it were by Contagion. The Two *Journalists* are full of such Accounts, more replete with such Stories indeed than even GEORGE FOX his Journal about the the Progress of *Quakerism*.—It hath been constantly observed of Superstition and Enthusiasm, more especially the latter, that they are very *catching*, and *infectious*, running like Wild-fire from Bosom to Bosom.—Nor is it strange that this should be the Case, when the Company are of the same Cast and Complexion, of the same Turn of Mind, the same Temper and Distemper. †

Persons of bad Principles will be fond of mingling with an Enthusiastick Sect.—As for Instance, *Hypocrites*, who, laying hold of devout *Appearances*, and high Pretensions to Religion, are desirous to pass upon the World for *Saints*, in order to deceive more effectually.—Persons of a vain and ambitious Mind, who love to be *Some-body* in a new Dispensation that makes a little Noise in the World, and knowing how unable they are to make a Figure elsewhere, must needs be at the Head of a separating Party, or a Sect; or else from mere *Conceitedness* will set up to be Teachers, or Expounders.‖—Mr. WESLEY, from a seeming Renunciation of Miracles at his first setting out, yet in fact makes a full Claim to them, as is evident from the above Particulars quoted out of his Journals: Some of his Cures are plainly declared to be *miraculous*, and other represented with such a miraculous Air as can't fail of getting Belief

\* Comparif. Part. III. p. 142.

† *Ibid.* p. 178.

‖ *Ibid.* p. 202.

lief among his credulous Followers. — If Mr. WESLEY hath actually performed some *miraculous Cures* seemingly so, and removed from many of his Followers the most horrible Disorders, as he is pleased to relate, let him remember that he brought these Calamities upon them himself (unless *Satan* bear a Part) by the Force of his boisterous Eloquence in bewildering the Judgment.

They make *Regeneration*, or the New-birth, to be Two-fold, a lesser and a greater. Regeneration in the higher Sense of the Word is a thorough inward Change, by the Love of God shed abroad in the Heart: In the lower Sense it is obtaining Remission of Sin. — Now, before one does arrive to a Perfection in this blessed State, he must undergo a very severe Trial; for, according to their Description of the Matter, the *Pangs* of the New-birth are Doubts and Fears, and strong Temptations; Ferments and Agonies like of a Woman in Travail. They feel Terrors, Despondencies, Spiritual Desertions; yea, they feel as it were the Pains of Hell. But as to himself, Mr. WESLEY makes but a short Work of it; for he says, “ he was in a violent Agony for about *Four Hours*, and then began to feel “ that he was born of God.\*” But, in the general, it is accompanied with a horrible Dread, Despair, and Perturbations of Mind, for a long Continuance. Hence Mr. WESLEY describeth the several Cryings-out, Roaring, Yelling, &c. with unutterable Agonies of Mind and Body. — Thus, among the *Papists*, S. TERESA was placed in Hell by our Lord to see the Torments of the Damned. The Entrance is a narrow, dark Furnace. All the most acute Pains that the Devils could invent were as nothing to the Agonies she did undergo at her Regeneration: Her Legend says expressly that she felt a desperate and torturing Discontent and Disgust before the Work of Regeneration was complete. †

They are represented to undergo several Purgations and Lustrations 'e're the New-birth is quite formed. Most of them feel as it were a burning Fire within them; and so Mr. WESLEY interprets the Text, *Pet. iv. 12.* concerning the *fiery Trial*, to the Agonies and Torments that burn within them like Fire in forming the New-birth, and not meant of Persecutions, as some ignorant Commentators expound||. When this severe Penance is at an End, then indeed they have the Favour of being told by their Teachers that they are then *regenerate* and *incorruptible*; and those that have the strongest Fancy, the boldest

\* Journ. III. p. 18.

† Comparif. 286.

|| *Ibid.* p. 296.

boldest Imagination and Presumption, will soonest believe and be deceived. \*

Sometimes we are told, that they have Intervals and Vicissitudes of Light and Darkness, alternate Risings and Fallings, Spiritual Joy and Desertions; sometimes they are said, in high, figurative Expressions, to *ride triumphantly* with CHRIST in his Chariot, then move heavily when he taketh off his Chariot-Wheels; one Time are carried up to Heaven, and down again to Hell: But, after a great Struggle and Combating with this alternate Course, then the Matter begins to mend, and they fall into Extacies, Visions, and Revelations.

This so extraordinary *Apparatus* may be paralleled by numerous Instances among the *Popish* Saints and Saintesses, more especially the *Founders* of the several *Orders*; and, which is also pretty remarkable, it answers very nigh, as Face to Face in a Mirror, to the Description given of the New-birth by the surly and morose Zealots that were so stanch for the Kirk and Covenant in *Scotland*: And it is *likewise* almost the same in Substance with what the most Reverend Dr. SHARP, Archbishop of *York*, gives of the rigid *Presbyterians*, their Descendants, in *England*.

I shall here annex the Description in the Words of his Grace:

\* There is nothing more usual, among those that delight to lay  
 \* down a great Number of Marks of Conversion, than to  
 \* frame a solemn Description of the Manner of it, and to de-  
 \* liver the particular Way and Method in which it proceeds.  
 \* And here usually they first bring in a Soul very careless and  
 \* and regardless of his Eternal Interest, and very secure in his  
 \* own Way, though it be a bad one. Afterward they make  
 \* this Person, either by some convincing Sermon he hath heard,  
 \* or some reasonable Advice he hath had from some pious  
 \* Friend, or by some Affliction or Judgment that God hath  
 \* been pleased to visit him with, or, lastly, by some extraordi-  
 \* nary Providence in some other Way, I say, by some or all of  
 \* these Means, to be deeply awakened to a Sense of his former  
 \* Sins, and of the dangerous State he is in upon the Account  
 \* of them. And the first Effects that these warm Convictions  
 \* do work upon him are very terrible: He thinks himself in a  
 \* fearful and damnable Condition; he looks upon himself as a  
 \* lost, undone Man; he hath the Terrors of the Law so deep-  
 \* ly set home to his Spirit, that he can find Comfort no where;  
 \* and, though he turn himself all Ways imaginable, yet still  
 \* he is a forlorn, miserable Creature. After he hath lain some  
 \* Time under these Terrors and Affrightments, and even upon  
 \* the Brink of Desperation, it pleaseth God at length, by his  
 \* Spi-

\* Comparif. p. 299.

Spirit, to break through this Cloud, and to dart some Beams  
 of Light and Comfort into his Conscience. Finding himself  
 to be lost every other Way, he is at last directed to fix upon  
 JESUS CHRIST as the only Anchor of his Hope; to close  
 with him, to apply his Merits and Righteousness to himself:  
 And, upon this, he lays hold on the Promises; and, re-  
 nouncing all his own Works, and all his own Righteousness,  
 and perfectly going out of himself, he relies and depends upon  
 JESUS CHRIST, and him only: And this closing with, and  
 resting upon, JESUS CHRIST, is that justifying, saving Faith  
 upon account of which God accepts and approves of him.

This is the ordinary Process of Conversion, as you some-  
 times find it delivered in Books. I do not represent it with a  
 Design to expose it; for really this is sometimes the Method  
 by which Men are converted. But yet this I say, That, if  
 this Kind of Proceeding be set down either as a necessary  
 Mark, or as a certain Mark, whereby Men are to judge of  
 their Regeneration, it will fail in both these Respects, and be  
 found no Mark at all; for it will either discover too much or  
 too little: For it is certain a great many very pious and reli-  
 gious Persons never came to that good Estate they are now in  
 by any such Methods as we have been now speaking of: They  
 were never exercised in such a boisterous Manner with the  
 Terrors of the Law; they were never in such a despairing  
 Condition; and that Satisfaction and Peace of Mind they  
 now enjoy, and that good Hope they have of God's Favour,  
 never arrived to them in such a Way and Method as I have  
 been describing.

And then, in the Second Place, these Marks of Regeneration  
 cannot be constantly true ones, because a great many have  
 felt in themselves all that I have now mentioned, and yet fall  
 short of it. There is no doubt but a very bad Man may have  
 had all these Convictions upon his Mind of his Sin, and the  
 Danger we have now represented; nay, and all that disclaim-  
 ing of his own Righteousness, and closing with CHRIST's Pro-  
 mises; and yet for all this he may not be a Regenerate Person.  
 — He may still continue under the Slavery of Sin and evil  
 Habits. Tho' he had a warm Sense of Religion at the first,  
 yet that Sense, in Tract of Time, and upon the Recourse of  
 Temptations, may wear off; and the Man at last comes to  
 satisfy himself, that, if he do but still rest on JESUS CHRIST,  
 this will be accepted of God, tho' yet he lives in a Course of  
 Sin, and hath not truly mortified any one carnal or worldly  
 Lust that formerly reigned over him.\*

This

This is that eminent Divine, then but Rector of St. Giles's, who (among a great many others) in the Reign of K. JAMES II. made such a noble Stand against Popery, when a furious Attack, like an impetuous Torrent, was making upon our Rights, Civil and Religious; while in the mean Time the *Presbyterians* fawned upon that arbitrary Prince with the highest Strain of Rhetorick. Not a Soul of them drew his Pen in Favour of the *Protestant Cause*, that was then in such imminent Danger, when the King broke thro' the Test-act by the Force of his Dispensing Power. They all stood mute to a Man. Mute did I say? No, I retract the Word. Mr. LOB, a leading Man among them, and a prime Teacher, was so elated with his Interest at Court, that he grew *insolent*, and indeed was no less bloody-minded than the most bigot Papist: He was no less eager to persecute the Bishops than Father PETER the King's Confessor, as is expressly affirmed by Bishop BURNET\* and the rest of the Historians of that Time.—While the Bishops and Episcopal Clergy were continually harrassed, and threatened with Loss of Life and Livelihood, for adhering so stedfastly to their Principles, and writing so gallantly in Defence of their Religion, the *Dissenters* were caressed; upon which they sent Ad-dress upon Ad-dress to compliment the King on his assuming a Dispensing Power; and constantly, as it was in fact, *they* and the *Papists* were the only Court-favourites, made Justices, and Judges, and Magistrates, all over the Kingdom.—When there is no Danger in the Case, then we shall have Lectures at *Salter's-hall* against Popery; in a Sunshine the *Presbyterians* will exert their languid Talents: But, *when Tribulation or Persecution ariseth because of the Word, by and by they are offended.* Math. xiii. 21. Thus the *Serpent* and other *venomous Vermin* are *subtiller* than the other Beasts of the Field; for in hard Weather they are not to be found upon the Face of the Earth, but are crept into their Holes; but, when a warm Season comes, they crawl out, and snap at the Heels of those that had endured the Severity of the Winter.

The *Presbyterians* can't endure to be told such a grating Story, so much to their Disrepute; as if, forsooth, this had been the *only* general Blur upon their Character! They would fain shift off the Scandal, and pretend, 'That the Reason why they made no better Figure in the *Popish* Controversy at the latter End of K. CHARLES the Second his Reign, and the Beginning of K. JAMES, was this, that the Licensers of the Press absolutely refused to license their Books.'—But this is entirely false; and there can be no better Proof of the Matter than

\* History of his own Times abridged, p. 393.

than the concurrent Testimonies of the very learned and worthy Persons that were Chaplains to the then Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *London*, whose Province it was to license Books for the Press, viz. Dr. MAURICE, Dr. ISHAM, Dr. ALSTON, Dr. BATTELEY, and Mr. NEEDHAM; and they do all unanimously attest, that never a Dissenter brought them any of their Books on that Subject to be licensed: So that, if we give any Credit to the joint Testimonies of these Great Men, the Presbyterians had no Courage at all to be meddling with such critical Points in so dangerous a Conjunction\*.—They (good Men) chose rather to sleep in a whole Skin, which they did with a Witness by complimenting the unhappy Prince in most of his arbitrary Proceedings; whose complete Ruin, as well as that of the Royal Martyr his Father, was owing jointly to Papists and Presbyterians.—But, when he was gone off, and another upon the Throne, then, being out of Harm's Way, they could call Names to some Purpose: Then K. JAMES (but not 'till then) was a bloody Tyrant, a Popish Bigot, a Limb of Anti-Christ, and an Imp of the Devil.

—*Pudet hæc opprobria vobis,  
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.*

N. B. The Popish and Puritan Notion of the New-birth has carried me somewhat beyond my intended Subject. I shall say no more, but that, as Imposture and Hypocrisy are sooner or later detected, however disguised or masked, so *Methodism*, notwithstanding the Appearance of Sanctity for a Time, has been discovered a Composition of very dangerous Ingredients, and is now almost every where out of Date.

\* *Vid.* Dr. *Crey's* Answer to *Neal*, p. 424, &c. where this Matter is discussed at large.



## C H A P. XI.

*Of Real and Pretended Inspiration. Instances of both. The Sibylline Oracles. The Daemon of SOCRATES. Of the Heathen Oracles. The pretended Inspiration of the Quakers, and of Madam ANTHONIETTA BOURIGNON. Several Instances of pretended Inspiration, and of the Power of working Miracles among the Scotch Covenanters.*

THE Methods whereby God Almighty has been pleased to discover himself to Holy Men of old are very different; sometimes by an external Voice, sometimes by an Appearance to the Senses and Imagination, and sometimes by immediately affecting and influencing the Soul and Understanding. — Of the first Kind we have several Instances in Holy Writ: Among the rest is God's calling audibly on SAMUEL, when yet a Child, when it was foretold him concerning the Fate and Destiny of ELI the High Priest. Some do suppose that the Voice which SAMUEL heard was not like the natural Voice of ELI, when he got up and went into his Apartment in the Night-time: But, when it is said, that *Samuel did not know the Lord*, the Meaning is, he was not yet acquainted with the Method whereby God was pleased to reveal himself to the Prophets; when (as some of the *Rabbins* inform us) “ a certain Apparition, or the Image of a Man or Angel, represented itself to their Imagination; sometimes it began with a Voice, and that either strong or vehement, or else soft and familiar\*.” What Truth there is in this *Rabbinical* Tradition I know not; but the *Hebrew* Doctors believe it: But, as to the other Opinion, That, whenever the Almighty does vouchsafe to speak to Man, the Voice is *then* peculiar, and has no Resemblance with the Human, the most learned Bishop PATRICK seems to be of another Mind; for in this very Instance he says, *It is probable the Voice was like that of ELI*†.

Of the Second Sort of Communion with God (to omit others) was the Vision that appeared to PAUL in the Night; for there stood [as seemed to him] a Man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, *Come over into Macedonia and help us*, Acts [xvi. 9. And then the Apostle, without any Manner of Hesitation, resolves to make a Journey thither, assuredly gathering, that the Lord had called him to preach the Gospel in that

\* Vid. *Smith's Select Discourses*, p. 102.

† *Patrick* in Loc.



that Province.—The Third Kind, whereby the Lor<sup>d</sup> does vouchsafe in an *extraordinary Manner* to communicate the Light of his Spirit, is, by immediately affecting the Soul and Understanding, which is more especially termed Inspiration. *The Prophecy came not of old Time by the Will of Man; but holy Men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; 2. Pet. i. 21.* Hence we may learn that no Part of Holy Scripture was written by any *private Impulse, Incitation, or Motion, and by no Suggestion of Men's own private Spirits; but they gave out to us what the Holy Ghost gave in to them: Nor did they prophesy according to the Will of Man; that is, when they would at Command; but they spake by the peculiar Instinct and Impulse of the Holy Ghost.*

Now, in this last Acceptation of the Word *Inspiration*, it may be defined to be a “ Divine Influx on the Soul, wherein “ the Person is wholly passive; the Blessed Spirit working upon “ his Understanding irresistibly and autoratively, carrying “ along with it its own Demonstration.”

There is no Manner of Doubt of it, but that a great many, more especially of the *Gnosticks*, pretended to real Inspiration in the Apostolical Age, notwithstanding they were in fact but mere *Impostors*. Hence it is that St. JOHN the Divine gives a Caution to all the Christians of his Time (and indeed to all Christians of the succeeding Ages) to take Heed of being seduced by such as should pretend to be inspired by the Holy Spirit of God, saying, *Beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits, whether they are of God, because many false Prophets are gone into the World. 1. John, iv. 1.*—From which Words that Great Man, Archbishop TILLOTSON, very naturally makes the following Inferences. (1.) *That Men may, and often do, falsely pretend to Inspiration.* And this is the Reason upon which the Apostle grounds this Exhortation; *Because many false Prophets are gone out into the World; therefore we should try who are true, and who are false.* (2.) *We are not to believe every one that pretends to be inspired, and to teach a Divine Doctrine.* This follows upon the former: Because Men may falsely pretend to Inspiration, therefore we are not to believe every one that makes this Pretence; for any Man that hath but Confidence enough, and Conscience little enough, may pretend to come from God: And, if we admit of all Pretences of this Kind, we lie at the Mercy of every crafty and confident Man to be led by him into what Delusions he pleaseth. (3.) *Neither are we to reject all that pretend to come from God.* This is sufficiently implied in the Text; for, when the Apostle says, *Believe not every Spirit,* he supposeth we are to believe *some; and,*

‘ and, when he saith, *Try the Spirits whether they be of God*, he  
 ‘ supposeth some to be of God, and that those which are so  
 ‘ are to be believed. (4.) *That there is some Way to discern mere*  
 ‘ *Pretenders to Inspiration from those who are truly and divinely*  
 ‘ *inspired*. And this is necessarily implied in the Apostle’s bidding  
 ‘ us to *try the Spirits whether they are of God*; for it were in  
 ‘ vain to make any Trial if there were no Ways to discern be-  
 ‘ tween pretended and real Inspirations.’ \*

N. B. Mr. BURKIT, (who was certainly a very good Man) in his Annotations on the New-Testament, does borrow all these Observations, and transcribes them with very little Variation, (unless sometimes a Curtailing of them) without any Mention of the Archbishop; as indeed he generally does upon every Text of the New-Testament in so many express Words that *his Grace* pitched upon for a Subject of his admirable Discourses, as any one by comparing both may easily discover. Is it not then a Wonder that Mr. WHITEFIELD, who pays such a Deference and Respect to Mr. BURKIT, yet, in his rash and intemperate Zeal, does esteem the good Archbishop no more a Christian than a *Turk*; from whom, notwithstanding, Mr. BURKIT does borrow the very best of his pious Remarks! But I suppose he was ignorant of this, notwithstanding all his Pretence to Inspiration, yea to *extraordinary* Inspiration, as we have too many Instances of it in his vain-glorious and fantastick *Journals*.

What raised the Anger and Inveteracy of the *Methodists* against this admirable and pious Divine I am not able to determine: *I know* he is generally persecuted; and I heard some of them say that he was no better than an *Atheist*; which has the same Resemblance of Truth that the *Presbyterians* cast on his *quandam* Predecessor Archbishop LAUD, that he was altogether a *Papist*. But the excellent Writings of the one and the other do sufficiently clear them from this foul Calumny. But it is a Part of some Men’s Religion (at least of their Practice) to revile and traduce Men of an eminent Station, who are infinitely their Superiors, as well in Point of Learning and Knowledge as also in Authority and Jurisdiction.

But, if I may offer my Conjecture, I do imagine that one principal Reason (besides his exalted Station in the Church) why Archbishop TILLOTSON fell under the Displeasure of our Modern Enthusiasts was such Positions as these in his Sermons  
 ‘ Great Zeal about little and doubtful Things is an Argument  
 ‘ of a weak Mind infatuated by Superstition, or over-heated by  
 ‘ Enthusiasm†’. And elsewhere thus, after he had been discouraging

\* *Tillotson’s Sermons*, Vol. I. Ed. 3. Lond. 1701. Fol. p. 223.

† *Serm.* cccxi. Vol. XI. 12mo. p. 39.

coursing at large of too many that have the *Form of Godliness*,  
*but deny the Power of it*, 2. Tim. iii, 5. he then adds, ' And,  
 ' tho' Things have been much better since that happy Refor-  
 ' mation from the Corruptions and Errors of *Popery*, yet, even  
 ' among *Protestants*, the Malice and Craft of the *Devil* hath  
 ' prevailed so far as to undermine in a great measure the  
 ' *Necessity of a good Life* by those *luscious* Doctrines of the *An-*  
 ' *tinomians* concerning *Free Grace*, and the Justification of a  
 ' Sinner, merely upon a confident Persuasion of his being in a  
 ' State of Grace and Favour with God, and consequently  
 ' that the Gospel dischargeth Men from Obedience to the  
 ' Laws of God, and all Manner of Obligation to the Virtues  
 ' of a good Life: Which Doctrines, how false and absurd  
 ' soever in themselves, and pernicious in their Consequence,  
 ' did not only prevail very much in *Germany* a little after the  
 ' Beginning of the Reformation, but have since got too much  
 ' Footing in other Places, and been too far entertained and  
 ' cherished by some good Men, who were not sufficiently  
 ' aware of the Error and Danger of them.' This, in all Like-  
 lihood, and some other like sound and orthodox Divinity, gave  
 Offence to WHITEFIELD, so as to maintain in Print, and again  
 to vindicate his Assertion, that Archbishop TILLOTSON knew  
 no more of Christianity than a *Turk* or a *Mahometan*.

But to return to my more immediate Subject of Inspiration.  
 —In the Class of *real and divine* Inspiration there is no Doubt  
 but that the primary Rank is due to the holy *Prophets* of old,  
 and the *Apostles* of our Blessed Saviour. Nor were the extraor-  
 dinary Gifts of the Spirit confined to the Apostles and their first  
 Converts; but the succeeding Ages (whilst Christianity remained  
 pure and uncorrupt) were abundantly blessed with the like Di-  
 vine Favour, not much inferior to that of the first Christians,  
 as is very evident from the early Writers of the Primitive  
 Church. The late Dr. CONYERS MIDLETON (as his Manner  
 was to be *singular* in most Things) would fain obtrude upon  
 the World that Miracles and the extraordinary Gifts of the  
 Spirit intirely ceased after the Apostles' Days; and, to make  
 good his Allegation, his Method is to asperse and calumniate the  
 Fathers of the Church, that they were weak and silly People,  
 too credulous and apt to be imposed upon.—It is a hard  
 Matter indeed to prove a Negative; and therefore, besides his  
*Ipsè dixit*, Ridicule and Banter is his only Proof.—And, further  
 to depreciate them, he boldly asserts, *that the several Apologies*  
*wrote in Defence of Christianity were mean Performances*, and  
 unlikely ever to be perused by the Roman Emperors, to whom  
 they are dedicated; *as unlikely*, says he, *to be regarded as if one*  
of

of our Methodists should write an Apology, and dedicate it to the King of England.—The Doctor should know that this Representation is entirely false; or else he did abominably prevaricate, and stifle the Truth.—JUSTIN MARTYR wrote two Apologies, the first dedicated to ANTONINUS PIUS and the Roman Senate, and the other to M. ANTONINUS VERUS; and he had so good Success, in stating the Case before the Emperor and Senate, as to put a Stop to the Persecution that was then just breaking out against the Church.—And QUADRATUS, Bishop of Athens, in an excellent Apology that he presented to the Emperor ADRIAN, (who was the immediate Predecessor of M. ANTONINUS PIUS) had so good Effect, that the Emperor sent his Rescript to all Governors of Provinces, commanding a Stop to be put to the Persecution against the Christians\*. This is a sufficient Evidence that Dr. MIDLETON did wilfully prevaricate; for it is not to be supposed that a Man of his Reading did it ignorantly.

If any of the Heathen World may put in a Claim to this special Privilege of Inspiration, we may suppose that the Sibyls, and the devout SOCRATES, bid the fairest for such a Divine Gift.—The Sibyls were thought to be inspired in the Age they lived in, and by most of the Primitive Fathers of the Christian Church.—The original Volume of their inspired Writings perished (it must be allowed) at the burning of the Capitol; but a few Transcripts, or at least some Fragments, were copied notwithstanding by the Curious, and preserved, before that fatal Accident: And, in Process of Time, all these Remains were collated with great Care and exactness. TACITUS says expressly, that the College of Priests were appointed by the Senate to revise and distinguish between what was the genuine Work of the Sibyls and that which was the counterfeit; who did, as he says, *quantum humana ope potuissent*, as carefully and exactly as possible, weigh this Point†. Yea, and as late as the Time of AUGUSTUS, because that many Oracles were pretended to be in divers Hands, he decreed, that a general Scrutiny should be made to examine into the Matter; when, in a solemn Convention, above 2000 of the spurious and counterfeit Kind, that had no Stamp of Antiquity to vouch for their Credit, were ordered to be burnt, and those only to be preserved and lodged in the Capitol that were adjudged to be the true and genuine Sibylline Oracles. ||

They are without Dispute of very great Antiquity, as being presented

\* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. Cap. viii, ix.

† Tacit. Annal. Lib. VI.

|| Sueton. Vit. August. Cæs.

presented to TARQUIN surnamed the Proud, who was the Seventh King of Rome after ROMULUS, the first Founder of that famous City: Yea, and some maintain, that they are still somewhat more antient, and that SIBYLLA CUMANA made a Present of her Performances to TARQUINIUS PRISCUS\*. The most eminent of the Antient Heathens looked upon these Oracles as extraordinary and supernatural: The Primitive Fathers of the Christian Church also had them in great Veneration, and often quoted Passages out of them in Confirmation of Christianity; particularly LACTANTIUS, who was Tutor to CONSTANTINE the Great his Son. Among other remarkable Expressions he argues thus: *The Heathens, when nonplussed with these Authorities, have Recourse to this Subterfuge, that these Verses were not true Sibylline Oracles, but forged by us Christians; which certainly no Man can fancy who diligently considers what CICERO and VARRO, and other Antients, have said of ERYTHREA and other Sibyls, from whom we extract our Quotations, who were dead before the Birth of our Saviour.* †

Our Modern Criticks are very much divided in their Sentiments: Some deride this whole Affair as false and spurious; while others, quite as grave and learned, are of a clean contrary Opinion. Of this latter Class I shall content myself with what the ingenious JAMES HOWELL, Esq; and Mr. Arch-deacon ECHARD, deliver about this important Point.—‘ In these peevish Times, which may be called the *Rust* of the Iron Age, (says Mr. HOWELL) there is a Race of cross-grained People, which are malevolent to all Antiquity. If they read an old Author, it is to quarrel with him. They slight the Fathers of the Primitive Times, and prefer JOHN CALVIN before them all. Among other Tenets of the first Times they hold the *Ten Sibyls* to be fictitious and fabulous, and no better than URGUNDA, or the *Lady of the Lake*. They stick not to term their Predictions of CHRIST to be mere Mock-Oracles and odd Extravagancies: They cry out that they are forged, and obtruded on the World, by some officious Christians, to procure Credit and Countenance to their Religion among the Pagans.

‘ For my Part, (says the ingenious Author) I am not of this incredulous, perverse Race of Men; but what the concurrent Testimonies of the Primitive Times do hold forth, I give Credit thereunto without any Scruple.—Now, touching the Works of the *Sibyls*, they were in high Request among  
‘ the

\* Aul. Gell. Lib. I. Cap. ix.

† Lactant. Op. p. 338. Ed. Oxon. N. B. The above Translation is Mr. Bayly's Essay, &c. p. 282.

‘ the Fathers of the first Four Centuries, infomuch that they  
 ‘ used to urge their Prophecies for Conversion of Pagans.—  
 ‘ They spake not, like the ambiguous Pagan Oracles, in  
 ‘ Riddles, but so clearly that they sometimes go beyond the  
 ‘ Jewish Prophets.—Nor did the *Christians* only value them;  
 ‘ but the most learned among the *Ethnicks* had them in great  
 ‘ Regard, as VARRO, LIVY, and CICERO; the First being  
 ‘ the greatest *Antiquary*, the Second the greatest *Historian*, and  
 ‘ the Third the greatest *Orator*, that *Rome* ever had.

‘ In fine, out of the Works of the *Sibyls* may be deduced a  
 ‘ good Part of the Miracles and Sufferings of JESUS CHRIST:  
 ‘ Therefore, for my Part, I will not cavil with Antiquity, or  
 ‘ traduce the Primitive Church; but I think I may believe,  
 ‘ without Danger, that these *Sibyls* might be select Instruments  
 ‘ to anounce the Dispensations of Heaven to Mankind: Nor  
 ‘ do I see how they do the Church of God any good Service,  
 ‘ or Advantage at all, who question the Truth of their  
 ‘ Writings, which have been handed over to Posterity as in-  
 ‘ controulable Truths for so many Ages. \*

“ The *Sibylline* Oracles, saith that Great Historian Mr.  
 “ ECHARD, have been very much questioned by some Modern  
 “ Criticks; yet they were never fully disproved, their Argu-  
 “ ments being rather Presumptions than Proofs†.” And else-  
 where he says, *That in the Reign of TIBERIUS, and the Third*  
*Year of our Saviour’s Publick Ministry, a new Volume of the*  
*Sibil-books was received, and added to the rest, by the Senate*  
*of Rome, but not well relished by that Tyrant.*

I shall only add, that, whereas some object that the genuine  
 Works of the *Sibyls* were carefully kept in the Capitol, and it  
 cannot be supposed that any of the Fathers of the Church had  
 Access to a Place that was so well guarded, it should be remem-  
 bered, that before the last Collection made by the Command of  
 AUGUSTUS, and in the Reign of his Successor TIBERIUS,  
 some Fragments of the Original Copy were in a great many  
 different Hands, and common enough: But suppose the con-  
 trary; yet LACTANTIUS sure, who lived at Court, could want  
 no Opportunity, as we find Quotations out of the *Sibylline*  
 Verses scattered through a great many Places of his Works.  
 Yea, and the Emperor himself, CONSTANTINE the Great,  
 in his *Oratio ad Cleros*, urges their Authority in favour of the  
 Gospel, and makes a very good Comment, *a propos*, on the  
 famous Eclogue of VIRGIL intituled *Pollio*; which surely has  
 more

\* *Howel’s Fam. Letters*. B. IV. Lett. xliii. p. 491. Ed. 7.

† *Ecb.* his Introduction to his *Eccles. History*, p. xxxv. and *Hist. Book I.*  
P. 151.

more Weight in it than all the faint and inconclusive Argumentation of Modern Criticks. \*

As to SOCRATES, the wise *Athenian*, I shall take the Freedom to borrow what I have to say upon that Subject from the ingenious *Essay upon Inspiration*, wrote by the Rev. Mr. BAYLY, late Rector of St. James's, in *Bristol*. All Antiquity informs us, *saith my Author*, that SOCRATES professed a Sort of Inspiration, to be attended with a familiar Spirit, or *Dæmon*, that forewarned him, upon some certain Occasions, of Danger to himself and others, or foretold him Things to come: And this was by a Sort of Voice he heard, or pretended to hear. What *Voice* this was, whether any Thing really *without* him, or only *internal* to his Mind, hath been a Matter of Dispute and Enquiry among Antients and Modern. Some of the latter are of Opinion, that there was nothing Supernatural in it, and that this *Voice* was nothing else but the last Result and Conclusion of his Understanding touching any Thing or Action that his Mind was conversant about; and this, *say they*, was common among the Philosophers, to call that Faculty of the Mind, which directed and governed the Man and his Actions, *Part of the Divinity*.

To this my Author rejoins, that neither ZENOPHON nor PLATO, who were acquainted as well as any with Terms in Use among the Philosophers, and their Doctrine of the Soul that it was *Part of the Divinity*, never in the least imagined that SOCRATES meant no more by his *Dæmon* than his own Natural Understanding. And besides, the Things attributed to this *Dæmon* will not consist with such an Opinion; for the Direction of this *Voice*, or *Dæmon*, was generally *Dehortatory*, i. e. never advised him to do any Thing by Way of Command, but only to refrain or desist from any Purpose on which Danger or ill Success would follow. Sometimes he heard a *Voice* which was a Warning to him to desist, and, when it regarded others, to caution them likewise against any further Proceeding. If he heard not the *Voice*, he judged favourably of the Action he was upon, and proceeded without any Dread of Danger.—When the *Voice* was prophetick, it was clear and express, and not at all equivocal; and the Event always verified the Prediction. All this was above Guesses and Conjectures; and thereupon my Author concludes that this *Voice*, or *Dæmon*, was beyond the Ken of Human Reason or Prudence, or the utmost Sagacity of Judgment.

No Man among the Heathens can in any Measure compare with SOCRATES either for the Justness of his Sentiments in regard to Virtue and Divine Things, or for Exactness and

U

Ex-

\* Oratio ad Cler. Cap. xviii. xix. xx. apud Euseb.

Exemplariness of Life.—Under his Instructions were formed a great many eminent Men, particularly XENOPHON and PLATO; in whose Writings are to be seen the most beautiful Strokes in Morality, the Sum and Perfection of the Heathen Sense and Eloquence; and from which CICERO not only derived his choicest and most admired Passages of a God, a Providence, of Human Duties, of Laws, Government, Oeconomics and Politicks; but by which he adjusted and formed his very Language and Style, and derived into his Dialogues much of the Ease, and Fluency, and Graces, wherewith they shine and charm all Readers who have a Taste of the Sublime.

No Christian, of the most exemplary Life and Talents, need at this Day be ashamed of being the Author of those excellent Discourses that SOCRATES delivered to his Pupils on the Being of a God and Providence, as recorded by XENOPHON and PLATO, and DIOGENES LAERTIUS; for he was too modest to publish any Thing himself. How admirable are his Reasons for endeavouring at consummate Virtue and Perfection! which he makes to consist in a Likeness and Similitude of God, and a Participation of the Divine Nature. Finally, how admirable indeed is his Notion as to the Principle and Origin of Virtue! that it is neither natural nor acquired, but derives itself from a higher Cause, from a Supernatural Influence of the Deity.—Now, upon these Accounts, my Author does, I think, very justly infer, that SOCRATES had a Supernatural Assistance to guide him: There is, says he, no Heresy at all in such an Imagination.\*

The very Reverse to this Divine Character is that of the Heathen Oracles, so famous of old, and so often mentioned by the most antient Writers, particularly by HERODOTUS, whom CICERO names the *Father of Historians*. There is a Diversity of Opinion among the very Heathens touching the Veracity of the Answer delivered by the Oracles to the Person that consulted them. That Sect of Philosophers distinguished by the Name of *Stoicks* do all maintain it was Supernatural and real Inspiration; particularly CHRYSIPPUS made a large Collection of their Discoveries and Predictions; but this voluminous Tract is now lost, and we know nothing of it but some Fragments preserved in the Writings of others. CICERO derides and makes a Jest of this Performance, and avers that it contained nothing but a Rhapsody of uncertain Predictions, either obscure or ambiguous; or, if any hit the Mark, it was by mere Chance and Conjecture†. Yea, and long before CICERO, that Knot

\* Essay on Inspiration. Part. II. p. 315, 329. Ed. II.

† De. Divin. Lib. II.



of Philosophers that were denominated *Academicks* gave no Manner of Credit to their pretended Inspiration, and exploded them altogether as mere Imposture and Priestcraft. Some of the Fathers of the Christian Church concur also in the last Opinion; but many are at a Stand whether to impute the Oracular Answer altogether to Artifice and Cunning, or in Conjunction with the Suggestions of an Evil Spirit. The Ambiguity and equivocal Answers are indeed a sufficient Indication that the whole Management was nothing else but Imposture and Collusion of Priests and Priestesses: Yet some Predictions and Discoveries are of such a Nature that a great many grave and learned Men do adjudge they can be nothing less than the Dictates of an Evil Spirit. In a Word, when the Oracles (as was the Case sometimes) commanded Human Sacrifices, yea, and occasionally to order the Person consulting to sacrifice his own Child, this favours more of *Diabolical* than Human Craft.

The only Objection of any Weight, that some of our Modern Criticks do alledge against the Supposition that the Devil acted a Part in these occult Transactions, is this, That Providence would not permit Mankind to be thus abused. But (says a very learned Writer) did not Providence permit particular Men to be possessed? Let them reconcile this to their Scheme of Providence if they can: I am sure the one is as disagreeable to their Apprehensions of it as the other; at least the Possession of particular Men being admitted will make way for the easy Belief of the other.—I think all Men must confess, that, in Delivery of those Oracles by which Idolatry was so much confirmed, there was a very great Abuse somewhere; and one would admire why it should be more consistent with Providence to permit the World to be abused by evil Priests than by evil Dæmons.\*

I must now take a long Stride from the Heathen Oracles to some Modern Enthusiasts, of the present and last Century; who pretended to Inspiration, but hitherto have produced very slender Evidence of such a bold Claim. The Transition indeed is odious, since *these* call themselves *Christians*; yet, since we expressly read that false Prophets shall come in the latter Days, and deceive many under a Pretext of Godliness, they must be ranked under their proper Class.—I have spoken of the *Quakers*, and their idle Pretences to Revelation, in a distinct Chapter already, wherein I have made it evident, even from the Authority of their own Writers, that their first Appearance in the World was in the Year 1649, or 1650; when the Usur-

\* Essay on Inspiration, p. 305.

pation of the Commonwealth, founded on the Murder of an excellent King, became the Parent of numberless Evils both to Church and State : At what Time (says Mr. ECHARD) never was greater Licence and Extravagance in Spiritual Matters; Heresies and Blasphemies swelling against Heaven to a prodigious Height.—I shall take no further Notice of them at present than this, That, as the *Papists* maintain that the Scriptures are of no intrinsic Value without the Assistance of *Oral Tradition*, so the *Quakers* hold the same mean Opinion of the Sacred Writings without the Testimony of the *Light within*. The *Papists* do reckon that the Scripture of itself is a very precarious Rule, or scarce any Rule at all, of Faith and Practice, and bestow upon it, independent on Tradition, very coarse and scurrilous Language, as, *but Ink variously figured in a Book, unsensed Characters, as not having a certain Interpreter* : So that, according to this *Hypothesis*, there is no possible Way of conveying a Doctrine with Certainty and Security besides that of *Oral Tradition*\*. This is the Doctrine of *Papists*; and that of the *Quakers* is no less absurd and impious, viz. That the Scripture itself is to be tried by their *Light*, or Spirit. This is maintained by their prime and first-rate Authors. Hear what ROBERT BARCLAY saith, in his famous Book called the *Apology*, &c. (which may be called the *Bible of the Quakers*) in these Words : *The Scriptures are only a Declaration of the Fountain, and not the Fountain itself : Therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal Ground of all Truth and Knowledge, nor yet the Adequate Primary Rule of Faith and Manners, &c.* And again he saith, *They are to be esteemed a Secondary Rule, subordinate to the Spirit, from which they receive all their Excellency and Certainty*†. In consequence of which it is become an universal Quaker-principle, “ That Saints are not to do *Duties* “ by or from a Command *without*, but from a Command “ *within*; and that a Command in Scripture is not a Command “ to them ’till they have a Word *within* them to attest that “ Command.” Notwithstanding one shall meet often in their Writings that exalted Phrase, *Thus saith the Lord*, yet that Inspiration must needs be very coarse and tainted in the original Source, since the whole Model of their upstart Religion is nothing else but a Complication of antient Heresies, with some Improvements from the *Jesuits* to serve : Turn, their own private End and Interest.

As the pretended Inspiration of Madam ANTHONIETTA BOURIGNON, a *French Lady*, has made a great Noise in the World,

[ \* Rule of Faith by Abp. Tillotson, Part I. Sect 2. 8.

† Apology for the People called Quakers, p. 296.

World, I shall give some additional Account to what was mentioned of her in the Preface. Her extravagant Opinions have been propagated in *England* with great Zeal; and Two eminent Divines, Mr. LESLEY and Mr. BAYLY, so often quoted, have been attacked, and that very rudely, by Zealots of her Party, for daring to write against her Novel Revelations and Spiritual Phrenzies. Among many other of her Partizans, I find that the famous Mr. LAW is strongly attached to her Principles: And now I understand (which I did not know before, when I made mention of that Gentleman in the last Chapter) that it is from this gifted Lady that he has borrowed all his rare Sentiments and Whimsies about the Angelical Frame of ADAM's Body; the Power of begetting Children of himself without the Assistance of the other Sex; that he had sinned before his Eating of the Forbidden Fruit; with some other Notions quite as extravagant\*.—*Madam* is prolix in expatiating on these Heads, more especially the Two First; as, that ADAM was created with a luminous Body more transparent than Crystal; and, as to his Prolifick Ability, she affirmeth that he had actually one Son in his State of Purity before the Formation of EVE; but does not give us a Sketch of his History.—Mr. LAW indeed, I cannot tell for what Reason, has omitted this last Circumstance, and some few others, as that ADAM could fly, and walk upon the Water as upon dry Ground; but in the main he follows his Guide very close, and vaunts himself as if he had been the original Author of these crude Notions and Nonsense, which yet he is pleased to call *Sublime Truths*.

It is from the same inspired Writings of Mrs. BOURIGNON that he borrowed the Plan of his *Christian Perfection*, which insists upon such Austerities and Mortifications of Life as to make such a Scheme impracticable to ordinary Christians. This has been compared by some to some *Publick Managers*, who, when they have a Mind to undermine a *Bill*, instead of opposing will join in it, but then carry it to such Heights (which is called *Loading* of it) as to make it look ridiculous and impracticable.

I have but this to add, That, as CICERO remarks, *Nil tam absurde dici potest quod non dicatur ab aliquo philosophorum*, so it may be as truly said, that, let an Enthusiast, in the Fever of his Imagination, vent the grossest Absurdities, yet some of the same Frame and Cast of Mind, in a Succession of Time, will foster them, and usher them afresh into the World as it were in a new Edition.

I

I have nothing to add to the *French Prophets*, or to the *Fifth-Monarchy Principles*, their peculiar Tenets being extinct, unless a Spice thereof still adheres to the *Cameronians*: Therefore I shall be a little prolix in this additional Account of them and their pretended Inspiration. They were not indeed so distinguished by the Name of *Cameronians* at that Period of Time I am now treating of; but yet they were the same in Principle and Practice as at present.

I believe it is generally allowed, by all Protestants, that Miracles are now ceased; but, if one gives Credit to abundance of Stories that are with great Shew and Pomp ushered into the World, in a Book called *The Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, (which is wrote professedly for the Confirmation of rigid Presbytery) Miracles were in the last Century as frequent in *Scotland*, to attest the Truth of the *Covenant*, as ever they are in the *Popish Legends* for the Confirmation of the *Romish Doctrine*, more especially that Grand Article of their Faith, *Transubstantiation*.—The Author of this Performance confines the Church within the Pale of *Presbytery*, as the *Papists* do to that of the *Romish Communion*: And, whenever this Author speaks of the *Church* and the *Truth*, it is *rigid Presbytery* according to the Plan of *CALVIN* and *KNOX*; and he seldom mentions *Prelacy* but with an odious Epithet, generally that of *Anti-christian*. And it may be further observed, that, when any of his Countrymen conform to *Episcopal Government*, then he is said to *apostatise* from the Purity of the Gospel, and basely to comply with the *National Defection*; and it is seldom but such a one comes to an untimely and miserable End.

The Miracles here recorded are of Two Sorts; either *Vindictive*, as a Punishment to Gainfayers and Apostates; or *Benign*, as a Reward to those that stuck close to the Kirk and Covenant. I shall produce, out of many, a few Instances of both Kinds. Mr. PATRICK ADAMSON (says my Author) was once a reputed Preacher; but, when he deserted the Cause and Interest of CHRIST, [take Notice of that Expression] and was made Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, and Prelacy by his Means advanced, tho' he was noted before for a Man of Parts and Eloquence, yet he was, by the righteous Judgment of God, brought to that Pass, that in seeking a Blessing on his Meat he could scarce speak a few Words to any Sense, lost the Favour of the King, (*K. JAMES* the First) and died in great Misery, confessing, as our Author has it, his Guilt and Apostacy.\*—The next Instance that he produces was that Great and worthy Prelate, Archbishop SPOTSWOOD, his Successor  
in

\* Fulfilling of the Scriptures, p. 339. Edit. 3. 1681.

in that See, who wrote the History of the Church of Scotland. Our Author observes, that this *wicked Man* (as he in the Spirit of Bitterness is pleased to call him) did, in a more subtil Way than his Predecessor, endeavour to overturn the Discipline and Liberties of the *Kirk*; and for his Perfidy, as he says, he was made an eminent Example of the Judgment of God; for he was excommunicated from the *Kirk*, and fled into *England*, and there died in great Misery.—And all this came to pass for his Warping and Defection from the Covenant, and to fulfil a Prophecy, which one of their furious Teachers did foretel, “That he should be as a Stone cast out of the Sling by the Hand of God\*.” That he suffered the utmost Persecution from the *Kirk* is indeed very true; tho’ they will have God, and not their inveterate Malice, to be the first Mover and Cause.—And here, by the Bye, one may very justly observe, that the rigid Presbyterians are some of the most partial Men in the World; for, when they harrass and persecute even unto Death any that dare speak against them, ’tis only doing the Work of the Lord; they are moved by the Spirit so to do: But, when *they* are in the least molested, notwithstanding for Sedition and Calumny, *then* it is a bloody Persecution against the Saints.—As the latter Part of the Archbishop’s Epitaph, engraven in Brass, does set forth his Sufferings, I shall here subjoin it.

*Præsul, senator, pene martyr hic jacet,  
Quo nemo sanctior, gravior, constantior,  
Pro ecclesia, pro rege, pro rectâ fide,  
Contra sacrilegos, perduelles, perfidos,  
Stetit ad extremum usque vitæ spiritum;  
Solitumque talium meritorum præmium  
Diras rapinas exiliumque pertulit.*

Our Author goes on to enumerate several Particulars of Apostacy from the Covenant and the Cause of CHRIST as he calls it, (as he generally calls *Prelacy*, or Episcopal Government, the Cause of *Antichrist*) and makes them all end miserably, but always takes care to mention that it was a special Judgment of God.—Sometimes he commissions one or other of the fiery Zealots with such a *Miraculous Power*, as by a Word of Authority to be able to bespeak a Gainfayer dead on the Spot. Thus, when Mr. WELSH was expounding with much Power, he observed a Man to make a Slight of him; whereupon he closed the *Bible*, and thus spoke in the Hearing of all present,  
*There*

\* Fulfilling of the Scriptures, p. 340. Edit 3. 1681.

*There is one among us so profane and gross as to contemn and mock at the Word of the Lord; but, 'e're a little, God shall smite him with a remarkable Stroke of his Judgment: Which accordingly fell, to the Astonishment of the Company; for the Man instantly dropped down and died.\*—N. B. This is a friendly Caveat lest any one should presume to behave disrespectfully before a Kirk-preacher attended by his Zealots.*

There are a great many more Miracles recorded of this Master J. WELSH; but these chiefly regard his Divine Mission, his wonderful Success in the Ministry, his great Authority with Princes, their extraordinary Respect unto him, and his Prophectic Spirit: And indeed there is scarce one single Occurrence in Life but he is endued with a Spirit of Prophecy, which I have not the Patience to transcribe. But there is one remarkable Passage at his Death, whereby our Author does represent him as over-charged with Divine Favours, and begs that God would not be over-liberal to him, for that he could contain no more: *Lord, says he, hold thy Hand, it is enough; thy Servant is a Clay-vessel, and can hold no more. So that he had more Oil in his Lamp than was necessary, which was more than the wise Virgins in the Parable thought they had.*

Our Author gives us a great many Instances of the Vindictive Kind of Miracles, and the terrible Consequence of their Ministerial Cursing, not only against notorious Sinners and the Profane, but also against those that were *remiss and slack* in assisting the Kirk. Some considerable Families, though once opulent and wealthy, yet, upon their Ministers denouncing a Curse upon them for their Indifference in the Cause of CHRIST, were reduced to the utmost Want, and forced to go a begging; some struck dead with Thunder and Lightning; and, in short, some remarkable Judgment on all that were *Prelatical*, and, indeed, upon all that were not favourable to the Discipline and Doctrine of the Kirk. *Curse ye Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the Help of the Lord, to the Help of the Lord against the Mighty. Judg. v. 23.*

But our Author dwells very much on the sweet Converse, yea, as he calls it, the sweet Familiarity, that a great many of their Zealots had with God, more especially those that were noted for reviling at the Bishops, and calling them *Knaves*, as he says, with some Emotion and Pleasure, they did†. Among several others that were the peculiar Favourites of Heaven he mentions that famous Man that made such a Noise in Scotland, Master ROBERT BRUCE. Being one Day to preach on a solemn

\* Fulfilling of the Scriptures, p. 354, 355.—† *Ibid.* 361.

leam Occasion, the Congregation met; but there was no Preacher: Whereupon, being tired to be waiting there to no Purpose, they sent the Parish-clerk to put him in mind of his intended Performance, who, coming to his Chamber-door, over-heard him with great Earnestness say, *I protest I will not go, except thou go with me.* The Man imagined that he was prevailing with some-body to go along with him that was refractory, but found afterwards that this was an Expostulation with God, and that he would not stir 'till he had a Promise of the Divine Presence to be along with him; and so indeed he had, as our Author does write; for his Face did shine like that of MOSES coming from the Mount; and his Speech and Preaching was in such Evidence and Demonstration of the Spirit, that by the Brightness of his Face, and that Shower of Divine Influence that accompanied the Word, it was easy to perceive that he was of a Truth conversing with God. — A little before his Death he makes use of an Expression that one does not know well what to make of: *When I was a young Man, said he, I was diligent, and lived by Faith in the Son of God: But, now I am old, I am not able to do so much; yet he condescends to feed me with Lumps of Sense.*

I shall take no further Notice of the sundry Miraculous Powers that are recorded by this Author than the sudden instantaneous Conversions that attended this *hot Sun-blink* of the Gospel, as he in his Scotch Eloquence expresses it. He says, that the *Godly* were then sorely persecuted by the *Prelates*; but, the more they were oppressed, the more powerful was the Evidence of the Lord's Presence with their Ministers, more especially in the Month of *June 1630*, at which Time there was such an Out-pouring of the Spirit, that it was like a *dazzling Beam and Ray of God* with an unusual Brightness. According to the Description of our Author, this seems to refer to the large Field-Conventicles, as is still the Manner among the *Cameronians*; for he says it was then sweet and easy for Christians to come Thirty or Forty Miles to these solemn Communion, where sometimes no less than Five Hundred at a Time were converted; and most had a discernable Change wrought on them by the Efficacy of those powerful and awakening Sermons: Some were melted into Tears; some felt an unusual Motion and Trembling in their Limbs; some falling into Fits, and almost choaked: So that it was a convincing Seal to the Truth, and the Ministry of his Servants, who (as our Author observes) were then persecuted by the *Prelates*. And, as he goes on, 'This great Spring-tide of the Gospel was not of a short Time, but for some Years' Continuance; yea, as a spreading *Moor-*

‘ burn (that is his Expression) the Power of Godliness did advance from one Place to another, which put a marvellous Lustre on those Parts of the Country, the Savour whereof brought many from other Parts of the Land to see the Truth of the same.’

This is no mean, inconsiderable Author, from whom I have extracted these Memoirs, but one of great Estimation and Value all the while among Presbyterians. The particular Book which I have the Perusal of has the Owner’s Name wrote upon it with this Character, *This is an excellent Book*; and, in another Place, *This is a Super-excellent Book*. We see in this Author, indeed, the true Spirit of the Party; but, notwithstanding all this Encomium, I shall venture to make a few Remarks on these *Scottish Miracles*, and so conclude.

(1.) This Report of miraculous Cases carries along with it a natural Tendency to make ignorant and unstable Men utterly abhor the Established Church of *England*, and to look upon it as Anti-christian, Popish, and Tyrannical, which are the very Terms that this Author plentifully bestows upon it; for since, as they did and do still argue, that God has been pleased to work so many Miracles in Confirmation of *Presbytery*, it must follow that the Episcopal Church is none of his, but the Relict of Popery, and Invention of Men.

But then (2.) we may hence remark what a close Connection there is between the *Roman Church* and that of the *Kirk*. Every Popish Legend is full of Miracles in Confirmation of the peculiar Doctrines of *Rome*, in Contra-distinction to the Protestant Faith; and so is this *Scottish Book*, *this Super-excellent Book*, as full in Confirmation of rigid *Presbytery* and the peculiar Doctrine of CALVIN, in Opposition to the Reformation established in *England*. And, pray, what better Grounds have we to believe one more than the other? Each Party is equally assuming; and equally confident! It is Prudence therefore to be cautious, and not to be too credulous, in the Matter. It is foretold, in express Words, that Seducers and false Prophets shall work Miracles, and shall shew great Signs and Wonders. *Matt. xxiv. 23, 24. 2 Theff. ii. 9, 10. Revel. xiii. 14.*

(3.) As the true Spirit of the Party discovers itself visibly, more especially in the latter End of this Book, we may hence conclude that a censorious Temper is of the very Essence of the *Kirk*, which still continues to this very Day, not one jot more charitable than in the Days of old. There is a clear Specimen of this in the Life of Mr. THOMAS HALYBURTON, recommended by Dr. WATTS in a large Preface bearing Date *May 1, 1718*. There, among other Particulars, we have this



this Account. “ Mr. GEORGE HALYBURTON, Bishop of  
 “ *Dunkeld*, who had been once a zealous Covenanter, sud-  
 “ denly became so forward in the *National Defection*, and so  
 “ cruel a Persecutor of his once Fellow Presbyters, that he  
 “ would not spare a near Kinsman of his, and turned him out  
 “ of his Charge [for Non-conformity]: And yet that *Prelate*  
 “ was scarce well warm in his Nest *when the Lord smote him*  
 “ *with a sore Sickness, of which he died, and went to his own*  
 “ *Place.*” Vid. Act. i. 25. And elsewhere he writeth thus:  
 ‘ All that were convinced did declare, that any Awakenings  
 ‘ they ever had were either under the *Preachers in the Fields*,  
 ‘ or since the Revolution. This is a Testimony that the *Mi-*  
 ‘ *nisters are called of God*. The most ingrained Malignants  
 ‘ did frankly declare, that they were never touched by the  
 ‘ *Curates, i. e. the Episcopal Clergy.\** In fine, it appears  
 from their Writings, but clearer still from their Practice, that,  
 let a Man be ever so good a Christian, yet out of Principle and  
 Conscience he refuses to take the *Covenant*, he is certain to be  
 persecuted with the utmost Rigour, and is looked upon little  
 better than an *Infidel*. And it may be affirmed, with a great  
 deal of Truth, that the Ecclesiastical Tyranny of the Kirk is  
 altogether as severe against the Episcopalians as the *Inquisition*  
 in *Spain* is against any one suspected of Heresy: The one is as  
 merciless and Anti-christian as the other, save that the Kirk-  
 Persecution does not burn at a Stake, but otherwise exposes the  
 poor Sufferers to all the Miseries that the keenest Rancour can  
 invent. The Episcopal Divines were by Force of Arms *dra-*  
*goned* from their Churches, for no other Crime than their At-  
 tachment to the Apostolical Government by Bishops, and a  
 Publick Liturgy in the Service of God. And, suppose they  
 were mistaken, they acted on a Principle of Conscience; which  
 the very Presbyterians in their *own Case* admit as a sufficient  
 Plea.—A little after the Accession of Q. ANNE there was  
 an Act made to prevent the disturbing of those of the Episcopal  
 Communion, in that Part of Great-Britain called Scotland, in  
 the Exercise of their Religious Worship, and the Use of the Li-  
 turgy of the Church of England. This Act gave some Relief  
 for a Season; but in a few Years the enraged Zeal of the Fac-  
 tion made it too apparent that they had no more Regard to an  
 Act of Parliament than to an Act of Convocation: The Truth  
 of which may be seen in a Book entitled *A Representation of*  
*the State of the Church in North-Britain, as to Episcopacy and*  
*Liturgy; and of the Sufferings of the orthodox and regular Clergy*  
 X 2 from

\* Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. &c. &c. p. 1. and p. 140. Ed. 2.  
 Lond. 1718.

*from the Enemies of both.* Lond. 1718.—This Tragick Narrative is very moving: You find the Author groaning from the very Bottom of his Soul out of the deep Sense of the Miseries which himself, and the rest of the Episcopal Church, had suffered from the merciless Tyranny of the *Kirk-inquisition!* “What Christian Heart, says he, can remain insensible to see  
 “ Reverend Clergymen bereft of their Flocks, among whom  
 “ they have successfully served, most of them even to grey Hairs,  
 “ and by unjust Proceedings forced from them to make way  
 “ for false Teachers;---to see them not only prohibited the  
 “ publick Exercise of the Pastoral Function, but threatened  
 “ with *new Persecutions* if they did but read Prayers or preach  
 “ in their Families on Sundays, or if they baptise the Children  
 “ of such who cannot in Conscience receive that Ordinance  
 “ from the Hands of their Persecutors;---to see them forced to  
 “ abandon their Houses, to lurk in secret Corners, or seek  
 “ Shelter in foreign Countries;---to see them languish away in  
 “ Want and Melancholy that Time which might have been  
 “ profitably employed in the publick Service of God and his  
 “ Church;---to see some, who have adventured to stay at  
 “ home, threatened to be turned out of their Houses with their  
 “ Families in the Midst of cold Winter Season;---in a word,  
 “ to see generally *all* of them exposed to the greatest Wants  
 “ and Straits, without any visible Means of subsisting them-  
 “ selves and Families!”

This is certainly a moving Representation, and yet but a Sketch of Presbyterian Cruelty in Defence of the solemn League and Covenant, which enjoins the Abolition of *Episcopacy* and the *Liturgy*: And yet there are not Two Institutions in the Church more antient, and more universal; and that as well in the Mosaick Dispensation as in the Evangelical. ‘From the Beginning of God’s giving Rules for the outward Order and Government of the Church here on Earth there have been Three Orders instituted among those that minister about Holy Things, namely the *High Priest*, the *Priest*, and the *Levite*, under the Legal Oeconomy, or in the *Jewish Church*; and, answerable hereunto, the *Bishop*, the *Priest*, and *Deacon*, under the Gospel Dispensation, or in the *Christian Church.*’\*

From among a Cloud of Witnesses that I could easily produce on this important Subject I shall only cite a Passage out of Bishop BURNET, who, as every body knows, was a Man of great Moderation. *It is not possible to think, says his Lordship, that a Government [viz. Episcopal] can be criminal under which the World received the Christian Religion, and that in a Course*

\* Dr. Well’s Geography of the Old Testament, Vol. II. p. 254, 255.

*Course of many Ages, in which, as all the Corners of the Christian Church, so all the Parts of it, the Sound as well as the Unsound, that is the Orthodox as well as the Hereticks and Schismaticks, agreed. The Persecutions that lay then so heavy on the Church made it no desirable Thing for a Man to be exposed to their first Fury, which was always the Bishop's Portion, and that in a Course of many Centuries, in which there was nothing but Poverty and Labour to be got by the Employment, there being no Princes to set it on as an Engine of Government, and no Synods of Clergymen gathered to assume that Authority to themselves by joint Designs and Endeavours. And can it be imagined that in all that glorious Cloud of Witnesses to the Truth of the Christian Religion, who, as they planted it with their Labours, so watered it with their Blood, there should not so much as one single Person be found on whom either a Love to Truth, or an Envy at the Advancement of others, prevailed so far as to declare against such an early and universal Corruption, if it is to be esteemed one? When all this is complicated together, it is really of so great Authority, that I love not to give the proper Name to that Temper that can withstand so plain a Demonstration; for what can a Man, even heated with all the Force of Imagination, and possessed with all the Sharpness of Prejudice, except to the Inference made from these Premises, That a Form so soon introduced, and so wonderfully blessed, could not be contrary to the Rules of the Gospel, and cannot be ascribed to any other Original but that the Apostles every where established it as the Fence about the Gospel which they planted? So that our Religion and Government are to be reckoned Twins born at the same Time, and both derived from the same Original. \**

As to the Antiquity of a set Form of Prayer in the Publick Worship, I shall transcribe a Passage out of the excellent Dean PRIDEAUX his Connection, which does fully determine the Matter, would Men wear off the Prejudice of Education and an Attachment to Party, right or wrong. When that very accurate and learned Antiquarian had recited at large the several Forms of Prayer made use of in the Jewish Church in our Saviour's Time, he then subjoins the following Remark, which is home to the Purpose: ' Since our Saviour spared not freely  
' to tell the Jews of all the Corruptions which they had in his  
' Time run into, and on all Occasions reproached them there-  
' with; had it been contrary to the Will of God to use set  
' Forms of Prayer in his Publick Service, or had it been dis-  
' pleasing to him to be addressed in such mean Forms [such as  
' are mentioned before, and set down at large] when much better  
' might have been made, we may be sure he would have told  
' them

\* Preface to the the Life of Bishop Bedel.

‘ them of both, and joined with them in neither: But he  
 ‘ having never found Fault with them for using set Forms, but  
 ‘ on the contrary taught his own Disciples a set Form to pray  
 ‘ by, nor at any Time expressed a Dislike of the Forms then  
 ‘ in Use because of the Meanness and Emptiness of them, *but*  
 ‘ *always joined with them* in their Synagogues in the Forms  
 ‘ above recited, this may satisfy our *Dissenters*, if any Thing  
 ‘ can satisfy Men so perversely bent after their own Ways, that  
 ‘ neither our using set Forms of Prayer in our Publick Worship,  
 ‘ nor the using of such which they think not sufficiently edifying,  
 ‘ can be Objections sufficient to join us in them; for they  
 ‘ have the Example of CHRIST in both these directly against  
 ‘ them. The Truth is, whether there be a Form or no Form,  
 ‘ or whether the Form be elegantly or meanly composed,  
 ‘ nothing of this availeth to the recommending our Prayers  
 ‘ unto God: It is the true and sincere Devotion of the Heart  
 ‘ only that can make them acceptable unto him.—This we  
 ‘ ought to bring with us when ever we come into the House of  
 ‘ God to worship before him; and with this, in any Form  
 ‘ which is of sound Words, we may pray acceptable unto him,  
 ‘ and none can ever do so without it: But whether any Form  
 ‘ of such sound Words can be well preserved in those extem-  
 ‘ porary Effusions of Prayer which some delight in, whether  
 ‘ this doth not often lead them into indecent, and sometimes  
 ‘ blasphemous Expressions, to the great Dishonour of God, and  
 ‘ the Damage of Religion, it behoves those, who are for this  
 ‘ Way, seriously to consider.’ \*

\* Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. B. xi. p. 378. Lond. 1716.



## C H A P. XII.

*Of the Rise, Progress, and Enthusiasm, of the Anabaptists, which in Order of Time ought to have Place near the Front of this Performance, but for want of Materials is postponed to the last, and placed in the Rear.*

WHEN the Church of *Rome*, to our Sorrow, hit on their lucky Expedient to divide this Nation into so many Factions in Point of Religion, the First Emissaries did assume the Shape of *Puritans, Presbyterians, Independents,* and *Antinomians*, as has been before related; and they gained their End thereby, which was to demolish the established Episcopal Church, and to murder an excellent religious King, who, under God, was its chief Supporter: And, being thus successful in that Work of Iniquity, they then projected more Mischief; for, to make the Name of *Protestant* more odious still, the Missionaries' Commission was more extensive, to propagate *Anabaptism* and *Quakerism*. Of the latter I have spoken already in a distinct Chapter on that Subject; and I am to enlarge somewhat on the former.

It would be an endless Piece of Work to enumerate the several Instances that Popish Priests in Disguise have preached among the *Anabaptists* in order to serve their accursed End, to foment Divisions: I shall only add the following true Story for a Sample of the rest. “ *Anno. 1652*, there chanced to  
 “ come unto Colonel RICHARD LAWRENCE, then Governor  
 “ of *Waterford*, under OLIVER CROMWELL, one NUGENT,  
 “ who seemed to be a fair-conditioned Man, and so was hired  
 “ by the *Colonel* to work in his Gardens, but, knowing the  
 “ Temper of his Master and Principles in Religion, he strove  
 “ to please him all he could. Thus he continued with the  
 “ *Colonel* for several Years. At last it chanced that Justice  
 “ JOHN COOKE, who was executed for the late King's  
 “ Murder, took a great Liking to this NUGENT for his rare  
 “ Gifts, and begged of the *Colonel* for to let him go over with  
 “ him to *England*; which was easily granted. NUGENT,  
 “ staying for a while with Justice COOKE, returned into *Ire-*  
 “ *land*, where he continued praying and expounding 'till the  
 “ Restoration; and then of a sudden he became the Popish  
 “ Confessor and Priest at *Leisep*, some Six or Seven Miles  
 “ distant from *Dublin*, and hath seen the *Colonel* several Times  
 “ since, and laughs at him, considering how he had played the  
 Dis-

“ Dissembler with him, as if he had been one of the Fraternity,  
 “ which is of the *Anabaptists*. Thus it is evident (saith my  
 “ Author) how Dissenters have been mightily gulled, since  
 “ the Year 1640, by the Church of *Rome*, purposely to make  
 “ Separation in the Church of *England*. This the *Colonel* him-  
 “ self cannot deny; for he told the Author (*ROBERT WARE,*  
 “ Esq;) this Story on the 28th Day of March, 1682.” \*

These Missionaries knew very well that *Infant-Baptism* was the constant and uninterrupted Practice of the Universal Church of *CHRIST* ever since the Apostles' Time; and so it was their Policy to reject it: For, as the most learned and pious *Dr. CAVE* (who himself knew more of Antiquity and Church-History than this whole Sect put together) doth very justly remark, *If in controverted Cases the constant Practice of the Church, and those who immediately succeeded the Apostles, be (as no Man can deny it is) the best Interpreter of the Law of CHRIST, the Dispute one would think should be at an End; for that it always was the Custom to receive the Children of Christian Parents into the Church by Baptism we have sufficient Evidence from the greatest Part of the most early Writers, IRENÆUS, TERTULLIAN, ORIGEN, CYPRIAN, &c. whose Testimonies I do not produce, because I find them collected by others, and the Argument thence so forcible and conclusive, that the most zealous Opposers of Infant-Baptism know not how to evade it; the Testimonies being so clear, and not the least Shadow, that I know of, in those Times, of any Thing to make against it.—There was indeed, in CYPRIAN's Time, a Controversy about the baptising of Infants, not whether they ought to be baptised, (for of that there was no Doubt) but concerning the Time when it was to be administered; whether on the Second or Third, or whether, as Circumcision of old, to be deferred 'till the Eighth Day: For the determining of which, CYPRIAN, sitting in Council with Six-six Bishops, writes a Synodical Epistle to FIDUS, to let him know that it was not necessary to be deferred so long; and that it was their universal Judgment and Resolution that the Mercy and Grace of God was not to be denied to any as soon as he was born; concluding, that it was the Sentence of the Council, that none ought to be forbidden Baptism and the Grace of God, which as it was to be observed and retained towards all Men, so much more towards Infants and new-born Children.—And that this Sentence of their's was no novel Doctrine *St. AUGUSTINE* assures us, where, speaking concerning this Synodical Determination, he tells us, that in this *CYPRIAN* did not make any new Decree, but kept the Faith of the Church most firm and sure. †*

Whereas

\* *Foxes and Firebrands*, Part II. p. 139, 140.

† *Dr. Cave's Primitive Christianity*, Part I. Ch. x. p. 302, 303. Ed. III.

Whereas they pretend to say that they have the Gospel Authority for their Warrant in baptising only the Adult, this is still perverting the true Meaning of the Gospel Dispensation. The Apostles had their Commission to teach all Nations, and baptise them in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. All the World, at that Conjunction of Time, were either Jews or Gentiles, or Pagan Infidels; and the Gospel must needs be preached to such when grown in Years, and capable of understanding. Now, had our Blessed Saviour intended to exclude Infants from the Sacrament of Baptism, he must have enjoined it particularly not to admit them, but to receive *only* the Adult into the Bosom of the Christian Church, for this plain Reason, because it was the constant and universal Custom of the *Jewish Church* to receive *Infants* into Church-membership by *Circumcision*, which was now abolished, and *Baptism* substituted in its Place: And, since there was no *Prohibition*, the Apostles could do no otherwise than admit the Children of Christian Parents, such as they had converted, to the Ordinance of Baptism, as it was, as I mentioned, the universal Practice of the *Jewish Church* to circumcise *Infants*. And not only *Circumcision*, but *Baptism*, was an old and antient Rule practised all along in the *Jewish Church* to admit Profelytes: And, if any such had Infant-Children, they were, at the Desire and Request of such Parents, received Members of the Church by Baptism, as is well known to every one that is but moderately conversant in *Jewish Antiquities*; insomuch that Dr. LIGHTFOOT writes, *The Baptising of Infants was a Thing as well known in the Church of the Jews as ever it has been in the Christian Church.*—Hor. Hebr. on Matth. iii. 6.

Suppose a Commission had been granted by the Church of *England* to send a Number of Missionaries into a *Pagan Country*, (as is the Case of a great many Parts of the World to this very Day) to preach the glad Tidings of the Gospel to such Heathens as sit still in *Darkness and the Shadow of Death*, Ps. cvii. 10. Why, after labouring some Time in that blessed Work, their Report would be, as in the *Acts* of the Apostles, that they converted a great many, and baptised such as they had converted into the Faith of CHRIST. But can any one think that such Missionaries would refuse the *Children* of such Converts, and debar them from Baptism? Not by any means, because it was the general Custom of the Church that sent them on that Embassy to admit Infants into the Sacred Institution of Baptism.—The same holds good to all Intents and Purposes in the Case of the Apostles' first preaching the Gospel among all Nations, and of the Account of their Success.

Notwithstanding their Toleration and kind Usage, they, as well as other Sectaries, indulge themselves (as if it was an essential Part of their Religion) in most abusive and unchristian Language against the established Church. Who can read, without some Emotion of Spirit, such Language as this from a leading Man amongst them? “The Church of *England* at this Day, and for many Years together, not being made by baptising Believers, [so he expresses it] but by fleshly Washing of Infants upon Confession of Sureties for them, therefore they have not put on CHRIST by a Gospel Profession, but are in God’s Account as the worst *Pagans, Egyptians, Sodomites, Babylonians, Gentiles*, a Habitation of Devils, a Church of all unclean Spirits; in plain Terms, a Cage of every unclean and hateful Bird. *Revel. xviii, 2.* as also *all that separate from her do confess.*” This is wrote by one J. MORTON; and his Book has been several Times reprinted, and is in great Vogue among the *Anabaptists* to this very Day; and, to make the First Edition seem to be *providential*, it is said in the Title-page, *The Copy of this Book was found hid in an old Wall near Colchester, in Essex.* \*

Let this suffice as a *Specimen* of their Rancour and prevailing Disposition of Spirit; tho’ it must be granted that there are not a few well-meaning Men among them, honest, good Men, that behave well. But, as concerning their Teachers, they could scarce ever have taken a surer Method to convince the World that a *Fanatick Spirit* is their governing Principle than that wild and extravagant Notion which they hold, that Human Learning quencheth the Spirit, and is altogether usefess, yea and hurtful to the Function of a Minister of the Gospel. There is a Sermon of one How, a Cobler, that has been several Times reprinted, and is caressed by the Party as a choice Piece of Divinity, that is a sufficient Proof of this, and bears the Title of *The Sufficiency of the Spirit’s Teaching without Human Learning*. Fronting the Title-page is a Copy of Verses in Commendation of the *Cobler*; which (because they are much valued by the Party for Poignancy and Smartness) I shall here subjoin:

*What How ! how now ! hath How such Learning found,  
To throw Art’s curious Image to the Ground ?  
Cambridge and Oxford may their Glory now  
Vail to a Cobler, if they knew but How :  
Tho’ big with Art, they cannot overtop  
The Spirit’s Teaching in a Cobler’s Shop.*

*Reader*

\* Truth’s Champion, p. 120. Ed. III. Lond. 1673.



*Reader, if thou an Human Artist be,  
 Let Human Learning be no Judge for thee.  
 Lay down thine Arts, then try this Cobler's End,  
 And see if it be by the Spirit penn'd.  
 Mean Time adieu, ye Arts and Artists all;  
 The Spirit's Teaching may attend the Awl:  
 And then, brave Cobler, blow another Blast  
 Upon their Learning, tho' thou blow thy Last.*

The Generality of their Teachers in *England* and *Wales* are for the most part a very noisy and an ignorant Set of People, very often Mechanicks, and broken Tradesmen, that understand nothing but their own Mother Tongue, and that but very coarsely: But, to supply that Defect, they pretend, as How the *Cobler* did, to be *gifted* Men, and *illuminated* by the Spirit, on whom they father all their crude Notions, and Deliriums, and wrested Interpretation of Scripture, which in its Consequence is the grossest Enthusiasm, if not direct Blasphemy. They should have considered, that, had not Men of the established Church, assisted by Human Learning, translated the Holy Bible into *English* and *Welsh*\*, they, poor silly Mortals! would not have been able so much as to read it, much less to understand it. But there is in Holy Writ a vast many Passages (not to insist on Chronology and Geography) that are quite beyond the Capacity of ordinary People to apprehend at this Distance of Time; and to a Nation so remote from *Judæa*, where their Customs, the very Idiom of their Language, Proverbial Sayings, Manner of Expression, and Style, are quite different from our's. To instance but in St. PAUL's Epistles, (where so many incidental Controversies and Disputes with *Jews* and *Gentiles* are handled) unless one is made acquainted with the Nature of these Matters, and the true State of the Case, it is morally impossible to know his Meaning to any tolerable Satisfaction. His Meaning was perverted even in his own Life-time; for, as St. PETER observes, in his Writings *some Things are hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own Destruction.* 2. Pet. iii. 16. And to say, as the *Anabaptists* do, that they have the Teaching of the Spirit, is rank Enthusiasm; this is to expect a Miracle when ordinary Means will avail, (such as Application to History, and Human Industry) which in Scripture Language is to tempt God: And let the

Y 2

*Anabaptists*

\* Translated by the Right Reverend Fathers in God, Dr. Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's; Dr. William Morgan, Bishop of Landaff; Dr. Richard Parry, Bishop of St. Asaph; assisted by the excellent Linguist, John Davies, D. D.

*Anabaptists* take heed of it. Such of their Teachers as have a Tincture of Learning very often employ that Stock in broaching some new Opinion, or reviving some old Herefy, such as denying Original Sin; which they now generally offer at\*. But they all unanimously judge that they then are more especially well employed, and make a very commendable Use of their Talents, when they falsify Authorities to prove that Infant-Baptism is a very novel Institution unknown to the Primitive Church. Among others one Col, DANVERS, (as they stile him) has wrote a *Treatise on Baptism*, wherein are such fraudulent Dealings, so many wilful Prevarications, so many vile Forgeries, that an *Appeal* in Print was made to his own Party that they ought in Conscience to renounce him as a most scandalous Writer, one who has no manner of Regard to Truth and Integrity.—But, notwithstanding all this, he is still in high Esteem, making Profelytes. One will see in him a vast Rhapsody of Quotations heaped thick together, whereof the greatest Part is wilful Forgery; or Names of a modern Date, of no manner of Authority, such as TWISK, SEBASTIAN FRANK, with abundance more which serve only to blind the Eyes of ignorant People, who, seeing such a Variety of strange Names, take all upon Trust. But surely a lying Tongue, and a false Witness that speaketh Lies, is an Abomination unto the Lord. Prov. vi. 16.

There is another sham Writer who is in very great Repute among them, one DELAUN, Author of an angry Pamphlet, called *A Plea for the Non-conformists*. In this sorry Performance all the Errors, and Blunders, and Forgeries, of DANVERS, are copied *verbatim*; and it has been reprinted several Times, and much boasted of as a *finished Piece*. But, had the Matter been sifted to the Bottom, it is rather a Scandal than any Credit to the Cause, as having its Foundation laid upon notorious Untruths. These Two, viz. DANVERS and DELAUN's, as being loaded with Quotations, such as they are, are handed about with great Industry; and they much glory in them; but, in Fact and in Reality, they glory in their Shame.

There is one Thing that I am in a more particular Manner concerned in; and that is, to vindicate the old *Britons* from a national Reflection that DANVERS has thrown upon them, and, as I think, DELAUN likewise; for it is a great many Years since I read his Pamphlet: And the false Report is, that the *Antient Britons* knew no such Practice as Infant-Baptism 'till AUSTIN the *Monk* brought it, among other Corruptions from  
Rome,

\* Vid. *The Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin, in Three Parts, by John Taylor.* Lond. 1740.

Rome, towards the Close of the Sixth Century. In order to prove this Piece of secret History, he quotes one FABIAN, a Londoner, that lived in King HENRY the Seventh his Time, near a Thousand Years since the coming of the said AUSTIN into England. Now Venerable BEDE, who wrote the *Church History of the English Nation* about the Year 730, and who must needs know best, does give the following Account of the Conference between AUSTIN and Seven of the British Bishops. He tells us, that, after he had made some Progress in planting Christianity among the Saxons, he made a Proposal to the Britons, desiring them to join in Communion with him and his new Converts: But, whereas the Britons held and practised some Rites and Traditions in many Things different from the Church of Rome, he insisted that they should leave off their own, and comply with his Ceremonies and Customs. And, after many Alterations, he had at last made them this final Proposal, thus translated by STAPLETON, for I have not at present by me the Original Latin: *Although, dear Brethren, in many other Points you do contrary to our Custom yet notwithstanding, if ye will in these Three Things consent, and obey unto me, that is, to celebrate Easter in due Time, to accomplish the Office of Baptism (by which we are born again to God) according to the Manner of the holy Roman and Apostolick Churches, and, last of all, to preach with us to the English Nation, all your other Ceremonies, Rites, Fashions and Customs, though they be contrary to our's, yet we will willingly suffer them, and be content to bear them. But they answered, that they would do none of those Things; neither would they accept him for their Archbishop\**. DINOETHUS, Abbot of Bangor, was the Spokesman; and the original Speech is preserved entire from a very antient M S by Sir HENRY SPELMAN. †

This Passage is quoted by a great many of our *English* Historians, and, among the rest, this FABIAN in his *Chronicle of England*. In the first Edition of his History (as Dr. WALL observes, for I have not seen it, it being very scarce) he recites this Passage in the same Sense that BEDE has it; but in another Edition, either thro' Inadvertency, or an *Erratum* of the Press, these Words, *according to the Manner of the Roman Church*, are omitted. Now behold the Subtilty and bold Assurance of DANVERS! From the Omission of these Words in *One* Impression, casually left out, he has the Effrontery to assert, and palm it on the World, that the Matter in Dispute was the *Baptism of Infants*, which AUSTIN did propose, in the Conference, that

\* Vid. *Wall's Hist. of Inf. Bapt.* Vol. II. Ch. iv. Ed. 3. Lond. Bed. Eccles. Hist. L. 2. C. 2.

† *Concilia Britan.* Tom. I. p. 108. Lond. 1639.

that the *British Church* should consent to ! whereas there is not the least Hint of this in Venerable BEDE ! And, to make it have the Face of Truth, he quotes FABIAN, whom an ordinary Reader knows nothing to the contrary, but that he might be as antient as BEDE himself, notwithstanding that he lived near a *Thousand Years* after ! *What shall be done unto thee, thou false Tongue ?* Ps. cxx. 3. — Such is their scandalous Dealing with Things Divine and Human !

Such another Attempt was made by the Kirk-party, in *Scotland*, for the Honour of *Presbyterian Government* ; That the Primitive Church in that Part of the Kingdom was governed, during the purest Ages of Christianity, by a Parity of Ministers distinguished by the Name of *Culdees* ; and therefore, when they abolished and threw out *Episcopacy*, they did but restore the antient, true, and *Evangelical Government*, such as is settled there at present. Now, all this Model is built on a Saying, or Dream rather, of one JOHN, a Monk of *Fordon*, who lived in a dark Age, viz. the 14th Century, above a *Thousand Years* since this imaginary Government was set up. This he did with a View to advance his own Order, as being originally of the same Authority as the highest Power in the Church ; and he lived in an ignorant Age, so that nobody could contradict him. And, when the *Covenant* was set up, they could pitch on no better Authority to support the Cause than the bare Testimony of this silly Monk of *Fordon*. Not only HECTOR BOETHIUS, and all the *Scottish Writers* since, but even the Great Mr. SELDEN and BLONDEL, with all their Reading, could fix on no Corner of the Globe to settle this Kind of a National Church-government but among the *Culdees* in *Scotland*, and that on the bare Word of the Monk of *Fordon*. But it is a known Rule, as Dr. WALL very justly observes in another Case, ‘ That any modern Writer, affirming any thing of antient History without referring to some antient Author, is not at all to be heeded.’ The very learned Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and afterwards of *Worcester*, has altogether disproved this Legend, and has sufficiently confuted that modern Fiction of a *Scottish Ordination* by mere Presbyters, which, (as his Lordship observeth) being formed by Popish Monks for the Honour of their Way, has been caught up by some amongst us to give a Colour of Antiquity to their Innovations.\*

But, to return to the Subject in hand, I had forgot to mention (which is very material in this Case) that PELAGIUS, a Briton born, a great Traveller, and named in his own Country

MOR-

\* Ch. Government of Great-Britain and Ireland, Chap. vii. p. 172. Ed. 2<sup>d</sup>. Lond. 1684.

MORGAN, because he denied *Original Sin*, was supposed to deny the *Necessity of Baptism to Infants*; yet he publicly declares, that, tho' he had travelled over most Parts of the Christian World, he never knew nor *heard of any Christian, Catholick, or Sectary, that denied Infant-Baptism\**. If any thing less than a Miracle would satisfy Men, this would do it; but, when Men are obstinately bent against the clearest Proof; 'tis a Sign they are resolved against any Conviction.

I shall conclude with a Sketch of their Rise and Progress; which I shall do in the Words of Dr. WALL, the fairest Adversary they ever had to deal with, every where exact and impartial, a Man of great Judgment and Moderation.—No sooner had the Reformation begun by LUTHER, *Anno 1517*, taken good Footing in *Saxony*, and some other Parts of *Germany*; [great Numbers of People, and some Princes, (who were at this Time generally weary of the Abuses and Corruptions of *Papery*, and longed for a *Reformation*) greedily embracing it] but that, within Five or Six Years, there arose a Sort of Men that pretended to refine upon him. One NICHOLAS STORK, and THOMAS MUNCER, preached that the Baptism of Infants was also an Abuse that must be reformed: And they baptised over again such as became their Disciples. They added also other Things; That it was not fit, nor to be endured in *the Kingdom of Jesus Christ*, that some should be so rich, and others so poor; or that the *Boors* should be held to such burthensome Services by their Landlords. Abundance of People flocked to them; and the more for that there had been before Discontents, and some Insurrection of those poorer Sort of People, because of their said Hardships.

There was this Difference between LUTHER's Method and *their's*; That he and his Associates preached up Obedience to all lawful Magistrates in Temporal Things, but *they* carried Things with a higher Hand, in Defiance of Magistracy: And MUNCER called himself *The Sword of the Lord, and of Gideon*.

LUTHER and the *Protestants* entered their Protestation against their Proceedings, as bringing a Scandal on the new-begun Reformation: But they, notwithstanding this, went on in their Proceedings, and after some Time (great Numbers of disorderly People joining with them) became terrible, made a Sort of Army, and committed great Ravages on the Estates of rich Men wherever they marched. And at last, *Anno 1534*, a strong Party of this Sort of Men coming mostly from *Holland*, seized on the City of *Munster*, where one JOHN BECOLD, commonly called JOHN of *Leyden*, being advanced to be their King, they pre-

\*: *Vid. Dr. Wall, Vol. II. p. 119. Ed. 3.*

pretended to Prophecy and Revelation, and did, under the Name of CHRIST'S Kingdom, practise several Tyrannies and Enormities, whence a great deal of Mischief and Confusion did ensue.

Some Regular Troops being brought against them, they were subdued: And the King, JOHN of *Leyden*, and some of the Ring-leaders, being put to Death, the rest were dispersed into several Parts of *Germany*; and a great many fled into the *Low-Countries*, where there were already great Numbers of them; and from thence they had a short and easy Passage to *England*. A few Years after the Sedition raised by the *Anabaptists* in *Munster*, and the Dispersion that followed that Defeat, some straggling *Dutchmen* began to vent this singular Opinion in *England*; but it made but a very slow Progress, or scarce any Progress at all, during the Reigns of King EDWARD, and his Sister Queen ELIZABETH. But what the plegmatick *Dutch*, who heartily and sincerely espoused the Cause, were unable to carry on, a few sly *Jesuits* in Disguise, by preaching, and dispersing of Books wrote by themselves against the Lawfulness and Validity of Infant-Baptism, brought effectually to bear\*: And to them it is owing, as the prime Managers in the Cause, that *Antipedo baptism* had the first sure Footing in *England*.

The following Story being so remarkable an Instance of *Jesuitical* Cunning, to serve the Purpose of *Rome*, I shall here insert it, as being a further Proof of the Case in hand. *Anno* 1656 the Reverend Divine Dr. HAMMOND being one Day in a Book-seller's Shop, and reading the Works of St. AMBROSE, a Red-coat (or a Common Soldier) casually came in, and looked over this Divine's Shoulder, and there read the *Latin* as perfect as himself; which caused the *Doctor* to admire that a *Red-coat* should attain to that Learning. Then, speaking unto him, he demanded how he came to that Science: The *Red-coat* replied, *By the Holy Spirit*. The *Doctor* hereupon replied, *I will try thee further*; and so called for a *Greek* Author, which the *Red-coat* not only read, but construed. The *Doctor*, to try him further, called for the *Hebrew* Bible, and so for several other Books, in which this *Red-coat* was very expert. At last the *Doctor*, recollecting with himself, [a lucky Thought!] called for a *Welsh* Bible, and said, *If thou beest inspired, read me this Book, and construe it*: But the *Red-coat*, being at last caught, replied, *I have given thee Satisfaction enough, I will not satisfy thee further; for thou wilt not believe, though an Angel came from Heaven to convince thee*. Whereupon the *Doctor*, suspecting him for a Cheat, caused him to be apprehended, and his Chamber

\* Dr. Wall, Vol. II. Chap. viii. p. 342.

ber searched, where there was found a Trunk full of *Papish* Books, and in one of his Books a Parchment *Bull*, or Licence, granted unto this Impostor, under several Names, to assume what Function or Calling he pleased. \*

'Tis true, there is no particular Mention in this Story that his Instructions were to deny Infant-Baptism: But in another remarkable Instance, of HETH the Jesuit, in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, there is express Mention that in his Trunk were found several Books, wrote by Order of the Fraternity of JESUS, with Arguments against the Baptism of Infants, which novel Doctrine he had in Charge, in the *Bull* or Licence from Rome, to spread with all possible Industry, and to re-baptise his Profelytes. The whole Story is well worth the Reading. †—Hence we may observe that, whereas the present *Anabaptists* endeavour to maintain that Infant-Baptism cannot be proved by Scripture Authority, but only by *Tradition*, they herein borrow their Arguments from the *Papists*. It is a politick Turn of their's, and it serves them in a Two-fold Design: One is to puzzle the *Protestants* in general, who maintain that the Scripture is a sufficient Rule; the other is, to foment Divisions, and to encourage a Separation from the Established Church, which they look upon with an envious Eye, as being (as it is indeed) the strongest Bulwark in Christendom against the Attacks of Rome.

N. B. The first Puritans only expressed a Dislike against some Ceremonies, and Mal-administration in the Spiritual Courts, yet did not proceed to a total Separation. But about the Year 1567, somewhat in the Beginning of Q. ELIZABETH, there succeeded them (as Mr. FULLER expresses it) another Generation of active and zealous Non-conformists. Of these COLEMAN, HALLINGHAM, and BENSON, were the Chief, accounting every thing from Rome which was not from Geneva. No body suspected to the contrary, but that they were really such as they pretended, viz. Protestants Puritanically inclined: But, about an Hundred Years after the Time that these Men must have been dead, it was discovered, by the Sagacity of that Great Man, and universal Scholar, Bishop STILLINGFLEET, that all Three were *Jesuits* in Disguise. ||

But, to return once again to the Subject in hand, In King JAMES his Reign the Number of the *Anabaptists* in this Kingdom was very inconsiderable; and so it was in the Beginning of good King CHARLES his Reign: But, as the grand Rebellion

Z

broke

\* Foxes and Firebrands, Part II. p. 102, Ed. 2.

† *Ibid.* Part I. p. 31, 42.

‡ Dr. Wall, Vol. II. p. 340, 341.

broke out, more especially during OLIVER's Usurpation, they made a very considerable Figure. In that Time they boasted, in an Enthusiastick Strain, that the Prophecy was now fulfilled, *Many shall run to and fro, and Knowledge shall be increased*, Dan. xii. 4.—OLIVER had a very great Regard for these Men, as being generally *Enthusiasts* like himself. They had, many of them, Places of Trust and Profit; as Captains, Colonels, Major-generals, Committee-men, Sequestrators, &c. In which several Commissions, during the Usurpation, they acted so bloodily against the persecuted Church of *England* and Royalists as if it had been a *Work of Merit* so to do. But, notwithstanding all these Favours and Marks of Distinction, no sooner was the Usurper dead than they began to court the *Rising Sun*, and bespatter OLIVER (whom formerly they so much adored) to all Intents and Purposes; for in an Address to King CHARLES the Second, presented to him at *Bruges*, they call OLIVER (now he was dead) a *grand Impostor*, a *detestable Traitor*, a *loathsome Hypocrite*, a *Prodigy of Nature\**, and by all the odious Names they could think of.—They can *trim* as well as some others.—And, ever since, they *increase and multiply* apace.

\* Hist. of the Rebellion, B. xvi. p. 760. Ed. Oxon. 1706.





*The Conclusion of the Whole.*

WE may observe, of all the Sects that assume the Name of Christians, That, notwithstanding their different Way of Thinking, yet every distinct Party does claim the *Truth* to be on its Side; in Contra-distinction to others. Thus the *Arrians*, who deny the Divinity of the Saviour of the World, pretend to have the *Truth* on their Side of the Question; and Mr. WHISTON is pleased to bestow no better Language on the Doctrine of the Trinity, as believed and explained by the Church of *England*, than that of *Athanasian Heresy*, which heavy Charge is interspersed almost every where through the *Historical Preface* to the Four Volumes of his *Primitive Christianity*, and in the Memoirs of the Life of Dr. S. CLARKE. N. B. By Primitive Christianity he always and constantly means the *Arrian* Doctrine. He tells us, ever and anon, that the *Truth* is so glaring, on their Side of the Question, that all the Primitive Fathers of the Three First Centuries had the same Belief as the *Arrians* in respect to the Doctrine of the Trinity.--- But I would humbly propose One Query: If Matters were so, as Mr. WHISTON every where represents the Case, to what Purpose was it that the Great Council of *Nice* was convened by the Emperor CONSTANTINE, A. D. 325, to examine into the Opinion of ARRIUS, where his Opinions were condemned and *anathematized*, if he held the same Doctrine with the Catholic Church? I am apt to think that, if Mr. WHISTON himself was yet alive, he would find it somewhat difficult to render a satisfactory Answer to this plain Question.

The *Antinomians* will tell you, in a serious Mood, that they contend for the *Truth*. The *Quakers* argue for the *Truth*. And to name no more, and to come nearer the Subject last in hand, the *Anabaptists* are as confident as any that they hold the *Truth*, yea, and none but *they solely*. There is one GEORGE HAMMON, (a Teacher in his Time of great Repute among them, and a Man, as appears by his Writings, of a fierce and turbulent Spirit) who every where declares that he is striving for the *Truth*, yea, that he has found it, the Spirit bearing Witness thereof: And yet this Man pleads with Might and Main against Original Sin; has Eight Reasons, such as they are, to prove that the *Soul* is mortal and extinct with the Body when it dies; that the vulgar Notion of the *Soul's* Immortality is a fond Conceit of the *Heathen Poets*, from whom the Church of *Rome* borrowed it, and the Church of *England* from the *Papists*;

or, at best, that the Soul is in a State of utter Insensibility 'till the Resurrection. He does every where most abominably pervert Scripture in favour of his wild and Enthusiastick Rants; and, among other Paradoxes, he argues that, when CHRIST took up the *little Children in his Arms, and blessed them*, Mark x. 16. it was no more than to cure them of some Bodily Distemper, suppose the Rickets, or a Breaking-out, or the Worms. — And yet all this, with a great many other Extravagancies, must be accounted the *Truth!* And to this daring Performance he gives this pompous Title, *Truth and Innocency prevailing against Error and Insolency.* Lond. 1660.

But, notwithstanding they severally maintain quite contrary and opposite Opinions and Doctrine, and *all* pretend to *Truth*, yet all the *Modern Sects*, of what Denomination soever, do unanimously combine against the *Three Orders* in the Christian Church, and plead strongly for a *Parity* of Ministers without any Super-intendant, or Overseer, or Bishop, to preside; which Government they brand as Tyrannical and Anti-Christian, and with all other odious Names that they can think of. To convince them of this their common Error is very nigh the next Door to Impossibility, their early Prejudice being so strong and radicate! *Non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris.* But, to set this Matter of Importance in a clear Light to others who may be dubious, I shall here subjoin the Testimony of the Holy Martyr S. IGNATIUS, who, as some of the Antients supposed, was that very Child whom our Saviour took into his Arms, and set in the Midst of his Disciples, as the most lively Instance of Innocency and Humility. *Mark ix. 36.* But the most learned Dr. CAVE gives no Credit to that Supposition\*. Undoubtedly he was brought up, in his younger Years, under Apostolical Instruction, being intimately conversant with the Apostles, and a Pupil of St. JOHN; and indeed he copies after his beloved Master's Example, arguing every where against Heresies which sap the Foundation of Christianity, and with a Divine Zeal recommending Unity and Concord, and a Perseverance in the Faith.

He made a noble Profession of his Faith before the Emperor TRAJAN when he made a Progress into the *East*, and, because of his Constancy, was condemned to be brought in Chains, a very long tedious Journey, from *Antioch*, in *Syria*, to suffer Martyrdom at *Rome*; and whilst he tarried, in his Way thither, for some Time, in *Smyrna*, he wrote several *Epistles* to the Churches, to confirm them in the Faith, lest the Persecution then raging against the Christians should make them shrink from their Holy Profession. His Words, which are for my Purpose, are as follow. In

\* Lives of the Primitive Fathers, p. 100. Ed. iii.

In his Epistle to the *Ephesians* he writeth thus : *Σπουδάσατε ἀγαπητοὶ ὑποταγῆναι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς Πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τοῖς Διακόνοις. ὁ γὰρ τέτοις ὑποτασσόμενος ὑπακούει Χριστῷ τῷ προχειρισμένῳ αὐτοῖς.* Do you, Beloved, be obedient to the Bishop, and your Presbyters, and your Deacons; for he that is subject to them is obedient to CHRIST who has ordained them.

In his Epistle to the *Magnesians* he thus expresses himself : *Ὁ ὅσπερ ὁ Κύριος ἀνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐδὲν ποιεῖ καὶ δύναμαι καὶ φησι, ποιεῖν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ ἐδὲν ἔσ' καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνευ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, μήδε Πρεσβυτέρου, μήδε λαϊκοῦ· μήδε τι φαινέσθω ὑμῖν εὐλογον πάρα τῆν ἐκείνου γνώμην. Το καὶ τοῦτον, παράνομον καὶ Θεῷ ἐχθρόν.* As the Lord does nothing without the Father, for, says he, *I can of my own self do nothing*, John v. 30. so do you, neither Presbyter, nor Deacon, nor Layman, do any thing without your Bishop: Nor let any thing seem decent which is against his Judgment; for that would be to act impiously, and an Enemy of God.

In his Epistle to the *Romans* there is no Mention made of this Subject. In his Epistle to the *Trallians* he puts them in mind to reverence the Bishop, who is the Representative of the Lord; to be subject to the Presbyters as his *Sanhedrim*; and in every thing to please the Deacons, who are the Attendants of the Mysteries of JESUS CHRIST; and then concludes, *Ἐρρωθε ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ Ἐπίσκοπῳ ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς Πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς Διακόνοις.* Fare ye well in the Lord JESUS CHRIST; be obedient to the Bishop, and so likewise to the Presbyters and Deacons.

In his Epistle to the *Philadelphians* he expresses himself after this Manner : *Οἱ ἄρχοντες πεθαρχεῖτωσ' τῷ Καίσαρι, οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οἱ Διάκονοι τοῖς Πρεσβυτέροις, οἱ Πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ Διάκονοι, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς Κλήρος ἅμα πάντι τῷ λαῷ---τῷ Ἐπίσκοπῳ, Ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος τῷ Χριστῷ.* Let Governors be obedient to CÆSAR; the Soldiers to the Governors; the Deacons to the Presbyters; the Presbyters and Deacons, and the rest of the Clergy, with all the People,---to the Bishop; the Bishop to CHRIST.

And, lastly, to the Church of *Smyrna* he addresseth himself thus : *Πάντες τῷ Ἐπίσκοπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστῷ τῷ Πατρί, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις. τῆς δὲ Διακονίας ἐντρέπεθε ὡς ἐντολὴν διακοῦντας.* Let all of you in general follow your Bishop, as CHRIST did his Father; and your Presbytery, as the Apostles; and reverence the Deacons, as those that dispense the Commands of God.—And towards the Close of the Epistles he repeats the same Admonition very nigh in the same Words.

This Apostolical Testimony is of inestimable Value, which being

being so often repeated is, one would think, a Demonstration sufficient to silence all Cavils, and put an End to the Dispute. But, if Men will be obstinate against the clearest Conviction, let the Sin lie at their own Door. *N. B.* There are other Epistles fathered on this blessed Martyr, but are rejected as spurious: But *these Six* are his undoubted genuine Work, and acknowledged as such by the ablest Criticks of the Christian World.

*The* E N D.







